Code-switching between English and French in *The Montreal Gazette*

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ABSTRACT

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This minor master's thesis discusses code-switching from English to French in *The Montreal Gazette*, the main English-language newspaper in the Canadian province of Quebec. The focus of the study is on *marked code-switching*, in which the usage of French acts as a metaphor or symbol of social relations instead of just filling pragmatic or lexical gaps of the English language. The purpose of the study is to examine whether English–French code-switching in the Quebec anglophone press is more motivated by solidarity towards or divergence from the francophone community, i.e. if code-switching is more positively or negatively motivated.

The corpus of the study consists of 481 opinion articles published in *The Montreal Gazette* from 1st March to 15th June 2019. After an initial spotting of code-switching by close-reading the articles, the *Markedness Model* by Carol Myers-Scotton was used to divide code-switches into marked and unmarked ones; thereafter, context-based interpretation was used to divide marked code-switches into those motivated by solidarity and those motivated by divergence. In total, 61 articles, i.e. some 12.7 per cent of the whole corpus, include marked code-switching. This code-switching is motivated by solidarity in 20 articles and by divergence in 21 articles. Even though the difference in the prevalence of positively and negatively motivated code-switching is small, the latter is more coherent since French is employed to highlight lines of political and identity-related division in Quebec. A third, surprising category consists of established French loanwords that are part of international English and that are used in a marked way.

When the third category is added to the count of articles containing marked positively and negatively motivated code-switching, French is used for solidarity in 28 articles and for divergence in 37. First, the small number of proper code-switches arising from Quebec French suggests that the marked usage of French is rather marginal in Quebec English. Second, the prevalence of markedly used, established French loanwords in the corpus suggests that international French has continued prestige in the Quebec anglophone community. Thus, it would be interesting to study whether established French loanwords are more common in Quebec English than in monolingually English-speaking communities.

Keywords: code-switching, Quebec English, markedness, marked, unmarked, metaphorical code-switching

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1. Introduction

This minor master's thesis discusses code-switching into French in *The Montreal Gazette*, the main English-language newspaper in the Canadian province of Quebec. Code-switching, very generally defined as "the use of two languages in the same conversation" by Myers-Scotton (2011, 239), is a linguistic contact phenomenon that sociolinguists have mainly treated as a feature of spoken language even though it is also found in written texts from several historical periods (Gardner-Chloros 2009, 20–21). In my previous MA thesis (Rajala 2019) in Political Science that discussed the views of the French and English Canadian press on linguistic and minority policies in Quebec, I noticed a recurrent usage of French code-switching in articles related to Quebec policies in *The Montreal Gazette*. As I am familiar with the relationship between *francophones* and *anglophones*[1] in Quebec and am a competent speaker of both French and English, the purpose of this minor thesis is to study code-switches as *marked choices*. Following Myers-Scotton (2011, 143), this concerns the use of French in an otherwise English-language text as "a tool and an index of interpersonal relationships" instead of just filling pragmatic or lexical gaps.

Code-switching as a linguistic and especially social phenomenon will be discussed in the third chapter of the thesis which will also present the *Markedness Model* by Myers-Scotton as a method to analyse code-switching. Even though, as mentioned above, code-switching is most often considered a feature of spoken language, there is a special interest to study the phenomenon in writing in relation to socio-political and identity factors. According to Mahootian (2011, 192), writing tends to have more legitimacy than speech since it has "more staying power as a concrete and tangible documentation of thought". Furthermore, she suggests that "in many cases written text assumes a larger, more unified, identifiable audience that is reflective of those who share some subset of cultural norms and values". Therefore, I assume that the analysis of social motivations for English–French code-switching in the Quebec anglophone

[1] The terms *francophones* and *anglophones*, lexical borrowings from French, are commonly used to designate speakers of French and English, the two official languages of Canada. A third concept, *allophones*, designates speakers of third, non-official languages in the Canadian context. According to Fee (2008, 181) these terms have already entered general Canadian English.

press can shed light on the attitudes of anglophones towards francophones, on the relationship between the two linguistic groups, and on the bilingual identity of anglophones in present-day Quebec.

As we will see in chapter 3 of this paper, code-switching is a common feature of bilingual communities. The Montreal Metropolitan Area, with some 4 million inhabitants of which 65.9 % had French, 13.2 % English and 24.9 % a non-official language as mother tongue in 2016 (Statistics Canada 2016), can be considered a French–English bilingual community in both historical and present-day perspectives. In many bilingual settings, there tends to be a clear division between a dominant, prestige language and a subordinate, low-prestige language. The particularity of the province of Quebec is that no such division can be clearly established between the French and English languages, which will be discussed in chapter 2.

A common problem in research on code-switching concerns the division between code-switching itself and established borrowings (Thomason 2001, 131–136). As will be seen in section 5.1. of this thesis, many scolars are uncertain whether singly occurring or even longer, formulaic phrases should be described as *borrowings* or *code-switches*. In the scope of my thesis, this distinction is not crucial since the object of study is the *markedness* of French words and expressions (referred to as *French code-switches* in this thesis) in English text, whether they be code-switches or borrowings. In order to attain this object, I will use the Markedness Model to establish whether a French code-switch is used in an unmarked or marked way in a given context, and then analyse whether the marked code-switches are used to show (1) solidarity towards or (2) divergence from the Quebec francophone community. Thus, the research question is the following: is English–French code-switching in Quebec anglophone press more motivated by solidarity towards or divergence from the francophone community? In order to save some space, these motivations will subsequently be called positive and negative, respectively.

The second chapter of this thesis will present the historical and linguistic background for the relations of anglophones and francophones in Quebec and especially Montreal. The third chapter will define code-switching and present the Markedness Model in more detail, whereas the fourth chapter presents the corpus and the course of the study. The analysis in chapter 5 is divided into two main subsections discussing unmarked and marked codeswitch, the latter one in more detail since

marked code-switching is the focus of the study. The results of the analysis are discussed in the third subsection 5.3., and further implications of the results are explored in the conclusion (chapter 6).

2. Historical and linguistic background

The first major European colonizers of Canada were the French who founded the first permanent settlements in the modern-day Quebec and Nova Scotia in the early 17th century. At the same time, Britain began to establish colonies on the East Coast of the modern-day United States. According to Boberg (2010, 55–58), the French and British interests in North America eventually conflicted: thanks to superior climate and resources and a greater supply of new emigrants in the British colonies, the British presence quickly grew stronger than the French one. Britain and France would then enter overt military conflict, as a result of which France had to cede its possessions in Canada to Britain in 1763. This marked the beginning of the coexistence of the French and English languages as well as francophone and anglophone communities in Canada. According to Gagnon and Iacovino (2007, 77–94), Canadian political history has been characterised by the often-difficult co-existence of the two official linguistic groups ever since the Conquest of 1763.

In the first part of this chapter, the historical and present-day relations between anglophones and francophones, and the English and French languages in Quebec are outlined. The second part will then briefly present Quebec English as a variety of Canadian English. The discussion on the relationship between anglophones and francophones and on the special features of Quebec English will concentrate on the Montreal Area since this region is, apart from the rural communities bordering the United States in Southern Quebec, the only importantly bilingual community where the two linguistic groups have been in direct contact with each other (Levine 1990).

2.1. Relations between anglophones and francophones in Quebec

Historically speaking, from the Conquest of Canada by Great Britain in 1763 until the 1960s, English was the dominant language of economic life and of prestige in the

province of Quebec and especially in Montreal despite the francophone majority. Boberg (2012, 496) describes the relation between English and French in Quebec until the 1970s as a diglossic one in which English possessed some of the characteristics of a *high code* thanks to its position in commerce and industry as well as in the education of most immigrants. However, as a result of the so-called Quiet Revolution (*Révolution tranquille*) in the 1960s, the province of Quebec has led linguistic policies strongly favouring French as the sole official language in administration and as the main language in economic life and in the integration of immigrants, which culminated in the controversial Charter of the French Language (or Bill 101) in 1977. According to Levine (1990), the measures taken to put into effect the afore-mentioned linguistic policies had reassured the Quebec francophones of a relative linguistic security by the 1980s: French had become the dominant language in public life and increasingly a language of professional life, and francophones had risen to a dominant position in society. Préaux (2013) describes the outcome of the Quiet Revolution as a replacement of elite: as a result of the democratization of politics in Quebec, the anglophone elite lost its dominant position and was replaced by a new francophone elite.

According to Boberg (2010, 9), the Charter was welcomed by most francophones but disapproved by a stark majority of anglophones since it was perceived as a direct attack on their community's rights and on its historic status as one of the founding peoples of modern Quebec. Anglophones also feel excluded from the French-speaking society because of the language laws and are concerned with the survival of their own institutions, even though the survival of the English language is not considered threatened (Caldwell 1994, Gérin-Lajoie 2016). The linguistic legislation has also contributed to the emigration of anglophones from Quebec to the other provinces of Canada to some extent even though the majority of anglophones accommodated to the changed situation and learned French (Levine 1990). According to Boberg (2012, 496), two thirds of Montreal anglophones are nowadays bilingual as a result of the exodus of monolingual English speakers and the popularity of French immersion programmes in anglophone education. However, since the birth rates among both francophones and anglophones are not high enough to naturally sustain the population, and anglophones continue leaving the province, the only means of demographic growth, immigration, benefits the francophone community since the children of immigrants are obliged to go to French school (Boberg 2010, 17–18). For the harshest opponents of the Quebec linguistic legislation, the measures taken have been considered "a mean-

sprited, vengeful attack on Quebec's English community" or even "the culmination of a long history of anglophobia in French Canadian society" (Boberg 2010, 9).

On the other hand, Préaux (2013) reminds that the accommodation of anglophones to the linguistic legislation has been characterized by a difficulty or an unwillingness to accept a minority status in Quebec since the community constitutes the majority in the whole of Canada. Moreover, despite the linguistic policies following the Quiet Revolution, the Quebec francophones constitute a *fragile majority* (McAndrew 2010) because the survival of the French language and Quebec identity is still considered threatened due to the dominant position of English both in Northern America and globally. English retains its important position in the economic life of the Montreal Metropolitan Area since 57,8 % of people used it at work in 2016 (Statistics Canada 2016). As Boberg (2010, 16) and Taylor (1994) remind, the linguistic conflict in Quebec reflects the tension between two understandings of liberalism: the primacy of individual rights in the Anglo-American tradition as opposed to collective rights, rooted in Roman Catholicism, supported by many francophones and expressed through the social welfare state constructed in Quebec since the 1960s.

The relations between anglophones and francophones in Quebec, and in Canada as a whole, have been studied in great length and detail. According to my experience with my previous master's thesis in Political Science (Rajala 2019), the main challenge is not to find documentation on the topic of English–French relations but rather to find reliable, objective accounts. It seems that great many works are written from either a pro-francohone or a pro-anglophone perspective, which tend to also result in an anti-anglophone and an anti-francophone position, respectively. Instead of presenting the history and present of English–French relations in more detail in this section, I will shed light on specific topics arising from the corpus in the analysis section.

2.2. Quebec English as a variety

This section will discuss Quebec English as a distinctive variety that has been influenced both by its unique minority status and its contact with French. However, Boberg (2018, 458) reminds that the variety of English spoken by Montrealers of British origin is generally very similar to other English Canadians. This justifies a brief presentation

of the general features of Canadian English before turning into the special features of Quebec and especially Montreal English.

According to Labov *et al.* (2008, 216), Canadian English is, first, essentially a North American variety since it resembles much more the varieties in the United States than Standard Southern British English, whether it be pronunciation, grammar or lexicon. The longer and closer association with Britain has only affected superficial levels of language, such as spelling conventions (e.g. 'centre' instead of 'center' and 'favourite' instead of 'favorite'). Secondly, Canadian English is relatively homogenous, except for Quebec and Newfoundland, due to the sparse and recent settlement of intermingled groups of immigrants from different regions (Labov *et al.* 2008, 217). According to Boberg (2010, 25–27), the clearest regional difference of Canadian English is the Newfoundland variety due to its different settlement history and pattern: this eastern province on the Atlantic cost remained a separate British colony until 1949 and was mainly settled by the Irish. The other regional varieties mentioned by Boberg are mostly constituted of linguistic enclaves, such as Quebec, in addition to which there are ethnically motivated, language-contact-induced variation when English is in contact with French, indigenous languages and *allophone* groups. According to Schneider (2011, 83–84), Canadian English is best described as a composition of variants, with the most famous features being the question tag *eh* and the pronunciation features called Canadian Raising and Canadian Shift[2].

Quebec English is, according to Boberg (2010, 18), a minority language in every sense, whether it be numerically, socially or institutionally. Furthermore, it has no official status in the province of Quebec. As mentioned above, it is mainly spoken in the Montreal Metropolitan Area: thus, most descriptions of Quebec English concentrate on Montreal varieties. Before the linguistic legislation, the prominent role of English in the bilingual community of Montreal resulted in English having more influence on French but, ever since the Quebec government has suppressed its public use from the 1970s onwards, Quebec English has been increasingly influenced by French (Boberg 2012, 493). Boberg (2010, 182–184) characterizes Quebec English as highly differentiated from other Canadian regions in vocabulary since many terms are adopted

[2] According to Schneider (2011, 83), Canadian Raising is the tendency to pronounce the first elements of the diphtongs /aʊ/ and /aɪ/ as the central vowel /ə/ before voiceless stops, such as *about* as [əbəʊt]. Canadian Shift is the articulation of vowels /æ/, /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ further back in the oral cavity in words such as *trap*, *dress* and *kit*.

directly from French rather than being translated. These terms come with varying degrees of anglicization in pronunciation and their number is higher outside Montreal due to a more intensive immersion in francophone society.

Alongside the unique features related to contact with French, Montreal English also exhibits considerable ethnic diversity (Boberg 2010, 214–224; Boberg 2018, 458, 498). Groups of Italian, Greek and Ashkenazi Jew origin, educated before the linguistic legislation of the 1970s in English schools, are nowadays an important component of local native speakers of English in Montreal, and their English displays its own special features. This ethnolectal variation is due to these groups' limited access to Montreal's native, British-origin anglophone community: because the linguistic legislation has marginalized, and socially and geographically fragmented the British community, allophones have not been able to easily assimilate into these native anglophones. Isolation of non-British, English-speaking ethnic groups is further increased by their tendency to segregate themselves in certain neighbourhoods.

This brief overview of Quebec and Montreal English will be further developed in the analysis section with concrete examples from the corpus. Especially the unmarked French code-switches represent some of the most common features related to linguistic contact in this bilingual community.

3. Code-switching

This section presents theoretical background for code-switching as a language contact phenomenon. The first section provides a general overview of code-switching; the second section, for its part, presents social factors and motivations behind code-switching. In the third section, the Markedness Model by Carol Myers-Scotton is introduced as a method for my study. The fourth and final section briefly discusses an earlier study on code-switching in written Quebec English.

3.1. Defining code-switching

According to Myers-Scotton (2011, 239), the most general definition of code-switching is "the use of two languages in the same conversation". Gardner-Chloros (2009, 4), for her part, provides a more detailed general definition:

> (1) [Code-switching] refers to the use of several languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people. It affects practically everyone who is in contact with more than one language or dialect, to a greater or lesser extent.

Gardner-Chloros highlights that code-switching occurs both in contexts where minority language groups are in contact with majority groups, and as a feature of stable bilingualism in bilingual communities. Although English-speakers in Quebec constitute a historically dominant linguistic minority that has shifted into a minority position, the present-day Montreal anglophones are best characterised as a stable bilingual community (Fee 2008, 173–174).

Since I have decided to use Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model as a method to analyse code-switching, I will rely on her definition of *classic code-switching* for the analysis of my corpus. Classic code-switching is explained by Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame. According to her, "[c]lassic codeswitching includes elements from two (or more) language varieties in the same clause, but *only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause*" (2011, 241–242; italics as in the original). The language variety supplying the morphosyntactic frame, or the *dominant language* as Gardner-Chloros (2009) puts it, is called Matrix Language whereas the less dominant one is called Embedded Language. Hence it is important to notice that the Matrix Language and the Embedded Language do not equally participate in classic code-switching. Myers-Scotton's model suits my study well since the entire corpus has English as Matrix Language.

Code-switching is related to *borrowing*, another phenomenon arising from language interaction. According to Gumperz (1982, 66) "borrowing can be defined as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other" that are incorporated into the grammatical system of the dominant language, whereas "code switching […] relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems". According to Myers-Scotton (2011, 253–260), however, even singly occurring words in the Embedded Language can be considered code-switched phrases since they only fall on a continuum of Embedded Language elements from single words to full phrases in bilingual clauses. Since written texts do not offer pronunciational clues and do not always highlight, or

typographically *flag* (Grant-Russell & Beaudet 1999, 25–26), code-switched elements in italics or quotes, I will have to rely on Myers-Scotton's criteria according to which single Embedded Language words are not established borrowings if they tend to retain bare forms and if they are not predictable. Moreover, I regard words included in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as borrowings instead of code-switches. However, since my analysis operates on the premises of the markedness of French words and expressions in English texts, the distinction between a borrowing and a code-switch is not crucial for the study since a borrowing can also be used in a marked way (see section 5.2.3.).

3.2. Social factors in code-switching

Both social factors and linguistic characteristics of the varieties in contact explain the outcomes of code-switching. The linguistic-structural factors affecting code-switching fall out of the scope of this thesis; in addition, the codes in contact remain the same, English and French, throughout the corpus. Therefore, this section discusses social factors that are, according to Gardner-Chloros (2009, 42) as important or even more important than linguistic factors in explaining the outcomes of code-switching. The focus is on socially motivated, marked code-switching that has been discussed as *conversational code-switching* by Gumperz.

According to Gumperz (1982, 47–48, 59–99), socially prompted code-switching can be divided into situational and conversational categories. In situational code-switching, different linguistic varieties are employed in settings associated with different categories of speakers. Changes in code are promped by changes in interlocutor, context or topic, i.e. factors external to the conversation. As such, there is a simple relationship between language use and social context, and norms of code selection are relatively stable (60–61). In conversational code-switching, there is no one-to-one relationship between extralinguistic context and language use in conversation. Therefore, conversational code-switching can then be used metaphorically to distinguish new from old information, to mark degrees of emphasis or contrastiveness, or to signal the speakers' position towards their message (47–48). Therefore, speakers (or writers) do not respond to a fixed social context but rely on their own and their interlocutor's abstract understanding of situational norms to communicate meaning through code-switching. The association between code-choice and group identity then becomes a

symbolic one. In these circumstances, code-switching is used as a metaphorical tool that conveys meanings attached to the different codes: i.e. code-switching acts as a *metaphor* for a socially motivated message.

According to Gardner-Chloros (2009, 64, 166), however, situational and conversational factors are in constant interaction in code-switching and the approaches studying them are complementary. In this thesis, the French code-switches of the corpus are categorized as unmarked or marked and their usage will then be analysed as socially motivated. Thus, it is not crucial to differentiate between the situational and conversational-metaphoric factors behind code-switching since the key difference lies in *markedness*. However, it is important to differentiate when an Embedded Language works as a tool and an index of interpersonal relationships, as in conversational code-switching, and when it is filling a pragmatic or lexical gap. In the latter situation, code-switching does not take on distinctive social meanings, i.e. it is *unmarked*, whereas in the former the symbolic value of speaking the language is a major factor, and these *marked* linguistic choices work as social indices (Myers-Scotton 2011, 143–146).

The usage of English–French code-switching in my corpus can also be approached as *we-code* and *they-code* usage as suggested by Gumperz (1982; cited by Gardner-Chloros 2009, 56–58). For Gumperz, a minority group's own language functions as a we-code for informal, in-group activities, whereas the majority language acts as a they-code for formal, out-group relations. Since English is the majority language in the whole of Canada as well as the international *lingua franca*, the usage of English among the Quebec anglophones cannot be entirely reagarded as an in-group we-code. However, the usage of French can have a double role. First, it can act as a they-code in relation to the Quebec francophones which anglophones don't belong to. Secondly, French code-switching can also act as a we-code to show solidarity towards Quebec francophones and to distance oneself from anglophones in the rest of Canada since exposure to and proficiency in French is mainly characteristic of the Quebec anglophones only (Grant-Russell & Beaudet 1999, 26).

A further identity-related prompt for code-switching is accommodation and audience design by a speaker. According to Gardner-Chloros (2009, 78–80), these means are generally used by the media aimed at multilingual audiences, such as the readers of *The Montreal Gazette*. The desire to accommodate and addressee specification have been theorised by Howard Giles in his Communication Accommodation theory. According to Myers-Scotton (2011, 155–158), the premise of this theory is that

"speakers tend to accommodate their speech to persons whom they like or whom they wish to be liked by, and they tend to diverge from those persons whom they don't like". As such, the theory considers what speakers wish to accomplish, i.e. it is a rational choice model. However, accommodation is not unidimensional since speakers signal multiple identities and have multiple goals. Furthermore, the opposite of accommodation, divergence, can represent a more conscious choice, as seen in the section 5.2.2. discussing code-switching used to show divergence from francophones.

Since speakers' choices are interpreted as attempts to stress their similarity to or dissimilarity from the addressees (Myers-Scotton 2011, 173), the Communication Accommodation theory, alongside with Gumperz' we-code and they-code approach, offers valuable insight into the interpretation of English–French code-switching. While taking the input from these two afore-mentioned approaches into account, I have chosen to rely on Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model as a method to analyse code-switching. This method will be introduced in the following section.

3.3. The Markedness Model

The Markedness Model by Carol Myers-Scotton (2011, 158–173) is a model of social motivations for code-switching. According to the model, speakers make rational choices in conversations in order to promote their self-identities. As such, the Markedness Model is deductive since it departs from the afore-mentioned premise and then seeks to argue how empirical evidence supports the premise.

The main concepts in the Markedness Model are *unmarked choice* and *marked choice*. An unmarked choice represents the normative expectations for each interaction type, called a Rights and Obligations (RO) set. As such, it is the linguistic reflection of an RO set. Unmarked choices are influenced by community norms and more dominant members of a community. A marked choice, on the other hand, is a choice that is not predicted by an RO set. It is, according to Myers-Scotton (2011, 160), "negotiation for an RO set other than the one that is unmarked". A marked choice can be a negotiation, on the one hand, about solidarity (such as Gumperz' *we-code*) or, on the other hand, about power dimension (cf. *they-code*). Myers-Scotton gives several examples of the usage of marked choices in code-switching as a bid for solidarity, such as the assertion of shared group membership, as well as a bid for dominance, such as asserting one's power through the usage of prestige varieties. French code-switches in

my corpus can thus be analysed as marked choices promoting the writers' self-identity in either asserting solidarity towards or divergence from the Quebec francophones. However, Myers-Scotton also reminds that code-switching can be an unmarked choice in some communities where it conveys the message of dual identities or double membership. Indeed, this can be true of the present-day Quebec anglophone community, as seen in section 5.1.

Gardner-Chloros (2009, 69–70) presents some of the criticism towards Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model. The model is considered insufficient since speakers are not always making rational choices based on factors external to the conversations. Furthermore, the model is criticized for putting emphasis on the analyst's, not the participant's, perception of a conversation. As Gardner-Chloros (2009, 87–88) reminds, the deficiency of theories and models is that linguistic configurations, especially in spoken conversation, are too diverse for systematisation. However, models such as Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model help us analyse code-switching and thus grasp some of its social meanings.

3.4. A previous study on code-switching in The Montreal Gazette

An article by Pamela Grant-Russell and Céline Beaudet, published in 1999 with the title "Lexical borrowings from French in written Quebec English," presents the findings of a research project that was underway at the time at the University of Sherbooke, Quebec. The most extensive part of the corpus, the journalistic component, consists of the 1994 and 1995 issues of *The Montreal Gazette*, which makes the study highly relevant for my thesis. The other components of the corpus consist of administrative, touristic, governmental and other non-literary texts. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find the final report on this project, which might imply that it was never finalised. Nevertheless, the 1999 article offers a useful categorisation scheme for the socially motivated French code-switches in English text. The authors refer to all French-language items as *lexical borrowings* instead of code-switches; however, their description of the borrowings as *established* versus *rhetorically marked* ones is applicable to my usage of the Markedness Mode, and correspond to *unmarked* and *marked* code-switches, respectively.

Grant-Russell and Beaudet analyse the motivation behind code-switching (or, in their words, lexical borrowing) on two levels: they distinguish between large-scale

motivations for *language change* that are shared by the whole linguistic community, and individual discursive code choices through which a writer "can align himself or herself variously with the perceived audience and the language communities in contact" (page 25). The large-scale motivations can most importantly point out the unmarked English–French code-switching in my corpus since the authors mention increased bilingualism among anglophones, benign attitude towards borrowing, increased prestige of Quebec French, and unilingually French institutional designations and cultural realities that do not have English equivalents as factors promoting lexical borrowing in the Quebec anglophone community. On the other hand, some of these factors, namely benign attitude and increased prestige of French, can also point out *marked* code-switching that writers use to show solidarity towards francophones.

The authors' definition of *discursively motivated* lexical borrowing as lexical choices through which "the writer can align himself or herself variously with the perceived audience and the language communities in contact" resembles the concept of marked code choices as social indices by Myers-Scotton. According to Grant-Russell and Beaudet, discursively motivated borrowings "can favour the establishment of a link of complicity and mutual recognition between the writer and audience" (page 27). The authors mention both aligning oneself with the francophone community and signalling an ideological distance from it, especially through the usage of highly charged terms of political discourse, as discursive intents behind marked lexical choices. Even though the exclusive usage of the term *lexical borrowing* for all types of linguistic contact phenomena, whether it be code-switching or established borrowings, can make Grant-Russell and Beaudet's article difficult to assess in terms of markedness, their categorization offers valuable inside for my analysis. Therefore, their article constitutes an important source for assessing markedness of French code-switches, alongside with other studies, in the analysis chapter 5. Before turning into the analysis, the following chapter will present the corpus and the course of analysis in more detail.

4. Corpus and description of study

The corpus for this study consists of opinion articles published during the period from 1st March to 15th June 2019 in *The Montreal Gazette*. This newspaper is the only English-language metropolitan daily publication in the province of Quebec and the number

one media source in the anglophone market of Montreal, with a 69-percent daily readership among the community (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2014). Since *The Montreal Gazette* is so widely read in the English-speaking community of Montreal (and of Quebec in general), the usage of French code-switching in its opinion articles can be assumed to represent general patterns of written code-switching in the community.

The integral daily editions of *The Montreal Gazette* in plain text form can be retrieved from the *Canadian Newsstream* database of *ProQuest*. The articles of *The Montreal Gazette* are classed according to newspaper section; hence, the corpus for this study includes all texts labelled 'Opinion' from 1st March to 15th June 2019, with a total number of 481. Most texts with this label are individual letters to the editor but the section also contains regularly occurring columns from certain writers. The texts are then carefully scanned to spot any occurrence of English–French code-switching. Unfortunately, the *ProQuest* texts do not reproduce any italics or bolds from the original newspaper texts so the only textual hint of marked code-switching would be quotation marks. French code-switches that are excluded from the study are established monolingual French toponyms[3], company names, proper names for books, plays and TV shows, and code-switching that only occurs in cited article names (i.e. those at the beginning of letters to the editor that respond to other articles).

Since the emphasis of the present study is on the qualitative properties of code-switching and the rhetoric manners in which it is used, the main comparison takes place between different opinion articles. As such, code-switched words and expressions are counted as word types per article, i.e. the same word type gets one hit per article, not in the whole corpus. This means that a word occurring in several articles, such as the governing party of Quebec, the *Coalition Avenir Québec*, gets as many hits for the total word type count as there are articles in which it occurs. Moreover, in the count of word types, plural and genitive forms are categorized as one word type. This kind of word type counting will allow us to state which kind of code-switches are the most common across articles. After initial spotting, the code-switches will first be divided into unmarked and marked ones following Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model. As the model cannot provide information on the precise nature of markedness across contexts, I will have to rely on the intra- and inter-textual context as well as the *Oxford English Dictionary* in my interpretative categorization. Secondly, the marked code-

[3] French toponyms are further discussed in subsection 5.2.1. of the analysis.

switches will be divided into those used to show (1) solidarity towards the Quebec francophone community, to those used to show (2) divergence from the francophone community, and to (3) non-applicable cases.

The results of the study will be both quantitative and qualitative since they will present the quantitative frequency of unmarked and marked code-switches in the corpus (in how many articles they are present) and the qualitative content of unmarked and marked code-switches in the corpus. This type of categorization follows Grant-Russell and Beaudet's article (1999) on French lexical borrowings in Quebec anglophone publications as well as my previous thesis on the views expressed in French- and English-language Canadian press on linguistic and minority policies in Quebec. The categorization following a mixed method that combines quantitative content classification and qualitative content analysis can provide better understanding of the object of study than a quantative or qualitative method alone (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 78, 138).

5. Analysis of code-switching in *the Montreal Gazette*

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of English–French code-switching in 481 opinion articles that were published in *The Montreal Gazette* from 1st March to 15th June 2019. In total, 149 opinion articles out of 481, i.e. some 31 percent, contain either unmarked or marked code-switching (or both). Unmarked code-switching is more common since it is present in 121 articles (some 25.2 %) whereas 61 articles contain marked code-switching (some 12.7 %). The first section of this chapter will briefly present unmarked code-switches in the corpus, and the second section will then discuss marked code-switches in more detail. Each section will provide justification for the categorization of different word types into either unmarked or marked ones. The code-switches appearing in excerpts from the articles are written in *italics* to highlight them, unlike in the *ProQuest* text format that does not use italics or bolding for typographical flagging. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the focus of the analysis is on the number of opinion articles in which code-switching occurs and the properties of code-switches. As such, the word and expression types of code-switched items are the content to be analysed, not the total number of code-switched tokens.

5.1. Unmarked code-switching

As mentioned above, unmarked English–French code-switching is more common in the corpus: it is present in 121 articles, about a quarter of the whole corpus. The two most common categories of unmarked code-switching were names of political parties (in 66 articles) and the monolingual French names of Quebec institutions (in 41 articles), followed by the categories of miscellaneous French terms (in 32 articles) and French organization names (in 18 articles). These four categories will be presented below with justifications for interpreting them as unmarked. The main sources for argumentation are previous studies on French code-switching or borrowing in Quebec English which will be cited in the sections.

5.1.1. Political parties of Quebec

The most common category of unmarked French code-switches in the corpus constists of the names of Quebec political parties. Apart from the *Quebec Liberal Party* (*QLP*) and the *Green Party of Quebec*, the other major provincial parties mentioned in the corpus do not have official English-language names. The Liberal party brands its English name and acronym on its website (The Quebec Liberal Party 2019), which also also appear in the article dedicated to the party on *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (2015); similarly, the Green Party displays its English name on its website (Green Party of Quebec 2017). However, the governing *Coalition Avenir Québec* (*CAQ*) and the two other opposition parties *Parti Québécois* (*PQ*) and *Québec solidaire* (*QS*) do not have any French names displayed on *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (2018A, 2018B, 2018C). The governing *CAQ* has a small English section on their website which retains the French name only, whereas neither *PQ* (Parti Québécois 2019) nor *QS* (Québec solidaire 2019) has an English version of their website. In addition, Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999, 23) note that most political entities in Quebec only have French designations, “creating a situation in which the referential reality is expressed only in French”.

Names of the political parties are recurrent in opinion articles (letters to the editor or columns) dealing with political matters, of which several are highly critical of the governing *Coalition Avenir Québec* party, such as Martin Patriquin’s column (March10):

(2) His chief target is *Québec solidaire*. Lisée accuses the upstart leftist party of reneging on a merger with the *PQ* that would have seen the two sovereignist parties join forces to become a credible bulwark against the *Coalition Avenir Québec's* conservative-minded nationalism.

Party names and acronyms also function as attributes in noun phrases, such as "the former *PQ* government" (March28), "the *CAQ* legislation" (April3), "the *Coalition Avenir Québec* government" (April30), and "former *Parti Québécois* candidate" (May16). Sometimes party names also appear in a shortened form, which might point out a greater integration into English syntax, such as the following title of column (April7):

(3) *Solidaires* are saving Quebec from itself; First on the environment and now on religious symbols, party has shown leadership".

In addition to provincial-level parties, two other kinds of unmarked French code-switches constituting of party names appear in the corpus. First, two parties of the Montreal City Council, the governing *Projet Montréal* and the opposition *Ensemble Montréal* are mentioned in articles on municipal politics, as in "[t]he *Projet Montréal* administration knows how to collect taxes" (May7) and "the official opposition *Ensemble Montréal* at Montreal city hall" (April26). As with the provincial parties mentioned above, these parties retain their French names on their English websites (Ensemble Montréal; Projet Montréal 2017). Second, the federal party *Bloc Québécois*, supporting Quebec independence, is mentioned in the corpus either with its full name, as in "a far better leader for the *Bloc Québécois*" (March25), or in a shortened form, as in "expect the *Bloc*" (June4). As seen in the two previous excerpts and in the longer one (March10) above, the party names tend to take the English finite article *the* instead of the French *le* or *la*, which can be interpreted as a further sign of their unmarked usage.

As the websites and the article cited above imply, using French names for those Quebec parties that do not have English names is clearly unmarked. None of the parties without official English names were given translations in the corpus, whereas the French acronym for Quebec Liberals was only used once – and this in a marked way (see section 5.2.1.). Thus, the Quebec convention of naming the political parties in English differs, for instance, from the Finnish one, in which Finnish translations are

often used in newspapers for foreign parties, such as 'Työväenpuolue' for the UK Labour Party or 'Maltillinen kokoomus' for the Swedish Moderate Party.

5.1.2. Quebec institutions and organizations

Two categories of unmarked French code-switches closely related to political parties in the corpus are Quebec institutions (in 41 articles) and organizations (in 18 articles). According to Fee (2008, 178), Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999, 23) as well as Boberg (2012, 496–497), governmental and other institutions, agencies and services mostly do not have English translations; for Boberg (2012, 496), "English translations would confer an official status on English and therefore contravene the spirit of the French Language Charter". Hence, these code-switches are to be interpreted as unmarked in the Quebec anglophone press where the institutions are known by the audience without need forfurther details on their functions given in English.

French institution names range from governmental agencies, such as the pension fund *Caisse de dépôt et du placement du Québec* (March8, May34), the library *Bibliothèque nationale du Québec* (March11), and the provincial police *Sûreté du Québec* (March13), via municipal authorities like the public transport company *Société de Transport de Montréal* (May5), to the names of French-speaking universities, such as *Université de Montréal* (March11, March29, May4) and *Université Laval* (March11, April17). Since the names of bilingual or English-speaking universities are given in the English form, the usage of the French names for universities – and institutions in general – reflects the official position of French, as can be seen in the quotation 4 below. It is noticeable that the French spelling of *Montréal* and *Québec* with accent is retained with institutional names – as well as political parties in 5.1.1. – even though the French spelling can be interpreted as marked usage when the place names are standing alone (see section 5.2.1.).

> (4) William Wannyn is a PhD candidate in sociology at *Université de Montréal*. Suparna Choudhury, PhD, is an assistant professor and co-director […] at McGill University. (March29)

An interesting case justifying the interpretation of French institution names as unmarked usage is provided by the denominations for Montreal school boards. Several articles of the corpus discuss – and critique – the transfer of English school premises

to the French section, reflecting the debated nature of the clauses of the French Language Charter concerning education. In these articles, the French school boards are always referred to with their French names or initialisms whereas the English ones are referred to in English, which confirms that Grant-Russell and Beaudet's afore-mentioned point that "the referential reality" depends on the language of official denomination:

> (5) The urgent need for space at the *Commission scolaire de la Pointe-de-l'Île* is incontestable. However, the English Montreal School Board's proposal to transfer the Galileo Adult Education building in Montreal North to the *CSPI* is very reasonable. Instead, Education Minister Jean-François Roberge has proposed transferring three EMSB schools to the *CSPI*. (May17)

Another case in point concerning the institutional denominations is the recurrent usage of French inialisms and acronyms in English text. For instance, the afore-mentioned Montreal transport authority is referred to with the initialism *STM* in four articles (March15, April23, May27, June24) and the Quebec institution between secondary school and university, the *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel*, appears under the acronym *CEGEP* (May13, May41) or *CÉGEP* (March11). Here again, French initialisms and acronyms are used to refer to officially only French-speaking realities, whereas bilingual or English ones are mentioned with English acronyms or initialisms:

> (6) Today my colleagues from the Research Institute of the MUHC [McGill University Health Centre] and I, along with the *INSPQ* [*Institut national de santé publique du Québec*], have published new findings in CMAJ [Canadian Medical Association Journal] Open […]. (May18)

The French organization names follow the same pattern as institutions: when there is no official English name, the French name is retained as an unmarked code-switch in the corpus. This applies to, for instance, sports associations like *Ligue nord-américaine de hockey* (March1), to NGOs like *Fédération des femmes du Québec* (March2), and to homeless shelters like *Maison du Père* (June17). The usage of English organization names for anglophone or bilingual entities further justifies the unmarked nature of French code-switches in this category: "*Eau Secours* and the Council of Canadians will not ignore these important issues […]." (March26)

Interestingly, the usage of French code-switches is extended to institutions, organizations and places located in France in one article. This choice to only mention the French names of these foreign entities reflects the assumed competency in the French language of the readers of *The Montreal Gazette* and is interpreted as unmarked, given the context:

> (7) There are more than a few "*Place du Canada*" in Normandy. But the most recognizable locale might be the seaside "*Maison des Canadiens*" in Bernières, whose owners for decades have held an open house every June 6. In this anniversary year, the local *Comité Juno* and the small town of Chambois, where the Battle for Normandy came to a close, is unveiling a monument dedicated to the Canadians. (June9)

Boberg (2012) calls the class of French code-switches constituting of political and institutional names without official English equivalents *imposed direct lexical tranfers of non-English words*. He considers the other direct lexical transfers as *elective* since they "involve a greater degree of free choice by individual speakers" (497). Hence, the code-switches in my corpus pertaining to political parties, institutions and organizations can be interpreted as the least marked (i.e. the most unmarked) kind.

5.1.3. Miscellaneous unmarked code-switches

A total of 32 articles contain miscellaneous unmarked French code-switches that can be interpreted, according to Boberg (2012), as more or less imposed or elective. One of the most imposed classes of code-switching is related to buildings with official French names, such as the arts centre *Place des Arts* (April36), the convention centre *Palais des congrès* (April36, May10), and the public broadcasting company building the *Maison de Radio-Canada* (May26), all located in Montreal. The tendency to talk about francophone entities in French and about anglophone entities in English can be seen concerning the buildings, as well, as manifested in quotation 8 below. Other similar imposed code-switches include events like the bicycle *Tour de l'Île* (June3) and the formula *Grand Prix* weekend (June16), as well as a francophone literature price *Prix Hubert Reeves* (May26). As noted in the previous section, this usage of French names is extended to other French-speaking countries with *Place du Canada* and *Maison des Canadiens* (June9), and when talking about a secularism law in the canton of Geneva, Switzerland, as *the Loi sur la laïcité de l'État* (April2).

(8) The only time we were separated was for church services. The English went to Ascension of Our Lord and the French to *St-Léon-de-Westmount*." (May22)

Other French code-switches are more elective but, however, interpreted as unmarked. In 12 articles, writers refer to the Montreal underground railway and to the proposed suburban light rail network with the French word *métro* and the French initialism *REM* (from *Réseau express métropolitain*). The word *métro* is considered a true loanword in Quebec English by Poplack, Walker and Malcomson (2008, 176) since it is used unreflectingly in spontaneous speech of their informants. Boberg (2012, 497), for his part, considers *métro* a term predisposed by the official usage as compared to *subway* in Toronto. Several other French code-switches fall under the more elective class but are still best interpreted as unmarked. *Autoroute* (May29) for 'motorway' is a Gallicism unique to Quebec English according to Poplack, Walker and Malcolmson (2006, 186) and a high-frequency borrowed form for Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999, 20). The term used for 'cottage' or 'cabin' in "[w]e aren't a *chalet* community" (May7) is a semantic shift extended from the meaning of 'ski lodge' based on the French cognate (Boberg 2012) that only has this distinctive sense in Quebec English (Fee 2008, 176). Another semantic shift concerns the word *commission*, appearing in the same sentence with its English equivalent 'board' in quotation 9 below. As mentioned several times above, different words, based on the proper names of English and French school boards, are used here to express anglophone and francophone realities.

(9) The transfer would go through unless the two boards first reached a negotiated agreement to place part of the overflow in the English board's half-empty schools in the French *commission's* territory. (June25)

Three of the more elective unmarked code-switches in the corpus are related to the history and culture of Quebec. The Quebec National Day, celebrated on the 24th of June, is referred to as "[o]ur provincial *Fête nationale* [having] its origins in *Saint Jean Baptiste* Day" (March19), the Quebec National Assembly assembles in "the *Salon bleu*, where laws are voted" (March20), and the pre-Quiet-Revolution conservative period as "the perilous-for-women *Grande noirceur* [great darkness]" (April20). According to Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999), *Fête nationale* is a social entity having unilingual French designation, whereas *Grande noirceur* expresses a cultural reality

with no equivalent in English. These remarks can be extended to the two other French-language cultural concepts.

A French code-switched word-type that merits special attention is the metalinguistic usage of *bonjour*, either alone or in the commonly heard bilingual Montreal expression *bonjour-hi*. The purpose of this bilingual greeting, common among service employees in central Montreal and in importantly English-speaking neihgbourhoods, is to show clients that the employee speaks both French and English and to let them continue with the language of their choice. This bilingual greeting has regularly been debated: a 2012 poll commissioned by the *Conseil supérieur de la langue française*, the agency consulting the Quebec government in linguistic matters, found that 80 percent of Quebecers disapproved of the expression and would prefer the monolingually French *bonjour* instead (Authier 2017). In November 2017, the Quebec National Assembly unanimously adopted a motion calling for service employees to only use the unilingual *bonjour* (Lowrie 2017). The word *bonjour* is used in a total of 7 articles, either alone, as in quotation 10 below, or in combination with 'hi', as in "the bilingual '*bonjour*-hi' greeting in businesses" (May15). Except for two marked usages (see section 5.2.), the word *bonjour* is most often used in metalinguistic commentary in reference to the *bonjour-hi* controversy or motion, even in ironic excerpts like the ones from April32 above and quotation 11 below. Therefore, in these cases, the word *bonjour* is used in an unmarked way since the reality discussed does not have an English equivalent – the controversy is precisely about the French *versus* English words themselves.

> (10) I suggest shop owners vocalize '*Bonjour*' at least two times louder than the 'Hi' portion of the greeting (April32)
> (11) *Bonjour* has twice as many syllables and 3.5 times as many letters as does Hi. (April38)

This last miscellaneous category of unmarked French code-switches already consists, as Boberg (2012) puts it, of more elective lexical transfers compared to the officially imposed institution and organization names. Therefore, on a continuum from most to least unmarked usages, these code-switches are certainly not at the most unmarked end. The next section will move on the continuum and discuss the usages that are interpreted as marked.

5.2. Marked code-switching

Marked code-switching constitutes the focus of this study since it includes the code-switches carrying social messages, either related to different situations or acting metaphorically, described by Gumperz (1982) as situational and conversational code-switching, respectively. A total of 61 articles of the whole corpus of 481 includes marked code-switching. According to my research question, this section will first discuss marked code-switching used to show solidarity towards the francophone community in subsection 5.2.1. and, secondly, marked code-switching used to show divergence from the francophones in 5.2.2. A third category of marked code-switching is presented in subsection 5.2.3. and consists of French *loanwords* used for stylistic purposes. Quantitatively speaking, the most common category of marked code-swithing in the corpus consists of French loanwords[4] used in a stylistic manner which are present in 27 articles. This category is followed by code-switches used to show divergence from francophones in 21 articles. Code-switches used to show solidarity towards francophones, for their part, are present in 20 articles. Two articles contain miscellaneous marked code-switches which cannot be incorporated into any of the previous categories.

Although the articles of the corpus are all labelled as belonging the the opinion section of *The Montreal Gazette*, 39 of them are written by four regularly publishing columnists. Furthermore, 27 of the 61 articles containing marked code-switching are written by these columnists. Due to the concentration of nearly half of the marked code-switches in articles written by these four individuals, the results of this study can to some extent reflect idiolects of a limited number of individuals instead of widespread linguistic conventions shared by the Quebec anglophone community. However, according to the accommodation and audience design theories discussed in section 3.2., writers can be considered to accommodate their speech to their audience and thus to reflect shared code-switching conventions in the community.

[4] See subsection 5.2.3. for the justification of labelling these expressions as loanwords.

5.2.1. Marked code-switching to show solidarity towards francophones

Marked French code-switches convey a positive social message of solidarity towards Quebec francophones in 20 articles. However, eight of these are written by the francophone columnist Lise Ravary whose idiolectical style favours marked French code-switches relating to Quebec culture and society. In addition, three articles are written by other regular columnists. Hence, the total number of positively used marked code-switches without Ravary's idiolect is 12 and without any columnists only 9. The marked code-switches in themselves, whether individual words or expressions, do not often display hints on the interpretation on the social messages they convey. Therefore, the attitude of the writer has to be retrieved from the surrounding context, in this case the opinions expressed in the article.

The most common category of marked code-switches used to show solidarity towards francophones is French words or expressions relating to Quebec culture and society in 13 articles. Some of these code-switches are used in a humorous way to add francophone flavour to texts. Harry Stevens (April33) ironically suggests "that McGill rename its varsity teams the McGill *Rouges*" instead of the current Redmen to add "a *Québécois* dimension" (see section 5.2.2. for a detailed discussion on the term *Québécois*, interpreted as a marked code-switch). The francophone columnist Lise Ravary (March11), for her part, finishes a section on Montreal history with "[s]o much for *Je me souviens*," the official motto of Quebec (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2013). The columnist Don MacPherson (May6) quotes the humorous tweet by a Montreal comedian who uses the French abbreviation for the Quebec Liberal Party: "Hmmm... Heard *PLQ* is looking for a new leader." The French greeting *bonjour* is used in a marked way in two texts: Howard Greenfield (June18) suggests that tourists should be reminded of the legalisation of marijuana in Canada "with the revised greeting, *Bonjour-High*," and Martine St-Victor (June6) criticizes the lack of kindness by asking if people are "so busy, so in a rush that we don't have time to type hello, *bonjour*, hi, ciao".

Other positive marked code-switches add French flavour to texts dealing with Quebec way of life and society. In the afore-mentioned historical column, Lise Ravary (March11) first talks about an area that "is still called the *Quartier Latin*" but then refers to the neighbourhood twice with the English name 'Latin Quarter'. In the same text, she mentions that the neighbourhood attracts "tourists looking to experience some

of our *joie de vivre*"[5] and, as a francophone herself (April2), refers to the neighbourhood's main artery St-Denis Street as "what we used to call '*la rue Crescent des francophones*'". In an article discussing cycling in Montreal, a writer refers to winter biking as "social movements such as *velo d'hiver* [sic]" (May31). The columnist Don MacPherson (June12) criticizes the policies of the governing CAQ party and quotes a political scientist who thinks that they are bad "for Quebec *vivre-ensemble* (literally, life together) in a Canadian federation as well". Even though the tone of the article is critical of Quebec politics, the term *vivre-ensemble* is used to refer to the peaceful coexistence of different ethnic and linguistic groups in Quebec and Canada.

A special case of Quebec way of life in which positive code-switches are used is ice hockey in three articles. Don MacPherson highlights the unifying effects of hockey across the cultural communities of Quebec in quotation 12 below. The same team, the Montreal Canadiens [sic] (*Les Canadiens de Montréal* in French), is also referred to with the French nickname *bleu-blanc-rouge* (April21), and a supporter calls himself "an ardent fan of *les Canadiens*" (April29). The usage of these French nicknames of the team can be interpreted as marked code-switching since the main English nickname is 'the Habs', a clipping of the French name *les Habitants* (Fee 2008, 181).

> (12) Punjabi bhangra dancers shoot videos in the red jersey given the tongue-in-cheek, Catholic-sounding nickname of the *Sainte-Flanelle* (the Holy Flannel), of a team named for French-Canadians. (March1)

Two columnists exhibit positive code-switching to show solidarity towards French-speakers rather internationally, or at least across the ocean. Lise Ravary continues in the vein of her Latin Quarter column by stating that "[w]ords are not merely '*paroles, paroles*'" (April34) in reference to a 1973 French song by Dalida. In another column, she shows solidarity towards a hockey player who was victim of racism with the expression "*Je suis Jonathan-Ismaël*" (March2), inspired by the bids for solidarity for the victims of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack in Paris in 2015. Fariqa Navqi-Mohamed

[5] The noun *joie de vivre* is included in the *Oxford English Dictionary* with the meaning of "[a] feeling of healthy enjoyment of life; exuberance, high spirits" (*OED*, s.v. "joie de vivre," n.). However, 11 out of the 12 quotations below the entry flag the term either in italics or in quotation marks. Furthermore, the context of Ravary's column that "designate[s] distinctive local features and attractions" with this stereotypical fixed French expression (Grant-Russell and Beaudet 1999, 28–29) supports the interpretation of *joie de vivre* as a marked code-switch.

(April40) laments that "the *Notre-Dame de Paris* burned" and says farewell to the cathedral with "*[a]u revoir Notre-Dame, au revoir*".

The columnist Lise Ravary, a francophone Quebecer, exhibits an individual pattern of marked code-switching that is best described as idiolectic. First, she often uses the French word *Québécois* instead of the English noun 'Quebecer(s)' when writing about the inhabitants of the province. The latter English demonym is an unmarked choice and clearly more frequent since it appears in 61 opinion articles during the study period; on the contrary, the French word *Québécois* is used independently (i.e. not in unmarked party and institution names such as *Parti Québécois*) in only 9 articles, of which 5 are written by Ravary. With the exception Stevens' humoristic usage (April33), the French demonym tends to be attached with a negative perspective of Quebec francophones (see the following subsection). In Ravary's columns, however, *Québécois* is used neutrally or even in a positive sense to refer to either francophones, as in quotation 13 below, or to the Quebec population as a whole, as in April2 where she uses *Québécois* and 'Quebecers' interchangeably. Even though Poplack et al. (2006, 209) qualify *québécois(e)* as a true loanword, which is also included in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*, s.v. "québécois", n.), Fee (2008, 181), and Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999, 29) regard the word as a politically charged term, the former also as an ambiguous one as seen in Ravary's writing.

> (13) Older *Québécois* feel for the most part that the crucifix should stay […] if they take it away, it means '*les Autres*' [the others] have won. (March20)
> (14) *Le Journal de Montréal* took home the *Prix Hubert Reeves* for its science compendium *Tout savoir en cinq minutes* at the *Grands Prix du journalisme,* ***catégorie*** *Grand Public*" (May26) [bolded by me to highlight the marked code-switching]

Second, Ravary also neutrally refers to Quebec secularism discussion with the French term *laïcité*, used by others in a negative sense. Third, Ravary's idiolect also prefers the French *Genevois* (April2) over the English 'Genevan', and she extends the monolingually French proper names into longer code-switched expressions as in quotation 14 above. Since it is not possible, in the scope of this study, to interview Ravary about her idiolect, her strong preference for usage of marked French code-switching can be interpreted to arise from her role as a francophone columnist in an anglophone newspaper.

Officially monolingually French toponyms constitute a special case of possible code-switching. With this term, I refer to street and place names that only have official French names and do not have widespread English names. According to the Translation Bureau of the Government of Canada (2015), "the official name of a thoroughfare should not be translated, words indicating a type of public thoroughfare may be translated into the other official language because they do not form part of the official name". Thus, a French street name *rue de la Montagne* may be translated as 'De la Montagne Street' but not as 'Mountain Street'. The former case would constitute the unmarked norm for street names in Quebec whereas latter case would indicate an older Montreal anglophone usage that can be nowadays interpreted as marked (Scott 2012). These kind of street names are thus not included in the analysis. According to the Translation Bureau (2015), the same rule applies to names of municipalities that "should be left in their official form and not translated". Furthermore, "names of French municipalities should retain any accents that are part of the official name in French". This implies that the city of Montreal and the province of Quebec be written as *Montréal* and *Québec* also in English. Despite the official recommendations, however, both names have established and widespread English version without an accent. The versions without accent are the norm in my corpus when the names are standing alone but the accented versions are retained – and unmarked – in French institution, organization and political party names (see section 5.1.).

However, Montreal and Quebec standing alone are written with an accent in three articles. One of these is Ravary's column in which one of 7 tokens of the word 'Quebec' (standing alone and referring to the province) is written with the article in quotation 15 (below) that Ravary disapproves of. According to the convention of indicating one's hometown in *The Montreal Gazette*, Gary Bernstein signs his letter to the editor (May11) with the marked choice *Montréal*. Although classed here as marked code-switches, these French spellings might as well be unintentional ones. In the third article, however, the usage of the French accents seems more intentional: this is the case of the letter by the Mayor of Montreal, Valérie Plante (May19). She writes 'Quebec' once with an accent and once without, and 'Montreal' twice with an accent and six times without. Although Plante's usage of accents is irregular and might as well be

unintentional, they may also reflect her position as a spokesperson for an officially French-speaking administrative entity, the City of Montreal[6].

> (15) Québec is not a country. I won't obey its laws. (April18)
> (16) Both the *Palais des congrès* and ***Complex Guy-Favreau***[7] were built atop Chinatown." (April36) [bolded by me]
> (17) The *CAQ*, the *Parti Québécois*, *Québec solidaire* and the Green Party of ***Québec*** committed themselves before the last general election to work for a new 'compensatory mixed-member proportional system with regional lists' in the next one. (May36) [bolded by me]

As mentioned in the introduction of section 5.2., two articles contain a marked code-switch that cannot be classed in any of the established three categories. In both of them, the code-switches are related to official instances that have established English names. In the first case (quotation 16 above), the writer lists buildings having caused harm to Montreal Chinatown and retains the French form for a federal building having an official English name. In the second case, the columnist Don MacPherson (quotation 17 above) mentions four Quebec parties of which only one has an official English name. However, he retains the accent on the word *Québec*: Although these code-switches are interpreted as marked, they are most likely unintentional usages since they appear in juxtaposition with monolingually French institutional designations.

As seen is this section, French code-switching used to show solidarity towards the Quebec francophone community can primarily be divided into humorous and culturally motivated usages. A third category, politically motivated usages such as the retention articles on *Montréal* and *Québec* and the usage of the demonym *Québécois* can also be distinguished, albeit on a more limited, idiolectic level of certain writers. Finally, as with the two code-switches categorized as neutral, there can be an element of unintentionality when it comes to French versus English spellings or versions of bilingual designations.

[6] Reflecting the official stance also taken by the Translation Bureau, the City of Montreal displays the name *Montréal* with an accent on its English website (Ville de Montréal 2019).
[7] Note that the word 'complex' is spelled in English instead of French *complexe* but the French word order is retained: the official name of the building is *Complexe Guy-Favreau* in French and *Guy-Favreau Complex* in English.

5.2.2. Marked code-switching to show divergence from francophones

In marked code-switching used to show divergence from francophones, French words and expressions act as metaphors for negative attitudes towards French-speaking Quebecers. A total of 21 articles contain this kind of code-switching; eight of them are written by columnists, which implies that 13 articles express the linguistic habits of the readers of *The Montreal Gazette*, compared to only eight articles containing positive code-switching not written by columnists. Therefore, negative marked code-switching can be interpreted as somewhat more common than the positive one among the readers of the newspaper. As with code-switching used to show solidarity towards francophones, several articles containing code-switching used to show divergence from them are related to Quebec identity. However, the most common category of negative code-switching relates to Quebec politics.

Marked code-switching is used to denounce Quebec politics in 12 articles of which more than a half, seven articles, speak against Bill 21, officially "An Act respecting the laicity of the State," passed on the 16th June 2019 by the Quebec National Assembly (National Assembly of Québec 2019). This bill, widely debated, and mostly objected to, in *The Montreal Gazette* during the study period, bans the usage of religious symbols by public servants in positions of authority, such as judges, police officers, government lawyers, teachers and principals; furthermore, it states that the face must be visible when public services are delivered and received (Authier 2019). As seen in the articles of the corpus, the Bill 21 is widely considered to target Muslim women especially and as such deemed racist. The unmarked keywords around the bill are 'secularism' (in 22 articles during the study period) or 'laicity' (in 5 articles) that are the English terms for the objectives of the legislation. The French term, *laïcité*, is used in three articles as a marked code-switch to denounce the law. Evelyne Pytka (quotation 18 below) uses the term in quotes twice. In another article (April20), the writers doubt "if *laïcité* is really about promoting inclusion of all". The third article (quotation 19 below) criticizes the secularism legislation indirectly by ironic means. The French word *laïcité* used as a marked code-switch represents the latest addition to the category of politically charged words whose associations with political debate "are exploited by writers in persuasive discourse" (Grant-Russell & Beaudet 1999, 29).

(18) But I am deeply troubled and distressed by Quebec's current obsession with '*la laïcité*' […]. The only 'veil' we should be concerned about is the veil of intolerance, racism and xenophobia that is being legitimized by elected representatives under the guise of '*la laïcité*'. (March24)
(19) In these days of *laïcité*, it is wonderful to be reminded we have a soul. (April44)

Other marked French code-switches are also used to denounce Bill 21. Jack Jedwab (April5) criticizes the Premier François Legault's justifications for the bill since "he wants to be a '*rassembleur*' and unite the largest number of Quebecers around the legislation". Shane Stephenson (May14), criticizing both Quebec linguistic policies and Bill 21, and the lack of freedom they entail, finishes his article with the controversial phrase "*Vive le Québec libre*" [Long live free Quebec]. This phrase was pronounced by the French president Charles de Gaulle during an official visit to Quebec in 1967 and caused a deterioration in the Franco-Canadian relations but also encouraged the Quebec sovereignist movement that was still in its infancy (Le Huffington Post 2017). Raphal Fischler (May40) brings up the controversial Quebec Values Charter, a bill presented by the governing *Parti Québécois* in 2013 and aiming at state secularism (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2017), and presents himself "[a]s someone who came out publicly against the *Charte des valeurs* in 2014 and against Bill 21 this year," thus highlighting his opposition by using the charged French name for the charter. In her column, Lise Ravary (quotation 20 below) ironically calms down the most ardent opponents. Even though Ravary seems to support the bill across her columns, the usage of the French adjective *laïc* ('secular'), is used in a way to defend anglophone interests against the francophones.

(20) No one is going to take down the cross on the mountain or change religious street names to *Laïque* Ave. (March20)
(21) '*Fleurons*,' or 'jewels' is the proud nickname that's been given to the big, Quebec-based companies collectively known as *Québec Inc*. (March8)
(22) You, *mon tabarnac*, I'm going to buy you. How much do you cost?

Three other aspects of Quebec politics are also criticized with the usage of politically charged French code-switches. The columnist Don MacPherson (quotation 21 above) denounces the corruption present in the relations between big companies and the government of Quebec. Another columnist, Martin Patruiquin (May21) suggests a resemblance between Donald Trump and the Quebec media magnate Pierre Karl Péladeau

who had ran for the *Parti Québécois* leadership in 2015. Patruiquin quotes Péladeau's words by retaining a common Quebec French insult (quotation 22 above). This usage of negatively motivated French code-switches can be interpreted to stem from an English Canadian tendency to present Quebec as a corrupted province compared to the rest of Canada, which is, according to Bernard Barbeau (2015), characteristic of the stereotypical discourse called *Quebec bashing* by the francophones.

Since *The Montreal Gazette* targets readers in the Montreal Metropolitan Area, the municipal policies related to traffic infrastructure also get their share of criticism. An infurious driver (June5) thinks that Montreal's "Mayor Valérie Plante should give us a break and stop trying to turn all of Montreal into a *piste cyclable* [bike lane]". Another driver laments the insufficient road signs around a street block in quotation 23 below. In these articles, the marked code-switches denote the official French expressions for the realities that are being criticized, thus intensifying the criticism. A further political issue denounced is Quebec sovereignty to which anglophones are widely opposed (Bernard Barbeau 2015, 25–36). This issue is raised in one article only: Martin Patruiqin (April7) describes a *Québec solidaire* politician as "an *indépendentiste* so committed he might as well have the word tattooed across his bald pate". The code-switched term is an example of a marked term that is "transferred from French-dominated provincial political discourse" (Boberg 2012, 497).

> (23) Approaching from the west and intending to turn right on Crowley Ave. to access the hospital entrance on Décarie Blvd., I was blocked by a '*Rue Barrée*' barrier - but with no other indicators to the hospital entrance. (June19)
> (24) A government elected in '*le reste du Québec*', outside Montreal, would impose on a cosmopolitan city the conservative values of villages like Saint-Jules-de-Beauce, where there are no minorities. And apparently, the city doesn't want it. (April42)
> (25) Judging from several working documents produced by the city, and after four public information meetings held by the Office in the last three weeks, there are reasons for concern that English-speaking Montrealers of diverse ethnic and national origins (including British) are being overlooked, even if documentation is available in English. […] In some documents, English-speaking Montrealers are theoretically considered as part of the city's "diversity" although in detailed descriptions of programs and services, they are not accounted for; in others, they are distinct from "*groupes issus de la diversité*" – whatever that means. (May44)

The other major class of code-switches used to show divergence from francophones, present in eight articles, is identity-related terms. These terms with language and ethnic

group references have, according to Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999, 29), "heightened connotative and ideological value in Quebec's national political debate". Several code-switches are used to highlight the division between Quebec francophones and other groups. Don MacPherson discusses the differences in values between multicultural Montreal and the francophone rest of Quebec in relation to Bill 21 in quotation 24 above. F. O. Niemi the executive director of the *Center for Research-Action on Race Relations*, criticizes the non-inclusion of anglophones among the minorities of Montreal when fighting against discrimination in quotation 25 above.

As mentioned in the previous section, the politically charged French demonym *Québécois* tends to be attached with negative properties related to francophone Quebecers. For the columnist Martin Patruiquin (March10), a 2007 book by the *Parti Québécois* leader Jean-François Lisée is "ostensibly a reaffirmation of *Québécois* pride that called for a curtailing of voting rights for recent immigrants to the province". Don MacPherson (May6) describes the current Quebec Liberal leader Philippe Couillard "as a male, white, old-stock *Québécois* in a business suit, [that] looks the part of a traditional political leader, which would make him a safe if uninspiring choice" among the minorities in the upcoming leadership competition. Patrick M. Shea (April25) strikes against Ravary's column (April18) by equating the wills of the *Québécois* (through Bill 21) with a 'tyranny of the majority':

> (26) Second, to justify the ban as "something the *Québécois* want very much" is a misguided way for a liberal democracy to legislate with respect to the basic rights and freedoms of its citizens. Our foundational constitutional and legal framework is purposefully designed to protect against the tyranny of the majority in connection with such matters.
> (27) Shame on François Legault. I am one of the so-called *purelaine* Quebecers, but I do not agree with Bill 21.
> (28) Young French-speaking Quebecers have come of age with no experience of the collective domination and often personal humiliation by *les Anglais* known by their elders.
> (29) Older *Québécois* feel for the most part that the crucifix should stay. "It represents our heritage," they say. And if no one's around, some might add "if they take it away, it means '*les Autres*' [the others] have won and we are being dispossessed." They are the same people who think Muslims, Jews, Sikhs etc. want to see the end of Christmas trees, which is false and absurd.

Ginette Pelland (April24) doesn't use the demonym *Québécois* but employs the equally controversial (according to Boberg 2012 and Grant-Russell & Beaudet 1999) French version of 'old-stock' in opposing to Bill 21 in quotation 27 above. Two French

terms, this time signifying the non-francophones, are also used for rhetoric effects. Don MacPherson (quotation 28 above) describes the more relaxed attitudes of younger francophones when it comes to linguistic policies. Lise Ravary (March20), for her part, criticizes older Quebecers who overreact to the demands of removal of the crucifix in the National Assembly in quotation 29 above. The politically charged terms *les Anglais* and *les Autres* as well as *pure laine* are frequently flagged in Grant-Russell and Beaudet's (1999, 29) corpus, which indicates, according to them, that "the writer is deriding a term or distancing himself or herself from a term by associating it with the language of 'the other'".

Apart from Quebec politics and identity as such, two articles use marked French code-switches to critique the vanity of the linguistic controversies, albeit these are the product of linguistic policies. In addition to the metalinguistic usage of *bonjour* (see section 5.1.3.), Gary Bernstein (June23) ironically suggests a solution to the *bonjour-hi* debate in quotation 30 below. In a letter to the editor titled "Help needed with flood relief, *SVP*" (May39), a flood victim highlights her lack of competence in French and criticizes the unavailability of official forms in English by using French terms in a marked manner in quotation 31:

> (30) How about a compromise consistent with Bill 101 that might end the debate forever: '***Bonjour-Hi-Bonjour***'? Naturally, the 'Hi' would be spoken at half the volume as the '*Bonjour*'. [bolded by me]
> (31) Quebec's Public Security Ministry has offered some relief to victims of the second "100-year flood" in two years. However, the *Formulaire de Reclamation* [sic] is available only in French. There is no English version. Stressed out and somewhat weary, I struggle with the esoteric vocabulary, Larousse [a French dictionary editor] at hand. I don't need the niceties of *le passé compose* [past tense in French]; I need help!

Marked French code-switching used to show divergence from Quebec francophones is divided into closely interrelated political, identity and linguistic categories in my corpus. On a general level, the usage of French in all of these categories highlights the main division in the Quebec society between the francophone majority, and the anglophone and allophone minorities. This kind of code-switching, marking lines of inclusion and exclusion in Quebec (Fee 2008, 181), has also been documented by Boberg (2012), Fee (2008), and Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999).

5.2.3. Marked French loanwords used for stylistic purposes

In addition to unmarked and marked code-switches from Quebec French that have been discussed in the previous sections 5.1.1. through 5.2.2., a category of French loanwords used in a marked way for stylistic purposes rises from the corpus. This category of marked code-switching is the most common one in the corpus since it is present in 27 articles. French loanwords, called Gallicisms, have been incorporated into English since before the Norman Conquest in the 11th century and had their biggest influx between 1200 and 1400 (Renouf 2004, 527). Following Renouf's study (2004) on Gallicisms in an English-language journalistic corpus, I will only analyse later loanwords that have not lost, in the manner of earlier loans, their French characterics in pronunciation and spelling. According to Renouf, this kind of Gallicisms retain their potential for allusion to aspects of Frenchness (pages 530–531). This allusion potential can be considered to overlap with markedness; for this reason, all French loanwords used for stylistic purposes in the corpus are interpreted as marked.

The reason for not including French loanwords into the categories of either positive or negative marked code-switches are two-fold. First, loanwords are incorporated as entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary* with a meaning that might be different from the original French source term. As such, they cannot anymore be considered code-switches into French language. Second, their stylistic usage does not convey a social message that is necessarily arising from Quebec French or attached to francophones in Quebec. Renouf (2004, 528–530) gives three general reasons for the loan of French words in English. First, Gallicisms can fill gaps in English; she includes the expression *joie de vivre* in this category even though I have classed it as a positive marked code-switch referring to Quebec culture. Second, the use of Gallicisms can indicate the writer's membership of an educated, cosmopolitan English elite since French loanwords are often attached with sophistication, style and cosmopolitanism. Even though historically, before the promotion of Quebec francophone identity after the 1960s, the North American anglophone elite deemed the Canadian variety of French as *French Canadian Patois*, incomprehensible to both foreigners and to the European French, the standard variety of the language they called *Parisian French* never lost its charm in the educated circles (Bouchard 2002). Even though Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999, 23–24) mention the increased prestige of Quebec French, which is "being increasingly recognized as a legitimate and standard variety of French

in its own right," as one of the motivations for code-switching in Quebec English, the usage of French loanwords has arguably something to do with the prestige status of *Parisian French* as well. A third reason for the usage of Gallicisms mentioned by Renouf is stylistic motivation: French loanwords can add a connotation or Frenchness and create effects varying from humour and irony to ridicule and criticism. This kind of rhetoric motivation resembles the afore-mentioned categories of positive and negative marked code-switching; however, the difference is that the French words and expressions in the loanword category are not arising from or related to the Frenchness in Quebec as such.

The writer in 14 out of the total 27 articles containing marked French loanwords used for stylistic purposes is one of the four regular columnists, which implies that the idiolects of these individuals are represented in a half of cases. The majority, 18 out of the total 27, of the articles use French loanwords to create negative effects. Furthermore, all but two of these 18 articles deal with politics, and in 12 of the political articles, the usage of loanwords is more or less directly related to Quebec francophones. Out of the 12 negative articles dealing with politics and francophones, five are written by the columnist Martin Patruiquin. When discussing books written by Quebec nationalists – whose ideas he opposes to – Patruiqin uses the noun *oeuvre* (March10, March25). In a similar vein, he uses a loanword to describe the thoughts of francphones with whom he does not agree with, whether it be "former *PQ* candidate Louise Mailloux['s] […] rather noxious pro-secular *pensées*" (May13) or "the tempestuous twosome's [two columnists from the francophone *Journal de Montréal*] abortion *pensées*" (June22). Furthermore, Patruiquin criticizes the ideas of the left-wing party *Québec solidaire* of being "typical of the *doctrinaire*, overreaching left" (April7). Patriquin (March5) also describes the Quebec caucus of the *National Democratic Party* as having "general *ennui* regarding the party's dwindling fortunes in the province," and ironically presents a strategy for victory in elections in quotation 32 below. Two other writers denounce the Montreal school boards' plans to shut down English schools by describing their actions as "a very familiar political *manoeuvre* of buying some goodwill" (May20) and by stating that the anglophones "are now at an *impasse*" (June13). Sandy White (May4) denounces the contradiction between the Quebec opposition to Alberta oil and the fact that "Quebecers have been buying it *en masse* of late". Martine St-Victor (June6) calls the cursing of a Montreal politician "foul-mouthed Facebook *cri-du-coeur* / victim shaming rant," and Robert R. Dobie (April4)

compares the consequences of Bill 21 for the anglophones to those the linguistic legislation in quotation 33 below.

(32) Finally, liberally sprinkle in Trudeau charm and – *voila!* – election won.
(33) Mark my words, again: We will be adversely affected. *Plus ça change*.

French loanwords are also used to convey negative attitude in five political opinion articles that are not related to francophones. Two writers comment on a recent corruption scandal concerning two ministers of the federal government: Andrew Cohen (March3) criticizes the *j'accuse* of one of these ministers and describes their justifications as *naïveté*; Jo-Ann Sun (March8B), for her part, denounces the whole scandal as an exaggerated *brouhaha*. Lise Ravary once again displays an idiolectic penchant for the French expression *à la* when discussing the targets of her criticism: according to her, "tweeting *à la* Trump" is "inflammatory discourse" (April34), the tabloid *Le Journal de Montréal* is "a shrill, populist, conspiracy-loving media outlet *à la* Fox" (May26), and a Quebec theatrical director is "one of those watermelon environmentalists – green outside, red inside – *à la* Naomi Klein" (May38). Only one negative usage of a French loanword is not directly related to politics: Denis Brunelle (March12) criticizes the hypocrisy of young climate demonstrators and wonders whether "their parents [are] *chauffeuring* them to school".

The marked usage of French loanwords as a positive stylistic device is considerably rarer that the negative usage since it is present in only 11 articles. Five of these articles use loanwords in relation to francophones. According to Honey A. Dresher (April25B), more cultural diversity in Quebec television could be created by "[g]reater *rapprochement* and 'infiltration' of the artists unions, professional associations and broadcasters". The columnist Martin Patruiquin (May2) praises a Montreal politician's blunt words by calling them "his paint-peeling *bon mots*," and another writer is sorry about the politician's "hasty *adieu* from city politics" (May23). Lise Ravary displays an idiolectic preference for the French loanwords describing family relations in "Anglo-Saxon multiculturalism embraced by Trudeau *père* and *fils*" (April18), and "I worked with Mr. Péladeau *père*" (May26). Other positively used French loanwords do not, at least directly, concern francophones. In her column against Bill 21, Fariha Navqi-Mohamed (May33) describes the solidarity among religious minorities as "an unspoken *camaraderie* born out of anxiety about what will

come in the weeks ahead". For a reader of *The Montreal Gazette*, the expression *bonjour-hi* is "a gesture of *politesse* and respect, not a political statement" (June20). It is interesting to notice that the positive message conveyed with the French loanwords in these two articles is related to something that the francophones are criticized to oppose to, namely the religious freedoms of minorities and the public usage of English. In the two remaining articles, an American actress is called "the *grande dame* of television dramas" (June6), and "foster[ing] the broad exchange and advancement of ideas" by the Concordia University is considered to fulfil the institution's *raison d'être* (June10).

In two articles the usage of marked French loanwords seemed difficult to categorise as either positive or negative. Since the articles lack negative connotations associated to lonewords, they have been incorporated into the positive category, bearing in mind the general sophistication attached to Gallicisms. In the first one of these articles, a soldier is described to have been "injured *en route* to her second deployment" (May3). In the second one, DonMacPherson (June25) writes about "placing immigrant children in an English-speaking *milieu*".

As mentioned in the beginning of this subsection, marked French loanwords used for stylistic purposes neither qualify as code-switches into French language in an English language corpus, nor do they exclusively add a connotation of Frenchness related to Quebec. However, without knowing the individual motivations behind the writers' linguistic choices, the intended messages with the usage of code-switching and loanwords can not be categorically separated. Furthermore, it was mentioned in chapter 3 that the focus of this study on the markedness of French expressions overrides a strict division between code-switches and borrowings. Therefore, in the discussion section, the results of the category of French loanwords will be incorporated into the division between code-switching used to show (1) solidarity towards francophones and (2) divergence from them. At this stage it is worth reminding that of the total of 27 articles displaying marked usage of French loanwords, 18 utilize them for the creation of negative and 11 for positive connotations.

5.3. Discussion of the results

English–French code-switching was found in 149 articles out of the total 481 articles published in *The Montreal Gazette* during the analysis period, from 1st March to 15th June 2019. This code-switching was unmarked in about two thirds of them, 121 articles (some 25.2 %), and marked in one third, 61 articles (some 12.7 %). When the third category, French loanwords used in a marked way for stylistic purposes, was incorporated into the results, marked code-switching was used negatively to show divergence from francophones in 37 articles. Code-switching was used positively to show solidarity towards francophones in 28 articles, and code-switching interpreted as neutral was present in 2 articles. This general distribution of markedness of code-switching is presented in Figure 1 below.

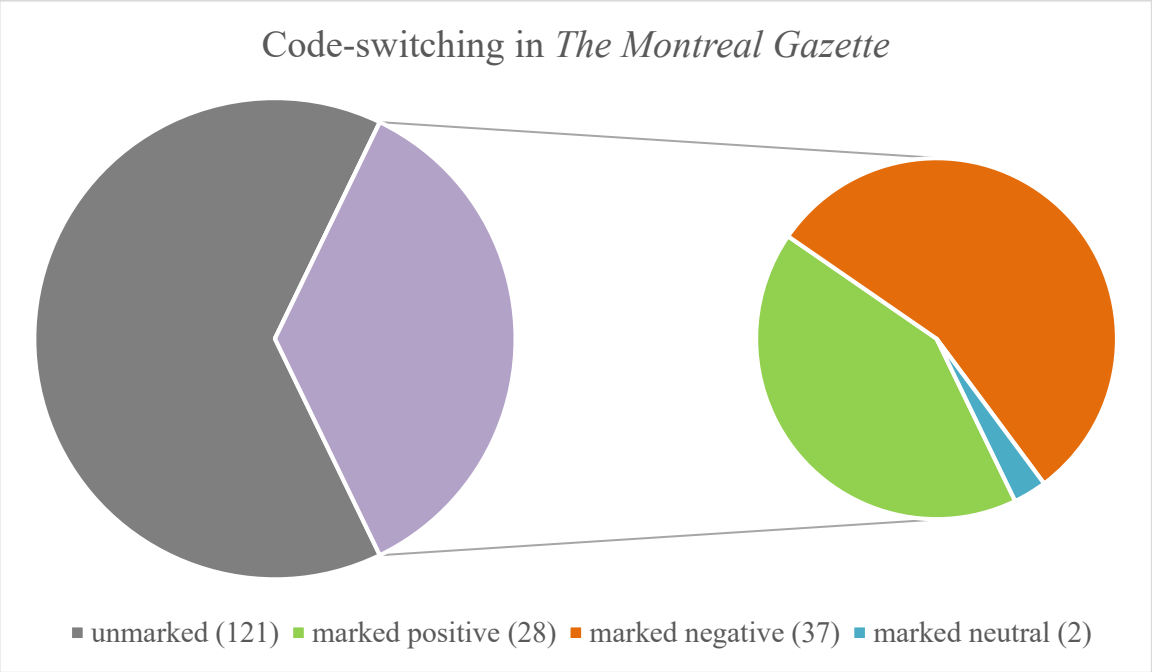

Figure 1: Code-switching in *The Montreal Gazette*

The results of the analysis were presented above in two main sections discussing unmarked and marked code-switching. Unmarked code-switching in the corpus constituted a continuum of more to less imposed usage, following Boberg's (2012) characterisation. When there is no official English name for a Quebec entity, the French name was retained as an imposed unmarked code-switch by the writers. This kind of code-switching consists of names of political parties, institutions and organizations whose

names have no official English translations (Fee 2008, 178; Grant-Russell & Beaudet 1999, 23; Boberg 2012, 496–497). The expressive reality is then only represented in French (Grant-Russell & Beaudet 1999, 23) and sanctions the Quebec linguistic policies (Boberg 2012, 496). Interestingly, this kind of usage of monolingually French names was extended to other French-speaking countries, namely France and Switzerland, in the corpus, which reflects the competency in the French language among the Quebec anglophone community. Less imposed unmarked code-switches in the corpus included French terms related to the society, history and culture of Quebec, which are discussed in the afore-mentioned sources, as well as French names for buildings that resemble institutional names.

The number of articles with marked code-switching					**61**
Positive	**20**	**Negative**	**21**	**Stylistic**	**27**
Quebec culture and society	13	politics	12	negative	18
official toponyms	3	identity	8	positive	11
				politics	19
				Quebec francophones	17

Table 1: The number of articles with marked code-switching

The focus of the analysis was on marked code-switching in the corpus. The results for marked code-switching were divided into three categories in the previous main section and are presented in Table 1 above, with the numbers indicating the numbers of articles containing each type of code-switching. The positive and negative categories consist of proper French code-switches that denote realities pertaining to the Frenchness in Quebec, by either displaying (1) solidarity towards Quebec francophones or (2) divergence from them. The stylistic category represents the marked usage of French loanwords that are included in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and do not arise from Quebec French. However, these newer loanwords haven't lost their French characterics in pronunciation and spelling, unlike older ones, and thus retain a potential for allution to aspects of Frenchness. As mentioned above, the concentration of code-switches in the articles written by regularly publishing columnists was noticeable across all three categories since 27 of the total 61 articles with marked code-switching are written by

them. However, writers can be considered to accommodate their speech to their audience's linguistic preferences and thus to reflect shared code-switching conventions in the Quebec anglophone community. In addition, English translations are rarely provided for the code-switched items of the corpus: this implies that the anglophone community is assumed to understand the meaning of French code-switches and to grasp the message they deliver.

The proper code-switches arising from Quebec French that are used to show solidarity towards Quebec francophones primarily consisted of words and expressions related to cultural and social realities in Quebec. They were present in 20 articles, which represent some 4.2 per cent of the whole corpus. These code-switches were primarily used either for the positive humourous effects created by the usage of French or to describe the local way of life by adding a francophone dimension with the usage of the language of the majority of Quebecers. Except for ice hockey, which was the topic in three articles, no single bigger category emerged among the positive French code-switches. This might point out to the more anecdotic usage of French to show solidarity towards francophones. Positive French code-switches also conveyed a political message in the idiolects of two writers, the columnist Lise Ravary and the Montreal mayor Valérie Plante, who showed preference for the French demonym *Québécois* and the officially sanctioned French spellings of *Montréal* and *Québec*, respectively. Interestingly, these writers are also francophones themselves so their usage of French expressions might be different from native anglophones. As with the unmarked code-switches, writers also used marked code-switching to show solidarity towards the international French-speaking community in two articles dealing with France.

The second category of proper code-switches arising from Quebec French, the ones labelled negative and used to show divergence from francophones, was as common as the positive category since it was present in 21 articles (some 4.4 per cent of the whole corpus). Since 11 out of 20 articles in the positive category but only 8 out of 21 articles in the negative category were written by regularly publishing columnists, code-switches used to show divergence from francophones can be considered somewhat more common among the readers of *The Montreal Gazette*. More than half, 12 out of 21, articles used marked code-switches to denounce aspects Quebec politics that are especially associated with the governing *Coalition Avenir Québec* and the opposition *Parti Québécois*. Both parties support the French aspects of Quebec, the former

by promoting Quebec culture and the latter by supporting the independence of Quebec (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2018A–B), which make them regularly clash with anglophone interests. The critique of Quebec policies in the corpus especially targeted Bill 21 that limits the freedom to wear religious attire in positions of authority. A new politically charged code-switch could be seen to emerge in the debate around the bill, namely the French term *laïcité* for state secularism. Whether it be the new term *laïcité* or other French words and expressions related to politics, the code-swithes used to denounce Quebec politics are, as Boberg (2012, 497) puts it, marked terms transferred from French-dominated political discourse.

Another common topic associated with negative French code-switches was Quebec identity in 8 articles. French terms for majorities and minorities, such as *Québécois*, *les Anglais* and *les Autres*, were used to mark ligns of inclusion and exclusion (Fee 2008, 181) in articles that criticize the intolerance of the francophone majority in Quebec. These terms have heightened connotative and ideological value in political debate (Grant-Russell & Beaudet 1999, 29), and especially the demonym *Québécois*, used in a negative sense instead of 'Quebecer(s)', is considered highly charged by Fee (2008) and Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999). Generally speaking, French code-switches associated with both politics and identity acted as metaphors for divisions in Quebec society and intensified criticism in the articles.

The third category of marked code-switching consisted of loanwords that retain their French characteristics in pronunciation and spelling. Since these loanwords have neither necessarily arised from Quebec French nor are related to Frenchness particularly in Quebec as such, they were analysed separately from proper marked code-switches. However, the potential for allusion to Frenchness, discussed by Renouf (2004), means that the usage of these loanwords is stylistic and was therefore interpreted as marked. As French loanwords were present in 27 articles, they constituted the most common category of code-switching. Most of these articles, 18 in total, used loanwords to convey negative stance, as opposed to 11 articles with positive stance; similarly, 17 of the articles used loanwords in relation to Quebec francophones. More than a third of these articles, 12, discussed francophones and politics with a negative stance. Since most articles with marked loanwords discussed Quebec francophones, the metaphoric meaning attached to established loanwords was not necessarily different from proper code-switches that are attached to Frenchness in Quebec as such. Therefore, the negative and positive attitudes displayed by the French loanwords could

be added to the numbers of articles in which proper marked code-switches were used to show divergence from Quebec francophones or solidarity towards them, respectively. However, it must be reminded that, unlike the proper marked code-switches, the loanwords do not bear political, identity- or culture-related meanings attached with Quebec as such since they have not originated in the linguistic contact setting between English and French in Quebec. On the other hand, the third category also shows that code-switching arises rather from international French than Quebec French in 27 of the total 61 articles with code-switching in the corpus. This can also be interpreted as a sign of stylistic prestige of international French, in a similar vein to Renouf's study (2004), as opposed to Quebec French code-switches that were rather used to add local flavour, either negatively or positively. However, it is interesting to notice that most loanwords were used as negative stylistic means.

Since the focus of this thesis was on the markedness of French expressions and not on the fuzzy boundaries between code-switching and borrowing, the articles with French loanwords can be included in the count of articles in which marked code-switching was used to show either (1) solidarity towards Quebec francophones or (2) divergence from them. With this addition, the latter, negatively motivated usage becomes somewhat more common: marked code-switching is used in 37 articles (some 7.7 per cent of the corpus) to show divergence from francophones and in 28 articles (some 5.8 per cent of the corpus) to show solidarity towards them. Despite the rather small difference in the number of positive and negative articles, the latter ones represented more coherence in the usage of French code-switching. As it was mentioned above, the articles in which code-switching was used to show divergence from francophones most often discussed topics related to Quebec politics and identity and utilized French terms as metaphors for divisions in the Quebec society, whereas the articles in which code-switching was used to show solidarity towards francophones displayed less unity. In response to the research question, it can thus be stated that French code-switching was used somewhat more commonly to show divergence from francophones and this with more coherent social messages, related to the lines of division in the Quebec society, in the opinion articles of *The Montreal Gazette*.

6. Conclusion

This minor master's thesis has analysed English–French code-switching in *The Montreal Gazette*, the only major daily newspaper published in English in the province of Quebec. Code-switching was understood as *classic code-switching*, defined by Myers-Scotton (2011), in which there is a dominant *Matrix Language* and a non-dominant *Embedded Language*, respectively English and French throughout the corpus of this study. According to Myers-Scotton's *Markedness Model*, the code-switches in the corpus of 481 articles of *The Montreal Gazette* were first divided into unmarked and marked usages. In order to spot marked code-switching, I relied on sumperz's (1981) theory on the social motivations for code-switching that established the categories of *situational* and *conversational* code-switching: in these categories, code-switching can take on distinctive social meanings that are not attached to the semantics of the Embedded Language as such.

The focus of the study was on the marked code-switching since unmarked code-switching does not convey distinctive social messages. The objective was to find out whether marked English–French code-switching in *The Montreal Gazette* is more motivated by solidarity towards or divergence from the francophone community. Because *The Montreal Gazette* is a major forum for debate in the Quebec anglophone community, the results of the study arguably reflect the conventions for written code-switching among the Quebec anglophones in general. My analysis resulted in an almost similar number of articles containing proper marked code-switching that was either positively or negatively motivated (20 and 21 respectively). Surprisingly, the biggest single category of code-switching, present in 27 articles, consisted of established French loanwords that, although retaining some of their French characteristics and a potential for allution to Frenchness, are part of the lexicon of international English. When the articles in this category were added to the count of articles containing positively and negatively motivated code-switching, the latter represented a bigger number of articles, 37 as opposed to 28. Furthermore, negatively motivated code-switches also displayed more coherence since most of them had to do with lines of division between the francophone majority and the anglophone and allophone minorities in Quebec, whether in relation to politics or identity.

If the category of French loanwords is not taken into account, proper marked code-switching arising from Quebec French as such was present in only 34 articles,

which makes up some 7.1 per cent of the whole corpus. Since the category of French loanwords can be found in the press of monolingually English communities as well, the number of proper code-switches is the most important factor that sets the Quebec anglophone press apart. The relatively small number of articles with French code-switching in the corpus and the fact that 27 out of the total 61 articles reflected the idiolects of four columnists suggest that marked code-switching is quite limited in *The Montreal Gazette*. This finding correlates with the findings of Poplack, Walker and Malcomson (2006) according to whom "French lexical items have made virtually no inroads into the [Quebec] English lexicon".

Taking into consideration the concentration of code-switching in the category of French loanwords, a comparison between the Quebec English journalistic press and the English-speaking press from a monolingually English community could be interesting. If the fairly rare code-switches arising from Quebec English were excluded, this kind of study could determine whether French loanwords that are part of standard English are more frequently used in Quebec English and if this has something to do with the common English–French bilingualism in the Quebec anglophone community. This enquiry could also provide insight into the relative importance and prestige of international, or *Parisian*, French as opposed to the particular Quebec French.

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Appendices

1. Articles of the corpus with code-switching

code	name of the article	author	date	CS type
March1	In blasting racist fans, Legault did the right thing	Don MacPherson	2.3.2019	marked and unmarked
March2	Let's not be so quick to use 'racist'label; MNA's comments about land are nothing at all like racial harassment of Diaby	Lise Ravary	5.3.2019	marked and unmarked
March3	Not impressed by 'Saint Jody'and 'Saint Jane'; Resignations look less like principle, and more like short-sighted personal pique, Andrew Cohen writes	Andrew Cohen	6.3.2019	marked
March4	What the CAQ is ticking off	Howard Greenfield	6.3.2019	unmarked
March5	Liberal election plan in Quebec now lies in ruins; SNC-Lavalin affair allows weaker rivals to paint PM as power-hungry, out-of-touch	Martin Patriquin	7.3.2019	marked
March6	Hydro and Legault owe us money	Susan Pomkoski	8.3.2019	unmarked
March7	Use of 'predatory' never acceptable	Andre Chenir	8.3.2019	unmarked
March8	SNC-Lavalin: Tarnished 'jewel' of Québec Inc	Don MacPherson	9.3.2019	marked and unmarked
March8B	SNC-Lavalin fuss way over the top	Jo-Ann Sun	12.3.2019	marked
March9	CAQ proposal runs counter to state neutrality; As a councillor, lawyer and person of faith who wears a kippah, I would like to share my view, Lionel Perez writes	Lionel Perez	13.3.2019	unmarked
March10	As per usual, Lisée is poised to vent his spleen; New book is expected to say PQ election disaster last year was his fault - but he'll have plenty of other culprits, too	Martin Patriquin	14.3.2019	marked and unmarked
March11	The sad decline of once-vibrant St-Denis; Lower part of the street has been shabby, dirty and louche	Lise Ravary	19.3.2019	marked and unmarked

	for a while; now upper stretch is ailing as well			
March12	Blame the growth in world population	Denis Brunelle	19.3.2019	marked
March13	The best way forward for Kanesatake; Own police force, fire hydrants are essential for the community, says Michael Kanentase Rice	Michael Kanentase Rice	20.3.2019	unmarked
March14	Different visions, same rail success	Steve New	20.3.2019	unmarked
March15	STM 'tough guys' need policing	Eric Drake	21.3.2019	unmarked
March16	More parking makes eco sense	Sabino Grassi	21.3.2019	unmarked
March17	Municipal user fees for water make sense; World Water Day is a time to reflect on stewardship of this resource, say Justin Leroux and Jonathan Arnold	Justin Leroux and Jonathan Arnold	22.3.2019	unmarked
March18	Land has better use than parking	Wayne Wood	22.3.2019	unmarked
March19	City hall crucifix should stay where it is; Presence of religious symbols has no bearing on how we govern our society	Fariha Naqvi-Mohamed	22.3.2019	unmarked
March20	Plante is right to take down the crucifix; To many in Quebec, it's a reminder of darker days	Lise Ravary	26.3.2019	marked and unmarked
March21	Southwest goes from Balconville to Condoville; History, interests of neighbourhood's industrial workers being forgotten as area gentrifies, Steven High says	Steven High	27.3.2019	unmarked
March22	Offer free buses to train stations	Chris Spangl	27.3.2019	unmarked
March23	Quebec's finances face test under CAQ	Jim Wilson	27.3.2019	unmarked
March24	Veil of intolerance cause for concern	Evelyne Pytka	27.3.2019	marked
March25	Bloc leader tries to stir up indignation; Being conspicuously outraged at Canada is about the only arrow left in Blanchet's quiver	Martin Patriquin	28.3.2019	marked and unmarked
March26	City has shown leadership on protecting water; As a Blue Community, Montreal has made important commitments, say Maude Barlow and Alice-Anne Simard	Maude Barlow and Alice-Anne Simard	28.3.2019	unmarked
March27	CAQ is right to protect majority	K. Bruce Munro	29.3.2019	unmarked

March28	Religious symbols bill is a colossal mistake; Institutionalizing discrimination undermines Quebecers' freedoms and Quebec's reputation	Fariha Naqvi-Mohamed	29.3.2019	unmarked
March29	Much to consider in setting cannabis age; 'Teen brain' argument shouldn't have last word, say William Wannyn and Suparna Choudhury	William Wannyn and Suparna Choudhury	29.3.2019	unmarked
April1	Bill 21 serves to divide people	Ingrid Kovitch-Dannenbaum	2.4.2019	unmarked
April2	Let's avoid claims of moral superiority; Quebecers rightfully demand respect for their collective, democratic choices	Lise Ravary (francophone)	2.4.2019	marked and unmarked
April3	Up to immigrants to accommodate	Robert Hay	2.4.2019	unmarked
April4	Bill 21 will affect anglo institutions	Robert R. Dobie	3.4.2019	marked
April5	How to make a divisive debate more divisive; Denial of recourse to domestic courts has a negative effect on social harmony, Jack Jedwab says	Jack Jedwab	3.4.2019	marked and unmarked
April6	Which freedom is next at risk?	Philippe Dorget	4.4.2019	unmarked
April7	Solidaires are saving Quebec from itself; First on the environment and now on religious symbols, party has shown leadership	Martin Patriquin	4.4.2019	marked and unmarked
April8	Hike in fares hurts the cause	Pierre Home-Douglas	4.4.2019	unmarked
April9	How about focusing on our school system; Religious symbols ban is not only wrong, it's a distraction and impediment to dealing with other concerns	Fariha Naqvi-Mohamed	5.4.2019	unmarked
April10	Despite difficulties, nursing is a calling	Nathan Friedland	5.4.2019	unmarked
April11	An untold story in historic photo	Charles Cole	5.4.2019	unmarked
April12	Bill 21 opponents and sour grapes	Franco Perri	5.4.2019	unmarked
April13	Religion and the will of the people	Steve Hague	6.4.2019	unmarked
April14	Opposition to bill isn't sour grapes	Jennifer Turner	6.4.2019	unmarked
April15	Nothing neutral about Bill 21	Karl Josef Bauer	6.4.2019	unmarked

April16	Bill 21 is doing harm even before it passes	Don MacPherson	6.4.2019	unmarked
April17	Let's have pluralistic secularism in Quebec; Ultra-secularism is fundamentalism, Abdelwahed Mekki-Berrada and Laurence J. Kirmayer write	Abdelwahed Mekki-Berrada and Laurence J. Kirmayer	9.4.2019	unmarked
April18	Bill 21 foes show disconnect from majority; If anyone wants a resurgence of separatist politics, go ahead, trash the bill	Lise Ravary	9.4.2019	marked and unmarked
April19	Veterinarians should stop declawing cats; Procedure is painful, unnecessary and should be banned, vets Jordyn Hewer and Enid Stiles say	Jordyn Hewer and Enid Stiles	10.4.2019	unmarked
April20	Bill 21 delivers a setback to women's rights; Gender equality is not served by measures that increase vulnerability, Jennifer Selby and Natasha Bakht say	Jennifer Selby and Natasha Bakht	10.4.2019	marked and unmarked
April21	Promising future for the Canadiens	Louise Corda	10.4.2019	marked
April22	More evidence of what's wrong with Bill 21; Adult education teacher's case highlights absurdities, hypocrisies and cruelties	Martin Patriquin	11.4.2019	unmarked
April23	Public transit must be improved	Alexander Montagano	11.4.2019	unmarked
April24	Dyed-in-wool Bill 21 opponent	Ginette Pelland	11.4.2019	marked
April25	3 strikes against Ravary's message	Patrick M. Shea	11.4.2019	marked and unmarked
April25B	Diversity in arts has a way to go	Honey A. Dresher	11.4.2019	marked
April26	Dear Bill, please apologize. Yours truly, Lionel; Hampstead Mayor William Steinberg's remark undermines fight against Bill 21, Lionel Perez writes	Lionel Perez	12.4.2019	unmarked
April27	I'm feeling a sense of sadness; Recent moves by the CAQ government overlook contributions of immigrants and their children	Fariha Naqvi-Mohamed	12.4.2019	unmarked
April28	The Steinberg Crisis enters its second week	Don MacPherson	13.4.2019	unmarked
April29	Habs and Gallagher are a joy to watch	Norm Shacter	13.4.2019	marked

April30	Mayor is entitled to his opinion	Robert Miller	13.4.2019	unmarked
April31	Unjust Bill 21 dispenses with an array of rights; Use of notwithstanding clause is remarkably broad, but doesn't apply internationally, Pearl Eliadis says	Pearl Eliadis	16.4.2019	unmarked
April32	A 'Bonjour-Hi' compromise plan	Robert Brosseau	16.4.2019	unmarked
April33	What to call McGill teams	Harry Stevens	16.4.2019	marked
April34	Words are not merely 'paroles, paroles'; When debating serious matters, inflammatory discourse is to be avoided	Lise Ravary	16.4.2019	marked
April35	Lots of parking for Expo visitors	Don Sancton	17.4.2019	unmarked
April36	Montreal's Chinatown needs better protection; Let's pause further development until a more holistic discussion can take place, Sarah M. Mah says	Sarah M. Mah	17.4.2019	marked and unmarked
April37	Apology wouldn't change anything	Joshua Ram	17.4.2019	unmarked
April38	At last count, greeting is legal	Patrick Martin	17.4.2019	unmarked
April39	High fees unfair for motorcyclists	Glen K. Malfara	19.4.2019	unmarked
April40	Notre-Dame fire was a loss for all of us; We often take for granted the places that shape the landscape of our cities	Fariha Naqvi-Mohamed	19.4.2019	marked
April41	Legault's refusal sends sad signal	Cynthia Jarjour	19.4.2019	unmarked
April42	It's Quebec vs. Montreal in fight over Bill 21's fate	Don MacPherson	20.4.2019	marked and unmarked
April43	High school's name isn't a relic	Chris Eustace	23.4.2019	unmarked
April44	Holiday about more than Easter Bunny	Lise Howard	24.4.2019	marked
April45	‘Bad' news about 'bonjour-hi' is actually good	Don MacPherson	27.4.2019	marked and unmarked
April46	Bill 101 versus section 23	Jim Wilson	27.4.2019	unmarked
April47	Try asking anglos what they want	Jon Bradley	27.42019	unmarked
April48	Kudos to Legault for flood response	Robert Marcogliese	30.4.2019	unmarked
May1	Flooding brings home the need for climate action; It's essential to reduce dependence on fossil fuels and adapt to changes already taking place, Leehi Yona says	Leehi Yona	1.5.2019	unmarked
May2	Ferrandez's F-bombs were right on target; Plateau mayor got heat	Martin Patriquin	2.5.2019	marked

	for his Facebook screed, but he wasn't wrong			
May3	Soldier deserves full compensation	Linda Hammerschmid	3.5.2019	marked
May4	Legault has a chance to lead on pipelines; Change of stance could heal divisions and help bring economic prosperity to entire country, Sandy White says	Sandy White	3.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May5	No extra powers for métro agents	Robert Miller	3.5.2019	unmarked
May6	Sugar Sammy for Quebec liberal leader?; Voting rules mean vulnerability	Don MacPherson	4.5.2019	marked
May7	talk the talk, walk the walk	Mel Zangwill	4.5.2019	unmarked
May8	Green Charter deserves municipal support; Stopping urban sprawl and protecting island's biodiversity are essential, say Shloime Perel and Patrick Barnard	Shloime Perel & Patrick Barnard	7.5.2019	unmarked
May9	Youth protection needs to regain its autonomy; Previous government's changes increased danger to kids, Phillip Burns says	Phillip Burns	7.5.2019	unmarked
May10	Autism 'policy failure' has a stark impact; It's essential that research results be translated into improvements to programs, Antonia Maioni says	Antonia Maioni	8.5.2019	unmarked
May11	Cut speed limit, not parking spots	Gary Bernstein	8.5.2019	marked
May12	Quebec's rules for grad-school tuition are unfair; Canadians from other provinces shouldn't pay more than students from France, Amir Barnea says	Amir Barnea	9.5.2019	unmarked
May13	Legault seems to need a Bill 21 echo chamber; Lineup at hearings gives short shrift to those whose rights will be curbed	Martin Patriquin	9.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May14	Looking at the face of Quebec freedom	Shane Stephenson	9.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May15	Quebec's own fox news, only more influential	Don MacPherson	11.5.2019	unmarked
May16	Noxious words at Bill 21 hearing	Robert Miller	11.5.2019	unmarked
May17	Consider kids' well-being, too	Tania Decobellis	14.5.2019	unmarked

May18	Learn to spot signs of Type 1 diabetes earlier; Increased awareness is key to preventing a lifethreatening complication in children, Meranda Nakhla writes	Meranda Nakhla	14.5.2019	unmarked
May19	Balancing state secularism and individual rights; 'I will speak with pride' about Montreal's diversity at Bill 21 hearings, Valérie Plante says	Valérie Plante	14.5.2019	marked
May20	School transfers and the state of anglo relations; sadly, input from our community into government decisions has deteriorated, not improved, Geoffrey Chambers writes	Geoffrey Chambers	15.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May21	Is PKP our Trump, minus the red tie and comb-over?; the similarities netween the U.S. President and Péladeau didn't begin with the Great Hockey Blackout	Martin Patriquin	16.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May22	Students should eat, play together	Peter Martin	16.5.2019	unmarked
May23	Sorry top see Ferrandez go	Jim McDermott	17.5.2019	marked
May24	Youth mistrust of government needs addressing; We want politicians to act on issues that affect us all, Catherine Morrison says	Catherine Morrison	17.5.2019	unmarked
May25	Under the CAQ, the exceptional becoming normal	Don MacPherson	18.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May26	In Defence of le Journal and Quebecor	Lise Ravary	21.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May27	Bus hub needs a link to trains	John De Luca	21.5.2019	unmarked
May29	Good work on bridge and more	Roland Bérard	22.5.2019	unmarked
May30	Power has moderated CAQ's populism	Martin Patriquin	23.5.2019	unmarked
May31	Montreal's Cycling lanes benefit everyone; bike paths calm traffic and help the environment, Aryana Soliz says	Aryana Soliz	24.5.2019	marked
May32	Make the most of existing trains	Ian Craig	24.5.2019	unmarked
May33	Different faiths unite in solidarity against Bill 21; Incredible things occur when communities come together	Fariha Navqi-Mohamed	24.5.2019	marked
May34	Parking is key to REM success	Paul Gareau	24.5.2019	unmarked

May35	Hydro responds to higher rate fears	Cendrix Bouchard	25.5.2019	unmarked
May36	Bulldozing a change in the rules	Don MacPherson	25.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May37	Bill 21 echoes experiences from france; Antiveiling laws - and discussions of them – stoke stigmatization and fear, writes Roshan Arah Jahangeer	Roshan Arah Jahangeer	28.5.2019	unmarked
May38	CAQ's modest (and doable) climate strategy; I tune out the doom, gloom of humourless ecozealots	Lise Ravary	28.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May39	Help needed with flood relief, SVP	Clare McFarlane	28.5.2019	marked
May40	Anti-veiling laws and 'white men'	Raphaël Fischler	29.5.2019	marked
May41	Grads shouldn't let speeches go to their heads; We're luckier than we are talented, and we aren't likely to change the world, Diamond Yao says	Diamond Yao	30.5.2019	unmarked
May42	On a collision course over pipelines; B.C. Court ruling gives Alberta legal upper hand, but Quebec's objections are a political reality	Martin Patriquin	30.5.2019	marked and unmarked
May43	Children's clinic serves key role	Diane Munz	31.5.2019	unmarked
May44	Consultation is overlooking English speakers; Intersection of race, language can result in double barrier, Fo Niemi says	Fo Niemi	31.5.2019	marked and unmarked
June1	Legault's toleration of intolerance	Don MacPherson	1.6.2019	unmarked
June2	The CAQ looks 'farblondjet'	Sylvia Moscovitz	1.6.2019	unmarked
June3	The trouble with the Tour de l'Île	Amiel Bender	4.6.2019	unmarked
June4	Brexit mess holds lessons for Quebec; Some issues are just too big to be decided by a slim majority	Lise Ravary	4.6.2019	unmarked
June5	City overdoes speed bumps	Vince Di Clemente	4.6.2019	marked
June6	Kindness seems to be suffering a slow death; Crudeness in public discourse, shortcuts in private communications disconcerting, Martine St-Victor writes	Martine St-Victor	4.6.2019	marked

June7	The path to climate justice is intergenerational; Equality rights of young people are at stake, say Sébastien Jodoin and Larissa Parker	Sébastien Jodoin and Larissa Parker	5.6.2019	unmarked
June8	Fixing the mess in youth protection	Phillip Burns	6.6.2019	unmarked
June9	Honouring those who landed on d-day; Juno beach has become embedded in Canadians' collective consciousness, Serge Durflinger says	Serge Durflinger	6.6.2019	unmarked
June10	Concordia's 4Th Space breaks down the walls; the public should be able to access and contribute to what's percolating here, Alan Shepard says	Alan Shepard	7.6.2019	marked
June11	Preparing for the next recession should start now; It's time to be prudent about investment balance and about debt, Amir Barnea says	Amir Barnea	7.6.2019	unmarked
June12	Alarms sounded, in the language that counts	Don MacPherson	8.6.2019	marked and unmarked
June13	Minister Roberge, hands off our schools!; Heavy-handed action would violate rights of English-speaking community, Dan Lamoureux and Geoffrey Chambers write	Dan Lamoureux and Geoffrey Chambers	8.6.2019	marked and unmarked
June14	Turbaned grad faces petty limits	Eric Bender	8.6.2019	unmarked
June15	Complainers are the ones who bring change; Recent ruling against gynecologist highlight the importance of speaking up, Amy Fish says	Amy Fish	11.6.2019	unmarked
June16	Bonjour-hi motion was oddly timed	Judy Kolonics	11.6.2019	unmarked
June17	Affordable housing should be a reality for all; Governments need to do more than make promises, Matthew Pearce says	Matthew Pearce	12.6.2019	unmarked
June18	Here's a greeting for our downtown	Howard Greenfield	12.6.2019	marked
June19	Improve road signs around MUHC site	Douglas F. Burns	12.6.2019	marked
June20	It's a greeting, not a manifesto	Rosemary Steinberg	13.6.2019	marked and unmarked

June21	School transfers merit a challenge	Marcus Tabachnick	13.6.2019	unmarked
June22	A double standard on women's control over their bodies; Quebecers support choice on abortion but back limits on religious attire	Martin Patriquin	13.6.2019	marked and unmarked
June23	Twice the words, half the volume	Gary Bernstein	13.6.2019	marked and unmarked
June24	Why was a woman passed right by at the bus stop?; Alleged case of discrimination against niqab-wearer seems to be a sign of the times	Fariha Naqvi-Mohamed	14.6.2019	unmarked
June25	What school seizures mean for minority rights	Don MacPherson	15.6.2019	marked and unmarked
June27	Signs of weakness in CAQ's majority	Philippe Dorget	15.6.2019	unmarked
June28	Quebec should fix problem it created	Anne McGarr	15.6.2019	unmarked

2. Finnish summary

Tämä englannin kielen sivuainegradu tarkastelee koodinvaihtoa (*code-switching*) englannin ja ranskan kielten välillä *The Montreal Gazette* -sanomalehdessä, joka on kanadalaisen Quebecin provinssin ainoa englanninkielinen päivittäin ilmestyvä julkaisu. Tutkimuskohteena on koodinvaihto *tunnusmerkkisenä* (*marked*) kielellisenä valintana: analyysin pääpaino on täten sellaisessa ranskan kielen käytössä, joka toimii pelkän englannin kielen sanastollisten tai pragmaattisten aukkojen täyttämisen sijaan metaforisena, sosiaalisia suhteita koskevana viestinä. Koodinvaihdon tunnusmerkkisyyden selvittämisessä käytetään Myers-Scottonin (2011) *Markedness Model* -mallia erottamaan tunnusmerkkiset (*marked*) ja tunnusmerkittömät (*unmarked*) ranskankieliset ilmaukset aineistossa, joka koostuu *The Montreal Gazettessa* ilmestyneestä 481 mielipidekirjoituksesta aikavälillä 1.3.–15.6.2019. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, käytetäänkö tunnusmerkkistä koodinvaihtoa ranskaan enemmän (1) osoittamaan kirjoittajien yhteenkuuluvuuden tunnetta (*solidarity*) Quebecin ranskankielisten kanssa vai (2) korostamaan englanninkielisten eroavaisuutta (*divergence*) ranskankielisistä. Näitä kahta motivaatiota kutsutaan gradussa (1) positiiviseksi ja (2) negatiiviseksi.

Sivuainegradun teoriaosassa valotetaan Quebecin historiallista ja kielellistä taustaa sekä koodinvaihtoa koskevaa aiempaa tutkimusta. Quebecin ensimmäiset eurooppalaiset uudisasukkaat tulivat Ranskasta 1600-luvulta lähtien, mutta Iso-Britannia valloitti ranskalaisen Kanadan alueet vuonna 1763. Tästä lähtien Kanadan historiaa on leimannut ranskan- ja englanninkielisten usein vaikea yhteiselo, joka kulminoituu virallisesti ranskankielisen Quebecin provinssin ainoalla kaksikielisellä metropolialueella Montrealissa. Vaikka Quebecin provinssi ja Montreal ovat valloituksesta lähtien olleet enemmistöltään ranskankielisiä, oli englanti kuitenkin 1960-luvulle asti talouselämän vallitseva kieli, jonka suurin osa Montrealiin asettuneista maahanmuuttajista valitsi koulukielekseen. Quebecin provinssi on 1970-luvulta lähtien harjoittanut voimakkaasti ranskan kielen asemaa ja virallisuutta suojelevaa kielipolitiikkaa, mikä on kielilainsäädännön keinoin toisaalta nostanut ranskankieliset hallitsevaan asemaan yhteiskunnan eri alueilla mutta toisaalta aiheuttanut englanninkielisille tunteen petetyksi tulemisesta.

Tämän päivän Quebecin englanninkielisiä voi pitää kaksikielisenä yhteisönä, jonka erottaa muista Kanadan englanninkielisistä tiivis kielikontakti ranskan kanssa.

Kaksikielisyys on vaikuttanut myös Quebecissä puhuttuun englantiin, jonka erityisyydet juontuvat niin virallisesta ja määrällisestä vähemmistöasemasta kuin kontaktista ranskan kanssa. Vaikka brittiläistaustaisten Quebecin englanninkielisten puhuma kielimuoto muistuttaa läheisesti yleistä kanadanenglantia, poikkeaa quebecinenglanti suuresti muista Kanadan alueista sanastoltaan: monet ranskankieliset ilmaukset omaksutaan sellaisinaan ilman englanninkielistä käännöstä. Tällaisia Quebecin englantiin yleisesti omaksuttuja ranskankielisiä ilmauksia nimitetään useissa lähteissä lainoiksi (*borrowings*), mutta tässä tutkimuksessa ne luokitellaan tunnusmerkittömiksi koodinvaihdoksiksi. Toinen quebecinenglannin erityispiirre muihin kanadalaisiin kielimuotoihin nähden on etninen vaihtelu, erityisesti ennen 1970-luvun kielilainsäädäntöä englanninkielisen koulun käyneiden italialais-, kreikkalais- ja juutalaisyhteisöjen parissa.

Toisessa teorialuvussa koodinvaihto määritellään yleisesti kahden kielen käyttönä samassa keskustelussa; tarkemmin määriteltynä koodinvaihtajien tulee olla kaksikielisiä, ja ilmiö esiintyy kaksikielisissä yhteisöissä tai enemmistökielen vaikutuksen alaisina olevien vähemmistökielten puhujien keskuudessa. Koodinvaihdon tarkemmassa käsittelyssä turvaudutaan Myers-Scottonin (2011) klassisen koodinvaihdon (*classic code-switching*) määritelmään, jonka mukaan vain yksi koodinvaihtoon osallistuvista kielistä on hallitseva (*Matrix Language*) ja toinen sille alisteinen (*Embedded Language*). Sivuainegradun aineistossa tilanne onkin klassisen koodinvaihdon mukainen, sillä englanti on kauttaaltaan hallitseva ja ranska sille alisteinen. Vaikka tutkimuskirjallisuudessa ei olla yksimielisiä koodinvaihdon ja vakiintuneiden lainasanojen välisestä rajasta, ei asialla tämän tutkimuksen kannalta ole merkitystä, sillä tarkastelun kohteena on ranskankielisten ilmausten tunnusmerkkisyys niiden vakiintuneen aseman sijaan.

Koodinvaihtoa voi aiemman kirjallisuuden mukaan tarkastella niin kielellisten ominaisuuksien kuin taustalla vaikuttavien sosiaalisten tekijöiden kautta. Tässä sivuainegradussa sosiaaliset tekijät ovat tutkimuksen kohteena, sillä koodinvaihtoa tarkastellaan sen tunnusmerkkisyyden kautta. Gumperz (1982) kutsuu sosiaalisesti motivoitunutta, tunnusmerkkistä koodinvaihtoa keskustelutason koodinvaihdoksi (*conversational code-switching*). Tilanteisiin sidotusta koodinvaihdosta (*situational code-switching*) poiketen keskustelutason koodinvaihtoa eivät sanele kielen käyttötilanne vaan keskustelun sisäiset viestintästrategiat, jotka käyttävät koodinvaihtoa vertauskuvallisesti sosiaalisten viestien kantajana.

Koodinvaihto on tällöin erityisesti symboli kieliryhmän jäsenyydelle tai ryhmää koskeville asenteille. Raja tilanteisiin sidotun ja keskustelutason koodinvaihdon välillä on kuitenkin häilyvä, eikä sitä tämän sivuainegradun tunnusmerkkisyyteen painottuvan asetelman valossa tarvitse korostaa. Toinen Gumperzin tekemä jaottelu ryhmän sisäisen (*we-code*) ja ulkoisen (*they-code*) viestinnän kielimuotojen välillä täydentää koodinvaihdon teorioita. Lisäksi sanomalehtikirjoittajien kielenkäyttöä voi tulkita Gilesin teorian (*Communication Accommodation*) pohjalta pyrkimyksenä sopeuttaa omaa puhetta niihin ihmisiin, joista kirjoittavat pitävät. Quebecin englanninkielisen yhteisön kaksikielisyyttä voikin lähestyä niin tilanteisiin sidotun ja keskustelutason koodinvaihdon, *we-code*- ja *they-code*-jaon kuin viestinnän sopeuttamisteorian pohjalta. Myers-Scottonin *Markedness Model* taas esitellään tarkemmin koodinvaihtoa käsittelevän kappaleen alaluvussa. Tämä koodinvaihdon sosiaalisia motivaatiotekijöitä käsittelevä malli perustuu kielenkäyttäjien rationaalisiin valintoihin, joita tekemällä he edistävät omia identiteettejään keskusteluissa. Mallin mukaan tunnusmerkitön valinta on kielenkäyttötilanteen normatiivisten odotusten mukainen, tunnusmerkkinen valinta taas rikkoo normeja. Tunnusmerkkinen koodinvaihto voi Myers-Scottonin mukaan toimia solidaarisuuden osoituksena kieliryhmää kohtaan tai eroavaisuuden korostamisena ja vallan näyttämisenä.

Sivuainegradun tutkimusaineistona on yhteensä 121 aikavälillä 1.3.–15.6.2019 *The Montreal Gazettessa* julkaistua mielipideartikkelia, jotka sisältävät koodinvaihtoa ranskaan. Artikkelit on haettu *ProQuest*-palvelun *Canadian Newsstream* -tietokannasta, josta on valittu käsiteltäväksi tarkasteluajanjakson kaikki *Opinion*-termillä luokitellut artikkelit (yhteensä 481 artikkelia). Tietokannan luokitus ei tee eroa yleisönosastokirjoituksen ja kolumnien välillä, joten aineistossa korostuu jossain määrin muutama säännöllisesti lehteen kirjoittava kolumnisti. Sivuainegradun analyysiluku jakautuu kahteen osaan: ensimmäisessä osassa käsitellään lyhyemmin tunnusmerkitöntä koodinvaihtoa, toisessa taas tunnusmerkkistä koodinvaihtoa. Analyysi on sekä määrällinen että laadullinen: erityyppisiä koodinvaihtoja sisältävien artikkelien lukumääriä verrataan keskenään, mutta analyysin pääpaino on koodinvaihtojen laadullisissa ominaisuuksissa. Koodinvaihtojen tunnusmerkkisyyden arvioinnissa käytetään apuna sekä artikkelin kontekstia että aiempia koodinvaihtoa quebecinenglannissa käsitelleitä tutkimuksia.

Tunnusmerkitöntä koodinvaihtoa on yhteensä 121 artikkelissa eli noin 25,2 prosentissa kaikista. Yleisin kategoria yhteensä 66 artikkelissa ovat quebeciläisten

poliittisten puolueiden ranskankieliset nimet ja lyhenteet, joilla ei ole virallisia englanninkielisiä käännöksiä. Yhteensä 41 artikkelissa tunnusmerkittömiä koodinvaihtoja ovat quebeciläisten instituutioiden ja 18 artikkelissa taas organisaatioiden nimet ja lyhenteet, joilla ei myöskään ole virallisia englanninkielisiä käännöksiä. Boberg (2012) kutsuu ranskankielisiä poliittisia ja institutionaalisia nimiä *määrätyiksi* (*imposed*) koodinvaihdoiksi, sillä nimien kääntäminen englanniksi antaisi kielelle Quebecin lakien hengen vastaisen virallisen aseman. Quebecin englanninkielinen yhteisön voi myös tulkita tuntevan ranskankieliset poliittiset ja institutionaaliset nimet, koska niiden merkitystä ei avata artikkeleissa. Näiden nimien tunnusmerkittömyyttä puoltaa myös se, että useassa artikkelissa virallisesti kaksikielisiin (englanti ja ranska) instituutioihin viitataan englanninkielisillä nimillä, mutta yksikielisesti ranskankielisistä instituutioista käytetään alkukielistä nimeä ilman käännöstä.

Yhteensä 32 artikkelissa on Bobergin (2012) termein *valinnaista* (*elective*) koodinvaihtoa, joka on kuitenkin tulkittu tunnusmerkittömäksi. Kaikkein määrätyimpiä näistä ovat viralliset ranskankieliset rakennusten nimet Montrealissa ja ranskankielisten tapahtumien nimet. Valinnaisempia taas ovat aiempien tutkimusten lainasanoina pitämät termit, kuten *métro* ja *autoroute* [moottoritie]. Muita valinnaisempia termejä ovat Quebecin historiaan ja kulttuuriin liittyvät nimitykset, kuten kansallispäivä *Fête nationale* ja 1900-luvun puolivälin konservatiivinen ajanjakso *Grande noirceur*, joille ei ole vakiintuneita englanninkielisiä vastineita. Erityistapaus valinnaisemmasta tunnusmerkittömästä koodinvaihdosta on *bonjour*-sanan metalingvistinen käyttö artikkeleissa, joissa puhutaan Montrealin kaupoissa kuultavan tervehdyksen kielestä.

Tunnusmerkkistä koodinvaihtoa on vain 61 artikkelissa eli noin 12,7 prosentissa koko aineistosta. Tutkimuskysymyksen mukaan tunnusmerkkinen koodinvaihto on jaoteltu tapauksiin, joissa ranskan kielellä (1) osoitetaan kirjoittajan yhteenkuuluvuuden tunnetta Quebecin ranskankielisten kanssa tai (2) korostetaan englanninkielisten eroavaisuutta ranskankielisistä. Näitä tapauksia kutsutaan lyhyesti (1) positiivisesti ja (2) negatiivisesti motivoituneeksi koodinvaihdoksi. Lisäksi analyysin kulussa paljastui kolmas luokka, jossa ranskankielisiä vakiintuneita lainasanoja käytetään tunnusmerkkisesti tyylikeinona. Tunnusmerkkisen koodinvaihdon yhteydessä korostuvat neljän säännöllisesti *The Montreal Gazetteen* kirjoittavan kolumnistin idiolektit, sillä 27 yhteensä 61 artikkelista on heidän

kirjoittamiaan. Toisaalta kirjoittajien voi olettaa sopeuttavan kielenkäyttöään lehden lukijakuntaan ja näin ollen heijastelevan Quebecin englanninkielisten yhteisön kielellisiä konventioita.

Tunnusmerkkistä koodinvaihtoa käytetään osoittamaan yhteenkuuluvuuden tunnetta 20 artikkelissa. Yleisin positiivisesti motivoituneen koodinvaihdon luokka on Quebecin kulttuuriin ja yhteiskuntaan viittaavat ranskankieliset sanat ja ilmaukset yhteensä 13 artikkelissa. Tällaisilla ilmauksilla pyritään monessa tapauksessa humoristisesti sanaleikkien antamaan artikkeleille ranskankielistä luonnetta tai viitataan ranskankieliseen kulttuuriin ranskankielisillä termeillä tilanteissa, joissa englanninkielinen käännös olisi ollut mahdollinen. Kahden kirjoittajan tapauksessa taas koodinvaihto vaikuttaa olevan poliittisesti motivoitunutta. Yhdellä aineiston kolumnisteista, joka itse äidinkieleltään ranskankielinen kirjoittaja, on tapana käyttää ranskankielisiä käsitteitä tunnusmerkkisellä tavalla muita enemmän. Hänen idiolektiinsä kuuluu etenkin adjektiivi *Québécois* tunnusmerkittömän *Quebecerin* sijaan. Toisessa tapauksessa Montrealin kaupunginjohtaja käyttää kaupungista ja provinssista välillä ranskankielisiä, aksentillisia versioita *Montréal* ja *Québec*, mikä saattaa tosin selittyä tahattomuudella.

Negatiivisesti motivoitunut tunnusmerkkinen koodinvaihto, jolla korostetaan kirjoittajien eroavaisuutta ranskankielisistä, on hieman yleisempää, sillä sitä on 21 artikkelissa. Näistä artikkeleista myös hieman positiivisesti motivoitunutta koodinvaihtoa sisältäviä useampi on lukijoiden, ei kolumnistien kirjoittama. Yleisin negatiivisen koodinvaihdon kategoria liittyy Quebecin politiikan kritisoimiseen 12 artikkelissa. Näistä suurin osa kritisoi ranskankielisten ilmaisujen käytön kautta Quebecin provinssin sekularismiin tähtäävää lakia 21, ja niistä tulee esiin uusi poliittisesti latautunut tunnusmerkkinen termi, sekularismia tarkoittava *laïcité*. Negatiivisella koodinvaihdolla kritisoidaan myös Quebecin talouselämän korruptoituneisuutta, Montrealin kunnallispolitiikkaa ja itsenäisyysmielisiä poliitikkoja. Toinen eroavaisuutta korostavien tunnusmerkkisten koodinvaihtojen pääluokka liittyy quebeciläiseen identiteettiin 8 artikkelissa. Ranskankielisiä ilmauksia käytetään näissä kirjoituksissa korostamaan yhteiskunnan jakautuneisuutta ranskankielisten ja vähemmistöryhmien välillä. Erityisesti ranskankielistä adjektiivia *Québécois* käytetään tunnusmerkkisesti tässä tarkoituksessa. Kahdessa artikkelissa ranskan kielen käytöllä kritisoidaan Quebecin kielipolitiikkaa. Toisiinsa liittyvät politiikan, identiteetin ja kielipolitiikan luokissa kaikissa negatiivisesti motivoitunut

tunnusmerkkinen koodinvaihto korostaa aiemman tutkimuskirjallisuuden tulosten tavoin Quebecin yhteiskunnan jakolinjoja enemmistön ja vähemmistöjen välillä.

Kolmantena tunnusmerkkisten koodinvaihtojen kategoriana ovat tyylikeinona käytetyt ranskankieliset lainasanat yhteensä 27 artikkelissa. Renoufin (2004) tutkimuksen pohjalta tähän luokkaan on sisällytetty vain myöhempiä ranskasta englantiin lainattuja sanoja, joiden ääntämys ja kirjoitusasu heijastelevat edelleen niiden ranskankielistä alkuperää. Näitä lainasanoja ei ole sisällytetty kahteen edelliseen tunnusmerkkisen koodinvaihdon kategoriaan, sillä kyseessä ovat ensinnäkin vakiintuneet, sanakirjoihin sisällytetyt lainasanat. Toisekseen niihin liitetyt tyylilliset, metaforiset ominaisuudet eivät kumpua Quebecin ranskankielisyydestä vaan yleisesti ranskalaisuuteen liitetyistä ominaisuuksista. Suurimmassa osassa, yhteensä 18 artikkelissa, lainasanoja käytetään negatiivisen viestin välittämisen tyylikeinona. Näistä 18 artikkelista puolestaan 16 käsittelee politiikkaa ja 12 politiikkaa nimenomaan Quebecin ranskankielisiin liittyen: ranskankielisten julkaisemia kirjoja kutsutaan esimerkiksi sanalla *oeuvre* ja heidän ajatuksiaan käsittellä *pensées*. Positiivisten viestien metaforana lainasanoja käytetään vain 11 artikkelissa, joten niitä käytetään korostetusti kielteisesti motivoituneena tyylikeinona. Vaikka tyylikeinona käytettyinä varsinaisia lainasanoja ei sisällytetäkään varsinaisiin koodinvaihdon kategorioihin, on kuitenkin kirjoittajien motiiveja paremmin tietämättä vaikea osoittaa selvää eroa lainasanojen ja koodinvaihtojen metaforisten ominaisuuksien välillä. Tästä syystä lainasanatkin on sisällytetty tutkimustuloksissa positiivisesti ja negatiivisesti motivoituneiden koodinvaihtojen luokkiin.

Tunnusmerkkistä koodinvaihtoa on tutkimusaineiston yhteensä 481 artikkelista 61:ssä eli noin 12,7 prosentissa. Kun tyylikeinona käytettyjen lainasanojen kategoria lisätään positiivisesti ja negatiivisesti motivoituneiden koodinvaihtojen joukkoon, käytetään tunnusmerkkistä koodinvaihtoa osoittamaan yhteenkuuluvuuden tunnetta ranskankielisten kanssa 28 artikkelissa ja korostamaan englannin- ja ranskankielisten eroavaisuutta 37 artikkelissa. Näin ollen negatiivisesti motivoitunut tunnusmerkkinen koodinvaihto on hieman positiivisesti motivoitunutta yleisempää. Lisäksi negatiivisesti motivoituneen koodinvaihdon metaforinen merkitys on koherentimpi, sillä sitä käytetään useimmiten tehokeinona kuvaamaan Quebecin yhteiskunnan jakolinjoja poliittisissa ja identiteettiin liittyvissä kysymyksissä, erityisesti ranskankielisen enemmistön ja englannin- sekä muunkielisten vähemmistöjen välillä. Koska varsinaista quebecinranskan ja englannin kontaktista

kumpuavaa tunnusmerkkistä koodinvaihtoa on vain 34 artikkelissa eli noin 7,1 prosentissa koko aineistosta, on ranskan kielen tunnusmerkkinen käyttö *The Montreal Gazettessa* melko vähäistä. Tämä johtopäätös onkin aiemman, puhuttua quebecinenglantia käsittelevän tutkimuksen (Poplack, Walker & Malcomson 2006) tuloksen mukainen. Koska vajaassa puolessa tunnusmerkkistä koodinvaihtoa sisältäneistä artikkeleista, 27:ssä yhteensä 61:stä, kyseessä ovat nimenomaan lainasanat, vertaileva tutkimus näiden sanojen tunnusmerkkisen käytön yleisyydestä Quebecin englanninkielisessä lehdistössä ja jonkin yksikielisesti englanninkielisen alueen lehdistössä voisi olla kiinnostava.