University of Alberta

L'Acadie communautaire:
The Inclusion and Exclusion of New Brunswick Francophones

by

Christina Lynn Keppie

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Modern Languages and Cultural Studies

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Dedication

To Barry Ancelet, Professor of French at the University of Louisiana Lafayette, whom I have never met but whom has greatly influenced my career by asking the following 3 questions:

«Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire, être acadien? L'Acadie est-elle un lieu ou un état d'esprit? Quelqu'un qui ne parle plus le français peut-il être acadien?» (Ancelet 1996:89)

I came across this quote quite by accident one day. I read it and reread it many times over to the point that I got really frustrated with myself because I had no answer. This dissertation is the only justifiable means I can offer in answering M. Ancelet's questions. He is far from the only one to have asked them.

Abstract

Understanding what is meant by the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien* have long proven to be a complicated matter in the Canadian Province of New Brunswick. Until the 1960s, a traditionalist-style discourse described Acadia and Acadians in relation to family values. Between 1960 and 1980, modernity came in the form of linguistic and territorial homogeneity advocacy. Finally, from the 1980s onward, Acadia has often been promoted as the result of *la cause commune*, an effort to obtain sociolinguistic equality for better collaboration with the English majority on the international economic scene. This dissertation aims to deepen our understanding of what Acadia means and what is entailed in being Acadian through a series of content analyses of the ideological discourses of over 70 New Brunswick Francophones who were interviewed in the summer of 2005. Rather than simply focusing on one area as a representation of the whole as is often the case in linguistic anthropological studies, the present study examines the relevance of the factors of one's region, age and gender in relation to the roles played by language and geography in the definitions of *Acadie, Acadien* and the Acadian identity (*acadianité*). We conclude that to be part of Acadia does not necessarily entail being Acadian. Mental maps place Acadia within the 3 French regions of New Brunswick, with the North-East as its centre. However, due to several socio-cultural factors (genealogy, economy), the North-West is not Acadian, despite its membership within Acadia. We also suggest that *acadianité* is determined primarily through genealogy but that the ideological discourses of the Francophones from the Eastern regions of New Brunswick indicate that Acadians from that province perceive

themselves in two different manners, as is symbolized by the two municipal poles of Caraquet and Moncton and their linguistic markets. Finally, we suggest calling French New Brunswick *l'Acadie communautaire* so it reflects the globalizing-style discourse that characterizes Acadia as a type of membership that includes all groups of people, regardless of language, as long as they seek the continuous sociolinguistic equality of New Brunswick Francophones.

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1.0 Introduction

I was born and raised in Fredericton, New Brunswick to English-speaking, American-born parents and my native city gave me the opportunity to be educated through a strong French Immersion program beginning in Grade 1 through to my High School graduation. These initial personal benefits in learning another language developed into my enrolling at the University of New Brunswick (Fredericton campus) where in 2000, I completed a Bachelor of Arts with Honours in French. During my time there, I was mentored by professors who, after my first year of study in 1997, encouraged me to apply for a language abroad program in Brussels, Belgium. My application was successful and while the program was only a month in duration, I believe that those few weeks were the real inspiration to study the New Brunswick Acadian community. Among the Canadians who attended this abroad program, all, save me, were Maritime Francophones who identified themselves as *Acadiens*. During that month, I became very curious in how they demonstrated their identity: they proudly walked around with a red, white and blue flag with a yellow star in the left corner sewn on their backpacks, and responded by saying «on est des Canadiens et on est des Acadiens» every time somebody asked where they were from. What I found even more fascinating was that, nearing the end of our stay in Belgium, many of these *Acadiens* looked at me and said that I was *Acadienne*, just like them. I had never identified myself as Acadian but according to these people, whom by that time I regarded as friends, my ability to speak French and my noted interest in their *acadianité* (Acadian identity) made me one of them without question. I returned to New Brunswick where I finished my undergraduate degree, and over the next few years as I worked toward and successfully completed a Master's degree in French at Carleton University in Ottawa, I kept on asking myself the initial questions that were the stimulation

for both my graduate programs: what does it mean to be Acadian and in turn, what is Acadia? Basque, Barrieau and Côté (1999:11) have stated that «définir l'Acadie n'est jamais chose simple». This statement holds true not only for me, but for anybody who has ever heard the term *Acadie*, and the fact that Acadia does not officially exist today is possibly a reason why *Acadie* has long been challenging to define.

1.1 The origins of Acadia and its complexities

There is a wide range of literature on the history of Acadia though for those who wish to read very thorough and informative summaries, we suggest Daigle's *L'Acadie de 1604 à 1763, synthèse historique*, and Thériault's *L'Acadie de 1763 à 1990, synthèse historique* (both from l'Acadie des Maritimes, CEA, 1993). Here, we will only provide a few important details in order to properly frame our study.

Prior to the Treaty of the Utrecht of 1713, Acadia was an area located on the North American map. In 1605, the first permanent settlement by European colonists took place in Port-Royal, now called Annapolis, Nova Scotia. The settlers had arrived from 6 villages of Haut-Poitou in Western France: Martaizé, Aulnay, Angliers, La Chaussée, Guenes and Oiron, referred to as the initial *berceau de l'Acadie* (Massignon 1962). They came to the new world in search of a better life and for the expansion of the French kingdom. These settlers lived a simple yet industrious life; farming, fishing and the construction of dykes filled their days. Their language, although not homogeneous by any means, reflected the 16th century Poitou dialects, yet the settlers were not alone on this rugged land. They had settled in Mi'kmaq country and thus, as years went by, intermarriages took place and the original linguistic forms that the

settlers first spoke upon their arrival began to take on certain mi'kmaw characteristics (LeBlanc, 2003).

The ensemble of their settlements became known as *Acadie*. Where did that name come from? What does it mean? These are some questions upon which this current research is derived because from the very beginning, the understanding of the term *Acadie* has been a nebulous one. Currently, there exist two theories on the origin of the name *Acadie*. One theory claims that the term is of Mi'kmaq origin. The Mi'kmaq, who inhabited the region of today's Maritime Provinces during the 17th century European settlement, along with the Wolastoqiyik (Maliseet), used the word *cadie* to describe a fertile area or a place worthwhile of settling. The French settlers then began adopting this common ending of mi'kmaw places as the name for different parts of their settlements. Today, we see such evidence of this trend in the names of Maritime municipalities such as Tracadie, Shubenacadie and Shenacadie (LeBlanc 2003:19). Finally, the ensemble of these places that all share a common ending made up a territory that became known as *Acadie*, an area we now commonly refer to as the Canadian Maritime Provinces.

The second, lesser held theory is based on the explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano's description of this 1524 journey to the New World, a journey that was funded by King François I. In a letter to the king, Verrazzano wrote of *Arcadia* and its abundance of beautiful woods and forests. In the XVI century, *Arcadia*, a derivative of Arcas, the son of Jupiter, referred to a real geographical location in Greece known for its arboreal beauty and paradise qualities (Ibid. page 20). What remains unknown is whether or not the name Acadia is derived from

one or both of these theories. What did occur was, as a series of cultural exchanges between the French settlers and the Mi'kmaq and Wolastoqiyik took place, geographers began placing *Acadie* on maps. Documents and treaties also began referring to a place called Acadia, but with various spelling forms, such as *Arcadie, Larcadie, Accadie, Acadye, Acadia, La Cadie* and *Acadie* (ibid. page 21). Therefore, as far back as the 17th century, we have never completely understood the meaning or origin of Acadia.

More than a century after the Treaty of the Utrecht was signed in 1713, people who wrote of Acadia did so mainly through storytelling, evoking a fantasy-like image of the term. Personal accounts and academic research demonstrate this fact, as do literature, media and all forms of artistic expression. One such example is the book-length *Évangéline: A Tale of Acadia*, written in 1847 by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. *Évangéline* is perhaps the most celebrated Acadian poem of all time, having been since translated into many different languages across the world and sold millions of copies. LeBlanc (2003) recounts how this poem details what readers may perceive as genocide, an event that took place when the British drove the Acadians from their homes and destroyed their lands in the Great Deportation of 1755. Others might call it very simply a story of long-lost love: Évangéline and Gabriel, two lovers separated from each other at Grand-Pré, Nova Scotia, on the day of their wedding and placed on separate transport ships destined for the Atlantic seaboard. The poem traces the life of Evangéline as she endlessly searches for Gabriel, only to find him on his death bed in Philadelphia.

We use this poem as part of our introduction because over the years, it has, to a certain extent, mythicized Acadia (LeBlanc, 2003). With allusions to druids and talking trees, this mythicism is immediately transmitted to the reader in its first verse, long before Évangéline and Gabriel are even introduced:

> This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks,
> Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight,
> Stand like Druids of old, with voices sad and prophetic,
> Stand like harpers hoar, with beards that rest on their bosoms.
> Loud from its rocky caverns, the deep-voiced neighboring ocean
> Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.

By definition, a myth is "a traditional story concerning the early history of a people [...]" or "a widely held but false belief" (the Concise Oxford Dictionary). Consequently, by stating that Longfellow has mythicized Acadia through his very popular poem, one could wonder just how true that myth is and how Acadia has evolved since 1755 when our fictitious Évangéline and Gabriel were harshly sent away in different directions. We cannot find Acadia on any current map nowadays, so perhaps it is just a myth, left to the imagination.

In fact, the word 'imagination' is greatly significant to how Anderson (1991) might describe Acadia. Yet, according to LeBlanc, he would not believe it to be a myth, as some might believe by reading Longfellow's poem. Using Anderson's anthropological perspective concerning the term "nation", LeBlanc (2003:99) equates the Acadian 'nation' with "an imagined community that is limited and sovereign". Anderson considers a nation to be 'imagined' as most members of a nation will never know their fellow members; 'limited' because all nations have a finite, if not elastic, boundary; and 'sovereign' to suggest a degree of self-determination. Therefore, LeBlanc trusts that Acadia has no need to exist on a map,

for while a nation can exist without political borders, they also have economic, cultural and ethnic boundaries (such parallels can be made with the Irish, Jewish and Palestinian peoples, who, at one time, had specific territories which have since ceased to officially exist). We discuss in detail Acadia's geographical borders in section 3.4 of our review of literature which are triangulated with our results in section 5.4 of our concluding discussion.

Yet, Anderson's 'imagined community', which LeBlanc uses to describe Acadia, has become a very ambiguous concept in Canadian history (see review of literature). An imagined community where apparently an Acadian might very well not know who they really are is cause for us to repeat the fundamental questions so important to the identity of an individual, a group, a community, etc. Who are the Acadians? What is Acadia? Is there any truth to Longfellow's poem that there is indeed a location called Acadia? In this study, we take it upon ourselves to investigate the variety of meanings surrounding these two terms.

1.2 French New Brunswick today

It is generally agreed upon that there are roughly 300 000 Acadians living in the Maritime Provinces today, 85.3% of which live in New Brunswick (Augustin, 2005). New Brunswick is therefore widely believed to be the heart of today's Acadia. Although 85.3% may appear to be a high percentage, in reality it only represents approximately 1/3 of the province's population, leaving New Brunswick Acadians in a linguistic minority status.[1] Out of a provincial population of almost 730 000, over 236 000 New Brunswickers speak French as a

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[1] We refer the reader to Heller (2006:7) where she discusses the concept of a linguistic minority within the ideological framework of nationalism and its association with language.

first language.[2] Proportionally speaking, however, Francophones form the largest linguistic minority in New Brunswick which is home to the third largest francophone population in Canada, after Quebec and Ontario. Today, New Brunswick Acadia is commonly regarded as encompassing 3 different regions resulting from cultural discontinuity with each other (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). We know these regions as the North East, the South East and the North West (described in the following pages). Geographically speaking however, these three terms are quite ambiguous and several scholars, namely Adrien Bérubé and Samuel Arseneault, question the value of these three categories (see section 2.4). For example, where exactly does the North West stop and the North East begin? How far into the interior of the province does the South East stretch? The writings of Barth (1969:9) on the boundaries of ethnic groups, or units, reflect the challenge of geographically categorizing New Brunswick Acadia. Believing that language is not a categorical feature of ethnicity, Barth postulates that interaction establishes and maintains a sense of the group which is identified by its members, not linguists or anthropologists:

> [...] it is clear that boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained *despite* changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories (1969:9-10, emphasis original).

Nevertheless, there is no consensus on this particular matter in Acadian research, and since our study is strongly tied to the role played by space and geography in the construction of the Acadian identity, we believe that a visual representation of the area being studied needed to

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[2] Statistics Canada, 2001 Census. Statistics also show that over 5 255 residents claim to speak equally French and English at home while roughly 94 000 work in French and another 16 425 use both official languages at work. Overall, the provincial population has decreased by 8 700 people since the 1996 national census. At the time of writing, the 2006 census data was not available.

be firmly established so that we may triangulate it with the results of our analysis. We have therefore assessed the borders for the 3 regions in terms of extralinguistic criteria, and our territorial descriptions of the three regions are heavily based on those provided by Gratien Allaire (2001:54). We chose Allaire's descriptions because we consider them to be the most detailed and precise for our analysis on the relation between Acadia and geography in later chapters, and most descriptions provided by literature contain very little information as to how far these regions extend inland, and are often limited to naming each region's said capital. We modified Allaire's representations (which can be found in the following pages) by adding some further precisions, all to illustrate our geographical understanding of French New Brunswick. With the 3 regions combined, this territorial representation is illustrated in the following map (Map 1):

Map 1: French New Brunswick, according to Keppie

1.2.1 The North-East

The North-East, also known as the Acadian Peninsula, or *la péninsule*, is centred around the town of Caraquet. The town is frequently referred to as the Acadian capital, for upon entering the city limits, a road sign states exactly that: « *Bienvenue à Caraquet, la capitale de l'Acadie* ». Caraquet's numerous festivals and celebrations that commemorate the traditions that defined Acadia until the 1960s have also added to its status as capital. This town plays a significant role in our discussion as it has come to symbolize Acadian history and a pole of *acadianité*.

Francophones are the linguistic majority in the North-East, representing around 80% of the region's total population (Dallaire and Lachapelle 1990). Language contact is also low, allowing Francophones to live in French: in school, at home and at work. The economy, though presently in a state of decline, has been traditionally sustained through primary resources, namely fishing and aquaculture (the cultivation of aquatic animals and plants, in natural or controlled marine or freshwater environments). For the purpose of this research, we understand the North-East through the following description (Allaire 2001:54, italics our addition):

> Le **Nord-Est** comprend les comtés de Gloucester et de Restigouche (moins Saint-Quentin et les autres localités situées du côté du Madawaska). Il s'étend de Lamèque à Campbellton et comprend des hauts lieux de l'Acadie tels que Caraquet, Shippagan et Tracadie de même que des villes industrielles comme Dalhousie et Bathurst. *Il descend en passant par Néguac jusqu'à la Baie de Miramichi, incluant une petite partie du comté de Northumberland.*

1.2.2 The South-East

The composition of this region is centered around the city of Moncton, which has benefited from a firm economic development. While there is no sign at the city limits proclaiming its status as Acadia's capital, the city has progressively affirmed itself as a symbolic and organizational pole of Acadia, despite some scholarly opinion to the contrary (Bérubé 1979). As we discuss in the following chapter, Moncton is known for the Université de Moncton (Moncton campus), numerous cultural centres and institutions such as *le centre culturel Aberdeen* and *la société Radio-Canada*, as well as its avant-garde reputation that brings to it a prominent international presence and with it, a welcomed English influence.

The actual City of Moncton, population 80 000 of which 35% are Francophone (Perrot 2003), is part of the Greater Moncton Area, which also encompasses the cities of Dieppe and Riverview. The South-East, whose francophone population stands at approximately 42.5% (ibid.), is a region of strong language contact as it attracts many members of the international francophone community for various business purposes. The region also draws many Francophones from other regions of the province who come in search of better employment opportunities. In the South-East, language, and bilingualism in particular, are considered strong economic commodities, echoing Heller and Labrie's (2003) description of discourse and identity in French Canadian communities. For the purpose of this research, the South-East is understood through the following description (Allaire 2001:54, italics our addition):

> Le **Sud-Est** est formé des comtés de Westmorland et de Kent, avec une extension vers le nord-ouest dans le comté de Northumberland *jusqu'à la Baie de Miramichi, incluant Rogersville et la Baie Sainte Anne.* Il s'étend de Cap-Pelé à Saint-Louis-de-Kent, en passant par Moncton et Dieppe; il comprend des hauts lieux de l'Acadie comme Memramcook, Shédiac et Bouctouche.

1.2.3 The North-West

The North-West is the crossroads between Québec, the State of Maine, and the remaining Atlantic Provinces (Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoudland). The city of Edmundston is customarily referred to as the regional capital, where the Université de Moncton (Edmundston campus)[3] is located, along with a pulp and paper mill that employs a high number of Francophones from the area. The popular regional festival, *la Foire brayonne*, is also held in Edmundston every July. The North-West's francophone population varies considerably depending of the county, with Victoria standing at 43.5% and Madawaska at 95.2% (Boudreau 1998:66). While the region's economy is not as thriving as in the South-East, it is considerably more stable than in the North-East, being sustained mainly through forestry and agriculture, namely the potato. The North-West's borders are understood as follows (Allaire 2001:54, italics our addition):

> Le **Nord-Ouest** comprend le compté de Madawaska, avec Edmundston et Saint-Basile, auquel s'ajoutent Grand-Sault dans le nord du comté de Victoria et Saint Quentin dans le comté de Restigouche. *La frontière est, qui sépare le nord-ouest du nord-est, se place à la ville de Campbellton.*

We would like to signal, however, that Thériault (1994) calls the County of Restigouche *le Nord*, a region where a strong percentage of Anglophones live in the cities of Campbellton and Dalhousie. He calls this region another barrier separating the North-West from the North-East. Because *le Nord* is infrequently defined in research, such as in text or on a map, we do not include it as a fourth region of our study.

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[3] The North-East also has a Université de Moncton campus, located in Shippagan.

1.3 The concept of speech communities

This research examines the relation between identity, which we understand as constructed through interactional events and social practices (Bloomeart 2005:205) and the content of daily verbal interactions of the French New Brunswick speech community. Fundamentally, we wish to understand the variety of meanings behind the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien*. We believe this to be a project of great value and importance, for although numerous studies have been written on the New Brunswick Acadians in various ends of research, such as linguistics, history, socio-economics and literature, there have been far fewer studies of an anthropological nature. Despite the fact that the degree of linguistic diversity in French New Brunswick is much higher than in other Maritime Provinces, Davis (1985:27) shows us that:

> [a]nthropological studies of Acadians have been limited in number and in representativeness of Acadian society as a whole. Although five-sixths of all Acadians in the Maritime Provinces live in New Brunswick, no anthropological field studies had been made of Acadians in the province. Statements about Acadian society are based on information gained from studies of Nova Scotian Acadians who live in circumstances which are in some ways (demographic, economic, political), quite different from those known by many Acadians in New Brunswick. Although it has been traditional in anthropology for one community, or one segment of a population, to be offered as a microcosm of the larger society, the approach has become increasingly suspect, especially when applied to a highly industrialized and complex society such as Canada. Additional studies of Acadians in various social environments are sorely needed. [...] sociocultural differences between the three regional populations have not yet been systematically explored.

We decided to take the French New Brunswick speech community as our starting point because in classical ethnographic research, the speech community is not assumed to share the same understandings of language use and meanings, regardless of whether or not its members share the same language (Hymes 1972a, b), and research fully supports this as the case for the understanding of the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien*. As well, it has lately been suggested that

research involving the study of (language) borders begin with the speech community rather than the (nation-)state (Bush et al. 2004). There exist numerous definitions of the term 'speech community', and we will here dedicate a few pages to differentiating between some well-known approaches taken by scholars of linguistics and linguistic anthropology, namely Bloomfield (1948), Gumperz (1962, 1972), Hudson (1980), Hymes (1974), and Labov (1972a).[4]

Gumperz remains highly quoted by other scholars when discussing the concept of speech / linguistic communities. A first definition by Gumperz (1962) recognizes the importance of social interaction by its members: "We will define [linguistic community] as a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weakness in the lines of communication" (as quoted in Hudson 1980:26). Ten years later, in what became his classic definition, Gumperz defined a speech community as "a field of action where the distribution of linguistic variants is a reflection of social facts" (1972:225). Here he highlights 2 types of relationships between linguistic variants: dialectal (differences in geographical origin and social background) or superposed (differences in types of interactive activities within the same group). Therefore, we can sum up Gumperz's views by saying that social values are reflected through language, and that there does not necessarily have to be one language per speech community.

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[4] Numerous other definitions of speech and/or linguistic communities can be found. See Fishman (1989), Hockett (1958), and Lyons (1970).

Labov (1972a:120) provides the following definition, stressing the importance of attitudes to language:

> The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt typed of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.

This approach to defining a speech community makes relevant the feeling of community membership through interaction rather than limitations and boundaries set by linguists and non-members. This complements Romaine's recommendation that "we acknowledge the existence of different norms of speaking and prestige attached to them as coexistent WITHIN THE SAME [original emphasis] speech community" (1982:22).

Similar to Labov, another well-known approach to the concept of speech communities is the one taken by Hymes (1974). He defines a speech community simply as "an organization of diversity" (1974:433) yet acknowledges that traditionally 'organization' meant an organization of grammars. Hymes emphasizes the importance of styles rather than grammar, stating that a speech community can be defined through its *referential* meaning (what is said) and *stylistic* meaning (how it is said), and remarking that grammar may be a hindrance in studying the *ways of speaking*.

Bloomfield defines *speech community* as "a group of people who interact by means of speech" made up of sub-groups (1948:42). He identifies these sub-groups within the speech community as groups of individuals who are separated by "lines of weakness" which are established according to differences in speech within the community (1948:47). These

separations are either geographical (what Bloomfield calls "local" separation) or social ("non-local").

Finally, Hudson (1980) premises that *linguistic community* and *speech community* are one of the same. After discussing various definitions of these two terms, he suggests that perhaps there is no true definition; Daveluy (2005) even suggested that a *linguistic community* is simply a notion rather than a concept. This suggestion comes from the basis that the existing definitions are misleading and difficult for the sociolinguist to recognize in the field. However, Hudson agrees with Labov in the sense that attitudes towards language are relevant in identifying oneself to a community, for "language is used as a symbol for group membership" (1980:197). In addition, Hudson stresses that participation must be felt through factors other than language, such as social norms.

So far, we have illustrated how the concept of speech community is understood by several different scholars, all similar in some ways, yet each with their own definition that could be illustrated by the particular situations of various linguistic groups around the world. They cannot all apply to French New Brunswick and thus, for the purpose of this study, we will understand the French New Brunswick speech community in Bloomfield's (1948) terms as a group whose interaction is by means of speech. We adopt this definition of speech community as previous study has shown that language attitudes toward the South-Eastern French dialect, known as Chiac, are an example of the community boundaries Bloomfield describes (Keppie 2002). These boundaries are 'local' geographic references and 'non-local', in this case the value of dialect comprehension (Haugen 1967).

1.4 Discourse periods in French New Brunswick

This study analyses the content of the discourse in the French New Brunswick speech community. Thus, the role of discourse is primordial, and in this research will be treated as "language as a form of social practice" (Fairclough 1989:22) in which society and language form an internal and dialectical relationship, meaning that language is an integral part of society. In conjunction with the definition provided by Fairclough, we adopted Shi-xu's (2005:19) more descriptive one. Therefore, we understand discourse as the "construction of meaning through the use of (primarily) linguistic symbols in a concrete cultural context" that is entirely central to the life of a group or community on both the social and cultural levels.

In Acadian studies, discourse plays a central role and has garnered a lot of interest in recent years. The field has exemplified the extent to which Acadia, in constant evolution through 3 main types of social discourses, is being molded by the demands of a modern world where national and communal growth are determined through internationalization and globalization. Here, we shall address these 3 types of Acadian discourses or 'constructions of meanings' and 'social practices', which are known as the traditional, modernizing, and globalizing periods.

1.4.1 The traditional discourse period – « une collectivité sans État »

The first type of discourse to characterize Acadia, known as the traditional discourse period, began with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. For approximately 250 years, up to the 1960s, the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien* were associated with the suppression of the Maritime francophone population by the English-speaking majority that resulted in the bonding of the former over their common feelings of exploitation. Francophones of this time

are described as being resigned to their oppressed status. The Acadian elite were then

namely the Roman Catholic Church and the *Société nationale de l'Acadie*, upon which

Acadians had complete dependence in establishing their definition of themselves (Heller and

Labrie 2003, LeBlanc 2003). In 1881, the *Société nationale de l'Acadie* was created in

Memramcook New Brunswick, marking the first official gathering of the Acadian people

since the Treaty of Utrecht. It was determined by the Church that the society would have as

its objective to establish a definition of *acadianité*. Taking into account what the elite found

imperative to the Acadian community, namely the role of family, the *Société nationale de

l'Acadie* thus defined Acadians as a *collectivité sans État*. "Speech after speech emphasized

the importance of [...] their traditions, their history, their customs, [...] and their religion"

(LeBlanc 2003:104). To be an Acadian in the traditional sense, one must have knowledge

and experience in the types of religious, economic and festive customs that were customary

of the Acadians of the time of the Deportation and this knowledge and experience could be

transmitted mainly through family. Thus, genealogy became the prime identity marker in

traditional *acadianité* (Cimino, 1977). Acadia was lived through memories and ancestral ties,

regardless of where you lived.

However, as modernity ushered into Canada in the 1960s, creating and maintaining a sense

of belonging solely through the Church, family and their traditions became a difficult and

daunting task for Acadians. Modernity in Acadia is often equated with the inaugauration of

the Université de Moncton, which, founded in 1963, had the effect of giving Acadians a

vision of leadership and cultural infrastructures (Chiasson, 2005). The creation of this

institution allowed for a separation from an ideological period seen as rigid and backward

that surrounded Acadia and Acadians. Thus, students of this university began denouncing the efforts of the *Société nationale de l'Acadie*, arguing that a definition of Acadia based on family traditions and customs of the 17th century was meaningless and anachronistic. This conflict of opinions is well illustrated in McRoberts and Postgate (1976:7), who describe traditional society as "more likely to be rural and agrarian than urban and industrial; status is more likely to be based on ascriptive ties than on achievement; values are more likely to be particularist and religious rather than universal and secular; social structures and social roles are more likely to be integrated with each other than differentiated". So, with secondary education opening up doors for critical thought and the generation of young adults beginning to openly question the relativity of their identity, the traditionalist movement began to open up.

1.4.2 The modernizing discourse period – « l'union fait la force »

In the 1960s emerged one of the main discourses to dominate Acadian life, known as the modernizing discourse period (Heller and Labrie 2003). Modernity is a common research topic in social sciences yet it is described by Heller and Labrie as often being very vague and analytical. Commonly viewed as a social complex that contrasts itself with the preceding time period, modernity is associated with the industrial world, one of science and technology, a time period where no institution, such as politics or religion, predominates. The topic of modernity in relation to cultural identity of the Acadian minority of New Brunswick was undertaken by Ricky Richard (1995) who bases his methodology on Giddens' (1991a) definition of modernity, one we will adopt as well. Giddens defines modernity as a mode of existence through rational (scientific, technological, administrative) change that is

omnipresent as well as valued by the society in question. This change in cultural identity (in this case *acadianité*) is also constant and evolving. On a national level, modernity changed Canada from "an agricultural society to an urban and industrial society. New Brunswick did not entirely escape this metamorphosis" (Ouellette 1992:78). As quoted in Richard (1995:39), the era of modernity and the real beginning of contemporary Acadia began with the efforts of Premier Louis Robichaud in the 1960s to bring linguistic and social equality to the province's francophones:

> Throughout the 1960s, Louis Robichaud became the symbol of Acadian political maturity, giving the francophone community the tools and experience necessary to facilitate a higher level of political participation in the decision-making process by appointing a predominantly francophone cabinet, implementing a programme of social reform that bettered education, health and municipal conditions, establishing the Université de Moncton and the École Normale and passing the Official Languages Act.

We recall that at the time when the modernizing period was emerging, the definitions of *Acadie* and *Acadien* had been resting on genealogy, at least in the eyes of the *Société nationale de l'Acadie* and the *Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick* (the Acadian elite). Through this reformist period however, traditional institutions, such as the Church, began to be seen as the reason why Acadians remained submissive for so many years. Wary of isolation and autarky, Acadians became more and more concerned with their integration into the (international) political world. Women in particular began to take an interest in business and political areas traditionally reserved for men. Thus, Acadians started to depend on the provincial government for social advancement and a political strategy began to develop that had the Acadian identity maintained primarily through linguistic and consequently, geographical autonomy.

1.4.3 The globalizing discourse period - « l'unicité dans la diversité »[5]

The previous 2 discourse periods essentially marginalized Acadians from the rest of the world. The traditional period described Acadians as a people without any real future outside the continuation of the family line. The modernizing period initially saw some changes as New Brunswick became officially bilingual, yet the *Parti acadien*'s platform of the 1970s advocated a French-only policy involving geo-political borders to keep 'them', the 'capitalist' Anglophones, out. Today, as Acadia becomes more active in the social networks that evaded it during the modernizing period, Heller and Labrie (2003) describe another discourse period that defines Acadia as a promoter of social inclusion.

The Acadian globalizing discourse of the 1980s through to today is the pole of individualism and universalism (Thériault 1994) where the desire for integration is politically, individually and socio-economically driven. This period describes Acadia as wanting to accept and be accepted by 'others' and refusing its past economic 'ghetto' that was so long unstable and relatively poor (ibid). In fact, this accommodating discourse period actually owes its birth not only to the failure of the somewhat nationalistic movement that characterized part of the modernizing period, but also the movement's founding drive to have Acadia recognized socio-economically. As belief in and support of an Acadian nationalistic political strategy lessened to the point of dissolution in the 1980s, a gradual yet persistent development of separate francophone cultural identities began appearing in New Brunswick.

In fact, Richard (1995) calls the 1980s the "judicial" time for New Brunswick Francophones as different regions began shaping their separate identities by taking on different identity

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[5] Heller (2006:30)

discourses. French New Brunswick was now defined through more than one type of discourse. This remains one of the most pivotal elements of the globalizing period according to Heller and Labrie (2003), who state that by looking at socio-economic advancement from the regional level first, before Acadia as a whole, allows for recognizing a socially, linguistically and culturally diverse population that can involve multiple identities. It is believed that in order to not only survive in an economically-driven world, but rather flourish, different *acadianités* could be maintained and structured through regional economies. This being a decidedly entrepreneurial line of thought that differs significantly from the former definition of Acadia as a homogeneous French entity, Acadians now look at New Brunswick's official bilingual status as a positive and beneficial commodity. Thus, bilingualism has been deemed important and even vital if one wishes to participate in and benefit from a globalizing economy.

Despite great advancements made by French New Brunswick to adopt a more entrepreneurial perspective however, the globalizing period is said to have not yet completely taken over from the modernizing one in certain francophone populations in New Brunswick: "Acadian society has [...] not fully harmonized its relations [...]" (Allain, McKee-Allain and Thériault 1995:357). As we see in our concluding chapter, this study supports this claim through evidence of the existence of multiple meaning systems associated to *Acadie* and *Acadien*, despite there being a globalizing umbrella under which sits the whole of French New Brunswick.

1.5 The concept of ideology

Thus far, we have discussed 3 social discourses that have characterized Acadian history up to present day, yet their current co-existence makes the concepts of *Acadie* and *Acadien* difficult to fully understand. One way to obtain a better understanding of these terms is to study the relation between the above described discourses and language ideology, a common and promising approach to discourse analysis (Thompson 1984). Discourse has, in scholarly work, been omnipresent in the study of ideology, and for the purpose of our study, both areas of research go hand in hand. They are both important to the field of linguistic anthropology because they allow us to better understand the connection between social forms and forms of talk as they relate to, for example, aesthetics and morality. As Woolard (1998: 3-16) discusses in her introduction to Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory, the field of language ideology reflects that of the field of discourse because there does not exist a core literature and thus far, the term "language ideology" has been very broadly defined. In fact, Acadia had long ceased to officially exist before French philosopher Destutt de Tracy first coined the term 'ideology' in the 18th century. Even though there may not be a consensus over the understanding of ideologies, they are imbedded in discourse and taken for common sense (Fairclough 1989). Therefore, we borrow from van Dijk's *Discourse analysis as ideology analysis* (1995:18), as he defines ideologies as

> The 'interface' between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and interests and social groups, on the other hand....As systems of principles that organize social cognitions, ideologies are assumed to control, through the minds of the members, the social reproduction of the group. Ideologies mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources.

Therefore, in explaining how ideologies become a structural source of discourse,

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> [i]deologies in our perspective are not merely 'systems of ideas', let alone properties of the individual minds of persons. Neither are they vaguely defined as forms of consciousness, let alone 'false consciousness'. Rather, they are very specific basic frameworks of social cognition, with specific internal structures, and specific cognitive and social functions (ibid, p.21).

This definition of ideology reflects very well that of Woolard (1998), who describes the most agreed upon and neutral definition of ideology as a response to experiences and interests of a particular social position. This explanation is closely related to what Woolard claims as the second most popular definition, one which often holds a negative vision. This vision, which Fairclough (1989) regards as the primary definition, identifies ideology as being intricately linked with social, political and economic powers.

In our research, we show that there is ideological diversity within French New Brunswick. This diversity takes form in a variety of what Fairclough refers to as 'common sense' (perspective shared by most members of a particular group or society) over 'meaning systems'. Meaning systems are not simply isolated and independent meanings of a particular word, but rather they relate that word with society, as is portrayed through the social practice that is discourse (ibid, p. 94). Therefore, to understand ideology is to understand its meaning systems: to understand the (language) ideologies that are imbedded in French New Brunswick discourse, we are required to understand the fundamental meaning systems of *Acadie* and *Acadien*, and how their meanings serve to maintain relations of domination (Duranti 1988). In doing so we are able to "enact ties of language to identity", which Woolard (1985:3) regards as an imperial aspect of (language) ideological study.

In communities of language contact and conflict, such as New Brunswick, the dimensions of language ideologies that have been studied in some guise include language maintenance, the definition of what constitutes language, values associated with particular languages and the relation between identity and language use (Woolard 1998). What makes our study significant is that we go a step further by examining how language ideologies and their meaning systems define the French New Brunswick linguistic minority in relation to the region, gender and age of its members. We believe that our project will enrich the ethnographic approach to the field of Acadian studies by addressing issues which Davis states have been overlooked, such as focusing solely on the province of New Brunswick.

1.6 Acadian typologies

To this date, there is not much scholarly work available on Acadian ideologies or meaning systems, save by Adrien Bérubé, a New Brunswick geographer whose work is vital to our current project even though it is not conceptualized within a discourse/ideology theoretical framework. However, if we were to transplant Fairclough's theories of common sense meaning systems to Bérubé (1987), we would see that there are possibly 4 different meaning systems of the term *Acadie* (illustrated in Table 1), which are often referenced by other scholars and researchers who undertake any discussion concerning the definition of Acadia. (for example, Arseneault [1999], Trépanier [1994] and Basque, Barrieau and Côté [2003]).

Table 1: Acadian typology and ideologies

Acadian typology	Definition of «Acadiens»	Territory	Number of Acadians	Characteristics
HISTORIQUE	Inhabitants of the original territory known as Acadia	Today's Maritime Provinces (approximately)	Approximately 15 000 in 1763	- no longer in existence - fundamentalist vision
GENEALOGIQUE	Descendents of the 1755 deportation	without borders, encircling the globe (Acadia seen as a state of being)	3 500 000(?) stated as impossible to count	- determined by ancestry, includes assimilated Acadians - apolitical vision
OPERATIONNELLE	Francophones of the Maritimes	New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island	Officially 276 150 (June 1981)	- linguistic community - reformist vision
PROSPECTIVE	Nationalists - autonomists	Part of New Brunswick to be defined through political autonomy	Unknown, yet less than stated for other ideologies	- belief in the collective project of a francophone territory

(Source: Bérubé (1987) Concevoir un manuel de géographie du Nouveau-Brunswick --: et rendre la géographie utilisable. Paris. Documentation française. 1990, page. 244)

Bérubé's first ideology, a territorial perspective called *l'Acadie historique*, defines Acadia as non-existent, having not existed since the British took final control over the former Acadian lands of the Maritime Provinces with the *Grand Dérangement*. Bérubé (ibid, p. 244) describes those who define Acadia through this ideology as people who prefer to ignore whatever link they may have to Acadia by assimilating themselves completely to the dominant culture, becoming what he calls «intégristes», or fundamentalists.

Second, we have what Bérubé calls *l'Acadie de la Diaspora*, a definition founded on genealogy. This definition can be equated with the traditionalist discourse, describing Acadia as a unified and homogeneous social network maintained through blood relations that date back to the time of the Deportation. In this case, Bérubé states that a genealogically defined Acadia does not include any notion of geography because with the perception that it is through ancestry that Acadia is traced, Acadians are found all around the world but without

a land to call their own. The concept becomes a *patrie intérieure,* transmitted through family members by means of traditions, folklore and rituals.

The basis of Bérubé's third type of Acadia, known as *l'Acadie prospective,* or *la Nouvelle-Acadie,* follows the modernizing discourse and is mainly associated with the semi-nationalistic movement of the period. A prospective ideology suggests that Acadia does not yet fully exist and will only exist once an autonomous and unilingual territory is officially created and whose members are identified solely as true Francophones who desire autonomy to replace New Brunswick's linguistic equality status. This ideology is very reflective of the theory that "the creation and imposition of standard languages is related not only to inequality but also [...] to the construction of national identity" (Gal 1989:355)

Finally, we have *l'Acadie opérationnelle* which echoes the globalizing discourse. Here, the definition often crosses over to what it means to be Acadian; anybody who: desires to live their Frenchness not necessarily in a homogeneous manner; accepts assimilated Acadians and francophiles as Acadian as long as they live in the Maritimes (giving a geographical element to the definition); and adheres to the Acadian *cause commune* of upholding and promoting linguistic and social rights.

In keeping with our understanding of a speech community being heterogenous in terms of language use and meanings (Bloomfield's 'lines of weakness'), Bérubé insists that these 4 ways of understanding Acadia are not mutually exclusive. Our focus is to test these theories through empirical research. To our knowledge, no other study has used data analysis-based

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research to define New Brunswick Acadia, with the exception of Cécyle Trépanier's preliminary studies, *Le mythe de « l'Acadie des Maritimes »* (1996) and *A la recherche de l'Acadie et des perceptions identitaires des Acadiens des Provinces Maritimes du Canada* (1994). Her work is detailed in our review of literature and then triangulated with our results in our concluding discussion.

1.7 Description of chapters

Following this introduction, we shall begin our second chapter with a review of literature in which we further discuss the modernizing and globalizing discourses through which New Brunswick Acadia has been defined in most recent history. These discourses lead to a discussion of Bloomfield's 'lines of weakness' in the French New Brunswick speech community, namely the regional discontinuity within 3 francophone regions of, the role of language in Acadian identity, and the question of (territorial, political, language) borders. Finally, various definitions of *Acadie* and *Acadien* found in literature are discussed and compared. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate that despite years of discussion, no single meaning system of Acadia exists; rather, there is strong suggestion of the existence of mixed or multiple Acadian ideologies. Following our literature review, we detail our case study, methodology, and research questions in Chapter 3. We present the results to our case study in our 4th chapter which begins by addressing the 2 principal and fundamental questions upon which our study is based, including what is Acadia and what it means to be Acadian. Subsequently, we look at the relation between Acadia and geography. Our last section focuses on the role played by language in *acadianité*. We then proceed to a chapter of discussion where we compare our results from what literature has told us enabling us to

answer our 5th research question and how they contribute to the study of discourse, ideology, and identity. Finally, we will conclude our study with a synthesis that will hopefully provide future studies with a clearer perspective of how Acadia and Acadians are perceived in French New Brunswick today.

2.0 Review of literature

We will begin our review of literature with a further discussion of the 2 types of discourse that have defined the latter part of the 20th century in French New Brunswick and their relations between the social, economic and political changes, which were introduced in the first chapter. Due to a lack of available literature, we cannot discuss the traditional discourse period any further than was done in our introduction. Then, we address three issues that have been widely discussed in Acadian studies: regional discontinuity from the traditional model, the role of language in *acadianité*, and the topic of geography and borders. Finally, we look at how Acadia has been defined in history, by elite, and through research.

2.1 The modernizing discourse – «l'union fait la force»

We previously discussed the modernizing period as lasting through the 1960s and 1970s, following a time when Acadians were commonly regarded as a *collectivité sans État*. While research dealing with the traditional discourse period remains somewhat limited, accounts from Acadians in the media have helped us form a much more comprehensive picture of the Acadian modernizing period in which strong associations can be made with Fairclough's (1989) theories on the relation between discourse and power. As we discuss in our final chapter, there is a struggle for power between the New Brunswick Acadian regions, a process which Fairclough (ibid, p. 34) defines as "whereby social groupings with different interests engage with one another". The ideological power struggle, where one attemps to project their 'common sense meaning systems' as universal, first became apparent in Acadia through the media. Dairon (2003) identifies the important elements of modern *acadianité* through a study of letters of opinion written in the 1970s to the Acadian newspaper *l'Évangéline* which

was first published in 1887. In the 1960s and 1970s, the paper took on a modernized approach described as combative and cohesive (Johnson, 2006). It was combative because it voiced the concerns of Acadians and cohesive as its aim was to create and maintain a sense of common belonging, solidarity and membership with the Acadian people. *L'Évangéline* was an elitist newspaper whose position takes the defence of Acadia by creating what Johnson calls *une sécurité identitaire*, emphasizing the unequal differences between a mainly Catholic, francophone and rural lifestyle against a much more modern and industrial anglophone majority.[6] However, this ideology was voiced in a manner which demonstrated the willingness of Acadians to open up to the possibility of change as an integral part of the French New Brunswick society. Dairon describes *L'Évangéline* as a witness to the evolution of the Acadian society from one of traditions to one of modernity and it parallels the manner in which French Canadian history books of the 1990s portrayed New Brunswick Acadia – a contemporary and evolving society. In letters of opinion of the 1970s, Dairon identified 4 reoccurring themes (religion, women, language and politics) which together illustrate the diversity and evolution of the Acadians as a people who were no longer afraid or ashamed of whom they were and where they came from.

Although Acadia was mainly represented by the Church during the traditional discourse period prior to the 1960s, the theme of religion continued to maintain a presence in *acadianité* as modernity emerged in the Maritimes. In studying *l'Évangéline*, Dairon found the 1970s' letters of opinion to contain frequent markers of the Catholic religion, such as the expressions « mère chrétienne », « une paroisienne » and « un Chrétien ». As well, many

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[6] We do not believe, however, that the newspaper aimed to symbolically gain power for the Acadian community by taking such a position.

opinions were written by the members of the Church themselves and any criticism toward

religion were sent principally by students, showing the inclination of the younger generation

to adhere to changing times that revolved around a political discussion of the future of

Acadia. However, these students were often met with criticism and declared as being non-

believers and overall, it is believed that *l'Évangéline* was principally read by « des gens bien,

c'est-à-dire, des catholiques pratiquants » (Dairon 2003:165). This theme of religion

illustrates how one common theme can overlap 2 different discourse periods. Yet, religion

does not play a relevant role in our study of the modernizing discourse, for it was rarely

brought up in conversation during the interview process.

The second reoccurring theme found was the role of women. Dairon suggests that

l'Évangéline illustrated the Acadian female as the proper and realistic representation of

1970s modern Acadia. Within a minority community, women began taking a more active

interest in political and social news over the years: in 1973, 28% of all letters of opinion were

written by women, and 8 years later in 1981, this percentage had jumped to 37%,

representing over one third of all letters sent to *l'Évangéline* (ibid.). As the 1980s

approached, women began voicing their opinions louder and more often, demanding

recognition for the role they have played in developing a contemporary and modern Acadia.

This new role was accomplished by becoming more involved in areas traditionally reserved

for men, such as politics and economics, areas much more readily available and open to them

with the newly founded Université de Moncton. The following opinion, provided by Dairon

(2003:175), describes the 1970s Acadian women as a rising force of *acadianité*:

> Le rôle des femmes prend de l'ampleur. Sa participation dans des
> domaines tels que les finances, la consommation, le travail et la

syndicalisation affecte toute notre société. Par conséquent nous croyons
que vous avez manqué à votre mandat et qu'ainsi vous privez vos lectrices
d'une information précieuse sur les préoccupations de la moitié des
citoyens francophones.

Oddly enough, this is the only instance we came upon that emphasized the role of Acadian

women. Yet, work by Gal (1975:1) suggests "that women's speech choices must be

explained within the context of their social position, their strategic life choices and the

symbolic values of the available linguistic alternatives". While we have found no research

on the language choice between genders in Acadia, variationist research in sociolinguistics

tend to show women favouring more formal and prestigious patterns, such as Gauchat's

study of **th** variability of Charmey patois, Labov's study of New York City English and

Shuy's study on Detroit speech (all summarized in Labov 1972). In addition, we have Gal's

(1975:5) account of language shift from Hungarian to German in Oberwart, Austria, in which

(young) women strongly show their preference for the latter as "today there is a premium not

just on speaking German, but on speaking it without any interference from Hungarian" since

the peasant status associated with Hungarian is not longer respected in the community. This

can be equated somewhat to the status of English in Acadia during the modernizing discourse

period (although we would not go so far as to call the mixture of English and French during

the 1970s a sign of 'peasant status'; it is more a criterion for community exclusion, in other

words, neither Acadian nor part of Acadia), so it is not surprising for Dairon to claim women

as an Acadian symbol of that time period. As we know, language use and even proficiency

are factors that can influence socio-economic integration (Boyd 1999), and so therefore, with

the increasing participation by women in areas such as finance and politics in the 1970s, it is

reasonable to assume that their choice of speech, whose symbolic values would reflect the

demands of those more prestigious working environments, would be a more standardized

variety of French, especially during Acadia's modernizing period, as is the general postulation by Fasold (1990) in his discussion of stable socioliguistic variables.

Thirdly, the role and importance of the French language was a constant in *l'Évangéline*'s letters of opinion. The French language became the prime identity marker for Acadians in the modernizing time period because for a long time, as Acadians lived in relative physical and social isolation that defined the traditional period, their language was maintained in a rather homogeneous fashion. Pride in this social characteristic was noticed as letters called for linguistic equality and protection, which eventually took the form of nationalism: "Nationalist consciousness is the sharing of an 'imagined community' created in local newspapers [...] These [...] can be read as narratives of a language group searching for a state, or of a state searching for national identity through linguistic unity" (Gal 1989:355). The Official Languages Act of 1969 that established both French and English Canada's official languages had initiated a similar movement in New Brunswick, hugely supported by Premier Robichaud. When Robichaud introduced New Brunswick's own provincial legislation to make the province officially bilingual, he perceived language rights as being more than just *legal* rights. He viewed them as precious *cultural* rights that deeply connect Acadians with their historic traditions. Similarly to the situation of such groups like the Basques, the Welsh, or the Catalans, "the legal recognition of minority cultural rights has led to an extension and development of bilingualism and biculturalism" (Collins 1991:2). However, putting the law into proper effect remained a difficult task in French New Brunswick, for when Francophones officially obtained their linguistic equality, their letters to *l'Évangéline* demanded their new rights be properly implemented into social services, education and forms of media (such as access to French television). Robichaud responded by seeking to ensure

that the quality of health care, education and social services were the same across the province. This programme became known as the equal opportunity programme. In fact, it became a political buzz phrase in New Brunswick during the modernizing to globalizing transition period as politicians and scholars began to view 'equal opportunity' as attainable only through cooperation and codependance between the French minority and the English majority.

Because linguistic equality was an issue of such vital importance in New Brunswick and Premier Robichaud stressed how important it was for Acadians to be proud of their cultural and linguistic identity, the concept of *le parler acadien* also appeared in *l'Évangéline*. Robichaud gave Acadians the will to voice their cultural differences, especially in relation to Quebec. Gradually, a certain acceptance of different Acadian dialects by Acadians themselves and the demand for their maintenance and survival began emerging in their letters of opinion. According to Dairon (2003 :173), this opening up to difference by Acadians

> sont les signes d'une société qui évolue, d'une société qui s'affirme de plus
> en plus en tant que groupe culturel et sociolinguistique minoritaire distinct,
> qui lutte pour sa reconnaissance et pour sa survie, laquelle passe par la
> sauvegarde de sa langue, et qui cherche de plus en plus à s'affranchir d'une
> tutelle québécoise plus ou moins omniprésente.

This evolving perspective toward dialects proved to be an element defining the South-East's regional identity, as we see in this chapter's sub-section on regional discontinuity.

Despite the impression that the situation was improving for New Brunswick Francophones by having a Premier whose prime concern was their proper and equal representation, the Acadian definition became more political during the 1970s and very early 1980s. A suitable

redefining of Acadia from a traditional perspective to a modern one dominated much of the

political discussion among New Brunswick Francophones and this discussion gave rise to

two manners of perceiving Acadia within a modern framework. On one side, letters of

opinion sent to the newspaper were of a reformist nature, calling for Acadians to work

together towards social and linguistic equality, in other words by continuing the work of

Louis J. Robichaud.[7] On the other hand, some letters of opinion indicated that the only way

to obtain full linguistic, political and social equality was to adopt a vision of autonomy for

Acadia. Out of this opinion, in 1972, was born *le Parti acadien*.

Le Parti acadien, a New Brunswick political party of the 1970s and 1980s, was founded out

of the dissatisfaction and disbelief in the provincial government by New Brunswick

Francophones.[8] Although Robichaud dedicated much effort to bettering their situation

through the equal opportunity program (to some highly acknowledged success), some

Acadians continued to be upset over the economic and political imbalance of the province,

known as the 'golden triangle'. The golden triangle referred to the cities of Fredericton,

Saint John and Moncton where the economy and provincial political weight were much

stronger than in eastern and northern parts of the province, which, being predominantly

francophone, remained relatively poor and unstable. This situation parallels the discussion

by Wiliams (1991:2) who questions the future of "communities whose language, culture and

economic base have already atrophied under the twin weights of an often oppressive,

unresponsive state and world economy". While many Acadians were pleased with what

advancements had already been made by the Robichaud government, it was felt that the New

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[7] Eventually, this reformist angle emerged as the third Acadian discourse.
[8] See Roger Ouellette's *Le Parti acadien* (1982) for a complete and thorough account of the party's existence.

Brunswick francophone minority would be better and more justly served by an administration of its own. They surely did not wish to become what Williams (ibid) refers to as 'open museums' that presents, in our case, a palatable package of cultural heritage to consumers in a Disney-like style as descendants of the Deportation are hired to dress up in traditional clothing and speak to tourists in an older, more archaic Acadian variety (although many Francophones of New Brunswick whose discourse reflects the globalizing period would point out that Caraquet's village acadien presents Acadia as just such an open museum). Under its first leader, Euclide Chiasson, *le Parti acadien* advocated an autonomous Acadia, a separate francophone province within Canada.[9] The party also favoured standardization, which Fairclough (1989:56) describes as part of the "process of economic, political and cultural unification" and through this social practice Acadians would gain power back from the Anglophone majority, which Williams (1991) describes as typically the first step taken by newly independent states or ethnic regions. Although often portrayed as having a radically nationalist platform that opposed all that was anglophone, the party actually tried to portray itself not as anti-anglophone, but rather territorial and anti-capitalist that disfavoured the predominantly English New Brunswick South: « il y a bien un territoire acadien, avec ses habitants et ses ressources, mais ce territoire n'est pas géré par des Acadiens; il ne jouit d'aucune reconnaissance juridique ou constitutionnelle » (Ouellette 1992:83). It would be through this new province that, according to the *Parti acadien* and the *Société nationale des Acadiens*, Acadians would finally know their worth within Canada and effectively govern themselves through modern times. It was believed that linguistic and

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[9] The party was in part motivated by nationalist sentiments of Quebec separatists during their Quiet Revolution which led to the formation of the *Parti québécois*. In fact, Richard (1995) identifies this period in history as the *critical discourse* period, a time in which both the modernizing and traditional discourses were critiqued to the point where it resulted in a somewhat nationalistic ideology that desired to reshape Acadia.

social rights would ensue following such a geo-political creation, as the (nation-)state has often emerged as the starting point or central actor in struggles between cultural identity and political autonomy (as is the situation in many European minority communities as well as in Quebec, Williams 1991).

However, the *Parti acadien* continuously struggled to gain ground and this led to a rather short lived existence. At the height of its existence, the party was listed at around 1000 members but on average counted only 300-400 (Ouellette 1992). There were few true militants within the party as well, and they had the difficult task ensuring that the party's voice be heard. Although these members sent letters of opinion to *l'Évangéline*, citing their belief for Acadians to band together for an autonomous territory, the paper made this problematic for them, for its editorial page was strictly pro-Robichaud and advocated his equal opportunity program by denouncing the *Parti acadien*: « pour l'éditorialiste Claude Bourque, le PA rêve en couleurs [...] il précise qu'il ne peut pas accepter comme valable et saine l'alternative politique que propose le Parti acadien » (ibid. page 28). Even Robichaud himself wrote to the paper at the party's very beginning in 1972, saying that its founders «perdront leur temps, leur argent et leurs efforts et ils seront bientôt désillusionnés» (ibid.).

The party's performance in provincial elections did not fare very well either as their popular vote never succeeded in electing even one of their candidates.[10] Combined with low electoral support, the party also suffered from financial difficulties, for it was financed only

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[10] In the 1974 election, the party obtained 4.89% of the popular vote, 7.97% in 1978 and finally 4.36% in 1982. Restigouche-West's Armand Plourde was the closest to ever winning a seat, finishing 170 votes behind first place in 1978 (ibid, pages 91-97).

through contributions made by members or sympathisers.[11] Faced with these difficulties, internal quarrels erupted over the party's platform. Secession from New Brunswick was now being questioned by the party's more left-leaning members who preferred a social democratic agenda for New Brunswick as a whole. In 1977, these left wingers quit the party in favour of the Conservatives led by Richard Hatfield, who, although belonging to a different political wing, continued the legacy begun by the Liberal Robichaud by working toward social and linguistic equality between the province's Acadian minority and the English majority. It was clear that to those who left the *Parti acadien, l'Évangéline*'s editorials were perhaps right all along in saying that an Acadian province was simply not feasible: « le Parti acadien a l'honnêteté (ou la naïveté) de se présenter devant l'électorat en exposant clairement son objectif national à long terme, soit la province acadienne » (ibid. page 90). During the party's last 8 years of existence, from 1978 to its official disbandment in late 1986, it lost over 75% of its support as more and more of its members jumped to different parties (ibid.).

Returning to the definition of a modernizing Acadia, Heller and Labrie (2003) identify 3 main elements, two of which have already been briefly discussed. The first is the demand for legal rights in order for the social, political and economic advancement of Acadians (Robichaud's equality programme). Secondly, a modernizing Acadia is defined as a unilingual community which emphasizes the role of the French language out of which the third element emerged: identity markers. In hopes of creating an autonomous, unilingual Acadia, the elite introduced different francophone symbols that would represent the redefined Acadia of the 1970s (Basque, Barrieau and Côté, 1999), yet the creation of these symbols

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[11] Although the party could have benefited from government funds as of 1979 in accordance with *la Loi sur le financement de l'activité politique du Nouveau-Brunswick*, it was a little too late, for as Ouellette (1992:100) describes it, « le PA est déjà plus ou moins une coquille vide ».

actually dates back much farther (for example, the Acadian motto was created in 1884). However, these symbols became permanently recognized as part of the Acadian modernizing movement in the 1960s and 70s (Trépanier, 1996). Today, there remains several visual reminders of the Acadian modernizing period, for example, August 15th as the official Acadian national holiday in honour of the birthday of their patron, Notre-Dame de l'Assomption (showing that while Acadia was no longer solely defined by the Church, members still saw their faith as a striking difference between the French Catholics and the English Protestants. A national anthem was adopted – *Ave Stella Maria*, as was an Acadian flag which has the French tricolour with the golden star that is said to have several significances. One is that it again represents their patron saint; another, also tied to their religious faith, claims that the golden colour of the star can represent the devotion of the Acadians to the Catholic Church; or a star of the sea that guides mariners through rough seas, an homage to the more rural-based economy of predominantly coastal French regions. We surmise that this is the vision held by North-West Francophones who are very much concerned with their geographical-economic relationship with Acadians. Finally, the Acadian motto, *l'union fait la force,* perhaps best sums up all the elements and descriptions of the modernizing discourse that has been intimately linked to the *Parti acadien* and their quest for an official union (Heller and Labrie, 2003).

One cannot deny the positive gains made by redefining Acadia primarily through language. As perhaps the greatest symbol of a modernizing Acadia, the *Parti acadien* can actually be credited for the substantial progress the province obtained for its Francophones in such sectors as education, for without a platform that was often regarded as radically nationalist,

the Hatfield government may not have worked so diligently to appease Acadian demands in

fear of what might happen to their party, and in turn, the future of the province (Ouellette,

1992). Yet, regardless of the positive steps modernity seems to have brought to Acadia, this

discourse period proved to be somewhat contradictory and limited because it tried to mix

both uniformity and openness. Acadians desired to be autonomous, uniform and

homogeneous, yet still active participants in the international realm, something which

demands a diverse population. We believe this is when the question « qu'est-ce que

l'Acadie? » really became a difficult question to answer. The uncertainty of how to be self-

sufficient, yet inclusive at the same time on an international level eventually led to another

discourse movement and another redefining of this evolving concept.

2.2 The globalizing discourse and New Brunswick Acadia's regional discontinuity - « l'unité dans la diversité »

In today's 21st century, it is often said that, contrary to the modernizing period, it is not

«d'abord et avant tout dans leur parler que les Acadiens trouvent le critère de leur

nationalité» (Adam and Phlipponneau 1994:248). This is because the complexity and

complications of that discourse period caused regional discontinuity in French New

Brunswick. Regional identity, according to Couturier (2002), is a sociopolitical debate on

the relations between populations who speak the same language and who share a common

history and this was a consequential effect of Acadian elites trying to promote political

nationalism in New Brunswick. Today, French New Brunswick is typically seen as being

composed of 3 culturally different regions: the North East, the South East and the North West

(see the *rose des vents* map of Arsenault, p. 48 in Theriault 1999, sometimes referred to as

the 'weather vane concept'). We will now discuss how both the North-West and the South-

East have diverged from the 1960s-1970s definition of Acadia to produce a definition characterized through regional differences that add to the diversity of the globalizing discourse platform.

2.2.1 The North-West's regional identity - « Nous sommes Brayons »

Our task here is to illustrate how representations of identity change with changing environments, using as strong reference Couturier's 2002 article *la République du Madawaska et l'Acadie*. Since the times of modernization and early globalization, the Northwestern region of New Brunswick, commonly referred to as *la République du Madawaska*, has proclaimed its regional distinctiveness more emphatically and with more vigor than any other francophone region of the Maritime Provinces. The region's distinctiveness is voiced and seen in their rejection of the region's ties to contemporary Acadia and by promoting a regional identity known as *Brayon*.

First of all, the North-West is fairly isolated from the other 2 New Brunswick French regions. Surrounded by Québec, Maine and English New Brunswick, the North-West is also geographically isolated by nature, separated from larger, urban areas by dense forests. Consequently, the region, whose francophone population stands at approximately 90%, is supported primarily through agriculture and forestry.[12] Hundreds of French speaking New Brunswickers make their living as woodsmen in the forests of the Madawaska and Restigouche Counties, but an even larger number work in other sectors of forestry, such as in pulp and paper mills, sawmills and wood transformation plants. The city of Edmundston is home to the region's most important pulp and paper mill, which fuels the city's economy.

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[12] Incidentally, 85% of New Brunswick's lands are dedicated to the forestry industry that in 1997, employed some 19 000 New Brunswickers (Basque, Barrieau, Côté, 1999:55).

On the agricultural side of the economy, potato growing and its subsequent export industry dominate, and although the North-West counted for less farming than did other francophone regions of the province as accounted for in the 1996 Canadian federal census by Statistics Canada, they made up over 5.6% of all the farms in the province.[13] Therefore, for geographical and economic reasons, the North-West is referred to occasionally as *l'Acadie des terres et des forêts* (Couturier, 2002).

The North-West's discontinuity from the other 2 regions stems primarily from their distinct genealogy. Toward the end of the 18th century, colonization came to the region in the form of a cultural mixture, mainly Acadians and French Canadians (Quebec), but also a mixture of other cultures, such as Irish, English, Scottish and Native American (Trépanier, 1996). Thus began a fusion of cultures in relative isolation: «oublié(s) par les Acadiens authentiques et négligé(s) par les Canadiens français, ce peuple a appris à se suffire de lui-même, sans trop avoir à se soucier de se rapprocher des autres populations francophones» (Couturier 2002:162). In fact, the 6 stars on the flag of the République de la Madawaska, which is how part of the North-West is commonly called, are said to represent the 6 main founding cultures.[14]

During the traditional discourse period, when Acadians were defined through family descent, the region's francophone population still affirmed themselves as *Acadiens*. The Brayon's rejection of *acadianité* built up slowly in the years afterward. When the daily newspaper *Le Madawaska* was first published in 1913, its front page read: *Journal hebdomadaire en*

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[13] Ibid, page 57-58.
[14] http://www.fraser.cc/FlagsCan/Provinces/NB.html

Acadie and it affirmed the region's adherence to Acadian membership through the use of the epithet *acadien* whenever referring to New Brunswick Francophones (*le Madawaska*, 27 novembre 1913). The paper's editorialists spoke of the North-West as *cette partie-ci de l'Acadie* (ibid, 29 janvier 1914). This sense of membership and belonging continued during the first few decades of the paper's existence and was supported by its editors.[15] During this time, the elements of the Acadian identity that were transmitted and promoted by the paper were easily transposable to the North-West, namely language and religion, but also genealogy to some extent. In this manner, Couturier states that the paper firmly established the North-West as part of Acadia and insists that the term *la République du Madwaska*, which had begun to appear in daily discourse and editorials, in no sense alluded to a regional discontinuity from the rest of Acadia.

However, with changing discourses in the second half of the 20th century came a change in the Madawaskan identity. Change in the Acadian definition was first noticed during the mid 1950s and 1960s when North-West Francophones began associating the term *la République du Madawaska* with their distinct cultural diversity, which isolated them in yet another way from other francophone regions and created a mixed North-Western identity. This leads us to consider the possibility that as far back as New Brunswick modernity, the North-West was no longer part of Acadia. On the one hand, North-West Francophones desired to have their ethnic distinction recognized, yet they continued to share similarities with Acadians, such as the desire to work and live in French (a characteristic of modernity). As the dominant element of *acadianité* of the 1960s and 1970s, the French language was the only true link

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[15] Interestingly enough, the paper's first co-editors were from different French regions of the province: Barachois (SE) and Lamèque (NE), while the following editor was of Quebec origin (Couturier, 2002).

between North West Francophones and Francophones from the rest of New Brunswick, other than their common religion.

Multiple references to the Madawaskan identity materialized over the years, the term *Brayon* being the primary one. Interestingly, the origin of *Brayon* has never been agreed upon. According to Couturier (2002), many say the term refers to the phrase *broyer le lin* (to brake linen), a common regional activity of the 19th century, or to the instrument used, known as *la braye*. However, there has often been a pejorative meaning attached to this term as well, a synonym of *guénilloux*, meaning old, used and torn. In addition to the terms *Madawaskayen* and *Brayon*, *Francophone* is now also a popular term for North-West French speakers, and was adopted as another way to reject *acadianité* which they considered as synonymous with the fear, lament and victimization of the past (the traditionalist definition, exactly what Acadians tried to move away from in the 1960s and 1970s). This strongly suggests that the Brayon, as a distinct group among the New Brunswick Francophones, define themselves, as well as Acadians, through a traditional-style discourse. Nevertheless, the growing popularity in using the term *Brayon* as a regional identity moniker suggests the emergence of the globalizing discourse period within French New Brunswick.

The Brayon distinctiveness is highly celebrated today, most notably during *la Foire brayonne*, a popular summertime celebration that began in 1979 after *Brayon* emerged as an identity moniker. The Foire emphasizes the distinct personality of the North-West, particularly in its cuisine of *ployes* (buckwheat crepes that are the regional dish of the area), historical dramatizations and musical acts. However, while the Foire was established to

promote regional discontinuity from 'traditional Acadia', it in fact confirms that while the region has succeeded in instituting themselves as a distinctive group, namely by adopting terms like *le Madawaska, Brayon,* and *Francophone*, the region's actual relationship with Acadia remains unclear. Music, for example, happens to make up a large portion of the 10-day *foire* in Edmundston, and the organizers actually encourage performances by Acadian acts. If *la République du Madawaska* really was not part of Acadia, can we not say that by asking Acadians to perform at a fair that was designed to demonstrate just how different the Brayon are from Acadians, the Brayon have established a superficial contradiction in the way they portray their regional identity? It appears that we could describe the New Brunswick North-West as a region that fronts itself as a group with a traditionalist perspective in that their genealogy distinguishes them from Acadians, but in reality, individuals tend to have a more globalizing perspective that emphasizes mixed identities. Are the Brayon also Acadian? This would seem to have been the case years ago, for in 1978, a survey conducted in the North-West found that while over 62% of respondents identified themselves as Brayon, 42% of them also declared themselves Acadian (ibid.). Nadine Belzile (2000) believes this to be true also today, having written her Master's thesis on the affirmation of Brayon identity between 1960 and 1990. She concludes that being Brayon is not exclusive from being Acadian or Francophone but that these identities, in constant evolution, are the result of historical and economic development. Our study concludes that the Brayon are not Acadian.

The rise of the Madawaskan identity in turn questioned the meaning of *acadianité* during the modernization period and helped in its redefinition primarily as French speakers of New Brunswick. Although the Acadian elite preferred the term *Acadien* for obvious political

reasons in the 1970s, they tended to espouse the use of the term *Francophone* in hopes of uniting the eastern regions with the North-West, who had already begun referring to themselves as *les Francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick* (Cimino 1977). For a while, it was even uncertain whether or not *Acadien* was an appropriate term to be used in promoting autonomy. French newspapers around the province even adopted the more neutral terms *francophone* and *francophonie* when describing non-anglophone regions of the province. Organizations, such as *le Conseil économique acadien* du Nouveau-Brunswick even dropped the label *acadien* in lieu of *francophone* (Johnson 1999). But while these neutral terms did in fact help reorganize the meaning of *acadianité*, they never did succeed in what *la Société nationale des Acadiens, la Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick*, and *le Parti acadien* had hoped for, which was to unite the 3 French-speaking regions as one entity with one perspective. The fact was that the term *Acadien* was just too politically pragmatic and was the ultimate symbol of the lamenting, fearful and victimized community of the past; *francophone* and *francophonie* just did not succeed in gaining as much passion for fighting for their rights as did *Acadie* and *Acadien*.

2.2.2 The South-East's globalizing identity – « C'est comme un genre de 'melting pot'. »[16]

We now know that regional discontinuity between the North-West and the two eastern regions is based on differences in genealogy, yet that is not the only form of discontinuity to exist within French New Brunswick. In this section, we discuss how the South-East, and Moncton in particular, represents a globalizing Acadia mainly through a strong, entrepreneurial identity as well as its relation with English, a relation that is not always looked favourably upon by other New Brunswick Francophones.

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[16] Provided by participant number 08-SE-M-1.

We have just discussed how the attempt to equate the term *Francophone* with *Acadien* questioned the existence of a collective Acadian identity. This confusion increased with the linguistic distinctions that separated the North from the South-East while the provincial economic environment changed with the end of modernization and the beginning of globalization. Cimino (1977) defines this period in Acadian history as the time when animosity toward the South-East became apparent because its evolving regional dialect, known as Chiac, challenged the new definition of an Acadian as a New Brunswick Francophone. Chiac is mainly characterized by its mixture of traditional Acadian French and English (Roy 1979). Were South-East Francophones actually Acadians? Over the years, we have seen how many northern Francophones challenged their claim to *acadianité* because (Cimino 1977:209-210):

> [...] organizational development of Acadian nationalism has occurred
> largely in the south, but the north contains the bulk of the unilingual
> French-speaking population. The northerners feel that they are the "real
> Acadians", more truly nationalist because they speak French. The
> southerners are generally bilingual as a result of much more contact with
> the English. The northerners therefore express their discontent with the
> dominance of the south by claiming that even though most of the
> organizations are located in the south, the north represents the real basis of
> support for the national movement.

We realize that the author has not distinguished the North-East from the North-West here, using rather the term 'northerners'. However, we feel that this illustration actually represents the South-East's regional discontinuity from the North-East, due not only to the North-West's platform of being non-Acadian, but also of the fact that Couturier (2002) states several times that the North-West thinks of Moncton as the centre of Acadia, regardless on their position on the city's English influence. The role of the South-East as part of Acadia,

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and the city of Moncton in particular, occupies an important role in our content analysis (see chapters 4 and 5).

To compare the North-East with the South-East, we will first briefly address the former. Commonly known as the Acadian Peninsula, the North-East counts 40% of the province's Francophone population and is generally viewed as the most traditional and rural of New Brunwick's francophone regions (Allaire 2001). Very much associated with aquaculture, the North-East is surrounded on two sides by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Saint Laurence, as well as having some major rivers crisscrossing through (the Miramichi, the Nipisiguit and the Restigouche), all popular for salmon fishing. Because of the strong presence of water and the lack of large urban cities, save Bathurst[17], the North-East is often portrayed as quaint and quiet, with a firm attachment to the ocean (Basque, Barrieau and Côté 1999:47): « [...] l'une des représentations de l'Acadie les plus véhiculées est celle d'un petit village côtier avec son quai et ses bateaux de pêche [...] ».[18] Presently, the North-East is struggling with problems of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment due mainly to the region's peripheral situation to urban centres and its large dependence on a halieutic and seasonal economy.[19]

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[17] Of the 6 cities with a population of over 10 000, Bathurst is the only one located in the New Brunswick North-East.

[18] In fact, the Acadian cultural centre of Caraquet, a derivative of the Micmac word *Pkalge*, means confluence of two rivers (ibid. page 48).

[19] In 1996, the Acadian fishing districts of Caraquet, Shippagan and Lamèque-Miscou of the North-East brought in 95% of all of New Brunswick's fishing revenue that was calculated at more than 141 000 000$. Lobster, snow crab, herring, shrimp and scallops are frozen and then exported to American, European and Japanese markets. However, since the 1960s and especially since the 1980s, dwindling reserves, State-imposed quotas and rising foreign markets along with the fact that the fishing industry remains largely a seasonal career, has left much of the North-East dependant upon unemployment insurance. (ibid, page 52).

Although the region's economy is struggling to stay afloat, its linguistic vitality is not. While the North-East's lack of larger urban centres (namely Edmundston and Moncton, to which the younger generations now tend to flock for secondary education and subsequent employment opportunities), has been somewhat detrimental to the region's financial situation, its rural composition has kept the region quite linguistically homogeneous. Francophones here tend to be much more unilingual than in the other 2 regions and their language reflects the traditional period of the Acadians of an isolated, uncorrupted group who spoke, and continue to speak, the most archaic and traditional form of Acadian French in the province with very little influence of English.[20]

This brings us to a portrait of the South-East. As the fishing industry has become increasingly less lucrative for coastal New Brunswick Francophones from the 1960s onward, Acadia in the South-East has turned more entrepreneurial in establishing a series of credit unions and successful businesses such as la Corporation Pizza Delight and la Corporation Acadienne Ltée., both of which are based out of Moncton. This merging away from the typical and traditional economic sectors toward a more entrepreneurial approach became known as *le movement coopératif acadien* (Basque, Barrieau and Côté 1999:58) and has branched out into other promising sectors as well, such as new information technologies, ecotourism, transportation (railway) and tourism, making the city of Moncton the point of connection for all major Atlantic cities. The Moncton region has benefited immensely from this *movement coopératif,* for in 1999, over 75% of the Shédiac-Kent enterprises were owned and operated by Acadians (ibid. page 61). Moncton is also known as a call centre

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[20] We refer the reader to the numerous works by Flikeid as well as Cichocki and Beaulieu for accounts of the Acadian French of the North-East.

international capital, for most of the more than 50 phone centres in New Brunswick are located within the urban centre and employs primarily Acadians for their bilingual abilities. Incidentally, a discourse is rising on the Anglophone side in media and business affairs that supports a merging of the 2 linguistic communities in Moncton which would result in the emergence of a new New Brunswick society, which the Times and Transcript of September 27 2001 described as a true bilingual society (Boudreau 2003).[21] This is quite significant considering the South-East's Francophone population stands at 42.5%, which is considerably less than in either the North-East (79.7%) or the North-West (95.2%) (Allaire 2001:55; Dallaire and Lachapelle 1990). In fact, only 35% of Moncton's 80 000 residents are Francophone, compared to over 90% of neighboring Dieppe (Perrot 2003). Moncton is also the proud home of institutions such as Radio-Canada (the first to be established in New Brunswick in 1954), the National Film Board, publishing houses such as *Les Éditions d'Acadie* and *Éditions Perce-Neige*, as well as the only Canadian francophone university outside Quebec; l'Université de Moncton, which contributes to a globalizing Acadian lifestyle in several ways.[22] Today, the institution has produced more than 30 000 graduates, many who have come to specialize in Acadian studies. In recent years, the federal government has allocated millions of dollars to the establishment of a Canadian institute for research on minority languages at the university. This constitutes the first establishment dedicated to this type of research in Canada.[23] As well, the university strongly supports cultural manifestations and Acadian artists, and it actively participates in the promotion of

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[21] This discourse, however, is not being accepted by Francophones who argued and presented a Code of Linguistic Rights in 2001, stating that the Official Languages Act of New Brunswick no longer answered to the aspirations of the Acadian population through this discourse. Nevertheless, this willingness by the Anglophone population of the South-East further supports the globalizing discourse that encourages the two linguistic communities to work together for a secure future.

[22] Basque, Barrieau and Côté (1999).

[23] Hebdo Campus, vol. 32, no 15, décembre 2001.

global francophonie through a strong contingent of foreign francophone students and in the expansion of its *Centre international pour le développement de l'inforoute en français* (ibid.). As language use is understood as a form of capital and associated with measures of economic integration (Boyd 1999), we refer to Clarke (2000:331-332), who reiterates how the socioeconomic boom of the southern part of the province has created a distinct regional discontinuity between the North-East and the South-East, as the latter took on a definite urban personality:

> La restructuration a des conséquences économiques, sociales et démographiques. Dans le Nord-Est, cela se résume à la fuite des capitaux, à la perte d'emplois, à la diminution de la population et aux effets sociaux de la désagrégation de la solidarité traditionnelle. [...] Schématiquement, la socioéconomique du Nord-Est de cette époque se présente comme suit : faible niveau de scolarisation, vieillissement accentué de la population, lente pénétration des technologies, niveau élevé d'activités saisonnières et à faible rémunération, etc. [...] Le Sud-Est, au contraire, a réussi à surmonter les facteurs négatifs liés à la rationalisation, affichant une diversification des activités économiques et une croissance de la population active, étroitement associées à la montée fulgurante d'une classe d'affaires acadienne. Le Grand Moncton se présente comme catalyseur de la petite et moyenne entreprise, bénéficiant de la présence d'institution et du capital acadiens et d'une main-d'œuvre bilingue et formée. [...] Schématiquement, la socioéconomique du Sud-Est se présente comme suit : croissance démographique soutenue, intégration urbaine accélérée, diversification économique poussée, consécration comme axe majeur des transports et des télécommunications.[24]

Briefly, this conception associated with the North-East, which Clarke (ibid.) calls « culturolinguistique », reflects homogeneity and underdevelopment. The South-East and Moncton in particular have meanwhile created a « politicoéconomique » perception of *acadianité* that requires a *vivre-ensemble* with the Anglophones to maximize their institutional and economic organization:

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[24] This regional economic growth has provided high employment for both Anglophones and Francophones, yet despite language policies such as the Official Languages Act, English continues to stand as the language of business, administration and communication.

Les succès que connaît Moncton en ce début de siècle ne sont pas étrangers à la réciprocité entre la ville et la vie culturelle. Cette réciprocité a fait en sorte que certaines conditions historiques, économiques, politiques et culturelles ont été transformées et ont cessé de perpétuer le rapport dominant-dominés entre anglophones majoritaires et francophones minoritaires. Le nouveau rapport qui s'est graduellement développé entre les deux groupes linguistiques doit être envisagé dans une perspective nouvelle, soit celle d'une cité bilingue, moderne et multiculturelle dont la force d'attraction n'a d'égal que son dynamisme culturel.[25]

This *vivre-ensemble* is most commonly acknowledged through language, having led to the coexistence of *vieil acadien* – spoken by older Acadians but disappearing due to 1) contact with English, 2) rise in bilingualism and 3) education and emphasis on a standard form of French for education purposes – and *chiac*, which Gerin and Phlipponneau (1984:32) call «un nouveau code dont la principale caractéristique est l'abondance d'emprunt à l'anglais», with relexification, morphosyntactic borrowings (affecting the sentence organization), as well as syntactic constructions used in the older traditional form of Acadian more common in the North-East.[26]

Speakers of Chiac are portrayed as being able to produce a standard French variety, making Chiac a separate dialect within Acadian French (Thompson 1986). However, despite this ability and the demands for French standardization, "that does not mean that they always use

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[25] Remarked by Marie-Linda Laure in Augustin (2005:270). No bibliographical references for Laure were provided.
[26] A lot of research has been conducted on Chiac and we find that it is often referred to through different terminology. For example, Hamers and Blanc (1989) define the typical South-Eastern way of speaking a hybrid vernacular while Peronnet (1989, 1993) call it « franglais » or « une sorte d'entrelangue ». Roy, who's Master's thesis dealt with the use of but and so in the oral speech of Moncton Acadians, prefers the term «français de Moncton», rather than Chiac, stating that the latter term raises geographical nuances that have never been resolved: «Pour certain, il désigne le parler de la ville de Moncton, pour d'autres celui des environs de Moncton, pour d'autres encore celui de Moncton et de ses environs alors qu'un dernier groupe désignera tout le sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick comme le pays du chiac» (1979 :74). For the purpose of the present study, we will understand Chiac to be the characteristic of the South-East's linguistic regional discontinuity with the rest of French New Brunswick that is found most commonly in the Greater Moncton Area. For specific studies on Chiac and language attitudes regarding this variety, we refer the reader to numerous works by Boudreau (2003, 1996, 1995, 1991), Boudreau and Dubois (2003a), and Perrot (2003, 2001, 1995a, b)

it, or indeed accept it in the full sense of the term" (Fairclough 1989:58). Francophones of the South-East are aware of the power basis of standardization, yet they culturally favour Chiac. Generally perceived as a derivative of *Shédiac*, a town located approximately 20 kilometers outside of Moncton, this 'hybrid vernacular', to quote the term used by Hamers and Blanc (1989), developed as a means of expressing community roots mainly by the South-East's younger generation who found themselves in conflict – being unable to identify themselves with not only the language of the older generation and the former traditional definition of Acadia, but also the language of the English majority. Moncton is characterized as visually English because the city's street, commercial, entrepreneurial, and industrial signs are predominantly written in English (Roy 1993:167), and consequently, Moncton finds itself in a situation of linguistic conflict due to the economic and political prestige of English, regardless of the equality of rights for Francophones. For the South-Eastern Francophone youth, Chiac is therefore the expression as well as the resolution to their identity conflict that came out of the confusing modernizing period:

> It seems to us that chiac is the symbol and instrument of a group's allegiance: these adolescents could identify neither with the language of the older generations (because it represented a depressed past) nor with the language of the dominant group without losing their own sense of identity. The hybrid vernacular is a way of resolving their conflict (Hamers et Blanc (1984), cited in Perrot (1995: 44). [27]

The South East's economic and linguistic development has firmly established Moncton as the centre of a globalizing Acadia: «Moncton, capitale de la diversité culturelle» (Augustin 2005:270). On an international level, the city has progressively affirmed itself as a symbolic and organizational pole over the past two decades by hosting the VIIst *Sommet de la*

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[27] This identity struggle is clearly portrayed in the 1968 film *L'éloge du chiac*, where Moncton high school students use Chiac as a means of cultural expression.

Francophonie in 1999 that welcomed some 50 leaders of francophone governments, and by introducing the World Acadian Congress in 1994. Over the course of ten days, Moncton hosted some 75 000 descendants of the 1755 Acadians and their friends and families came to "remember, discover, and celebrate" (LeBlanc 2003:158). The question of Acadian identity was the Congress's central purpose, and in an expanding world of endless possibilities, the Congress proved that Acadians desire a sense of belonging. Referring to an article written by sociologist Greg Allain (1997), LeBlanc (ibid. page 159) describes how having the first Acadian World Congress in the South-East reflected the reality of today's Acadia:

> Allain concludes that this gathering of Acadians in southeastern New Brunswick reflected the complexities of contemporary society, where traditional and modern elements co-exist, where open-minded reaction confront close-mindedness, and where we are turning our collective gaze, sometimes toward the past, sometimes toward the future.

Despite the fact that Francophones remain a minority in the city, Moncton's success cannot be denied: the university generates a literary and artistic scene very much appreciated by both linguistic populations, and the city is home to a prosperous economy accompanied by a well-known and well-respected shopping centre (Place Champlain), an international airport, the strongest immigration rate of all Atlantic Canada and a relatively low unemployment rate (Basque, Barrieau and Côté 2003). As remarks Marie-Linda Laure (in Augustin 2005:270, no reference given for Laure):

> Les succès que connaît Moncton en ce début de siècle ne sont pas étrangers à la réciprocité entre la ville et la vie culturelle. Cette réciprocité a fait en sorte que certaines conditions historiques, économiques, politiques et culturelles ont été transformées et ont cessé de perpétuer le rapport dominant-dominés entre anglophones majoritaires et francophones minoritaires. Le nouveau rapport qui s'est graduellement développé entre les deux groupes linguistiques doit être envisagé dans une perspective nouvelle, soit celle d'une cité bilingue, moderne et multiculturelle dont la force d'attraction n'a d'égal que son dynamisme culturel.

2.3 The role of language in acadianité

« Le français, élément rassembleur, élément de division » (Boudreau 1995:137)

Another area of our research is the role of language in the New Brunswick Acadian identity. Regardless of the economic or genealogical differences that separate New Brunswick's 3 francophone regions, creating what Augustin (2005) calls *des identitiés en archipels*, a common language still exists between them and it remains an essential element in the collective Acadian identity. However, the role of French is perceived differently depending on the area. In rural areas that are mainly linguistically homogeneous (the North-East in particular), French is instrumental in being Acadian whereas in urban bi-cultural areas, such as Moncton, its function is more symbolic of a people who have grown and developed into a more bilingual and entrepreneurial community (Clarke 2000:339). This divergence of the South-East in their position on the role of language has not been widely celebrated in the more conservative and traditional North-East, suggesting an (language) ideological line of weakness in the speech community: «Traditionnellement, les revendications culturelles et linguistiques des Acadiens du Sud-Est ne reçoivent qu'un appui mitigé dans le Nord-Est [...]» (ibid. page 339-340). Regional discontinuity in New Brunswick Acadia represents the evolution through the different discourse periods, all of which are still apparent today: « Le régionalisme doit être étudié pour ce qu'il est, un courant idéologique » (Séguin 1994:74). The North-West, who identifies and distinguishes itself from Acadians primarily on grounds of genealogy, are associated with the traditional discourse that portrayed Acadians as almost a lost cause, forever committed to an inferior existence in comparison with the English majority. Next, the revolutionary Acadians of the modernizing period that fiercely proclaimed French as their primary source of identity belongs to the North-East, where the

economy is low yet spirits are high and proud. Finally, the emerging globalizing period exists in the South-East, where Francophones (and Anglophones alike) encourage a *vivre-ensemble* lifestyle that allows both communities to grow economically and gives life to bilingual identities. Economic growth in this region is accomplished through their bilingualism, as language is known as a form of economic capital: "it influences where workers are hired, their job productivity, and thus, under the assumptions of neoclassical economics, their wages" (Boyd 1999:285). English, as the language of the globalizing marketplace, is then highly valued by employers in the South-East and thus bilingualism is seen there as an economic commodity, much more than in the North-East where the situation is very linguistically homogeneous with little need for English or bilingualism.

Many scholars believe that today's overall globalizing discourse will end up prevailing because of the economic benefits these social practices offer and their subsequent popularity among the younger generations. In recent years, Acadian mixed identities are being realized and encouraged by the younger generation who strengthen interaction between the different regions through events such as the Acadian Games. As the oldest francophone games in Canada, the Acadian Games are held every year in a festive atmosphere for the transmission of language and francophone culture to occur in hopes of reinforcing a globalizing Acadian membership.[28] The *Jeux de l'Acadie* are known for one particularity: the participants (youths) are divided into three groups depending on their « expérience de la francité » (Augustin 2005). The first group has French as a mother tongue, making up 70% of the participants; the second group has both French and English as mother tongues (15% of the participants) and the third group, comprising the remaining 15%, comes from families in

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[28] Their success has led to the creation of the Jeux Francophones de l'Alberta and the Jeux Franco-Ontariens.

which both languages are represented through the parents, but English is the mother tongue of the children.[29] Here, we are not describing a linguistically exogamous family that leads to linguistic assimilation, but rather a linguistically mixed family whose choice of language is a personal choice (Daveluy 2007). If the purpose of these Games is to reinforce or reinvent Acadian membership and identity, than we must conclude that language is not the sole and / or most important element of today's *acadianité*. Reflecting the globalizing discourse, the Acadian Games also consider non-Francophones as Acadians.

Another area we will focus on in our research is the role of language in the New Brunswick Acadian identity. Echoing Bloomaert (2005), we see (the Acadian) identity as a crucial aspect of globalization that requires study in the fields of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. We have already touched on the diverging discourses between the North-East and the South-East on this matter and will examine it closer in this section through a discussion of South-East assimilation and language attitudes. Boudreau (1995) firmly believes that in New Brunswick, to speak about Acadian identity is not to simply speak about language. In Acadia, she calls language a double-edged sword. On one hand, language can give to the community a strong sense of membership, yet if it is the sole or principal component in *acadianité*, it can represent nationalism and the exclusion of others who do not speak French (Boudreau 1995:137):

> En Acadie, cette ambivalence crève les yeux; on pourrait presque dire que
> la langue est à la fois source de tous les enthousiasmes et cause de toux les
> maux, car si elle constitue un facteur de référence collective certain, elle
> n'en constitue pas pour autant une référence unique et uniforme.

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[29] While the Acadian Games are not limited to New Brunswick, its makeup strongly reflects the province's linguistic diversity among Acadians.

Today, the concept of Acadia and its definition is being questioned in regards to its position on the role of language. This is a result of the strength and dominance held by the modernizing discourse period that first saw Acadians affirm themselves as important members of society and fore mostly as Francophones. As it may be recalled, the globalizing discourse is still emerging and gathering support; therefore its adherence to the concept of mixed identities that are not necessarily limited to speakers of French is one of the main areas of tension and disagreement in the dichotomy of French New Brunswick's North-eastern modernizers and South-Eastern globalizers. The dispute concerning the role of language has become focused on the South-East and more precisely, Moncton. Many scholars deny this city Acadian membership by claiming it too much a minority area and too assimilated to English to be considered part of Acadia (Davis (1985:27): "they become progressively more anglicized and less Acadian. Such change is seen to disrupt, if not destroy, the traditional social structure." Thériault has also commented:

> […] on nous dit que le chiac, mot d'invention assez récente, c'est en réalité du franglais, un français corrompu au contact de l'anglais. 'Crosser la street', c'est du chiac, mais ce n'est ni du français ni du parler acadien » (cited in Roy [1979 :76]).

This is often the opinion in French Maritime society, despite the fact that Moncton continues to be the force behind the successful *movement cooperatif acadien* and the efforts by many elite to portray Acadia as an active participant on the national and international entrepreneurial playing field. As far back as the 1960s and 1970s, those who opposed assimilation and the developing South-East (namely the North-East elite), promoted, perhaps unconsciously, traditional Acadian isolation by regionalizing *acadianité* to the North-East. Less interaction with South-East Francophones was desired as was less interaction with North East Francophones who emigrated outside the region (ibid.).

Moncton Francophones, as we will illustrate here, have long since adopted a much more open opinion concerning the role of French in their identity, a perspective that complements their bilingual-like and globalizing identity. "In general, the more fundamental language issue for French speakers in Moncton has been the right to use <u>any</u> French dialect in certain public contexts." (ibid. page 166) This is exactly what Boudreau and Dubois (2003a) found with « Radio Sud-Est », one of two subjects in an Acadian radio discourse study. The objective of « Radio Sud-Est » was to create an image of community through their broadcastings, meaning a radio who respects the linguistic habits of the Francophones of that particular region. Boudreau and Dubois discovered that the broadcasters used a vernacular far different from a *français normatif* (so often encouraged in the education system to allow easier communication with other Francophones), a vernacular often containing English and archaic expressions not wholly unlike pure Chiac.[30] According to Fairclough (1989:58), this is a common occurrence in television and radio broadcasting, and is a form of the hidden power of the globalizing discourse. The policy of the radio station was to use « un français acceptable » that reflects the diversity of the region and « le monde chez nous » (Boudreau and Dubois 2003a:283, 297), so that *les autres* designate those who do not share their ideology of Acadians being a group of people who accepted a certain amount of English influence in their lives and therefore had a mixed and globalizing identity.

Having mentioned that South-East Francophones are often considered assimilated, we will now address the issue in closer detail. For a long time, assimilation has been considered the antithesis of the survival of the Acadians, and resistance to this phenomenon by minorities

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[30] The researchers claim that the vernacular used is different from pure Chiac in that the former is more a variety located between anglicized French and a standardized variety containing some archaisms.

have been "deemed to be expressions of primordial sentiments" (Williams 1991:6), yet

anthropological research on the topic remains very limited. Most studies concerning

language concentrate on the results of language contact, while ethnic group maintenance has

been poorly documented. Present-day Acadian studies have not been that numerous, for

most studies have taken a historical-genealogical approach to *acadianité*, proclaiming Acadia

to be a collective group and focusing mainly on the relations between Acadians and Anglo-

Canadians (Davis 1985). Davis (1985:2) defines assimilation as:

> a process by which ethnic group boundaries are broken down, with differences
> between the groups becoming blurred or indistinct [...] or to refer to an end
> product of change, a state in which differences between once distinct ethnic
> groups are no longer discernible or when such differences are no longer the
> basis for ascription or self-ascription in such groups.[31]

One form of assimilation, known as acculturation, refers to the eventual discontinuation in

the maintenance of culturally defined differences, most often seen in contact situations

involving such characteristics as language, beliefs, and habits.[32] Acculturation is generally

viewed as the main manner in which individuals lose their Acadian identity and this happens

through language adoption, a process by which a person increasingly employs a second

language to the extent that he or she no longer uses his or her mother tongue on a daily basis

(ibid.). Davis states that researchers have commonly examined the percentage of populations

of French origins claiming English as its mother tongue as a method of studying

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[31] We also refer the reader to Crystal (2000:77), who defines cultural assimilation as a phenomenon when "one culture is influenced by a more dominant culture, and begins to lose its character as a result of its members adopting new behaviour and more". Crystal also identifies 3 stages of cultural assimilation which are all apparent in the South-East. First, South-East Francophones feel immensely pressured to speak English for (personal) economic and employment advancement. This leads to the second stage, known as 'emerging bilingualism', which occurs when an increasing number of South-East Francophones learn English through education or language contact. What is particularly interesting, however, is that as the second stage morphs into the third stage where the economic language becomes increasingly valued by South-East Francophones, we see an increase in the use and popularity of Chiac.

[32] Davis also discusses another type of assimilation in her book, Ethnicity and ethnic group persistence in an Acadian village in Maritime Canada (1985). Although we will not concern ourselves with this particular type, *structural assimilation* occurs when members of an ethnic group acquire social (private or public) rankings in a wider society, thus recognizing that the ethnic origin is irrelevant as an attribute.

acculturation, while Roy (1993) has assessed assimilation by type of habitat. In larger cities

and townships, such as Moncton where language contact is more frequent, linguistically

exogamous marriages between an Anglophone and a Francophone are viewed as a factor of

assimilation, especially since linguistic exogamy has risen in recent years and children

resulting from these unions tend to adopt English as their spoken language (Castonguay

1996). In other words, acculturation resulting from exogamy in larger municipalities is

frequently the manner in which researchers determine the rate of loss of *acadianité*.[33]

However, this approach to research really reflects the modernizing period and not present day

claims that assimilation does not erase *acadianité*.[34] The question we then ask ourselves is:

does a person have to speak (only) French to be an Acadian or can speakers of other

languages, as well as 'assimilated Acadians' also be included in this definition? Or simply,

do English and Moncton have a place in Acadia? As our analysis clearly shows, they do.[35]

We have already established that Chiac is a dialect commonly spoken by the younger South-

East Francophones. Boudreau (1995) explains that for these people in particular, *l'Acadie*

acadienne symbolizes ancestors and notions of fidelity to one's linguistic origins that is so

promoted by the North-East. They feel that these symbols of the past are slowing down

Acadia's modern and thus globalizing development. This fidelity creates limitations to their

daily lives; dictating what music they should listen to, what language they should or should

not speak (ibid. page 137-138). Ever since the Parti Acadien claimed that to be Acadian

meant to be Francophone *à 100 pour cent*, and when the South-East first started to emerge as

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[33] Beaudin (1999) emphasizes that the New Brunswick Acadian reality is far from the stereotype of Acadia being isolated. Over 40% of Maritime Francophones now live in urban agglomerations of 10 000 to 100 000 people and 55% live in centres of 1 500 or more people.
[34] See Daveluy (2007) for her account of linguistic exogamy in Canada.
[35] See Dubois and Melançon (1997) for an account of the linguistic shift in Cajun identity.

a forceful economic and bilingual community, younger generation South-East Francophones

have been questioned (and thus they naturally question themselves) as to their membership as

Acadians. As seen in a letter written to the newspaper *l'Évangéline* (ibid. page 140), how

can such an elitist, modernizing ideology not create fear and discouragement among

Francophones whose speech reflects a bilingual identity?

> Pourquoi ces deux mots «bon français» me font peur? Ces mots ont un
> aspect très décourageant pour qui que ce soit en Acadie qui a un talent
> d'écrivain. Lorsqu'on dit «bon français» quels autres mots que mauvais
> nous reste-t-il pour décrire l'autre langue qui est parlée par la majorité des
> Acadiens?

This feeling of speaking a poor French continues in the South-East today, even after a

globalizing discourse has begun to materialize. In one of her numerous studies on language

attitudes toward South-East French, Boudreau (1995) concludes that practically 50% of her

study participants identify their region as one of the areas where the worst French is spoken

in Canada[36], similarly to Flikeid's findings in 1997. Participants spoke a lot about the

influence of English in their language and the difficulty it presents in speaking French, often

opting to use an English word. They are aware that their way of speaking does not

correspond with international models; they feel the drift between their daily home dialect and

the norm called for in formal situations, leaving them feeling inadequate when they are

required to communicate with outside communities, especially outside of New Brunswick

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[36] Incidentally, North-West Francophones were found to perceive Québécois French as the ideal variety while many in the North-East believe their own variety to be the best of all Acadian French. The latter is also expressed in illustration by a broadcaster for «Radio Nord-Est», as part of Boudreau and Dubois's .2003a Acadian radio discourse study. Here, the station's objectives differ completely from those of « Radio Sud-Est ». They share the goal of giving the listening population something to which they can identify, yet « Radio Nord-Est » broadcasts in a *français international* (what the broadcasters call the French of the Acadian Peninsula) because they believe that it is this variety that is the easiest to understand anywhere in the world:
> on va se classer comme français international / je m'explique dans le sens que le / le vrai
> français / ce ne sont pas les Parisiens à mon opinion / ce ne sont pas les Montréalais non
> plus et c'est sans aucune attaque mais je pense qu'un Acadien du nord peut se déplacer
> parmi d'autre monde et communiquer très facilement.

(Boudreau and Gadet[37]; Keppie 2002). Boudreau and Dubois (2007:105) refer us to Lodge

(1997), who encourages us to remember

> that French is one of the most standardized languages in the world, and that
> its speakers have developed strong representations of a unified language
> with little room for diversity and variation. Furthermore, various studies on
> French speakers in peripheral regions (peripheral here meaning not in
> France) have also shown that the idea of a standard is part of the linguistic
> imagination of Francophones all over the world (see Francard 1993;
> Francard *et al.* 2001). Because standard French is regarded as prestigious,
> those who speak vernacular varieties most often accept the symbolic
> dominance of 'legitimate speakers' since they too aspire to acquire 'an
> imagined standard language' in order to have access to the economic and
> social capital associated with standard languages and to a wider range of
> linguistic markets (Bourdieu 1982).

Boudreau and Dubois (1993) also illustrated that young South-East Francophones

acknowledge the importance in speaking the local vernacular with their friends and family in

order to maintain membership with a region that signifies a new and open Acadia. Yet of the

3 regions, the South-East remains the most linguistically insecure, for studies have found that

young adults here auto-evaluate themselves and their linguistic competence more negatively

than in either the North-East or the North-West. As a group who also perceive Québécois

French as the model to live by for communication between communities, young South-East

Francophones are well aware of the definition of a 'French' Acadia that continues to exist

(but not exclusively). When communicating with others who are not Chiacs, they believe

that it is important to speak well, and speaking well does not equate using a variety heavily

influenced by English:

> Comme nous autres par icitte, on parle anglais français là, on mêle les
> mots so c'est pour ça j'dis qui y a du monde qui parle mieux français (...)
> je trouve i usent pluS i utilisent pluS de mots français quand ce qu'i
> parlent (...) comme si j'parle vite là j'vas mettre des mots anglais pis des

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[37] Internet source, no date provided.

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mots français pis i vont awouère de la misère à comprendre quosse que je
veux dire là. (Boudreau and Dubois 1993:155, participant 0403017)

However, regardless of the fact that they may stigmatize their variety of French in
comparison with others spoken around Canada, studies have found that adolescent South-
East Francophones often speak of the genuine pride that comes with using both languages
which simultaneously form their bilingual identity. For example, in a study conducted on the
attitudes toward Chiac in 2002 (referred to in our discussion of speech communities in
Chapter 1), the following opinions demonstrate the extent to which Chiac speakers consider
themselves Acadians and how the presence of English in their speech does not erase their
acadianité (Keppie 2002: 87, 88, 89)[38]:

« Le chiac est important pour nous car il nous identifie comme Acadien. »

« Le chiac est un dialecte qui appartient à la culture propre des Acadiens. Je
suis Acadien et je suis fier de parler le chiac. »

« Le chiac est seulement une différente manière de parler la langue française
et ne devrait pas être perçu d'une manière négative. Chaque langue a des
dialectes différents qui ont été transmis de ses ancêtres et il ne devrait pas
avoir de gêne. Je suis autant acadien qui celui qui ne parle pas le chiac. »

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[38] Only South-East Francophones were asked their opinions concerning Chiac in this study. The goal of the
study was to analyze 3 different aspects regarding Chiac: 1) its actual use, 2) its perceived acceptability and 3)
its desired acceptability. These 3 concepts were analyzed in relation to 4 geographical boundaries: a) Moncton
(the city alone), b) Moncton and its peripheries, c) New Brunswick's Acadian regions, and d) francophone
regions outside New Brunswick. Results are briefly stated here:
1. **Actual usage of Chiac:** The further one ventures from Moncton's core, the less Chiac is spoken. Its
   usage ranges from about 60% of the time within Moncton to 25% in francophone areas outside the
   province.
2. **Chiac's perceived acceptability:** In and around Moncton, the perceived acceptability is favorably
   rated at approximately the same as its use (60%). Both Chiacs and non-Chiacs agree on this, yet when
   we distance ourselves from the Moncton peripheral municipalities, their attitudes diverge from one
   another. Results show Chiacs as 45.6% in favour and non-Chiacs at 17.9% in favour of Chiac being
   acceptable in other NB Acadian regions.
3. **Chiac's desired acceptability:** What is most interesting here is the case of whether or not it should be
   acceptable to speak Chiac in other regions of New Brunswick Acadia. Community boundaries are
   drawn here as Chiacs desired its acceptability at 55.7% and non-Chiacs at 17.9%, a far less
   encouraging result. We believe that Chiacs view their dialect as a defining feature of New Brunswick
   Acadia and that it deserves more favorable and respected recognition than it presently holds in the
   province.

Boudreau (2003) refers to this line of thought as a *dédoublement de la pensée*, a bilingual

identity that has become more and more popular with the younger South-East Francophones

who do not wish to choose between a French or English identity. They participate in both and

are proud of the fact, finding it a benefit to their global, urban reality, saying that they wish to

be able to work in both languages later on in life after an education at the Université de

Moncton that has taught them to appreciate diversity. Boudreau (2003) hopes that with this

type of attitude and continuing education about the benefit of multiple identities, Acadians

will be less inclined to see themselves as victims of assimilation. She believes that this is

already occurring as South-East Francophones are found to use terms such as « dualité », «

homogenéité linguistique », « égalité » and « autonomie » when discussing the pros and cons

of bilingualism in New Brunswick.

Kasparian (2003 :174) affirms the importance education has in promoting a globalized

Acadian identity: «L'approche bilinguiste et non-conflictuelle des langue en contact chez les

Acadiens permettra de penser à une éducation bilingue respectueuse de leur réalité et qui

donnera plus de chances de survie à leur langue ainsi qu'à leur culture.» In fact, studies by

Flikeid (1996) and Perrot (2003) have shown that intense language contact does not

necessarily result in linguistic assimilation. Instead, the creation of bilingual norms can halt

such a phenomenon when certain conditions are met (Flikeid March 1996):

> [The] emerging linguistic and economic security in the larger communities
> [including Pubnico] leads simultaneously to a slowing down of language
> shift and a revaluing of the French culture alongside the dominant culture,
> with the younger generation encoding this dual identity in bilingual
> discourse.
>
> In fact, it is tempting to postulate that the very solidity of the situation of
> these larger communities gives them a sense of cultural security which

allows them more readily to embrace the two codes competing for their identity and enter into a mode of dual allegiance.

Therefore, in an urban environment where language contact intensifies, assimilation can be a very common occurrence, yet the francophone minority community is still able to maintain a certain security, for Chiac has symbolic value to its speakers. Although a more 'international' linguistic variety has emerged from contact with Francophones outside the community or communities, this variety is not often accorded the same symbolic value as the local vernacular (Boudreau and LeBlanc-Côté 2003), particularly to artists, poets and musicians (Boudreau and Gadet[39]). Boudreau and Dubois (1993:158) found that speakers of Chiac refer to the dialect as « notre langue » and affirm that while it may not be necessarily considered 'good' French, it is still French and that it belongs to them. Studies have found that they often take offence to the stigma attached to their dialect (even though at the same time they may perceive it themselves as one of the worst forms of French), as though speaking the dialect is a wrongdoing, a sign of sickness. Here, a study participant explains (Boudreau and Dubois 2003a :103):

> (...) / ce qui me trouble énormément quand les gens commencent à parler contre le chiac c'est / c'est toujours un espèce de jugement moral / tu sais le français c'est bien / le chiac c'est mal comme si parler chiac c'est une maladie / mais moi je trouve pas que mes parents sont malades / mon père a quatre-vingt-trois ans ma mère a soixante-seize / sont en très bonne santé.

Chiac affirms the cohesion and identity of the group and serves as an identity vehicle that is, for its speakers, francophone and bilingual. Adopting another register would therefore be a threat to their identity and South-East community membership.[40] Choosing to speak a certain linguistic variety is more than simply a communicative act; it is an indication of the speaker's

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[39] http://www.unice.fr/ILF-CNRS/ofcaf/12/Boudreau.htm
[40] English plays an interesting role in the South-East identity; on the one hand it symbolises a weakening element of the French native language, yet also, it is viewed as having certain economic advantages.

identity or identities and it is through varieties such as Chiac that dual linguistic membership and a global discourse are promoted.[41] In fact, Chiac is perhaps the best example to demonstrate the struggle Acadians are facing as different discourses come to a head, as is suggested by Perrot (1995:148), quoting Gérin and Phlipponneau (1984), who say that Chiac is

> condamné par les uns pour des raisons idéologiques diverses, défendu par les autres qui l'utilisent afin d'affirmer leur appartenance à une communauté linguistique et culturelle bien définie, le chiac est un terrain de bataille où se livre un combat linguistique et politique dont l'issue pourrait bien être l'avenir de la langue française dans une région de l'Acadie.

Boudreau hopes that, if North-East Francophones abandon their adherence to the modernizing period, if the globalizing discourse takes full effect around New Brunswick and Acadians are accepted as either native speakers of French, bilingual or assimilated, that this stigma South-East Francophones feel toward their variety will fade into history.

2.4 Acadia as a geographical construct

Do languages cause borders? Do borders cause languages? In socio-political research, it has been a reoccurent theme to try to 'nationalise space' (Williams 1991:7), or to identify whole societies to specific places or territories, and this issue of territory has been an aspect of inter-group conflict in the understanding of Acadia. This 'national construction of social space' (ibid) is arguably one of the most influential aspects in the creation of identities. In this section, we will address the different approaches taken to defining Acadia through geography, ranging from history and genealogy to socioeconomics and the minority/majority status of New Brunswick Francophones. While these approaches may not necessarily delimit a single

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[41] Boudreau and LeBlanc-Côté (2003) refer to Bourdieu (1982) when defining linguistic identity as being formed by the relation individuals have with the language they speak on one hand, and how that language is perceived by others, on the other. Therefore, all positive or negative judgments (often called linguistic representations or attitudes) about that language are part of the speaker's linguistic identity makeup.

territory that we can convene in calling the unofficial Acadia, they succeed in stressing the delicate and sometimes contrasting situation of certain Maritime counties who call themselves Acadian. This is an important and necessary element of our research, not just for Acadia, but for all linguistic minorities who have, by and large, been excluded from space nationalisation because of their political subordination - the English majority, in our case (Williams 1991).

Dating back to the 1713 Treaty of the Utrecht, when Acadia as an official territory ceased to exist, Acadians have been unclear as to where they belong, despite definitions provided by various forms of literature, such as scholarly works and poetry. Longfellow's poem, Évangéline: A Tale of Acadia (1847), has long provided a sense of historical physical belonging to Acadians (LeBlanc, 2003), an attribute which LeBlanc states is part of the Acadian identity, suggesting that geography is part of today's *acadianité*. This is echoed by Adam and Phlipponneau (1994:250), who say that a topographic mapping of Acadia is symbolic of the existence of the culture's visibility:

> Jusqu'à cette date la toponymie acadienne et son illustration sur les cartes constituaient à peu près la seule marque officielle de l'existence des Acadiens sur ce territoire, le seul moyen pour ce peuple d'avoir une visibilité tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur du Nouveau-Brunswick.

Longfellow's poem is a fictitious account based on the real events of the Acadian Deportation, yet the locations he describes do exist, and for that Acadians relate to Longfellow's poem in a manner of physical belonging (LeBlanc 2003). The township of Grand-Pré, Nova Scotia, as the foremost location of the Acadian Deportation, and Martinville, Louisiana, where many Acadians settled after being dispersed, have long since been designated as national historical sites where pilgrimages are made every year. LeBlanc

surmises that Longfellow succeeded in creating a sense of identity for Acadians, one to
which many relate today, by weaving the physical past with the physical present. As stated
by Jorgensen (1990:47): the "past is not simply there, but rather, that it is something that
people build. As a result, myth and sacred sites are powerful in keeping the past close to us".
While this may be so, Acadians today do not designate only Grand-Pré and Martinville as the
unofficial geographical Acadie, and the relation between Acadia and geography has for years
been difficult for Francophones to determine during the periods of their evolving discourses
over the past 50-60 years.

This uncertainty is evident in another famous literary work, *la Sagouine*, written by Antonine
Maillet (1971). *La Sagouine*, a series of monologues by a fictitious, elderly, yet wise
washerwoman of Bouctouche, New Brunswick, reflects upon the difficulty people have had
in defining themselves as Acadian during times of rapid, modernizing change (LeBlanc
2003:144) [42]:

> [...] who defines herself in terms of other groups to which she feels no
> sense of belonging. When asked her nationality by the census taker, the
> sagouine realizes that she is not American because they are rich, live in the
> U.S.A., and only come to Canada to visit. She does not think she is
> Canadian, because families like the Jones and the Carrols who live in
> Canada speak English and she speaks French. She does not believe that
> she is French either because French people live in France. She senses that
> she is closer to the Americans than to the French. Perhaps she is French
> Canadian or a Québecer. But she does not live in Québec. Finally
> exasperated, she asks herself, "Fer (*sic*) the love of Christ, where do we
> live?" When she tells the census taker that she lives in Acadie, he
> explains that she cannot put that on the form because Acadie does not
> exist in the geography books.

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[42] *La Sagouine* is actually written in Chiac. We find it very interesting that this play also demonstrates the
Acadian identity conflict through the use of this vernacular.

This curious and fascinating monologue is one of the most memorable sources for our project because it clearly illustrates the complexity in being Acadian as it exemplifies the truthfulness of one of this study's initial quotes: « Définir l'Acadie n'est jamais chose simple ». In times of a surfacing globalizing discourse, one would imagine an unofficial Acadian territory to be inclusive of all people who advocate the common Acadian cause of economic growth, participation and equality, regardless of language or history. However, LeBlanc's account of the geographical importance in Longfellow's poem is very much a traditionalist perspective, one which Acadians had wanted to move away from in hopes of ensuring their survival and vitality. The question still remains as to how Acadians view the issue of locality; if Acadia is an unofficial territory, where is it located? There do not exist many cultural geographical studies on Acadia, although a wide variety of proposed maps can be found. However, what needs to be understood here is that these propositions involve different points of departure. Borders as political constructs have long been closely associated with the issues of space nationalisation and identity, yet their discursive constructiveness and meaning systems are only fairly recent and have not received sufficient attention in research as of yet. Bush *et al.* (2004) explain that there is now a change of paradigms in current border studies in which taking researchers are questioning taking the (nation-)state as the point of departure in favour of the speech community and our study parallels this exact line of thought in that our proposed map of Acadia in our final chapter is a discursive construct of the French New Brunswick speech community, which we know is our point of departure for the whole of this study. We illustrate in this section that while all researchers of any domain of Acadian studies agree that Acadia represents a reality at least somewhere in the Maritime Provinces, they do not all agree on its imagined territorial representation. In many cases, proposed maps

are limited to geopolitical borders such as provincial borders, county borders and census sectors.

Perhaps the most well known studies on Acadian territorial representation are those by geographer Adrien Bérubé. In the article *De l'Acadie historique à la Nouvelle-Acadie: les grandes perceptions contemporaines de l'Acadie* (1987), Bérubé mentions 4 approaches geographers have taken to answer the question «où se trouve l'Acadie? ». These 4 approaches are in complete alignment with the 4 Acadian ideologies/typologies Bérubé proposes further on in the same article which we have previously discussed. Bérubé's first version of Acadie, *l'Acadie historique*, is defined through a historical five-step evolution of the territory, beginning with the occupation by Native Americans of what today constitutes the Maritime Provinces, to the Canadian confederation of 1867 when New Brunswick officially became a distinct province (see Map 2).

Map 2: Bérubé's 4 Acadias (1987)
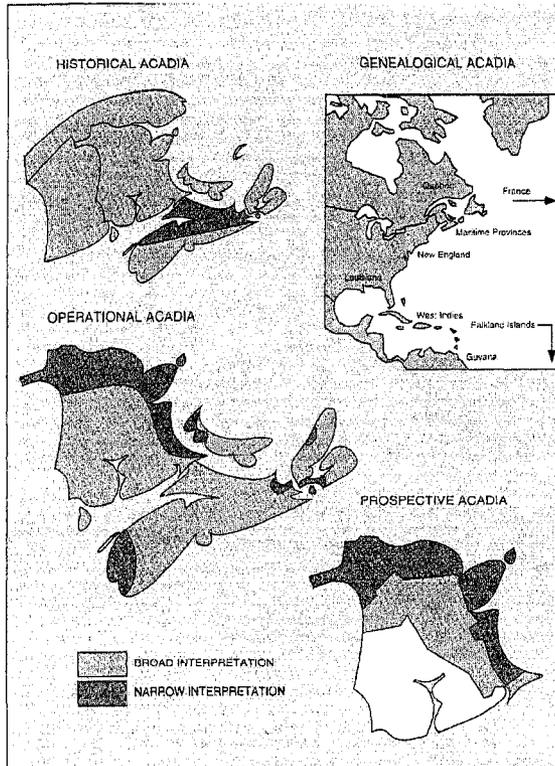
The second approach had geographers interested in drawing Acadia according to the
dispersion of Acadians, an approach named «les flux migratoires des Acadiens suite à leur
déportation, ainsi que leur implantation *définitive* vers les années 1800» by Leblanc (1979,
emphasis his). This genealogical approach to physically defining Acadia created what
Bérubé calls *l'Acadie de la Diaspora*, or *l'Acadie Généaologique*, covering parts of Canada,
France, the United States, and the Carribean. This Acadia remains the vastest geographical
representation of the four (see Map 2).

However, since Canada's Confederation, we have seen the Acadian reality evolve from being
passéiste to a modern, unofficial presence in the Maritime Provinces, especially in the
province of New Brunswick. The issue of territory has thus become centred around New

Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, leading to a third approach to physically

defining Acadia and coinciding with the modernizing discourse that promoted language as

the determining factor of *acadianité* and the beginning emergences of the globalizing

discourse that voiced multiple identities based on regional socio-economics. This particular

study, called *l'Acadie opérationnelle* by Bérubé, examines the notion of mental maps. This

approach allows different groups of people to draw their perception of where the Acadian

territory exists (Williams 1977). Because the modernizing discourse was still dominating at

the time of this approach, maps of *l'Acadie opérationnelle* took on the form of all

francophone Maritime regions, especially New Brunswick, this time using the speech

community as the point of departure (see Map 2).[43] The globalizing discourse side of these

maps appeared in the division of these regions, especially in New Brunswick where

Francophones were identified as being either from the North-East, the North-West or from

the South-East. Therefore, we are left with a series of identified Maritime regions claiming

to be part of Acadia, yet these claims have all come from historians and geographers, not

from the francophone populations themselves. In our research, we take our participants'

perspectives as our point of departure.

While researchers designate certain areas or regions of the Maritimes (in particular New

Brunswick) as unofficial Acadian territory, Bérubé disagrees with the use of terms like *le*

nord-ouest du Nouveau-Brunswick and *la péninsule acadienne,* for he finds them ambiguous

in significance and unclear in what they geographically mean. Instead, Bérubé proposes 3

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[43] Bérubé does not address Newfoundland in his description of l'Acadie opérationnelle. This would be an issue
to undertake in future research.

new concepts that counter the theories of *l'Acadie opérationnelle* and its francophone regions:

1) la Marévie 2) l'Appalachie acadienne and 3) la Nouvelle-Acadie.

La Marévie, a neologism created in 1972 by Bérubé (1979b), was meant to designate the region or territory occupied by the three New Brunswick counties generally identified as the North-West, and consisting of the whole of Madawaska County, the north of Victoria County, and the western part of Restigouche County (see Map 3).[44] In an attempt to produce a neutral name that would describe this territory without geographical confusion, the first syllables of each of the three formerly mentioned counties were forged together, creating *Marévie*. The people Bérubé calls *Maréviens* and *Maréviennes* live in a territory that is 90% francophone and at the same time share a mixture of Acadian and Québécois ancestors, which is the most important factor that distinguishes them from the other francophone regions of the Maritime Provinces. La Marévie is, in Bérubé's words, «plus française que toute autre région acadienne des Provinces Maritimes, mais moins acadienne que toute autre région française des mêmes provinces» (1979 :7), for his definition of a true Acadien is strongly tied to heritage.[45]

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[44] Please refer to Bérubé's 1979b account of « Territoire Z », an area of North-Western New Brunswick and a description of the different titles proposed to represent this area, of which the preferred is *la Marévie*.

[45] Bérubé also proposes 4 other alternatives for la Marévie, should it ever become a constitutional and / or political issue. We should note though, that none of these alternatives ever received support from New Brunswick Francophones (Dallaire, 1999). 1) la Marévie, U.S.A.: Marévians would have the possibility to join with the United States as a new county of the State of Maine because francophone Marévians share a common history with those of Maine. 2) la Marévie, United Maritimes: Bérubé proposes this alternative as a solution to the delicate economic situation of the Maritime Provinces. This alternative would group together the 3 provinces, perhaps even including Newfoundland and Labrador. Marévie could become part of this United Maritimes because it is currently part of New Brunswick. 3) la Marévie, Québec: Very simply, Bérubé mentions the possibility of joining Marévie with Québec because of their linguistic and historical commonalities. 4) la Marévie, Nouvelle-Acadie: According to Bérubé, this is the best alternative should Marévie become a nationalistic issue. Marévie would become part of a new, unilingual, French Acadian province called la Nouvelle-Acadie (along with part of New Brunswick's east coast), leaving the remainder of the current province of New Brunswick as unilingual English, of which Moncton would have an officially bilingual status.

Map 3 : la Marévie (Bérubé, 1979)

LA MARÉVIE

QUÉBEC

RESTIGOUCHE

QUÉBEC

MADAWASKA

RESTIGOUCHE

ÉTATS-UNIS

VICTORIA

NORTHUMBERLAND

VICTORIA
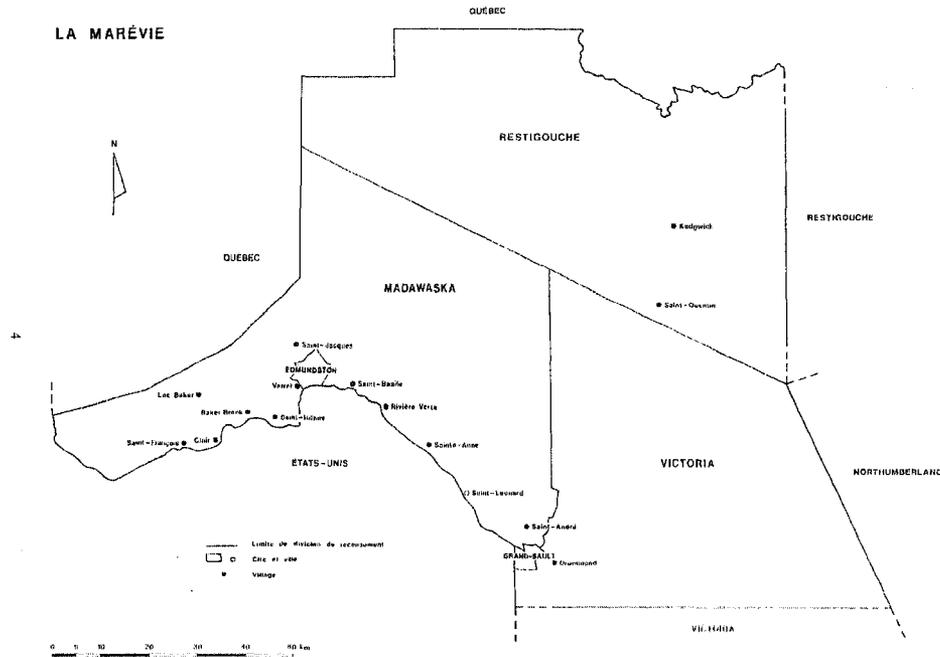
Another alternative proposed by Bérubé to using terms like the New Brunswick Northwest is one he calls *l'Appalachie acadienne*, where the point of departure is not the state but rather the French Maritime speech community. In the Maritime Provinces, the role of counties is to make census analysis and statistical publication an easier and more straightforward task for the government. Bérubé sees no political reasoning for their delimitations, compared to many years ago when the first Maritime counties were created. Therefore, he saw an opportunity in giving a sense to the counties by uniting them in a proposed territory called *l'Appalachie acadienne*, composed of 46 counties (the 36 Maritime counties, as well as 10 counties from eastern Québec; see Map 4). These counties would be united as a political and

geographical entity through a number of socio-economic criteria, all of Acadian genealogical

and linguistic influence. The name *Appalachie* was chosen because of the mountain range

that extends from Newfoundland to Alabama, and it is around this mountain range that, for

more than 100 years, the poorest Canadian and American communities are found. Adopting

this concept, however, would definitely not be a step forward into modern times (Bérubé,

1979:7):

> Pour bien des auteurs, l'industrialisation et l'urbanisation se sont faites au
> détriment, sinon aux dépens de petites communautés appalachiennes plus ou
> moins perdues à travers ces collines. Aux Etats-Unis, le nom
> d'APPALACHIA évoque le 'Hillbillies', mais au Canada on connaît aussi les
> Newfies, les Bluenoses et les Newbies .

Map 4: l'Appalachie acadienne (Bérubé 1979)
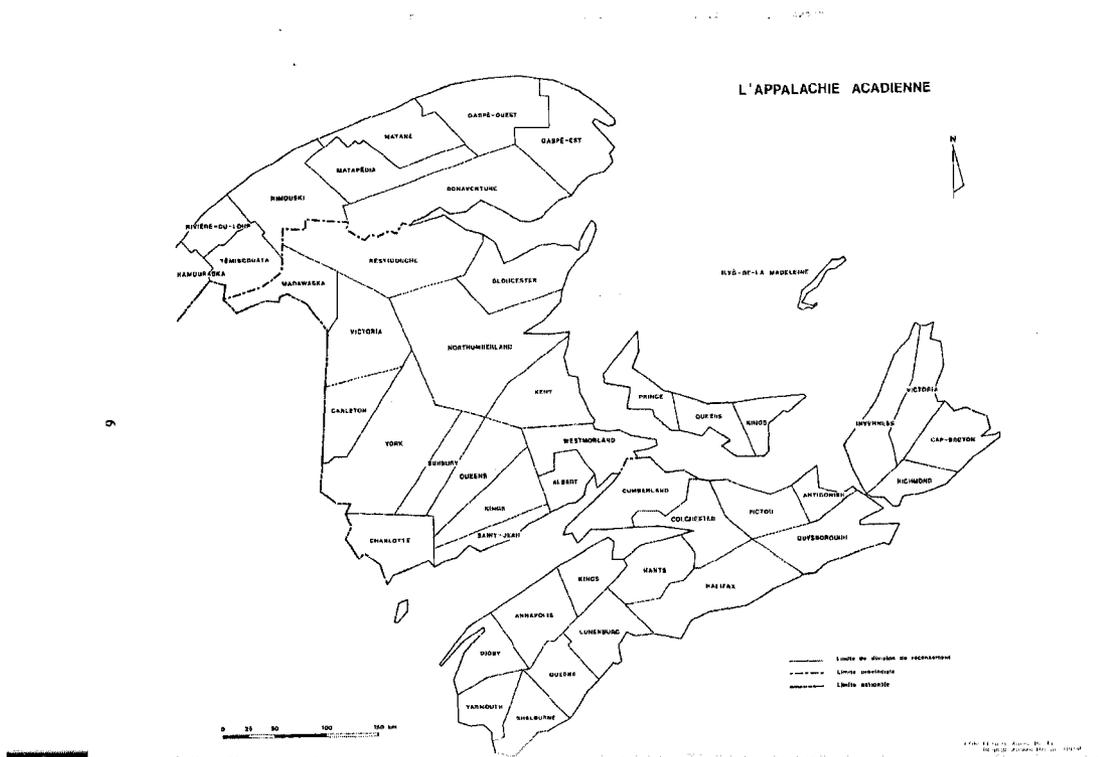
The third and final alternative proposed by Bérubé is by far the most widely discussed, and is

also the final of four approaches geographers have taken in defining Acadie through territory.

A *Nouvelle Acadie* was not Bérubé's creation, but one in which he firmly believed. As we

have already seen, Acadian leaders of the *Parti acadien* and other members of the Acadian elite viewed the possibility of an official province as a collective project to counter their relatively under-developed economic and political situation: «Sans territoire légalement reconnu, nous n'aurons jamais d'autonomie réelle, et, sans autonomie, nous ne pourrons jamais orienter nous-mêmes notre destin, développer nos ressources dans nos intérêts» (Thériault 1982:159). This project focused on New Brunswick as the location, for Acadian leaders (Thériault himself included) proclaimed that not only is New Brunswick home to most Acadians (85% of all those living in the Maritimes), but that it is in this province that Acadian nationalistic and language standardization advocacy are the strongest. The latter was of upmost importance to this discourse, as a "unitary language gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization" (Bakhtin 1981:270f). Thériault, a history professor from the Université de Moncton, favours the idea of an Acadian province for several reasons. One, he does not believe that Acadians will ever obtain full equality while they are part of a province that hosts a 33% francophone and 67% anglophone population, regardless of the fact that New Brunswick is an officially bilingual province. Secondly, he believes that in establishing a *Nouvelle Acadie*, the remainder of New Brunswick would see the financial advantage of returning to a unilingual English province without the exorbitant budget of having to translate all public documents into French. Thirdly, Thériault advocates Acadian autonomy as a means of resisting a possible future union of the Maritime Provinces (proposed for economic reasons). Should such an event arise, Thériault claims that *la Nouvelle Acadie* would be grounds for an alliance with Québec, especially if the former were to opt for sovereignty (ibid. page 161). Statistics for an Acadian province in the late 1970s saw the proposed territory comprising of 53% of the

actual New Brunswick province with an approximate population of 340 000, of which more than 200 000 would be native Francophones (ibid. page 162).[46] Nevertheless, the proposed province would not succeed in including all regions where Acadians currently exist in New Brunswick. Thériault surmises that approximately 6.8%, or slightly more than 15 000 New Brunswick Francophones, live in areas such as the city of Saint John and in smaller pockets in the English counties of Albert, Charlotte, Kings, Queens, Sunbury and York (see Table 2). This statement implies that an Acadian does not have to live in a particular area to be considered a true Acadian. Advocates of Acadian nationalism state that this exclusion cannot be helped, for if a Francophone were to go live in one of those localities, they should expect and be prepared to live in English, as would be the opposite case if an Anglophone were to come to an Acadian centre such as Cap Pelé or Caraquet. Finally, Theriault (1981) provides us with a physical description of his view of Acadia, which strongly corresponds with la Nouvelle-Acadie:

> [...] on trouve une zone d'influence acadienne qui part des frontières du Québec et des États-Unis au nord-ouest de la province du Nouveau-Brunswick, pour rejoindre les régions du littoral de la Baie des Chaleurs (Nord-Est), du Golfe St-Laurent et du Détroit de Northumberland (Sud-Est). (1981:55)

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[46] Please refer to Thériault's (1982) chapter « Une économie acadienne » for 1) an account of the economic situation faced by Acadians at the time when la Nouvelle Acadie was first discussed and 2) a proposed Maritime union (also discussed in the sixth chapter).

Table 2: Province de l'Acadie: répartition numérique et en pourcentage de la population selon la langue maternelle, recensement fédéral de 1976 (Thériault, 1982:167)

Régions	Français (%)	Anglais (%)	Autres (%)	Non-déclarés (%)
Victoria – paroisses civiles actuelles de Drummond, Grand Sault, Denmark et Lorne	64	33.4	1.3	1.2
Madawaska	94.2	5.0	0.2	0.6
Restigouche	58.7	39.4	0.4	1.6
Gloucester	80.8	17.8	0.3	1.1
Northumberland	25.4	72.6	1.0	1.0
Kent	79.6	15.8	3.6	1.0
Westmorland – paroisses civiles actuelles de Dorchester (moins la ville de Dorchester), Botsford, Shédiac et Moncton	45.9	50.7	0.7	2.4
La province acadienne	**60.9**	**36.7**	**0.86**	**1.4**

Thériault, who believes that Acadians do not cohabitate yet whose makeup is rather «plusieurs grappes de petites communautés» (1981:59), illustrates this by mentioning the geographic isolation separating the different regions, namely the forest that separates the North-West from the North-East, and the North-East from the South-East by the Miramichi Valley, «dont les villes de Chatham et Newcastle constituent les forteresses principales» (1981:58).[47] We then get a strong sense of Acadia being part of the coastline, as Thériault (1981:60) describes the territory as never penetrating far inland (see Map 5):

> L'espace acadien correspond à un long [...] périphérique (approximativement 750 kilomètres), au nord et à l'est du Nouveau-Brunswick, n'ayant jamais une profondeur de 45 kilomètres. Seules quelques frontières géographiques (rivières, marais, forêts) ou linguistiques (centres urbains anglophones) viennent briser ce qui autrement serait un long corridor plus ou moins continu.

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[47] Thériault calls the County of Restigouche *le Nord*, a region where a strong percentage of Anglophones live in the cities of Cambellton and Dalhousie. He calls this region another barrier separating the North-West from the North-East. In our methodology, we establish our own borders for the New Brunswick francophone regions, to which we adhere in our analysis.

LA PROVINCE DE L'ACADIE

SUPERFICIE: 38 000 km²
14 702 milles carrés
soit 53% du N.-B. actuel

POPULATION:

totale: 342 195 h., soit 50.5% du N.-B. actuel

française: 208 430 h., soit 93% des francophones du N.-B. actuel

anglaise: 125 920 h., soit 29% des anglophones du N.-B. actuel
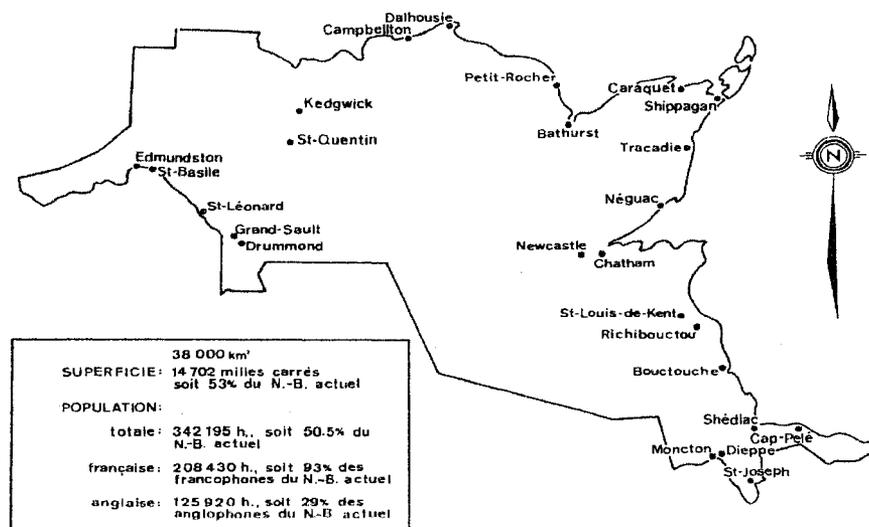
Researchers like Jean-Claude Vernex (1980) and Bérubé revised the borders proposed by the *Parti acadien* by attempting to define Acadie through the intensity of *acadianité* felt by francophone students of New Brunswick. Whereas the Acadian province proposed by Thériault and the *Parti acadien* includes the full counties of Victoria, Madawaska, Restigouche, Gloucester, Northumberland, Kent and Westmorland, Bérubé's *Acadie prospective* would limit the inclusion of Victoria to its northern half and the exclusion of Westmorland (see Map 5). Yet, the southern region of New Brunswick constitutes the most central difference between the two proposals for an Acadian province. Bérubé strongly suggests that Westmorland should never be part of Acadia because of its current state of francophone minority status; he considers the county to be far to assimilated to the English culture and language and that the process of re-assimilation into French too hard and long a

process to ensure success.[48] As well as the majority-minority differences between Westmorland and the other francophone counties, Bérubé further offered another reason why Westmorland should be excluded from any discussion regarding an official Acadian territory discussion; that it's successful economic situation as a globalizing region does not match those of the other counties. The city of Moncton, in particular, is considered by Bérubé and by many other Acadian scholars who dream of a territory of their own, as non-Acadian, echoing the rural-urban friction of space nationalization (Williams 1991):

> Moncton. Un lieu exact, une erreur monumentale sur la carte de notre désir, le nom de notre bourreau comme un graffiti sur la planète. Moncton. Un espace difficile à aimer (un espace difficile pour aimer), une ville qui nous déforme et où nous circulons dans les ramages du ghetto. (Waddell 1994:221)

Bérubé's vision of la Nouvelle-Acadie is very relevant to our study, for as our analysis reveals, it parallels opinions by female participants, particularly of the North-East, who also believe that linguistic variation of the South-East impedes comprehension between Francophones. However, as our overall results indicate, this type of opinion is not shared throughout French New Brunswick as the South-East and Moncton in particular, are included in the French New Brunswick definition of Acadia.

We will now examine a particular study of the *Acadie opérationnelle* approach. As previously described, this approach defines a geographical location based on the notion of mental maps. Cultural geographers have used a method called Spatial Perception in their research; their theory being that these mental maps are in fact models "of the environment which are built up over time in the individual's brain" (Sarre 1973: 16). At a time when Francophones from New Brunswick were said to belong to different regions without much

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[48] *This point of view reflects very much the modernizing discourse of the 1960s and 1970s.*

emphasis being put into what those different regions actually meant geographically, it was

believed that mental maps were a cultural tool whereby cultural differences in group

perception could be analysed. The purpose of Colin Williams' study, published under the

title Ethnic Perception of Canada in 1977, was to attempt to determine "to what extent the

name Acadia may still connote some definite territorial area in the minds of a sample of New

Brunswick High School students of both main ethnic groups" (p. 243).[49]

Williams' study revealed some very thought-provoking results, the primary one being that

the maps were centered on the Moncton hinterland (see Map 6 and Table 4). Students in

Dieppe, Moncton and Campbellton (French) geographically defined Acadia along the same

lines as the present day's New Brunswick French settlement. Yet when it came to self

inclusion as part of Acadia, not all were in agreement. Only Dieppe students appeared

strongly confident that they were living in Acadia (93%), meaning that although the Greater

Moncton Area received the highest aggregate agreement as the location of Acadia, English

students of Moncton did not think like their neighbouring Dieppe counterparts. The only part

[49] Williams' project involved 1 287 grade 12 students in 1971. The predominantly francophone areas covered in the study were: Tracadie, Edmundston and St. Quentin. Predominantly Anglophone areas consisted of Sussex and Woodstock. The areas of language contact studied involved Moncton (an English school), Dieppe (French), Campbellton (both a French and an English school), Grand Falls (again, both linguistic communities were represented) and an English school in Bathurst. The results of this study prove interesting in that the delimitations are quite different, depending on the linguistic community of the students. By and large, the geographical perception by French students is much larger than that of the English students, yet both groups' mental maps are centred on the Moncton hinterland. Over 75% of French students also included Bathurst and Tracadie, the North Shore and eastern New Brunswick is viewed as part of Acadia between 50-75% of the time, while the remainder of the province and the other two Maritime Provinces are deemed part of Acadia by less than 50% of respondents. On the other hand, English mental maps are even more limited, concentrated solely around the Bay of Fundy with less than 35% of respondents including the rest of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Other parts of the Maritimes, such as Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, were not constituted as essential. The present discussion will concern itself only with the French schools of Dieppe, Campbellton, St. Quentin, Edmundston, Grand Falls and Tracadie, as well as the language contact English school of Moncton. Please refer to Williams (1977:253-261) for results and brief discussions concerning the two English schools along the French North Shore (Campbellton and Bathurst) the English schools of the South-West of the province (Sussex and Woodstock) and the language contact school of Grand Falls.

of New Brunswick these Moncton students strongly concurred with each other as part of

Acadia was the Bathurst region, which begs the question of why their view was so different

from the majority.[50] Dieppe was also the most inclusive in its perception, including all

francophone regions of New Brunswick. In Campbellton, only 30% of students agreed on the

inclusion of the Madawaska region, which is suggested as an indication that students from

the New Brunswick North are more aware of the distinctiveness of the area called la

République de la Madawaska.[51]

Map 6: The Aggregate French Mother-Tongue Profile of Acadie (Williams, 1977)[52]

THE AGGREGATE FRENCH
MOTHER-TONGUE PROFILE

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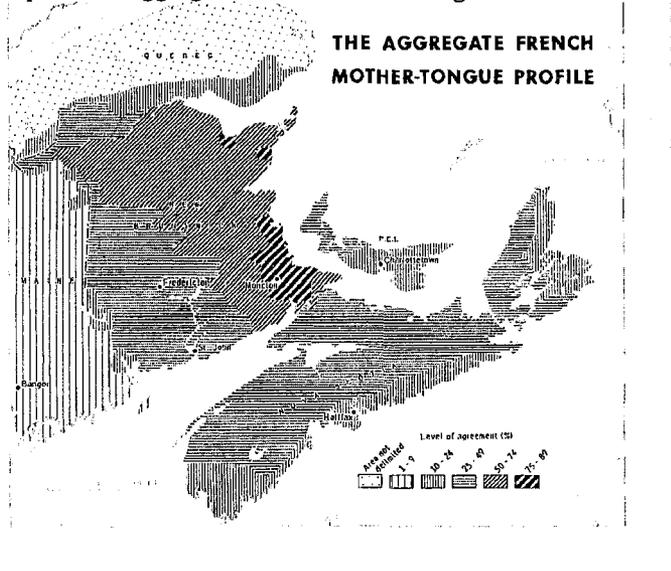
[50] Unfortunately, this article by Williams does not allow for discussion on this matter except to provide 2 reasons for their mental maps: between 28%-35% of students from the schools mentioned above based their drawings on the areas they knew to be French speaking; the other reason being that 13% of all students claimed to have founded their mental maps on their knowledge of Acadian history.

[51] Although never indicated by Williams, his association of Campbellton with the Madawaskan influence makes us believe he views that city as part of the North-West. Interestingly enough, both Campbellton schools were recorded as being the most unsure of knowing where Acadia was.

[52] See also Williams' aggregate criteria for delimiting Acadia (1977:262).

This leads us to another area of interest in Williams' article that concerns the present study: the Madawaskan influence. Williams was looking to see if this marked identity would have any bearing on the overall conception of Acadia. In three North-Western French schools (Edmundston, St Quentin and Grand Falls), students viewed a geographical Acadia in a much different manner than in the south.[53] It was concluded that all North-West French profiles were very much a replica of each other, with strong agreement in centering Acadia over Moncton (between 67%-84%) but stopping short of including themselves into the picture (between 5%-12%), marking their awareness of a distinction between themselves and *les Acadiens*. This supports Johnson's (1999) statement (previous section) that in the North-West, Moncton is seen as the centre of Acadia.

The final French school to be discussed is Tracadie. Williams believes Tracadie to be the cultural centre of the Acadian people. To support this, he says that Francophones from the Acadian peninsula have long been recognized as being the most active in promoting the traditional Acadian culture. Thus, he predicted that Tracadian students would provide the most uniform and homogeneous perception of a geographical Acadia.[54] However, the Tracadie sample provided a non-image of Acadia, for only 3 out of the 178 students drew a map, and 166 replied that Acadie was no longer in existence today, a very traditional and historical perspective that goes against all that Acadian leaders have been trying to accomplish these past 60 years. «L'Acadie n'existe pas géographiquement depuis 1755 mais

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[53] Of these three communities, Edmundston is by far the most commonly known and is often referred to as the capital of the Madawaska region. The profile of St Quentin is that of an isolated, exclusively French community situated halfway between Campbellton and Victoria County. Their foundations are made up primarily of migrating Québécois from the early 20th century and their descendants today retain close ties with Québec. Grand Falls, approximately 1 hour to the south of Edmundston and sitting directly on the Madawaska/Victoria County border as well as on the Canadian/U.S. border, is an officially bilingual town whose rural neighbours are predominantly French.

[54] Refer to Williams' ethnic areas theory at the beginning of Ethnic Perceptions of Acadia (1977).

50% du peuple du Nouveau-Brunswick sont des Acadiens» (Williams, 1977:263). Williams also gathered statements from the Tracadie school that described more group suffering and language related grievances than from any other school sample. We conclude then that, at the time of his study, the past conflicts between the English and the French were still very much apparent and real to these north-eastern francophone students.[55] These results also support the idea that the North-East is defined by the traditional and modernizing discourses / l'Acadie historique and l'Acadie prospective.

The results provided by Williams suggest that Acadia connotes a variety of territorial images. One such image is the unanticipated divergence between the perceived core of Moncton and the expected core of the eastern North Shore of New Brunswick. The Acadian peninsula is supported by many to be the Acadian heartland yet a study of mental maps solidly identifies the Greater Moncton Area as Acadia's core.[56] Williams believes that in the beginning of the 1970s, despite a modernizing discourse among Acadian leaders, the general population was aware of the influence the different organizations and institutions had in the South-East through commercial trade and communication, and the outcome they would ensure in the near future, especially with the recent founding of the Université de Moncton. The results are, however, not definitive enough to fully support any resulting hypotheses. A few facts must be taken into consideration, such as the fact that New Brunswick High School geography classes of the early 1970s teaches Acadia in respect to a few specific places, thus,

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[55] Williams does admit though that he is uncertain as to how representative this conclusion is of the entire Tracadian population.
[56] Williams refers us to LeBlanc's 1971 *Acadia, the Mysterious East* and Roy's *l'assimilation des francophones au Nouveau-Brunswick* in La Revue de l'Université de Moncton, 6 (2):181-187.

many mental maps may have been drawn objectively to what the students had learned in class.

There does not exist a lot of research in the field of Acadian politico-geography. With the exception of Williams' study, existing research is more of proposals for how Acadia should be geographically defined. Acadian scholar Samuel P. Arseneault (1994, 1999), in a similar opinion to Bérubé (1979), strongly disagrees with the use of terms like the North-East, North-West and South-East to describe New Brunswick Acadia, terms which are not culturally representative.[57] In addition to the 'weather vane concept' as Arseneault (1994) calls the limitation of New Brunswick Acadia to these three generally conceived terms, he follows a more genealogical ideology in defining the Acadian geography by opposing the concept of an Acadia that is limited to the Maritime Provinces. According to Arseneault, Acadia is also found in Gaspésie, the Iles de la Madeleine and the State of Maine. His proposed approach considers the communication and interaction that takes place between nine different areas that assures the economic development of Acadians. Arseneault borrows a model from cultural geographer D.W. Meinig, who proposed the 'core-domain-sphere' model in his 1969 study entitled *Imperial Texas: an Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography*. This approach looks at establishing geographical representations of communities through socioeconomic developments. We know that the New Brunswick Francophone economy was largely sustained through agriculture, forestry and aquaculture

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[57] In fact, Bérubé (1979:29) reveals that it was the Catholic Church who first began the process of (unofficially) dividing up New Brunswick into three regional areas by establishing dioceses in Moncton, Bathurst and Edmundston. We have also mentioned how Bérubé opposed the use of the term *le nord-ouest* in favour of *la Marévie*. He also proposed two other toponyms to designate the other 2 francophone regions: *les Chaleurs* to replace *le nord-est* (and incidentally, invented by Cartier himself) and *Beauséjour*, to replace le sud-est (Bérubé 1979:55) in commemoration of the Battle of Fort Beauséjour that marked the opening of a British-American offensive in the French and Indian War in June 1755.

(though the latter is now presently in decline). Arseneault explains the 'core' as a centre where the Francophones are in a majority and interaction is manifested through francophone municipal councils. These cores are surrounded by a 'domain', the area where private agriculture, forestry and aquaculture are practiced, worked and owned by Acadians. Population density in the domains is dense and the people remain attached to their French language and Catholic faith. People living in the domains are represented by the core's council, school board and local members of parliament. Surrounding these domains are 'spheres', peripheral areas in which recreational fishing and hunting take place, as well as vacationing and logging and mining. These spheres are either public provincial or federal areas where resources are exploited according to certain conditions that often require permits that are established by the state. To accommodate the core-domain-sphere model to French New Brunswick, Arseneault proposes a map of Acadia (see Map 7) composed of 7 regions that correspond to historical, socio-economic and demographic realities: 1) *l'Acadie du Fleuve*, composed of Madawaska County, Grand Falls and the *paroisse* of Drummond in Victoria County; 2) *l'Acadie des Montagnes*, made up of the entire Restigouche County with the exception of the village of Jacket River and Durham; 3) *l'Acadie de la Baie*, comprising Beresford, Bathurst, Allardville, and the villages of Jacket River and Durham excluded from l'Acadie des Montagnes; 4) *l'Acadie de la Péninsule*, in which Arseneault includes New Bandon, Caraquet, Paquetville, Saint-Isidore, Inkerman, Saumarez and Shippagan; 5) *l'Acadie du Golfe*, composed of Alnwick, Hardwick and Rogersville of the Northumberland County and Acadieville, Carleton, Saint-Louis, Saint-Charles, Welford and Richibuctou in Kent County; 6) *l'Acadie du Détroit*, a region comprised of Saint-Paul, Saint-Marie, Wellington and Dundas of the Kent County, as well as Shédiac and Botsford in Westmorland

County; 7) *l'Acadie des Marées,* as the final region made up of Moncton and Dorchester in

Westmorland.

Map 7: les Acadies des Maritimes et aires géographiques (Arseneault, 1999)

Carte II
Les Acadies des Maritimes
Aires géographiques et langue française, 1991*
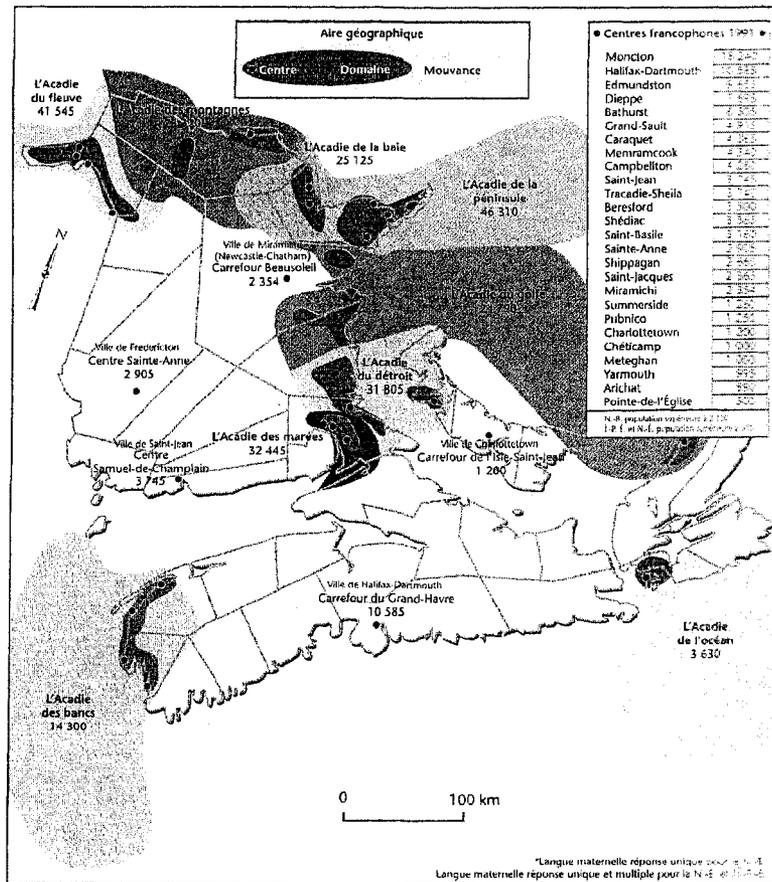
Arseneault's mental map of Acadia differs from that of the aggregates of Williams' study

significantly, though it is difficult to compare the two for several reasons. For one,

Arseneault's map is not based on empirical study, as is the case with Williams. Secondly, we

are not definite in knowing the reasons why the students in Williams' study drew their maps,

though we doubt very much that High School students conceived their maps based on the

varying socioeconomic statuses of New Brunswick. Thirdly, Arseneault proposes his seven

aires géographiques as a solution to a problematic situation that was not at all addressed in

the Williams study. The 7 Acadias also differ from the Berubian map in that Arseneault

includes both the Madawaska region and Moncton. Bérubé's version was based on cultural

and linguistic homogeneity (and in part on economy in his decision to exclude Moncton from

his *Nouvelle-Acadie*) while Arseneault focused more on the socioeconomics of Maritime

Francophones.[58] It is interesting to note, however, that while Arseneault begins by

apparently following a genealogical ideology in defining Acadia, he in fact turns to a mixture

of both genealogical and operational ideologies with his emphasis on defining Acadia

through the extraliguistic criteria of socioeconomics and resources.

We shall briefly mention one final study which examines how Acadian poets, singers and

writers take their readers "on a tour of Acadie, naming and mapping geographical locations

that are strongly linked to the scattered and divided landscape of Acadia" (Gammel and

Boudreau, 1998:7). Gammel and Boudreau are keen in showing that the growing Acadian

artistic community has succeeded in creating their own topographic mapping of Acadia that

demonstrates the appreciation for the evolving traditional to globalizing discourses that has

placed the South-East at the centre of their version of Acadia. By identifying Moncton as the

primary Acadian centre, we see parallels with the results of Williams' mental map study yet

it contrasts Bérubé's (1979) viewpoint. Gammel and Boudreau use Guy Arsenault's 1973

poem *Acadie Rock* as their prime data source. The poem allows the reader to travel through a

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[58] It remains unclear why Arseneault stated that he did not like limiting geographical discussion about Acadia to the Maritime Provinces to the exclusion of parts of Quebec (the Gaspésie, Iles de la Madeleine) when then his 7 *aires géographiques* do not include these regions. Also, we have yet to learn Arseneault's socioeconomic reasoning behind this proposal, a crucial missing element in the grounding of his model as a possible geographical representation of Acadia.

strongly south-eastern Acadia by naming towns that Gammel and Boudreau (1998:8) claim

as "highly visible and colourful in Acadian culture":

Buctouche by the sea
Cocagne in the bay
Shediac on the rocks
Straight
Pi un jardin de patates au côte d'la mer
[...]
Bouctouche sur mer
J'ai faim de l'Acadie
Et j'ai soif de Parole.[59]

This poem leads us to our last point in this section on geography. Although Adam and

Phlipponneau (1994) find that *l'unicité* (the names of locations) is a symbolic marker of

Acadian culture, they believe that if Acadian identity is indeed primarily shown through

language, then a planning programme should be implemented in order to arrive at a solution

to what they call an under representation of Acadia's presence in New Brunswick's

toponymy. Bérubé (1979) agrees along the same lines, believing that if Acadia were to

become its own political entity, then a complete renaming of towns, streets, and etcetera

would help ensure a sense of unity and homogeneity to the Acadian image (let us not forget

that Bérubé denies the South-East, and Moncton in particular, as part of Acadia due to their

level of assimilation to English and their mixed speech of French and English). While the

regions generally associated with a geographical Acadia possess three linguistic types of

toponymy, being Aboriginal, French and English (Adam and Phlipponneau 1994), it is true

that they have taken on a decisively English form since the land became politically English in

1713. In the 7 New Brunswick counties with a strong francophone population (Gloucester,

Kent, Madawaska, Northumberland, Restigouche, Victoria and Westmorland), it was found

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[59] Gammel and Boudreau indicate that 'Buctouche' was deliberately misspelled at the beginning to imitate the English phonetic pronunciation but re-translates the first line into French in the poem's last stanza.

that 7 forms of toponymy exist in the characterization of New Brunswick nomenclature. The following table (Table 3) illustrates the mixing and melding of the three linguistic forms. A further study of the data shows that the counties with the fewest French named locations are precisely those with a strong majority of French speakers: Madawaska, Gloucester, Kent and Restigouche, in particular in the latter (Table 4).

Table 3: Classement des toponymes selon leur origine linguistique (Adam and Phlipponneau, 1994 :250)

Catégorie	Exemples
indéterminé (1.3%)	Noms de lieux dont l'origine linguistique demande encore à être précisée
Amérindien (6.8%)	*Shediac; Pokeshaw; Memramcook*
adaptation française d'un toponyme français (1%)	*Caraquet; Tracadie; Bouctouche*
français (13.5%)	*Petit-Rocher; Cocagne; Saint-Isidore*
forme hybride français/anglais (12%)	*Cape Tormentine; Bay du vin River; Daigle Island*
autre langue ou forme commune au français ou à l'anglais (0.7%)	*Pirogue; Inkerman; Rio Grande*
anglais (64.7%)	*Moncton; Newcastle; Plaster Rock*

Table 4: Linguistic division of toponyms in the NB counties of high francophone population (adapted from Adam and Phlipponneau 1994: 252)

Linguistic source of toponym	Gloucester	Kent	Madawaska	Northumberland	Restigouche	Victoria	Westmorland
indéterminé	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	3%	7%
Amerindian	9%	8%	3%	6%	3%	6%	1%
adaptation française d'un toponyme français	3%	3%	3%	-	-	-	1%
français	35%	29%	39%	2%	4%	1%	8%
forme hybride français/anglais	10%	10%	17%	13%	13%	7.5%	16%
autre langue ou forme commune au français ou à l'anglais	1%	0.5%	-	-	1%	0.5%	1!
anglais	59%	47.5%	37%	77%	78%	82%	67%

What we have attempted to demonstrate is that there exists a discrepancy between the proclaimed Acadian territory and its associated *unicité*. Bérubé's arguments are solid in that his definition of a geographical Acadia is based around a uniform Acadian French language, which would in turn demand a reconstruction of the province's toponymy were *la Nouvelle-Acadie* to be created:

> On a pu observer au Québec, par exemple, que la francisation des termes
> techniques avait favorisé l'utilisation du français dans le monde du travail,
> ce qui du même coup avait revalorisé son statut [...] et nous connaissons
> les résultats positifs de ces mesures (Phlipponeau 1991:59).[60]

However, Adam and Phlipponneau appear to counter the globalizing discourse of the 1980s

and 1990s (at the time when their article in question was published). Their proposal that a

louder voice in favour of French toponymy is needed for a better visibility of Acadian

presence in New Brunswick suggests here that Acadia is defined through its opposition to

English, as dictated by the modernizing discourse of the 1960s and 1970s. It is clear that

New Brunswick nomenclature is dominated by English, yet the situation facing Acadians is

not as previous researchers have made it out to be, for through the emergence of a

globalizing discourse, Acadians have opened up their arms and minds to the presence of

English in their culture, a fact reflected in the conclusion of the study by Williams on the

drawing of Acadian mental maps and the vision provided by Acadian artists.

2.5 Qu'est-ce que l'Acadie? – Acadie and Acadien as defined by scholars, elite, and in history texts

We have demonstrated how different discourses have led to a continuously ever changing

definition of the concept of Acadia. We believe that while one discourse emerges, the

other(s) do(es) not cease to exist. Literature has shown that, as Bérubé claims in his Acadian

typology, there is not just one single way of defining Acadia, that these discourses or

ideologies are not mutually exclusive. The globalizing discourse / operational ideology is

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[60] In addition to the toponymic reconstruction of the 3 French regions of New Brunswick to *la Marévie, les Chaleurs*, and *Beauséjour*, Bérubé also postulates rebaptising several towns and cities with what he would call more appropriate Acadian French names: Edmundston could become *la République* or *Petit-Sault* (to return to a historical toponymy); Campbellton would be called *Pain-de-Sucre*, the appropriate French version of the ever popular provincial park and ski resort Sugarloaf, located close to Campbellton; *Ville-Roy* would replace Bathurst because of the numerous families by the name of Roy that live in and around the Bathurst area; Grand Falls as *Grand Sault*; as well as normalising several locations with a French spelling: *Chédiac* and *Chipagan* (in lieu of the English 'sh'), *Saint-Léonard* (St. Leonard), and finally *Richibouctou, Bouctouche, Négouac* and *Nigadou* (the French 'ou' replacing the English 'u') (Bérubé, 1979:55). As well, Thériault (1982:136) urges for a renaming «des rues et de tous, noms de rivières, de montagnes, de baies [...]».

indeed still emerging and we find that, generally speaking, Acadia is defined through a mixture of the genealogical and operational ideologies by those scholars and artists who have reflected on this fundamental issue. In this section, we will illustrate how *Acadie* and *Acadien* have been defined in the past, first through national history texts, then by different Acadian researchers and elite in order to show the existence of mixed ideologies, or perspectives.

2.5.1 Acadia as portrayed through national history

In Chapter 1, we quoted «définir l'Acadie n'est jamais chose simple». Here, we would like to introduce another quote, one that clearly explains how Acadians have been depicted over the years in historical texts (Couturier 2003:102): « dans le récit national canadien, l'Acadie, c'est un detail ». Couturier uses a globalizing discourse to define Acadia as a group of people who are inspired by their language and culture (involving literature, music and visual arts), are well educated on their history and who use these elements to work towards a promising, socially equal future. In order for Acadia to properly and fully become a concept associated with modernity and globalization, it would require adequate and just representation within Canadian history. Couturier (ibid.) states that this is not the case. Acadia has in fact been overlooked and poorly represented in national history, which cannot but augment the complexity that surrounds the terms(s) we are attempting to define.

Over the years, Acadia has been granted varying space in both French and English Canadian national historical texts. Couturier describes how 3 English texts approach Canadian history through nation-building: 1) McInnis (Canada: A Political and Social History, 1969); 2) Careless (Canada: A Story of Challenge, 1963); and 3) Cook, Ricker and Saywell (Le

Canada: étude moderne, 1988 [first published in English in 1981]). History books written in English retained a very traditional perspective regarding Acadia up until the 1980s; in fact, there was very little mention at all. When the concept was addressed, it was described solely as a former territory that ceased to exist with the victory of the British over the French through their 1755 deportation. Until the 1980s, English discourse portrayed Acadia as a historical passing, an event that has been forgotten with no traces left to prove otherwise. To quite the contrary, historians illustrated Acadia in such a fashion because they were following a national discourse that was being promoted at the federal level. The idea of nation-building was a vastly popular one for Canada before the 1980s; a time when the country defined its foundations based on geography and more importantly, economics. This was the perspective that dominated English history texts. The original Acadians and their technology were a driving force behind the building of Canada's economy through their prominent role in the fur trade, forestry, fisheries and agriculture. Nevertheless, as the Acadians were dispersed in 1755, the physical absence of the people reinforced the 1713 Treaty of the Utrecht where Acadia was ceded to the British for the final time. In a nation-builder's mind pre-1980s, this meant that Acadia and all its association ceased to exist. Their natural conclusion was that the Acadian usefulness in building Canada was completed and accomplished. In this manner, *Acadie* and *Acadien* are seen more as tools in the creation and advancement of a country. Given Couturier's position on Acadia, he is left with the impression that anybody reading these texts would conclude that the Maritime Provinces never knew any Francophone re-settlement at the end of the 18th century.

Discourse in Canadian history moved from a tone of nation-building to one of

multiculturalism with the 1980s. In an effort to reflect the federal government's claim of

equality for Canada's 2 linguistic communities, a *renaissance acadienne* emerged in English

Canadian history, a renaissance defined through symbolism. Acadia was defined and

portrayed through the symbols adopted by the *Société nationale des Acadiens*, such as its flag

and self-declared feast day of August 15th, as recognized by the federal government. This

was the initial method used in the approach to Canadian multiculturalism, and it reflected

Acadia's modernizing period of the 1960s and 1970s. Following Quebec's Quiet Revolution,

the idea of calling Acadians a distinct society caught on briefly as historians recounted the

autonomist efforts of the *Parti acadien* in obtaining complete autonomy. In keeping with the

ongoing political developments of Quebec of the time, historians built on their

multiculturalism approach through accounts of Acadians as a group of people, primarily

centred in New Brunswick for reasons of sheer number, working towards their own social

means, such as rights to education in French (a movement initiated by Premier Louis J.

Robichaud in the 1960s). While pre-1980s Canadian history was grounded in geography and

economics, texts such as Francis, Jones and Smith (Origins: Canadian History to

Confederation, 1988), Bumsted (The Peoples of Canada, 1992), and Conrad, Finkel and

Jaenen (History of the Canadian Peoples, 1993) defined a multicultural and bilingual Canada

in terms of politics and linguistic equality. In this sense, Acadian representation moved from

Bérubé's historical perspective to his prospective definition that provided a much more

current portrayal of Acadia. Acadia was being defined as a modern concept tied principally

to New Brunswick. However, history texts did not necessarily clear up the confusion about

what Acadia really was. Their perspective went from a historical event in the creation of

Canada to a modern one that involves a group of people united by a common political position and the disputed question territory.

In the 1990s, the complexity continued in historical accounts. Since research on linguistic and cultural minorities became a popular and in-demand field after the Quiet Revolution(s) of Quebec and Acadia, the notion of territoriality diminished in popularity (in part due to the dissipation of the *Parti acadien*) to the rise of numerous historical, genealogical and folkloric studies that have continued in popularity over the past 15 years. Socioeconomic studies were popular as well. These many fields of study, all under the dome of linguistic and cultural minority research, aimed at the promotion, and definition of the identity of the Acadians. Couturier provides the example of a Canadian national historic account by Finkel (Our Lives: Canada after 1945, 1997) to illustrate that in the 1990s, Canadians were less interested in the 20 year-old debate on linguistic equality and nationality, than they were in returning to the roots of the Acadian culture through folklore and genealogy.

Historical publications in French were less common than in English. Up until the mid 1990s, what French texts that did exist concerned themselves mainly with the state of the province of Québec, especially with the referendum of 1995. Until then, readers of French texts were led to believe that Quebeckers alone formed the Canadian francophonie. However, one history book written in French by Cardin, Couture and Allaire (Histoire du Canada: espace et différences, 1996) does provides a more accurate, yet still flawed, description of Canada by dedicating one-half of the book to regional diversity in which the Acadian situation is presented. What Couturier states as the downside to their portrayal is that their description of

Acadia is limited to New Brunswick, stating simply that the other provinces of the Maritimes are too assimilated to English to be part of the Acadian situation. In this light, Acadia is defined through demolinguistic statistics, regardless of heritage and traditions.

Approaches to history books written in English have been in a circular motion with today's approach returning somewhat to the style of the 1960s. Recent English history texts approach Acadia in a perspective of 'a long long time ago', emphasizing genealogy and folklore, topics which were discussed much less frequently among French researchers. The latter were more concerned with Quebec until the mid 1990s, when what little information they did provide on Acadia could be argued as incomplete, limiting Acadia to a demolinguistic presentation of New Brunswick. In brief, the 1990s were a time of story telling among Canadians when it came to Acadia. The problem was, with so many fields being discussed at once (many of them during conferences and congresses, such as *les congrès mondiaux acadiens* of 1994 and 1999), along with some researchers attempting to maintain interest in linguistics and the importance it plays in these other fields of research, defining the Acadian identity has remained an obscure concept.

2.5.2 Acadia and Acadian, as defined by scholars and elite

In this section, we discuss how the two terms have been defined by scholars and elite over the years and how they relate to Bérubé's typology.

2.5.2.1 Une Acadie généalogique:

We found several definitions that involve uniquely the genealogical ideology. In her doctoral thesis, Theirry Watine (1993) describes the 'typical Acadian', a portrayal which Dairon

(2003) calls stereotypical and not representative of today's Acadia. He depicts Watine's

definition as one that belongs to the 1970s but that today is full of prejudices and very little

truth. Watine's definition (1993:9), which focuses on the importance of speaking a correct

form of French that does not involve English, is as follows:

> L'Acadien typique est ainsi régulièrement décrit à la fois comme une
> personne chaleureuse, sérieuse, catholique pratiquante mais aussi et
> surtout hantée par ses complexes minoritaires, renfermés, excessivement
> prudente, voire incapable de s'affirmer et de se faire valoir. Autant
> d'images répandues qui convergent grosso modo vers l'idée que l'Acadien
> est finalement une perpétuelle victime. [...] D'un point de vue linguistique,
> l'Acadien moyen est souvent considéré comme n'étant à priori capable de
> parler correctement ni le français ni l'anglais. On lui prête plutôt la
> fâcheuse manie de mélanger les deux langues véhiculaires dans un jargon
> appelé « chiac » [...] Sur le plan professionnel, le travailleur acadien est
> souvent représenté comme nécessairement cantonné aux activités de la
> pêche, de la forêt ou de l'agriculture en général. Comme s'il n'y avait
> point de salut pour lui en dehors du secteur primaire.

Another genealogical perspective is given by Nanciellen Davis (1985:12), who researched

Acadian ethnicity:

> French Canadians in the Maritime Provinces are generally called Acadians.
> Not all Francophones in the Maritimes are technically Acadian (descendant of
> seventeenth and eighteenth century French settlers of the colony of Acadia),
> but unless an individual is a recent immigrant to the area, or has access to
> extensive genealogical records, or has an identifiably Acadian surname, he
> himself may not know whether or not his ancestors were of that original
> colony.

Herménégilde Chiasson (2005), currently New Brunswick's Lieutenant Governor, also

adheres to the genealogical ideology. While Acadia does not exist in an official territorial

sense, Chiasson strongly believes in the Acadian Diaspora that covers the Maritime

Provinces along with certain areas of Quebec (such as Gaspésie and the Iles de la Madeleine)

and even Louisiana. Simply, being Acadian is a personal and individual feeling and Acadia

exists wherever somebody feels Acadian. Interestingly enough, Chiasson makes no mention

of the relation between Acadian and French; therefore we consider Chiasson's Diaspora to be

based on genealogy that includes non Francophones.[61]

The final definition that involves a single genealogical perspective also does not make

mention of language. Artist Angèle Arsenault, in her discussion with Johnson (1999:30),

describes Acadia as a diaspora of feelings. An Acadian is someone

> qui a une sensibilité extrême. Il n'est pas agressif, négatif, ni épais. Il a un
> esprit d'ouverture, d'écoute. Il est curieux et respectueux [...] cette acadianité
> est transportée par les gens qui quittent le pays, elle peut s'atténuer pendant
> l'exil, mais les qualités du coeur qui nous sont spécifiques reviennent dès
> qu'on remet les pieds chez nous.

Most literature has revealed definitions of mixed or multiple ideologies. Jean-Claude

Vernex's (1978:557) opinion is one of the simplest and clearest. He perceives Acadia as a

diaspora that cannot be associated with a specific territory by stating that Acadia is a feeling:

« l'Acadie est [...] le sentiment d'une appartenance à un groupe ». Vernex also holds a

somewhat modernizing perspective, for he calls the francophone society of New Brunswick

to be in a state of mutation caused by the economic evolution that has emphasized the use of

English and thus increased bilingualism : « La survie des groupes francophones est très

certainement menacée par l'évolution économique générale. » (ibid. page 558) Here, Vernex

clearly does not follow the globalizing discourse and we stipulate that, because of his belief

that the economic evolution is threatening New Brunswick Francophones, his « sentiment

d'une appartenence » is language related, giving us a genealogical / prospective viewpoint.

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[61] This could in fact be viewed as a multiple ideology definition involving both the genealogical and operational ideologies. However, we feel that Chiasson's primary focus is on the aspect of the Acadian Diaspora which does not involve any notion of geography.

Alexandre Boudreau, a political analyst from Chéticamp, Nova Scotia, also has a mixed idea of what Acadia / Acadian is. When speaking with Johnson (1990), he defines an Acadian as somebody belonging to an ethnic group of 17th century French descent, who is French Catholic, who respects their traditions and fight for their (linguistic) rights. Clearly, this viewpoint is a genealogical perspective that also incorporates part of the operational platform of working toward equality. This perspective is echoed by folklorist Anselme Chiasson (Johnson, 1999), yet his operational side of the definition also includes anybody who speaks French and advocates the Acadian cause.

2.5.2.2 Une Acadie prospective:
While Boudreau and Dubois believe that a modernizing discourse / prospective ideology dominates in New Brunswick, we find that definitions provided in literature do not support this statement. In fact, very few definitions describe Acadia as a French and political concept. Jacques Beaumier, however, is one individual to hold such a perspective. In his editorial of *Le Devoir* of July 31 2005, he calls Acadia a complex society of New Brunswick that should focus on its political future rather than its past:

> c'est l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick qui constitue l'Acadie réelle,
> contrairement à cette Grande Acadie mythique mise de l'avant par certain
> organismes acadiens qui, eux, préfèrent mettre l'accent sur l'Acadie
> généalogique et culturelle. Ils ne réalisent pas qu'en faisant ainsi, ils
> empêchent la construction d'une Acadie politique.

Claude Snow's (1977:31) view on Acadia is also prospective. For Snow, Acadia is located north of the New Brunswick linguistic boundary: « Ce qui est frappant, c'est qu'on dirait qu'il y a une ligne qui la coupe en deux, du nord-ouest au sud-est. Dans le nord, on parle surtout français, on est Acadiens [...] tandis que dans le sud, la plupart parlent anglais [...]. » According to Snow, Acadians are Francophones, the majority of which are located in the

North-Eastern peninsula: « La couleur de l'oeil, c'est la péninsule du Nord-Est [...] » (ibid. page 33). What is interesting to notice is that in the map of New Brunswick on which Snow draws his Acadian 'eye', the Greater Moncton Area is not included (ibid.), which emphasizes his position that for him, *acadianité* is based on language.

2.5.2.3 Une Acadie opérationnelle:
We have found many definitions to involve aspects of Bérubé's (1987) operational Acadia. For example, historian Léon Thériault (1982) insists that being Acadian is not limited to those who are of deported descent and defines New Brunswick Acadians as all citizens whose mother tongue is French and reside in New Brunswick, whether or not their ancestors were born in the province. However, he also considers Acadians to be people whose mother tongue is not French yet who live in New Brunswick, who speak French at work and at home, and who participate in the collective equality project. Furthermore, he insists that one can gain and lose one's *acadianité*, making the distinction between being Acadian and being of Acadian origin (1982:60): « L'acadianité, cela peut s'acquérir et cela peut se perdre ». Thériault even goes to identify what he believes are the four criteria of *acadianité*: language, territory, history and a desire for a common lifestyle, adding that regional differences give Acadia its richness and diversity, making the North West indeed part of Acadia in this perspective (ibid. page 62). This very operational viewpoint is Thériault's definition of present-day Acadia. He hopes however, that the Acadia of the future will be an autonomous one (1982:159): « sans territoire légalement reconnu, nous n'aurons jamais d'autonomie réelle, et, sans autonomie, nous ne pourrons jamais orienter nous-mêmes notre destin, développer nos ressources dans nos intérêts ».

Other Acadian elites who share Thériault's current perspective, such as Professor Michel Doucet (1993), historian Régis Brun, sociologist Joseph-Yvon Thériault and poet Jean Guy (Johnson 1999) make a point of saying why, in their minds, Acadia cannot be defined any other way than through a globalizing discourse. For example, Doucet states that political autonomy had its chance in New Brunswick and that Acadians, defined as all Francophones residing in New Brunswick who wish to live in French with linguistic and social equality, need to express themselves otherwise, which is namely through economic advancement. Brun (in Johnson, 1999:29) illustrates how English speakers are Acadians as well, thus negating a modernizing perspective / prospective ideology: « oui, la langue est un véhicule de la culture, mais c'est aussi acadien de parler anglais au travail. » In this sense, being part of the economic Acadian community that requires the presence of English is stronger than the attachment to the French language. Finally, Guy simply says that basing one's *acadianité* on one's ability to trace their family back to the deportation does not reflect today's modern reality of an Acadia that looks toward the future with hope and prosperity.

Acadians today find themselves in a sea of overlapping ideologies that define Acadia through a mixture of concepts: descent, current geographical environment, language, autonomistic sentiment, and a simple feeling of belonging. Johnson (1999) believes that there is *l'identité de l'Acadien* and *l'identité de l'Acadie*, and that restrictive ideologies cannot exclusively define them. The first type of identity is defined through symbols and feelings, such as ancestry and language, while the second is found to more often be centred around geographical and institutional centres. We will focus on this issue further on in our discussion.

2.6 Previous empirical research

We have seen numerous definitions given for the concepts of Acadia and Acadian, yet only

one empirical study has ever been conducted. *A la recherche de l'Acadie et des perceptions*

identitaires des Acadiens des Provinces Maritimes du Canada by Cécyle Trépanier (1994)

aimed to answer the question of what is Acadia and revealed a wide distribution of

preliminary answers.[62] Her results showed that 26% of participants defined Acadia through

Bérubé's historical ideology, 44% through the genealogical ideology and 10% through an

operational ideology. She did not find any support of the prospective ideology.[63] We are

fortunate to have these studies with which we can triangulate our own analyses, yet a

limitation we are faced with here is that Trépanier did not provide a conceptual framework

(other than Bérubé) and so we can only take her results at face value and not as theoretically-

based research.

While the purpose of Trépanier's study is indeed the same as ours, we recall that the results

are preliminary, and we wonder at their validity. The article states that informants'

definitions were not limited to only one type of ideology, yet we do not know how these

multiple ideologies were formed, or by whom. For example, according to her results, 21%

defined Acadia according to Bérubé's historical Acadia along with elements of another type

of definition. Our study shows that participants largely adhere to a single ideology,

especially in regards to their vision of *Acadie*.

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[62] Between 1992 and 1993, Trépanier collected data from a total of 65 women, 14 men and 35 couples who averaged an age of 56 years. These participants resided in 6 areas across the Maritimes which Trépanier claims are part of Acadia: Chéticamp, Baie Sainte-Marie, Évangéline, Caraquet, Saint-Basile and Bouctouche. These areas were chosen after seeing a poster of «l'Acadie des Maritimes», drawn by Bérubé (1989).
[63] At the time of publication, not all results from Saint-Basile had been analyzed.

Trépanier concludes by proposing 3 more definitions in addition to Bérubé's original 4. The first two are: *Déconcertante Acadie*, or the inability to define Acadia and *l'Acadie folklorique*, which equates Acadia with Caraquet's historical Acadian Village.[64] Before we discuss the third proposed Acadian concept, known as *l'Acadie sentie et vécue*, we will first concern ourselves with a modification Trépanier suggests to one of Bérubé's definitions. This modification involves renaming Bérubé's *l'Acadie opérationnelle* as *l'Acadie officieuse*. According to Trépanier's theory, *l'Acadie officieuse* «correspondrait à l'ensemble des Maritimes ou se limiterait à une de ses parties; et elle se caractériserait par la présence d'Acadiens parlant français ou non» (1994 :184). In this sense, *l'Acadie officieuse* does not include egalitarians since the only component that remains for certain is that of territory, which it appears is how Trépanier analyzed her results (refer to 1994 :192, table). Her study suggests that 49% of her total participants defined Acadia through an *officieuse* perspective (14% as a single ideology, 35% as combined with another ideology). The role of language does not appear primary here, for Trépanier includes both anglophone and francophone regions of the Maritimes as part of her *Acadie officieuse*. In this respect, the definition of an Acadian is limited to the concept of geography: a person living in the Maritimes, regardless of language and ancestry. If we were to incorporate this *Acadie officieuse* into the group of definitions, then Bérubé's *Acadie opérationnelle* would be reduced to individuals whose aim is the Acadian cause of equality.

L'Acadie sentie et vécue, Trépanier's third proposed concept, combines both Bérubé's genealogical and operational ideologies. This concept is not defined through history,

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[64] Very few participants defined Acadia through these two proposed terms. 5% of participants were unable to define Acadia while 4% associated Acadia with the Acadian Village (Trépanier 1994:194-195).

genealogy or geography, but rather by a way of life and a certain feeling of identity. Language, religion, music, traditions, and the manner of thinking and being are all part of « pratiquer la façon acadienne » (1994:186). By saying that «le pays» is felt rather than seen, Acadians of *l'Acadie sentie et vécue* are part of *la patrie intérieure* which greatly reflects the genealogical definition. However, the following refection (identified as *sentie et vécue*) suggests the operational component of Acadians working together for linguistic and social equality (1994:186): «Cette femme de 56 ans de la région Évangéline à l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard ne mâche pas ses mots: « ...i'faut travailler ensemble pour survivre ou bien les Anglais allont nous couper le cou, allons nous étouffer. » In her preliminary analysis, Trépanier (1994:193) found that 45% of her total participants, and 60% of all New Brunswick participants, defined Acadia through this perspective, indicating that mixed ideologies may be a common manner of defining Acadia in our study.

In a later article, *le mythe de «l'Acadie des Maritimes»* (1996), Trépanier describes how Acadians live their *acadianité* in conditions and contexts totally different from one another, depending on their province and on their provincial region. Through the analysis of her interviews of the 6 regions of Bérubé's poster of «l'Acadie des Maritimes» (1989), Trépanier found that the sense of belonging, or'feeling' is profound but «l'enracinement est profond mais il est avant tout local». Because we are concerning ourselves only with New Brunswick in this study, we will relate only the 3 Acadias that Trépanier associates with this province. Illustrated in Map 8, these three different Acadias each refer to the three francophone regions, the North-East, the South-East and the North-West and can be defined through different Berubian ideologies.

Map 8 : L'Acadie des Maritimes (Bérubé 1989)

Figure 3 : «L'Acadie des Maritimes»

The first local Acadia is centered around Caraquet, one that Trépanier names *l'Acadie prétensieuse*. In the New Brunswick Northeast, proclaiming one's *acadianité* and living in French are important elements of daily life. Pride in being Acadian is manifested in many ways in the North-East: the daily *l'Acadie Nouvelle* is published here, *le Parti acadien*, as well as the idea of an Acadian province, were born here; there is the *Village historique acadien*, and a wide range of communal festivities and celebrations. In the North-East, the distinction is made between being of Acadian descent and being Acadian in that being Acadian means to speak and live in French on a daily basis: « Cette insistance sur la francité au lieu du bilinguisme est ce qui fait l'originalité de cette region. ». Therefore, *l'Acadie prétensieuse* is a representation of *l'Acadie prospective* and the modernizing discourse.

Secondly, there is *l'Acadie frileuse*, which is centered in the South-East around Bouctouche. Trépanier describes the people of Bouctouche as being Acadian without really knowing it, for she sees them as apolitical and historically unaware. Their *acadianité* is more felt and not learned, she says. They live their *acadianité* unknowingly through their daily lives of family relations and by speaking the regional dialect of Chiac. The people of Bouctouche (of which 93% are Francophones) are described as being less proud of their identity than in other regions, for Trépanier found that for many participants, being Acadian is synonymous with being miserable, somewhat hesitant to affirm themselves and are said to be therefore quite tolerant towards the English language. This tolerance is apparent in the use of English or bilingual signs and the fact that « le mouvement coopératif est également bien implanté à travers la caisse populaire et le magasin "coop" ». This is a strong indication that the globalizing discourse / operational ideology that welcomes non-Francophones into Acadia is dominating the South-East.

The final Acadia of New Brunswick, according to Trépanier, is centered around Saint-Basile, the oldest township in the North-West, and known as *l'Acadie brayonne*. Les Brayons are said to not consider themselves Acadian on grounds of geography and culture, saying that « l'Acadie contemporaine réelle, non pas l'Acadie folkorique de l'autre bord de la frontière, c'est par en bas », referring to both the North-East and the South-East. As for cultural differences, Brayons find that they speak differently than Acadians and that their culinary traditions are also different. As well, *le movement cooperatif* is said to be somewhat weaker in the North-West than in the other francophone regions, being limited to the Caisses populaires. There is also a high level of bilingualism, as is seen on road signs and in the

media. Where Brayons do acknowledge their *acadianité* is through their family genealogy,

for we already know that North-West Francophones share strong ancestral ties with families

of the Deportation. Thus, *l'Acadie brayonne* is defined as Acadian through a genealogical

perspective. In addition, Trépanier says that while for the moment, « le Nord-Ouest du

Nouveau-Brunswick est avant tout fidèle à lui-même », many scholars and intellectuals from

the area are aware of their *acadianité* and are making strong attempts to promote

collaboration with other Francophones. Doucet, Ouellette and Séguin (1991:359) see this as

a necessity for a confident and successful Acadian future:

> L'ouverture sur le monde, les moyens modernes de communications et la
> solidarité entre toutes les composantes du peuple acadien constituent les outils
> qui lui permettront de relever avec succès les défis du 21e siècle. Ainsi,
> l'avenir de l'Acadie réside dans la contribution de toutes et de tous.

2.7 Conclusion to review of literature

In this chapter, we have extensively discussed the evolution and current situation of French

New Brunswick. Primarily, we have illustrated how non-mutually exclusive discourses and

ideologies have resulted in the lack of consensus regarding the definitions of *Acadie* and

Acadien. In discussing the regional discontinuity between the North-East, the South-East and

the North-West, several elements have repeatedly surfaced as areas to investigate further: the

roles of genealogy, language, and geography in the Acadian definition, as well as the impact

of economy and the memberships of both the North-West and the city of Moncton. Their

place in Acadian discourse(s) is addressed in detail in the following chapters because we are

still faced with numerous questions, and in echoing Guillemet (2003:75), it appears that there

are several meaning systems associated with Acadia:

L'Acadie plurielle en l'an 2000 n'est pas seulement «l'Acadie opérationnelle», linguistique et institutionnelle, c'est aussi celle des lieux de mémoire de la diaspora des Acadiens installées en France après le Grand Dérangement de 1755 et le traité de Paris de 1763.

3.0 Case study

As we have already indicated, our objective in this research is to obtain an in-depth understanding of the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien*, focusing on the language ideologies of New Brunswick Francophones. Because more than 85% of Francophones who live in the Maritime Provinces are located in New Brunswick (Augustin 2005) and since literature uses demolinguistics to identify this province as the central and key province for Acadians, we feel it logical to begin our research with the definition of Acadia within the province of New Brunswick.[65] In this chapter, we detail our research questions, the methodological approaches, hypotheses, data collection, interview process, and manner of analysis.

3.1 Research questions

Our study involves two types of research questions answered during "unstructured interviewing" (Fontana and Frey 2000:652): primary objective questions and secondary objective questions, whose latter responses are necessary in order to provide a full and comprehensive response to the former. The following is a list of our research questions:

Primary objective questions:

1. What is Acadia?

2. What does it mean to be Acadian?

Secondary objective questions:

1. What is the relation between Acadia and geography?

2. What is the relation between language and the Acadian identity?

3. How are the 3 discourse periods and Bérubé's 4 ideologies represented among New Brunswick Francophones?

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[65] We hope that in the future we will be able to conduct similar research in other francophone regions of the Maritime Provinces, as well as in Newfoundland and Louisiana.

3.2 Methodological approach

This study, though dealing with social practices, is not as much a direct analysis of discourse as it is a content analysis of meaning systems in French New Brunswick (language) ideologies. We chose a more qualitative approach because as fieldworkers, we are concerned with developing a description of the meaning and organization of the codes of practice that underline the actual discourse of New Brunswick Francophones. Qualitative research is a perfect method to undertake here as our study is one which "crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject matters (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). *L'Acadie communautaire*, as is shown in the following chapters, makes clear links with the fields and disciplines of media studies, literature, political science, sociology, geography and linguistics, to only name a few.

We would describe the functions of this qualitative research as both contextual and explanatory (Ritchie 2003). It is contextual in that we are concerned how ideologies and identities manifest themselves in French New Brunswick and in that we are able to "describe and display phenomena as experienced by the study population, in fine-tuned detail and in the study participants' own terms" (ibid, p. 27). Our research is also explanatory in that we investigate the reasons why there are such ideologies and identities – "it allows associations that occur in people's thinking or acting – and the meaning these have for people – to be identified" (ibid, p. 28).[66]

One advantage to approaching this study from a qualitative angle is it allows us to respond to one of the essential criterion of social science, that being grasping the point of view of the actors as accurately as possible (Becker 1996:57). We relate very well to Ritchie (2003:32),

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[66] See Ritchie (2003) for other functions of qualitative research.

who explained that qualitative research is often the approach used when the subject matter is "ill defined or not well understood" and is in need of greater understanding. This is clearly the case, as our review of literature illustrates the wide range of contrasting and deeply-rooted opinions surrounding the meanings of *Acadie* and *Acadien*. If we do not answer this question, or at the very least provide a more solid explanation for these opinions, then any major part of Acadian social science will always revert to a discussion about those meanings. In this study, a qualitative approach epistemologically aims to understand the actions, reasons and motives of New Brunswick Francophones. By providing an example of the type of detailed description of the social life of New Brunswick Francophones, we are left with qualitative understandings that can further be tested by quantitative research. In fact, Silverstein (1985, in Woolard 1998:11-12) states that in order to understand how linguistic structure evolves, than a study of language ideology is essential and our sample offers multiple possibilities for future quantitative sociolinguistic research on the Acadian linguistic structure. One such example would be to see if women of French New Brunswick tended to validate their beliefs that a standard variety of French is more acceptable in identifying an Acadian by actually using such standard and older Acadian linguistic forms in their speech. Very simply, it is the nature of the information that the study aims to provide that governs the choice of research methods.

3.3 Hypotheses, data collection and interview process
Prior to our data collection and its subsequent analysis, a study of relevant literature allowed us to raise 5 hypotheses whose (non)confirmations are detailed in our final chapter. In this section, we provide their details along with our method of data collection.

We had one main hypothesis going in to our data analysis. We believed that the terms

Acadie and *Acadien* have different meanings. Moreover, we were in agreement with Johnson

(2006) that there could be both an *identité de l'Acadie*, which focuses on geography as a

primary identity component, and an *identité de l'Acadien* which is based a *sentiment de*

l'appartenance, or a feeling of belonging and membership (Hypothesis #1).

To answer our research questions and test this primary hypothesis (which generated 4

secondary hypotheses, described below), we approached our data collection via one of the

principal generated-style methods used in qualitative research, that being through individual

interviews. An advantage of such an approach is that the researcher has the benefit of putting

sole focus on one informant at a time as he/she details what is often a very personal and in-

depth perspective of the matter under investigation. Ritchie (2003:36) describes the

individual interview approach as very appropriate and well suited for studies that deal with

complicated or misunderstood phenomena, which we recall to be one of the main functions

of qualitative research.

We were fortunate to have made personal contacts in previous years with many

Francophones from New Brunswick and it is through them that we began our data collection.

A few months prior to our summer 2005 fieldwork, we contacted several of these friends and

acquaintances to help us locate informants. This was our way of gaining access to the

community; by calling possible informants we were able to tell them that they had been

recommended by people with whom we were both acquainted, and thus the possible

informants were most often very willing to allow us to interview them (Miller et al.

2003:226). When making initial contact, we informed the participant very generally that the

purpose of our research was to become more aware of the New Brunswick French

identity/ies. At the end of each interview, the informant was asked if they knew of anybody

else whom we may contact for our study. By accessing the French New Brunswick

communities in this manner, we were able to spend a total of 2 months in the field, making

daily road trips to towns and villages where informants lived. Fieldwork began in June 2005

and ended at the end of August of the same year. In all, data was collected from 73

participants who: 1) are native New Brunswick Francophones 2) having been born and lived

the majority of their lives in one of the 3 francophone regions of New Brunswick, 3)

belonging to 1 of our 2 age groups, and 4) have had some form of post-secondary education.

Details are provided in the following pages.

Since we know that French New Brunswick is commonly divided into 3 different regions, it

is only logical to consider region as an important factor of our analysis. In the North-East,

we interviewed a total of 25 Francophones (13 women and 12 men); in the South-East, a total

of 26 participants partook in our study (12 women and 14 men); and in the North-West, a

total of 22 participants were interviewed (13 women and 9 men). However, we eliminate

from our sample 2 interviews due to methodological constraints: we could not use the data

from our Campbellton participant because the city is located on the crossroads of the North-

West and North-East (in the area Thériault [1981] calls *le Nord*), as well as the data from a

participant from Grand Falls who has lived more than 30 years in Fredericton (representing

more than one half her life). Our North-West sample is thus composed of data from 11

women and 9 men. For our second hypothesis, we postulated that there will be no single

discourse or ideology in regards to the definitions we seek: both *Acadie* and *Acadien* would

be perceived differently by each of the 3 francophone regions in ways that mirror their cultural distinctivenesses that were detailed in section 2.2 (Hypothesis #2).

This leads us to present our third hypothesis where we postulated that mental maps of Acadia would encompass the general area of all 3 francophone regions of New Brunswick, indicating that the North-East, the South-East, and the North-West are at least all part of *Acadie,* if not *Acadiens* (Hypothesis #3).

In addition, we analyzed data from two different age groups. Our first (referred to as *A1* in tables and figures) is comprised of (recent) post-secondary students between the ages of 18 and 30 who are the youngest adult generation to experience the Acadian globalizing discourse period. Our second age group (referred to as *A2* in tables and figures) is composed of participants between the ages of 50 and 70 who, nearing or having recently reached retirement from a middle-class career (such as teaching or working in the civil service), would have grown up during the traditional – modernizing discourse transition period of the 1960s. As well, these participants would have been at the same educational stage as our current younger participants during that transitional period. Not including the 2 North-West interviews eliminated for methodological constraints, our corpus consists of a total of 37 younger participants and 34 older participants. Based on works by Boudreau (1996, 1991) and Boudreau and Dubois (2003b, 1993) and Keppie (2002) that detail the positive attitudes toward the use of local vernaculars, in particular the South-Eastern dialect Chiac, we hypothesized that the younger participants would tend to adhere more to Bérubé's operational ideology of working together for economic, social and linguistic equality and

development within New Brunswick while the older participants would emphasize more traditional and modernizing elements, such as ancestral ties and their identity through the French language (Hypothesis #4).

We also compared data between men and women. This decision was made because of the suggestion by Dairon (2003) that the Acadian female was the proper and realistic representation of Acadia during the modernizing period due to the active role they took on in developing Acadia by becoming more involved in politics and economics, elements which characterized that particular discourse period. In our study, we therefore aimed to determine if men and women adhere to different discourse periods. Once again not including the 2 eliminated interviews, our sample included data collected from 36 women and 35 men. Due to previous research on the relation between language and gender that saw women favour the use of traditional or more prestigious language varieties (Gal 1975, Labov 1972, see Chapter 3), which Fasold (1990:92) refers to as the "sociolinguistic gender pattern", we believed that a content analysis would reveal women to associate a more modernizing meaning to *Acadie* and *Acadien*, because of the emphasis placed on Acadians being identified through the use of a standard French to the exclusion of English that characterized the Acadian modernizing discourse period (Hypothesis #5).

Table 5 provides a breakdown of our sample using a series of symbols F (women), M (men), A1 (younger participants), A2 (older participants), F1 (younger women), F2 (older women), M1 (younger men) and M2 (older men).

Table 5: Breakdown of corpus sample, usable interviews

North-East		South-East		North-West		Total L1	Total L2	Total F	Total M
F1	8	F1	8	F1	5	37	34	36	35
F2	5	F2	4	F2	6	Total F1	Total F2	Total M1	Total M2
M1	3	M1	8	M1	5	21	15	16	19
M2	9	M2	6	M2	4	Total # of usable interviews: 71			
Total NE	25	Total SE	26	Total NW	20				

Our method of interviewing informants followed the traditional type of unstructured, open-ended interviews as discussed by Fontana and Frey (2000). Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes and took place at the participant's convenience, most often in their home. A small recording device was placed on a table near to where the interviewer and interviewee sat. The same interviewer (this study's author) conducted all the interviews and had as objective to speak as naturally as possible with interjections of expressions that would favour a relaxed, yet as spontaneous as possible, atmosphere. The aim was to get the participant to speak in their familiar variety in the hopes that the data could be used in a linguistic study at a later date, as previously discussed (refer to our section on limitations of study). Any question that received a yes / no answer, while few in number, was then followed by another one asking for clarification and explanation. A list of all the interview questions can be found in section 7.1.3.

Informed consent was obtained from each participant. Prior to the beginning of the interview, the participant filled out a consent form and a questionnaire regarding their personal information to ensure they fit our methodological constraints.[67] The consent form informed

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[67] Please refer to the appendices for a copy of both the consent form and the questionnaire.

the participant of their right to withdraw from the project at any time and informed them on the privacy and confidentiality of the study, which insulated "the people interviewed from the consequences they would suffer if others knew their opinions. The insulation helps [...] discover people's private thoughts, the things they keep from their fellows, which is often what" is desired by ethnographers (Becker 1996:62). The questionnaire was composed of the following 9 categories that allowed us to compile a thorough profile of the participants: 1) name 2) age 3) sex 4) profession 5) education 6) place of birth 7) place of permanent residence and length of time at this location if different from place of birth 8) languages spoken and 9) identity. This final question provided the participant with a list of 5 identities and asked them to circle all that he / she deemed applicable, with the option of adding another one if necessary. The 5 provided identities were: 1) Canadian 2) Francophone 3) Acadian 4) Brayon and 5) Chiac (in retroperspective, we could have also offered "Néo-brunswickois/e" as a possible title. Whereas Quebeckers have been known to identify themselves as *Québécois* and not *Canadiens*, we will see if this nationalistic tendency exists among New Brunswick Francophones. The titles 'Francophone' and 'Acadian' were included to address the issue that during the modernizing period, *Francophone* was deemed more appropriate and inclusive, yet not as sentimental nor as personal as *Acadien* (refer to Chapter 3). The final two titles refer to the regional discontinuity of the North-West (Brayon) and the South-East (Chiac) that is discussed in our review of literature. We included in our analysis all data from participants who did not identify themselves as Acadian because we wanted to test the generalization that all French New Brunswick is Acadia, whether or not they are all *Acadien*. As already stated, we believe that there is a difference between the *identité de l'Acadie* and the *identité de l'Acadien*.

3.4 Transcription of corpus

The interviews were transcribed in their entirety. Our transcription protocol (see section 7.1.4) was inspired by the international protocol established by the *Centre de recherches en linguistique appliqueé* (CRLA) of the Université de Moncton, as well as by the protocol established for the corpora of Ontario minority French speakers by Mougeon and Béniak collected in 1978 and 2005. However, since our project is a content analysis-based research and we did not work directly on the linguistic aspects of the language, we reduced the number of conventions to those deemed most essential for the present study.[68] Thus, we decided to follow Blanch-Benveniste and Jeanjean (1987:143), who encourage transcription for content-analysis research using a standard variety of French, including punctuation: « [...] toujours choisir la version la plus normative, quant elle était possible, pour ne pas dévaloriser le texte par un simple parti-pris graphique. » However, we did not translate any English terminology because their occurrence is a distinctive phenomenon of certain parts of New Brunswick and also because their translation would contribute in part to the stigma that is already attached to mixed varieties. We would also like to clarify that it is common for Francophones to use the terms *anglais* and *français* instead of *anglophone* and *francophone* in situations that do not refer to nationality; a person in New Brunswick who speaks French is called *français* while and English speaker is addressed as being *anglais* (Boudreau 1998:77-78). Finally, to ensure the anonymity of our participants, we do not use their names in our research, yet we do make mention of details such as their age, profession, and region.

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[68] The current protocol will have to be revised and modified should a project of a linguistic nature be conducted using this corpus at a later date.

3.5 Interpreting and analyzing data

An ethnographic approach to research involves a wide range in methods taken to the interpretation and analysis of data: "[f]itting with ethnography's general goal of developing understandings consistent with the meaning-making practices of the community being studied, the interpretive process is primarily inductive in nature, and coding systems and categories evolve from a continual comparison of the growing data set" (Miller et al. 2003:227). Our study is a reflection of the classic ethnographic framework (ibid, p. 239) as our primary objective in this study was to examine the variety of meanings that New Brunswick Francophones associated with *Acadie* and *Acadien*. For our data analysis, we focused on developing categories that accounted for the ideological diversity of French New Brunswick. We established series of components for each of the 3 discourse periods known to the community/ies (discussed in our review of literature) and then used a concordance/text searching program (MonoConc) to produce word lists from our data that were then examined for commonalities with the components of the Acadian discourse periods. Allow us to provide a brief sketch of this method. The first discourse period to characterize French New Brunswick, known as the traditional period (Heller and Labrie 2003) is defined partially through the maintenance of family traditions known to Acadians of the Deportation. Therefore, we searched our data for all phrases containing the word 'tradition/s'. We then proceeded to read the data to determine if the references to 'tradition/s' were in fact a reflection of how literature describes the Acadian traditional period. This allowed us to . perform what we know as triangulation (Denzin and Lincoln 2000), where we compared our results with those of different sources so to strengthen the credibility of our findings.

4.0 Results

To help the reader in understanding our results chapter, we here provide a brief summary of the trends our analyses provided, prior to going into comparative detail that is seen in Chapter 4.

4.1 Brief description of results

This study involved an in-depth content analysis of the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien* by the region, age, and gender of New Brunswick Francophones. From our results, we firmly believe that to belong to Acadia or to be part of Acadia does not necessarily entail being Acadian. As well, language ideologies in Acadian discourse are complete reflections of Bourdieu's metaphor of the linguistic marketplace in that they are "directly responsive to the realities of everyday social and political life" (Gumperz 1997:201) in the North-East and South-East.

4.1.1 Acadie today

Over the years, Acadia has developed from the notion of being a «collectivité sans territoire» that survived through ancestral ties, to being abstractly defined through the language of its members, to an entity identified through a common cause of equality, regardless of territory, genealogy, or language. Today, the term *Acadie* has become partially associated with a multicultural and urban environment in which the French language can be perceived as capital goods as well as an emblem, providing Acadians access to the globalizing world (Heller 1999). Generally speaking, our analyses indicate that New Brunswick Francophones currently use a globalizing discourse and adhere to Bérubé's operational ideology that define *Acadie* as a term associated with membership and geography. Membership, or solidarity, is seen as participation in the quest for sociolinguistic equality that will lead to a continuously

better collaboration between New Brunswick's 2 linguistic communities (English and French) in order for Acadians to become active on an international economic level; economic and linguistic isolation is not the solution. Geographically, New Brunswick Francophones do not wish for an official territory of their own. This « bagage géographique » (19-NE-F-1) is an unrequired element of *acadianité*, despite it occupying a major role in the overall definition of what is *Acadie*. The thought of an official territory is one that unnerves New Brunswick Francophones in general, evoking concerns of social exclusion and cultural / linguistic conflict, for as one participant illustrated so clearly, « j'ai peur qu'on aurait notre bande de Gaza » (67-FE-F-2). Nevertheless, we recognize the three New Brunswick French regions, in particular the North-East, as the most agreed upon unofficial location of *Acadie*. While this proposed informal map of Acadia reflects the version put forward as the optimal choice by Bérubé (1979) during the modernizing period, there remains one important difference. Bérubé's version of *la Nouvelle-Acadie* does not encompass the city of Moncton because he felt the city to be too heavily influenced by the English language to be considered part of Acadia, yet our study firmly concludes that Moncton is part of the geographical definition of Acadia. In all, we find the whole role played by geography in the understanding of Acadia rather fascinating, for while French New Brunswick may be considered the space of *Acadie*, the North-East, which results show as the heartland of Acadia, is actually what we consider the *espace Acadien*. As we illustrate in our study, it is argued that North-Eastern Francophones have a stronger *acadianité* for reasons that mirror the modernizing discourse (period) which advocates an autonomous, French homogeneous territory. In other words, many New Brunswick Francophones consider the heartland of *Acadie* to be where we find

the truest of *Acadiens,* suggesting that the Acadian identity is governed by the meaning of *Acadien* rather than *Acadie.*

4.1.2 *Acadien* today

The term *Acadien* does not evoke the same type of ideological discussion by New Brunswick Francophones as the term is by and large defined through a traditionalist discourse and Bérubé's genealogical ideology. Acadians are chiefly identified as such if they possess a genealogy that can be traced back to the time of the Deportation, denotating that Acadians are found throughout the world and not associated with a geographical location. The exception to this principal finding is that despite having Acadian heritage, North-West Francophones, while belonging to Acadia, are not considered Acadians. According to our study, Acadians are Francophones from the New Brunswick North-East and South-East. Assimilation through language contact, perceived sometimes as a « violence symbolique » (36-SE-F-1), does not negate one's Acadian identity and is actually a choice made on behalf of the individual by not continuing the tradition of maintaining and transmitting the traditional Acadian French: it is not the fault of English majority that fewer New Brunswick Francophones are progressively adopting more English into their speech. However, it is argued that without their French language, Acadians are faced with an identity void. Some of these main results contradict those of earlier studies. It was previously believed that the modernizing discourse of considering Acadia to be a French-only geographical conception would be dominant today (Boudreau and Dubois 2003a) and that its unofficial location would be centered around the city of Moncton (Williams 1977). However, what is essential to this study is that our overall results are not mutually exclusive and that there exist discourse trends in French New Brunswick that are associated with the factors of region, age,

and gender. Multiple discourse ideologies are present in French New Brunswick, yet regardless of the three factors analysed, Francophones tend not to combine ideologies in their discourse, indicating that each person has a clear opinion about the topic.

4.1.3 The North-East: a focus on tradition

Opinions found in the North-East are very representative of what we found throughout our study, that the topics of *Acadie*, *Acadien* and *acadianité* are in fact debatable within the province, despite the overall tendencies we have just presented. Discussion by North-East participants demonstrates a variety of viewpoints, yet for the most part their discourse reflects the genealogical and partially the prospective Acadian ideologies discussed by Bérubé in that their regional identity is firmly connected to ancestry and their ancestral language. Speaking a form of French uninfluenced by another language, such as English in this case, is central to demonstrating their *acadianité* and we believe that now that a globalizing economy is being highlighted as a means of Acadian sustainability, North-East Francophones are emphasizing their linguistic security as a defense for their somewhat insecure regional economic situation (discussed in our final chapter). Their discourse does not involve much association with geography, nevertheless the town of Caraquet is the visual symbol of the North-East Acadian identity as traditionally French, family oriented, and supported by the primary resources of the seas and oceans.

4.1.4 The South-East: a focus on urban and diversified growth

The North-East identity contrasts sharply with the South-East's in that the latter region represents Acadia today as urban, economically secure, and internationally active. It is a globalizing region whose Francophones are proud of their French-English bilingualism that

does not lessen their degree of *acadianité*. As one participant explained, not using English is 'bad employment', meaning that speaking English is economically advantageous for a globalizing community. In the South-East, an Acadian is defined not by the language they speak, nor by their family tree, but rather through their involvment in globalizing activities that symbolize sociolinguistic equality and the appreciation for mixed cultural identities. Their perceptions regarding *acadianité* are represented by the city of Moncton and the events held there that have made the city world famous for francophone and francophile cultures.

Moncton and Caraquet are central to this study as they represent the social dichotomy between Acadians. Rather than creating a new geo-political entity to establish a unified definition of Acadia that not all New Brunswick Francophones agree upon, the current globalizing discourse period that we found to characterize the overall French New Brunswick perception of *Acadie* is well illustrated through these two ideologically different Acadian centres; Caraquet representing the older, more traditional Acadia, and Moncton representing the (hopeful) continued future of Acadia, regardless of the amount of language contact found in that city. The following statement by Dallaire (1999:76) summarises perfectly the ideological symbolism of the two locations:

> La ville de Moncton est une partie incontournable de tout portrait linguistique de l'Acadie. D'abord, il y a ce cocasse retournement de l'histoire : il est tout de même curieux qu'une ville nommée en l'honneur d'un des commandants militaires responsable de l'expulsion des Acadiens puisse prétendre aujourd'hui au titre de métropole et même de capitale de l'Acadie. Certes, d'autres villes, particulièrement Caraquet, lui font concurrence à ces titres.

4.1.5: The North-West: a focus on geography

It could be argued that Edmundston is the North-West's equivalent of Caraquet and Moncton, yet our study revealed that there is no such pole or centre in that region. The two poles represent the differences in New Brunswick *acadianité* and North-West Francophones are not Acadian. Their discourse reveals a strong prospective ideology in that geography is the defining factor of the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien*. Geography and the traditional Acadian economy of acquaculture are closely associated here as North-West Francophones determine *acadianité* not only through ancestry but through the proximity to the eastern seacoast, meaning that the more a person of Acadian descent is involved in aquaculture, the more Acadian he / she is. The situation of North-West Francophones is unlike those of Francophones from the eastern regions for the reason that their geographical location does not allow them to pursue the fishing industry, and their spoken variety of French reflects their proximity to Quebec, their mixed heritage, and their land-based economy, regardless of all New Brunswick Francophones sharing a common ancestry and language (Couturier 2002). Mental maps analysed in this study reflect the overall globalizing discourse that encourages mixed New Brunswick French identities in the quest for sociolinguistic equality, and therefore the North-West is included as part of (a geographical) Acadia. However, it is generally agreed throughout French New Brunswick that they are too ancestrally and linguistically distinct today from the eastern regions to be considered *Acadiens*. This finding also contrasts previous work by Belzile (2003), who in her Master's thesis suggested that North-West Francophones are indeed Acadian.

4.1.6: The age of tradition versus the youth of globalization

We also discover trends in the discourses of younger and older New Brunswick

Francophones. Results indicate that the discourses of New Brunswick Francophones in their

twenties follow the tendencies of South-East Francophones in that they perceive the terms

Acadie and *Acadien* in a globalizing format and that *acadianité* is not lived through the

maintenance of a standard or traditional form of French. Younger Francophones also

consider Moncton as Acadia's capital more so than Caraquet and frequently identify

themselves through the use of the regional terms *Brayon* and *Chiac*, in addition to *Acadien*

and *Francophone*. In all, we conclude that younger New Brunswick Francophones are best

represented through the symbolic meaning of Moncton that is the Acadian globalized

discourse period and operational ideology. Older New Brunswick Francophones stand for

the other pole of *acadianité*; the one based on genealogy, tradition and purer French. Their

discourses follow very much those of North-East participants and are symbolised in the

values associated with the town of Caraquet.

4.1.7: Today's Acadian woman: a symbol of modernity

Gender also played an important role in this study. Acadian women of today, in particular

younger women, are maintaing the role they adopted in the 1970s when they became active

participants in politics and other traditionally male-perceived activities. Women's discourse

in French New Brunswick does not mirror the globalizing period, rather they reflect the

modernizing period that defined Acadia and Acadians in relation to the choice of language

and geography, as suggested by Dairon (2003). Contrary to men, women are not concerned

with issues of membership between the linguistic communities, believing rather that

acadianité, while defined primarily through ancestry, is weakened through language contact.

Discussion by women in this study show a definite stigma toward the variety of French found in South-East New Brunswick in saying that using this variety with someone who does not speak it often impedes linguistic comprehension. In paralleling Gal's suggestion that "the choice of language in interaction is part of a speaker's presentation of self" (1975:1) and Dairon's description of women's social evolution, our study finds that women promote the use of the language variety needed to appear prestigious and competent in a traditionally male dominated workforce, matching previous sociolinguistic research involving language shift and gender (Cheshire 2002, Gal 1975, Labov 1972) detailed in our review of literature. Moreover, women are representative of the modernizing discourse in that they are more supportive of creating an official Acadian territory than men, yet are vaguer and more uncertain of current geographical association within New Brunswick. This parallels Bérubé (1987) who describes a prospective Acadia as not currently in existence and will not exist until an autonomist territory is established for Francophones alone. Interestingly enough, women feel less threatened by assimilation through language contact than men, a fact that contradicts somewhat the modernizing discourse platform. However, we believe this to be so because women will continue to strive for equal opportunity in professional areas that require the use of a standard form of French, such as politics.

In the following sections of this chapter, we will present the detailed results of our data analyses in order to answer the first four of our 5 research questions. This chapter will devote a section to answering each of these questions, yet we will limit ourselves to simply a presentation of our results, as they are compared and discussed in Chapter 5, our concluding

discussion. Section 7.2 of the appendices provides a breakdown of the data collected as per the factors of region, age, and gender of the participants.

4.2 Participant identity

We previously described how informants filled out a questionnaire pertaining to identity prior to the actual interview. We recall that informants had the choice between the titles Canadian, Francophone, Acadian, Brayon, Chiac, with the possibility of adding any other title deemed necessary and/or applicable by the participant. In our analysis shows in Figure 1, we determined that a high percentage of participants identify themselves as both Canadians and Francophones (67/71 and 65/71 respectively, see Table 1 of the appendices). We are more interested in the 3 other identities, Acadian, Brayon and Chiac because of their regional implications. In regards to the title Acadian, 100% of participants from the 2 eastern regions identified themselves as such, while 35% (7/20) of North-West participants did the same, suggesting that the North-West does not largely consider itself to be *Acadien*. The North-West associates itself more frequently with the *Brayon* identity than with the term *Acadien* (55%, or 11/20 versus 35%, or 7/20). As well, it was only North-West participants who circled *Brayon* on the questionnaire. Both *Brayon* and *Chiac* are regional terms, for in addition to the former being solely identified by North-West participants, *Chiac* was only circled by South-East participants (65%, or 17/26). Both identities are also age-related, in particular *Chiac*. Within the South-East, where the 17/26 South-East participants identified themselves as *Chiac*, 88.2% (15/17) of them were younger participants. In the North-West, 11 participants called themselves *Brayon* and 63.4% (7/11) of them were younger participants as well. Therefore, while the primary identity we are concerned with here in this study, *Acadien*, appears to be mainly a regional concept, the more regionally specific

identities are used primarily by younger participants. *Chiac* and *Brayon* are identity titles

that reflect the evolving discourses in French New Brunswick and to see younger participants

use them more often than older participants reflects this phenomenon.

Figure 1: Participant identity
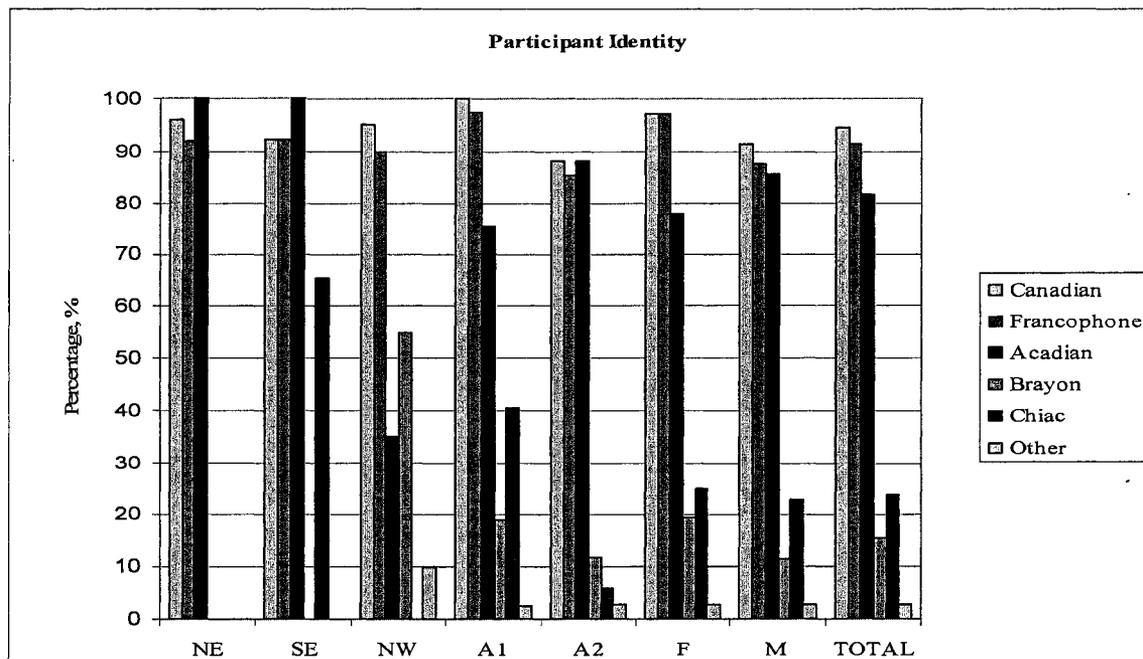
We now move to the analysis of our interview questions. Unless otherwise stated, our

analyses do not limit participants to single answers (meaning ideological components, not

ideologies as a whole). For example, in answering the question, *Qu'est-ce que l'Acadie?*, we

found many instances where responses contained parts of multiple definitions, such as

Acadia being a geographical concept as well as a group of Francophones.

4.3 Understanding *Acadie*

The question, « *qu'est-ce que l'Acadie?* » is a very broad and general question; one that

several participants found difficult to answer. We determined, however, that New Brunswick

Francophones view the term *Acadie* 6 different ways, as is illustrated in Figure 2. With

43.9% of participant agreement (29/66), Acadia is primarily perceived as a feeling of

belonging or of membership (see Table 2 of the appendices). Another popular definition was

one tied to geography, which was found in 42.4% of participants' responses (28/66). The

other four noted ways of defining Acadia were not nearly as common: describing Acadia as a

group of Francophones occured in 19.7% of interviews (13/66); the element of ancestry was

found in 12.1% of responses (8/66); « c'est le pays de mes ancêtres », or the former territory

of the deported Acadians was given by 9.1% (6/66); and 4.5% of participants (3/66)

answered that Acadia cannot be defined through geographical borders. The remaining 7.6%

of participants (5/66) provided answers that did not fit into any of these previous trends as

they said that they had no definition or did not know how to answer the question. In the

following pages we discuss the dependent variable differences.

Figure 2: Meaning of *Acadie*
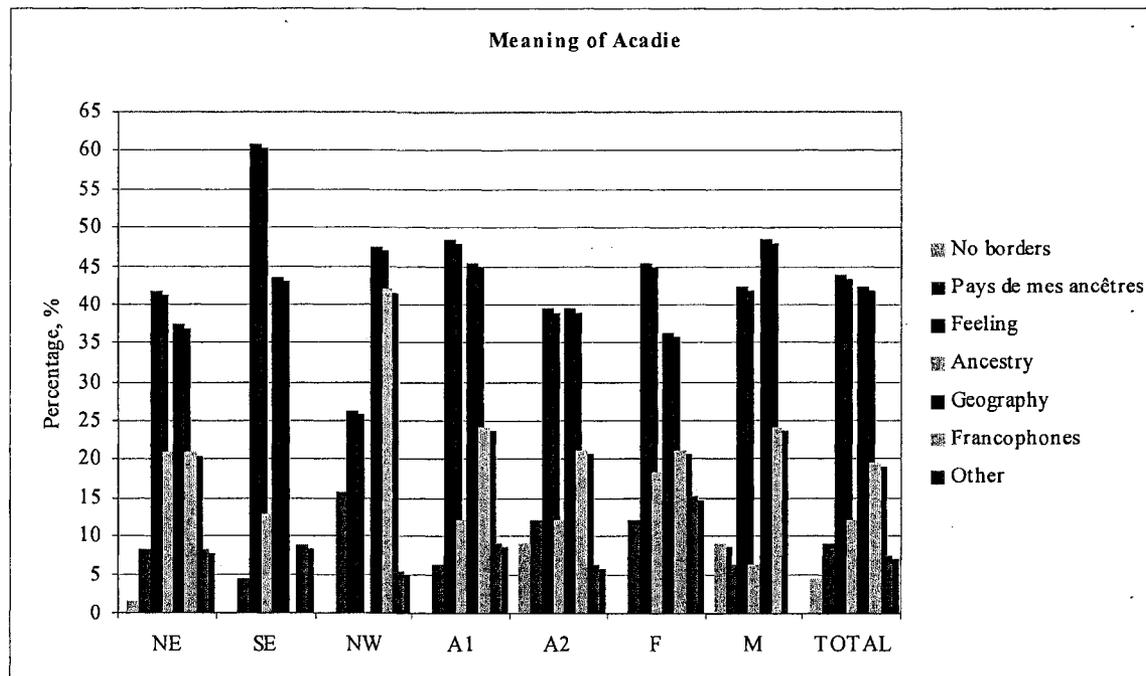
It was frequently the case that there was reference to more than one of the suggested

definitions, such as in the following example from a 22 year-old student from Shippagan.

Her perception of Acadia involves 3 of our suggested definitions, that being 1) a group

Francophones 2) who are united through their pride and 3) whose ancestors are among the
deported of 1755:

> C'est un groupe de personnes qui ont tué, qui ont ça sur le cœur, qui ont
> été déporté. On est assez uni puis je pense que c'est un groupe de
> francophones puis de montrer juste qu'ils sont fiers d'être francophone
> (18-NE-F-1).

Region plays a definite factor in how a participant defines Acadia. In the North-East, the
most linguistically homogeneous of the 3 regions, opinions are much more varied than they
are in either the South-East or the North-West. In fact, it is only in the North-East that
Acadia is defined as a concept without borders and where we found the strongest reference to
ancestry. The following response is an example of how 20.8% of North-East participants
(5/24) associate the term Acadia with genealogy, an opinion that is not found in the North-
West responses:

> C'est le berceau je présume de nos ancêtres français [...]. L'Acadie, c'est des
> gens qui étaient obligés de travailler énormément forts pour garder leur
> identité. Les Acadiens qui sont venus dans nos régions c'est surtout ceux qui,
> durant la déportation, se sont sauvés de la Nouvelle-Écosse d'Annapolis puis
> ils sont revenus ici (16-NE-M-2).

Opinions between the South-East and the North-West contrast with each other. In the South-
East, Acadia is perceived abstractly, with over 60% (14/23) of that region's participants
defining Acadia as a feeling of membership. In the North-West, the opposite is true, where
Acadia is believed to be an actual area inhabited by Francophones. The following 3 North-
West responses illustrate this trend:

> C'est un peuple. Je vois l'Acadie qui a déjà existé mais qui existe
> encore. Mais on n'a pas de territoire donc on a perdu notre territoire. On
> avait un territoire, maintenant l'Acadie c'est tous les francophones, c'est
> toutes les personnes qui parlent français et vivent dans l'est du Canada,

ça veut dire le Nouveau-Brunswick, Ile-du-Prince-Édouard, Terre Neuve
et la Nouvelle Écosse et les Iles de la Madeleine (NW-32-F-2).

L'Acadie, c'est les francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick (73-NW-M-1).

L'Acadie, c'est les francophones dans la région des maritimes puis la
Louisiane [...], on dirait que ça n'a pas beaucoup de signification pour
moi (44-NW-F-1).

This opinion of Acadia as a group of Francophones is absent in the South-East data. One A2

male participant, now a retired teacher living in the city of Dieppe, provided an answer which

we find to be very representative of the South-East perception. He defines Acadia as a

membership that is not limited to territory or language. This is very reflective of the

globalizing discourse / operational ideology as he stresses how participation and integration

into the Acadian culture, by Francophones and non Francophones alike, is key:

L'Acadie, ça représente un peuple, ce n'est pas tellement une définition
géographique [...], il n'y a pas une définition stricte de qu'est-ce que
c'est l'Acadie. C'est un regroupement de gens qui s'identifient au titre
acadien, d'ailleurs ils sont repartis partout à travers le monde [...]. Pour
moi, l'Acadie c'est tout simplement un regroupement de gens qui
s'identifient comme Acadiens par raison historique ou culturelle mais ça
peut aussi inclure des gens qui n'ont peut-être pas le lien historique mais
qui parle leur participation, leur intégration (64-SE-M-2).

Younger and older participants appear to have no contrasting tendencies in initially defining

Acadia. The differences between answers provided by men and those by women were slight

but more noticeably relevant when compared with other analyses of this study. Men identify

Acadia as a geographical concept more frequently than women (16/33:12/33). Women

addressed the issue of ancestry 3 times more often than did men (6/33:2/33), yet overall, we

know that ancestry does not frequently enter the apparent definition of Acadia.

4.3.1 Understanding *Acadie* through typology

We have determined the tendencies in how New Brunswick Francophones directly define

Acadia and now we will contrast these results with Bérubé's typology (1987) for systematic

reasons, as he is the only scholar to have established an ideological typology of Acadia. Our

goal is to determine how French New Brunswick discourse supports the Bérubé's theories.

We provide the following table (Table 6) to categorize the 6 definitions found in our analysis

in conjunction with the Acadian typology:

Table 6: Meanings of Acadia through Acadian typology[69]

Content analysis definitions according to Keppie	Acadian typology according to Bérubé (1987)
No borders	L'Acadie de la Diaspora - genealogical
«pays de mes ancêtres»	L'Acadie historique - historical
Membership	L'Acadie de la Diaspora - genealogical L'Acadie des Maritimes – operational
Ancestry	L'Acadie de la Diaspora – genealogical
Geography	L'Acadie des Maritimes – operational L'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick – prospective
Francophone	L'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick - prospective

For this typological analysis, the 4 Bérubian ideologies were classified according to each

categorical response provided by participants. This is a necessary step in determining the

current Acadian discourse(s) because the results from the previous content analysis could

apply to more than one ideological perspective. For example, the definition of membership

is a double ideological element. On one hand, membership involves the bonding and sharing

of traditions, which is a genealogical perspective. Membership could also refer to the

Acadian cause of achieving socio-linguistic equality, an operational perspective. Answers

containing geography references could point to the province of New Brunswick (*l'Acadie

prospective*), or expand to the Maritime Provinces (*l'Acadie opérationnelle*). In cases of

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[69] For a reminder of the meanings of Bérubé's Acadian typology, refer to the section on typology of the introduction.

ideological overlapping (responses involving membership and geography), the data was examined to determine to which ideological perspective they were associated.

As illustrated in Table 3 of the appendices, 39.4% of responses provided by participants (26/66) were paralleled with Bérubé's definition of *l'Acadie des Maritimes*, an operational perspective that is shown in Figure 3. Approximately 1/3 of responses were categorized as a genealogical definition (31.8%, or 21/66), while 30.3% were identified as a prospective response (20/66). Only 7.6% of responses (5/66) were identified as historical, a result which currently requires no necessary discussion. Another 10.6% (7/66) were marked 'other' for one of two identifiable reasons. Either the Acadian typology did not fit their answer, or their response contained a geographical reference beyond the Maritime Provinces, such as Louisiana and Newfoundland. Initially, these findings do not completely support the initial suggestion that a genealogical ideology would dominate, which emphasizes the importance in doing this typological analysis.

Figure 3: Ideological typology for *Acadie*
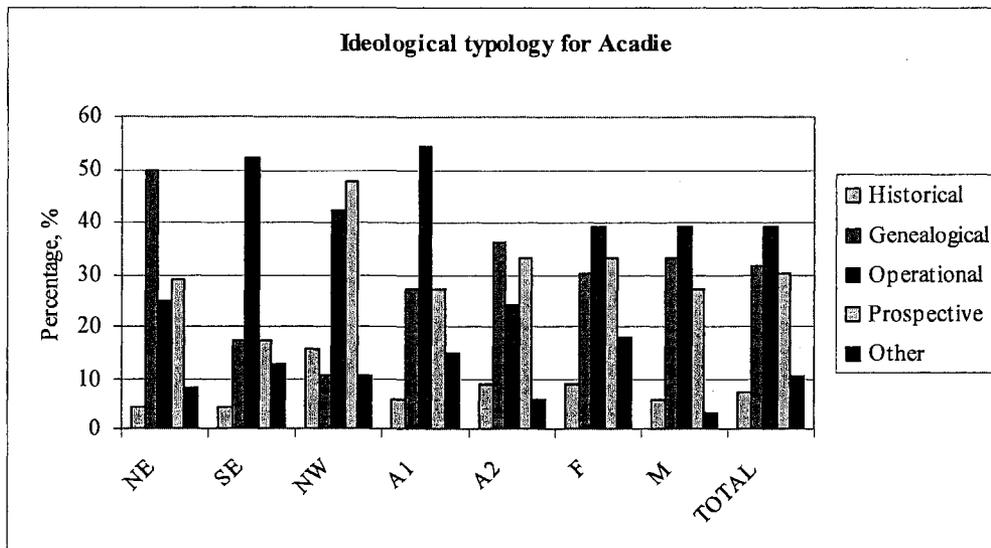
As shown in Figure 4, the case of overlapping ideologies is found most frequently among the

discourses of North-East participants, where evidence of adherence to either the prospective,

operational and/or genealogical ideology was identified in 25 - 50% of responses. However,

the majority of North-East responses contained elements of the genealogical perspective

(50%, or 12/24), which differs greatly from the South-East trend where the same perspective

was found in only 17.4% of answers (7/23). Most answers from South-East participants were

identified as operational (52.2%, or 12/23). Both these results in regards to the relevance of

region complement our previous content analysis. Another supporting, yet expected result is

the adherence by North-West participants to both the operational and prospective ideologies,

for they both contain geographical aspects. However, the prospective ideology was

identified in the North-West responses slightly more frequently than the operational ideology

(47.4%:42.1% or 9/19:8/19).

Figure 4: Evidence of ideology in discourse for *Acadie*
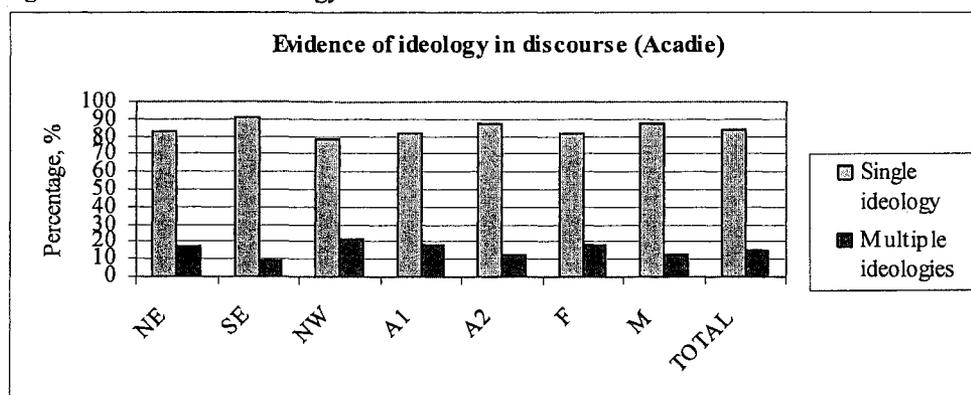
While our previous analyses, illustrated in Figure 3, suggested that age is not relevant to how

New Brunswick Francophones define the term *Acadie*, these typological results do.

Operational responses by the younger generation identified as operational were more than

double in number than those by older participants (54.5%:24.2% or 18/33:8/33). While the

latter defined Acadia genealogically more often than A1s, this trend occurred to a much

lesser degree than we found when comparing operational responses (36.4%:27.3% or

12/33:9/33). These results suggest that younger New Brunswick Francophones are more

endorsing of the globalizing discourse than older generations, who are inclined to have more

varied perceptions, with a tendency to adhere toward the modernizing definition. From our

results, we can also suggest that men and women are likely to define Acadia similarly to each

other. There is a tendency by women to include other areas (such as Louisiana and

Newfoundland) inhabited by descendants of the original Acadians (18.2%:3% or 6/33:1/33),

reflecting the previous trend of women emphasizing ancestry in their discussion on *Acadie*.

4.4 Understanding *Acadien*

Whereas defining Acadia proved to be difficult at times, participants appeared much more

comfortable in defining *un Acadien*, needing little reflection time and providing immediate

responses. We discovered that New Brunswick Francophones tend to define an Acadian in 5

different ways (see Table 4 of the appendices). Found in 47.5% of responses (28/59), an

Acadian is commonly perceived as a descendent of the deportation, as seen in Figure 5.

Secondly, an Acadian is a native or non-native speaker of French, as was determined by

35.6% of participants (21/59). We discovered 3 other trends in how participants define an

Acadian. These trends were also more popular than the 4 minor trends we discovered in the

definition of Acadia. 28.8% of participants (17/59) regard an Acadian as a resident of a

particular region; 25.4% (15/59) perceive the term to be associated with having a certain

membership[70], and 16.9% of responses (10/59) indicated that *un Acadien* is synonymous with

pride. The remaining 10.2% of participants (6/59) either said that they had no definition or

the one provided could not be categorized into any of the leading trends described, and

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[70] We discuss the meaning of membership in our concluding discussion.

therefore we did not include them in our analysis. Thus far, we understand the term *Acadien* in these following words, expressed by a 23 year-old history student from Edmundston:

> Il faut être francophone d'abord [...]. Je dirais avoir une certaine descendance de ceux qui se sont fait déporter (63-NW-M-1).

Un Acadien is perceived very differently by each of the 3 francophone regions. In the North-West, a strong percentage of participants (65%, or 11/17) identified an Acadian as a resident of a particular region, such as we see in this following response from a Grand Falls resident:

> On est Acadien qu'on le veut ou qu'on ne le veut pas, on vit dans un territoire où est-ce qu'on n'est pas Québécois. Ici on n'est pas anglais, on a un territoire avec la francophonie, ça nous différencie, ça nous rend différent des anglophones qui vivent dans le territoire (xxx). Pour se dire acadien, je pense que (xxx) le premier critère c'est la langue française (31-NW-M-2).

Figure 5 : Meaning of *Acadien*
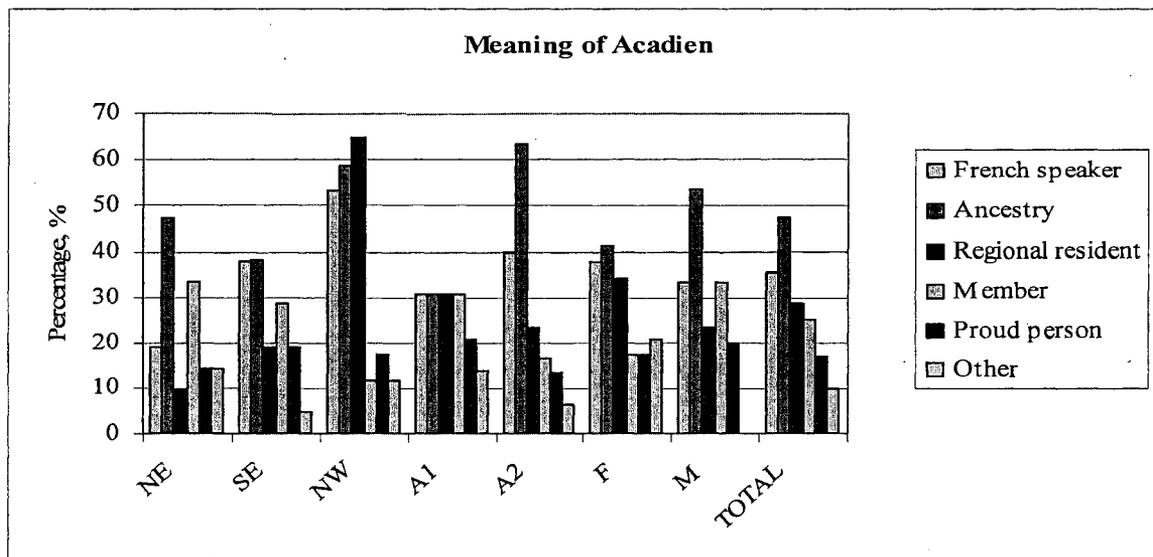
The emphasis placed on geography is not shared nearly as strongly by participants from the East; only 9.5% of North-East participants (2/21) and 19% of South-East participants (8/21) answered that Acadians can be located on a map. The responses from the Eastern participants, especially those from the South, indicate that they hold a wider and more varied opinion of what is an Acadian than in the North-West, for none of the 5 trends were

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referenced by more than 50% of Eastern participants. In the North-East, the dominating trend reflects the overall perception of an Acadian as a descendant of the Deportation, found in 47.6% of North-East responses (10/21). The South-East is even more encompassing of all identified trends, yet they still resemble the North-East perception more than the North-West's. The elements of language and ancestry were the most important to South-East participants, for 38% (8/21) responded that an Acadian is a person who speaks French and / or who has ancestral ties to the Deportation. However, South-East responses suggested that while ancestry and language are the basis for being Acadian, they are not necessary criteria. The following testimony illustrates what we believe to be the South-East's general belief of *acadianité* being available to anybody to wishes to be Acadian, regardless of ancestry and language:

> Sans vouloir faire passer la porte du sang, pour être Acadien dans la définition, qui est finalement la fédération des associations de familles acadiennes plus ou moins adoptée, c'était une règle pratique d'une certaine façon, c'est d'avoir été en Acadie pour trois générations [...]. C'est un peu difficile d'exclure des gens qui sont sympathiques, qui veulent contribuer à l'essor ou dans l'avancement des Acadiens des Acadiennes. Habituellement ce sont des francophones qui arrivent peut-être de n'importe où (07-SE-M-2).

According to our results, younger New Brunswick Francophones have a wider opinion of what it means to be Acadian than the older generation. We found that 4 out of the 5 defining trends were found in approximately 1/3 of all responses by the younger participants. The element of pride did not appear as frequently as language, ancestry, geography and membership, yet it was mentioned by 20.7% of respondents (6/29). As the 3 following examples demonstrate, younger participants commonly referenced multiple definitions in their responses. The first response makes mention of being Francophone with Acadian

ancestry, along with having a certain community membership. The second and third

responses also reference the importance of language as well as geography, with the addition

of ancestry in the third:

> Il faut être francophone d'abord, avoir un sentiment d'appartenance, avoir
> une certaine descendance de ceux qui se sont fait déporter (63-NW-M-1).

> C'est être francophone au Nouveau-Brunswick, en Nouvelle-Écosse, de
> descendance des bouts où est-ce qu'il y a des Acadiens (18-NE-F-1).

> C'est sûr qu'être de descendance acadienne ça en est un de sang, d'histoire.
> Quand ta famille est acadienne, quand ils ont vécu par ici, ça devient
> acadien, mais si les gens viendraient vivre dans la région acadienne puis
> ça faisait longtemps qu'ils sont installés là puis ils commencent à
> apprendre la culture, alors ils deviendraient eux-mêmes un peu acadien.
> Alors je pense c'est une chose la culture, c'est la façon que tu vis, une
> sorte de mentalité, la langue, bien sûr le français (27-NW-M-1).

Data suggest that the older generation has a narrower definition of *Acadien* than A1s. This

older generation overwhelmingly associate lineage with the term, as it was referenced in over

63% of answers (19/30). Speaking French is also an important criterion, as identified by

40% of older participants (12/30). The trend found in their responses that one's *acadianité*

can be evidenced through speaking French and having an Acadian heritage is well

demonstrated in this succinct response:

> C'est la descendance, ce n'est pas juste le fait de parler français (25-NE-M-2).

We found one trend in the manner in which men and women differ in their view of an

Acadian. Our male participants referenced the definition of membership almost twice as

frequently as women (33.3%:17.2% or 10/33:5/29).

4.4.1 Understanding *Acadien* through typology

As we did with our data on how New Brunswick Francophones define the term *Acadie* in accordance to Bérubé's typology, we will now do the same for *Acadien*. Table 7 illustrates how we categorize the 5 definitions of the term according to Bérubé.

Table 7: Definitions of *Acadien* through Acadian typology

Content analysis definitions according to Keppie	Acadian typology according to Bérubé (1987)
speaker of French	L'Acadie des Maritimes – operational L'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick - prospective
ancestry	L'Acadie de la Diaspora – genealogical
regional resident	L'Acadie des Maritimes – operational L'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick - prospective
membership	L'Acadie de la Diaspora – genealogical L'Acadie des Maritimes – operational
pride	L'Acadie de la Diaspora – genealogical L'Acadie des Maritimes – operational L'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick – prospective

Defining an Acadian through typology requires a close look, for 4 out of the 5 definitions could involve different ideologies. A speaker of French could be either Francophone (prospective) or a non Francophone (operational). Geography could also be either a prospective or operational element, depending on whether or not the participant limits the region to New Brunswick. As we saw in the previous analysis, we need to determine what kind of membership the participant is referring to; it could be to traditions (genealogical) or sociolinguistic equality (operational). As for pride, we need to establish what makes Acadians proud. Is it their heritage (genealogical), their sociolinguistic accomplishments (operational), or is it their status as a francophone minority (prospective)?

Figure 6: Ideological typology of *Acadien*
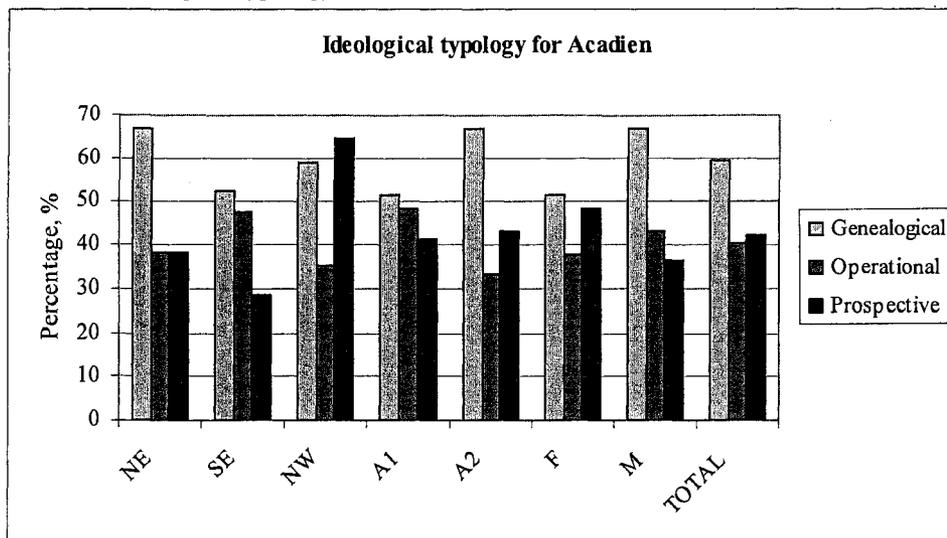
We are not surprised in discovering that an Acadian is most commonly described through a genealogical perspective, given the frequency with which ancestry was referenced in our content analysis (see Table 5 of the appendices). As illustrated in Figure 6, over 59% of participants (35/59) included elements of Bérubé's genealogical *l'Acadie de la Diaspora*, such as ancestry or the continuation of traditions. The prospective ideology was identified in 42.3% of responses (25/59), while *l'Acadie opérationnelle* was apparent in 40.7% of the cases (24/59). These general results could indicate that when we later examine ideological patterns in French New Brunswick discourse, we will find that an Acadian is frequently described in a genealogical manner accompanied by prospective and/or operational elements.

In terms of region, we find that our results reflect our initial findings. Two thirds of North-East participants (14/21) have a genealogical association with the term *Acadien*, which is much higher than the frequency of the operational and prospective references we found (both identified in 38.1% of responses [8/21]). Francophones of the South-East appear to have a mixed perception, with 52.4% of answers (11/21) refering the genealogical ideology and 47.6% (10/21) refering the operational ideology. A prospectively-defined Acadian was

found in 28.6% of their responses (6/21). These findings suggest that in the South-East, being Francophone is less of a criterion for *acadianité* than is membership (which, we recall, is represented in both the genealogical and operational ideologies). In the North-West, the perspective of participants is mainly a prospective one (64.7% or 10/17), again supporting previous results that indicate their strong association with geography when defining *Acadie* and *Acadien*. As our results have already suggested, we believe that A1s are more apt to define an Acadian in ways that overlap ideologies. However, the older generation, who was perhaps mostly influenced during the turnover of the traditional discourse period to the modernizing discourse period, adhere most often to the definition of an Acadian through the element of ancestry (*l'Acadie généalogique*). We did not find a comparison between men and women to produce any striking results. In all, this typology analysis that is shown in Figure 7 was quite similar to all our initial findings for how New Brunswick Francophones define an Acadian.

Figure 7: Evidence of ideology in discourse (*Acadien*)
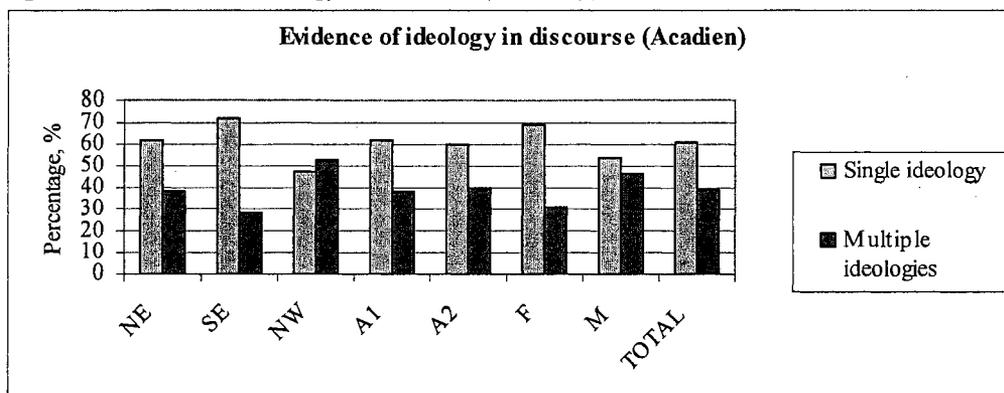
4.5 The role of geography

In this section, we detail the results that relate geography to Acadia. We begin with an analysis of the geographical references found in participants' definitions of *Acadie* and

Acadien, followed by an analysis of the responses to directly geography-related questions posed during the interviews.

4.5.1 Geographical reference for *Acadie* and *Acadien*

Our analysis thus far has shown us that geography plays an important role in the meaning system of the term *Acadie*. We also know that geography is part of the definition of an Acadian, yet this was found to be less common than for the previous term (28.8%:42.4% or 17/59: 28/66). Given the fact that we had more data for the definition of *Acadie* than we did for *Acadien*, this sort of result might be expected. We cannot, however, account for this as the only explanation. In this section, we will compare these geographical references to determine whether or not *Acadie* and *Acadien* are associated with the same physical locations in the minds of New Brunswick Francophones. This will allow for an interesting comparison with a following section of our analysis where we present the results from direct geography related interview questions.

Among the 42.4% of participants who defined *Acadie* through geography and the 28.8% who referenced it in their defintion of *Acadien*, we found mention of 6 different locations though we did not find any overwhelming trend in these references (see Table 13 of the appendices). The most frequently mentioned location or region was the Maritime Provinces, to which 28.6% of participants (8/28) referenced *Acadie* and 23.5% of participants (4/17) used in their definition of *Acadie*. Here we provide 2 examples of participants referencing the Maritime Provinces in their definitions of the two terms:

> L'Acadie représente surtout les provinces maritimes [...], c'est surtout aux endroits où est-ce qu'il y a la culture acadienne (02-NE-M-1-*Acadie*).

Je pense qu'il faut être francophone du Nouveau-Brunswick mais tu peux être aussi en Nouvelle-Écosse, tu peux être Acadien à l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard [...] (22-NW-F-2-*Acadien*)

The other locations found in the geography-related definitions included: the province of New Brunswick, for which approximately 18% of participants used in their definitions of both terms; the Atlantic Provinces, a location which results suggest is associated slightly more with *Acadie* than *Acadien* (17.9%:11.7% or 5/28:2/17); along the coastline and to the north, referencing *Acadien* slightly more frequently than *Acadie* (17.6%:14.3% or 3/17:4/28); the State of Louisiana, for which *Acadie* appears to have more relevance (14.3%:5.9% or 4/28:1/17); and a non-specified place, referenced by participants as «un endroit» or «une place». The results for this final trend prove interesting in that while we know *Acadie* has a geographical meaning, 25% of participants (7/28) who mentioned geography in their definition referenced it by using the terms «un endroit» or «une place», showing us that while the definition of *Acadie* encompasses a geographical component, we remain uncertain as to the actual limitations of its location. Geographically defining an Acadian in this manner happened less frequently, as it was found in 11.7% of participants' responses (2/17).

The region where a participant lives again appears to influence one's geographical perspective of the two terms (see Table 14 of the appendices). In the South-East, the Maritime Provinces were referenced more often than in either of the 2 northern regions. What makes this finding more interesting is that no coastline or nothern reference was make of either *Acadie* or an *Acadien*, such as we find in our analysis of data directly dealing with the issue of location (see section 4.4.5). While this location was neither referenced frequently by the northern regions, this finding does suggest that in the South-East, the 2

terms are no longer associated with the traditional fishing lifestyle that long sustained the

Acadian economy, but that they are associated with more modern and globalizing industries,

such as information technology.

We found younger participants to have a more non-specific geographical perception of

Acadie and *Acadien*, using terms such as « un endroit » and « une place » much more

frequently than the older participants (see Table 17 of the appendices). In fact, this

vagueness was most often seen among younger women, rather than younger men:

> Juste une région, une culture (20-NE-F-1- *Acadie*).

> C'est une place, oui c'est un endroit pour moi (66-SE-F-1- *Acadien*).

As well, men tend to associate the Maritime Provinces with Acadia much more than women,

who, as we have just mentioned, used non-specific terminology in their responses (see Table

16 of the appendices). However, no men were found to associate this same location with *un*

Acadien.

Overall, asking New Brunswick Francophones about *Acadie* and *Acadien* indirectly

addressed the topic of geography, yet its relation with the two terms is not yet clarified. Not

only did we find that 6 different types of locations were referenced in rather close frequency,

but that 14.3% of participants (4/28) made geographical reference for Acadia in ways that did

not reflect the 6 identified trends, as did 23.5% of participants (4/17) for the term *Acadien*, as

is exemplified in the following two responses that clearly distinguis Acadians and Acadia

from Quebec and Quebeckers:

> C'est surtout les pays francophones hors Québec, qui comprend la Louisiane puis toutes les personnes francophones hors Québec (37-NE-F-1-*Acadie*).

> On est Acadien qu'on le veut ou qu'on ne le veut pas, on vit dans un territoire où est-ce qu'on n'est pas Québécois. Ici on n'est pas anglais, on a un territoire avec la francophonie [...] (31-NW-M-2- *Acadien*).

We will now discuss the relation between the concept of Acadia and geography. As we have previously seen principally, geography has been a frequent factor in the direct definitions of *Acadie*. As well, our review of literature has demonstrated the variety of geographical representations Acadia has held over a number of years. Here, we will discuss the Acadian territory according to participants.

4.5.2 An Acadian capital

Throughout the 3 New Brunswick French regions, several cities and towns illustrate their Acadian identity with welcoming road signs at the city limits. We have already mentioned the sign proclaiming Caraquet as the capital of Acadia. Other signs include Cap Pelé's « le coeur de l'Acadie », Dieppe's « l'étoile de l'Acadie » and Memramcook's « le berceau de l'Acadie ». Discussion about an Acadian capital and its geographical representation and symbolism was therefore a natural course of action during the interview process.

Concerning the presence of an actual Acadian capital, New Brunswick Francophones appear to be quite divided in their opinions, which as show in Figure 8; 41.3% of participants (26/63) believe that a capital does not exist, while 39.7% (25/63) believe that one does. 17.5% of participants (11/63) answered that they were unsure on this matter and 1.6% of responses (1/63) did not provide sufficient information to be properly analyzed.

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Figure 8: Belief in an Acadian capital

Belief in an Acadian capital
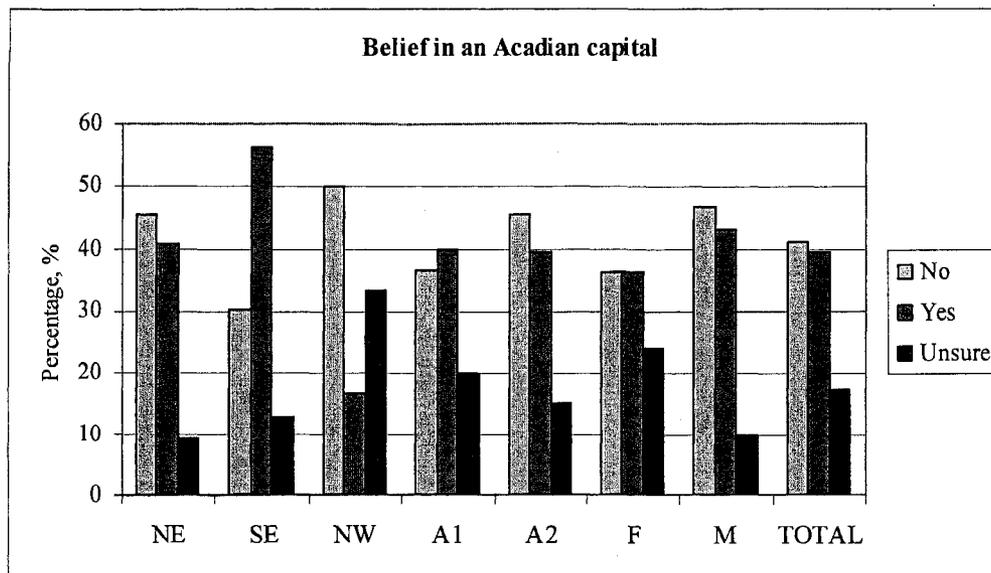
The greatest difference of opinion was found to be of regional influence (see Table 17 of the appendices). In the North-East, opinion appears to reflect the overall results in that those participants were divided in their opinions; 45.5% (10/22) answered that there is not a capital and 40.9% (9/22) answered that there is a capital. One might say that all three regions appear rather ambivalent over the matter, yet it is in the North-West that the discrepancy between the percentages of no and yes answers is the highest as 50% (9/18) answered no and 16.7% (3/18) answered yes. On the opposite end of the spectrum, only a slight majority of South-East participants believe in an Acadian capital (56.5% or 13/23), and at a frequency much higher than was found in either of the two northern regions. In fact, the South-East results are somewhat the opposite of those from the North-West: more South-East participants responded by saying that there is a capital than not (56.5%:30.4% or 13/23:7/23).

In comparing the results between the two generations and between men and women, the difference of opinion is less pronounced than between regions. In general, it can be said that

45.5% of A2s (15/33) and 46.7% of men (14/30) do not believe in an Acadian capital, while South-eastern participants tend to say that one does exist.

4.5.2.1 Caraquet versus Moncton: 2 possible capitals

Literature has demonstrated the symbolism that the 2 French New Brunswick municipalities of Caraquet and Moncton have created in relation to the Acadian discourses and ideologies. These same 2 locations were repeatedly identified by the 39.7% (25/63) of participants who believe in the current existence of an Acadian capital (see Table 18 of the appendices). As shown in Figure 9, which illustrates the results for only those participants who identitfied one of the 2 primary capital locations, Caraquet was overall identified more frequently than Moncton (44%:32% or 11/25:8/25). However, we found occasional references to other possible capitals. These possibilities included Dieppe, «notre coeur», «toute l'Acadie» the Acadian peninsula, Louisiana, and Memramcook.[71] We will first begin with a discussion of Caraquet, followed by one of Moncton.

Figure 9: Caraquet versus Moncton as Acadian capital

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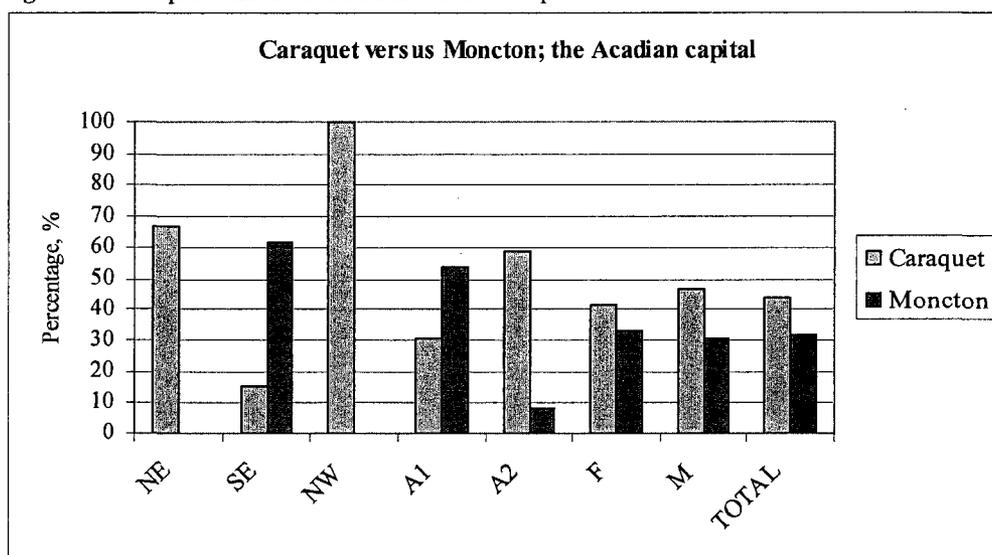
[71] Participants were not limited to identifying only one capital.

4.5.2.1.1 «Bienvenue à Caraquet – la capitale de l'Acadie»

Among the data that identified Caraquet as the Acadian capital, we immediately noticed the influence played by region. Caraquet was mainly identified by participants of the 2 northern regions: in over 66% of North-East responses (6/9) and 100% of North-West responses (3/3), yet by only 15.4% of South-East participants (2/13). Only 3 North-West participants in total identified a capital and for that we are aware that our results may not be representative of this region. Therefore, while results suggest that North-West Francophones generally do not believe in an Acadian capital, the possible trend that Caraquet is seen as the capital by those who do believe in one would require further investigation. In comparing A1s and A2s, data strongly suggests that the older generation are almost twice as likely to identify Caraquet as the capital than the younger generation (58.3%:30.8% or 7/12:4/13). We did not find any difference between men's and women's answers.

Upon examining the Caraquet data, we were able to clearly establish 2 reasons why Caraquet is possibly the Acadian capital. The first, which we have labeled as « affichage », or road signs. 27.3% of the 11 participants who named Caraquet explained that this town is Acadia's capital because of the sign found at the city limits on which is written « Caraquet la capitale de l'Acadie ». Interestingly, these statements were all given by A1s, as is shown here:

> Caraquet parce qu'il y a une pancarte en entrant à Caraquet qui dit bienvenue à la capitale d'Acadie (37-NE-F-1).

> C'est Caraquet, bien c'est écrit sur la pancarte (56-NE-M-1).

> Je dirais Caraquet là (xxx) pourquoi? Elle ne se dit pas capitale, cette ville là, Caraquet? (63-NW-M-1)

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While these few participants reasoned their choice with the help of visual evidence, another 63.6% of those 11 participants explained their choice by describing Caraquet's status as a centre of cultural promotion. Contrary to the road sign explanations, which were given by A1s, all supporters of Caraquet for cultural reasons were A2 participants. As the following responses demonstrate, Caraquet's numerous festivals that promote traditional Acadian customs and demonstrate pride in the French language give the town merit for its claim as capital:

> Caraquet est le centre culturel puis je trouve que le titre de capitale de l'Acadie à Caraquet leur scied bien, leur va bien parce que c'est eux qui ont mis sur pied le festival acadien, la bénédiction des bateaux avec toute la (xxx) de couleurs acadiennes, le Congrès (xxx), donc Caraquet a été un peu le meneur dans ça puis ils ont le festival de la chanson, comme à Grand Bay, mais le festival de la chanson à Caraquet (xxx) il y a l'Evangeline qui a commencé à Caraquet, la pièce de théâtre (xxx) de mon petit cousin Calixte Duguay. C'est à Caraquet moi je dirais que sans être une capitale, Caraquet est le château fort des activités culturelles en Acadie (53-NE-M-2).

> Une capitale, ça serait Caraquet parce que je ne sais pas, parce que je trouve que les gens de Caraquet ont une fierté puis ils parlent français, ils sont fiers de leur culture, ils font des festivals acadiens, ça dure deux semaines de temps (xxx) ils ont le festival de la chanson, je pense que c'est ce soir ou demain soir, le festival de la chanson. Après la semaine prochaine c'est le début du festival acadien, ça va se terminer le quinze août avec le tintamarre, puis la soirée après ça il y a le festival (xxx) ils ont le village acadien alors ils ont tout pour faire la promotion de l'Acadie (32-NW-F-2).

4.5.2.1.2 Moncton - « L'Acadie institutionnelle »[72]

We recall that Moncton was named as Acadia's capital by 32% of participants (8/25). As with the results for Caraquet, region appears to play an important role in the Moncton data as well, for this city was named only by South-East participants. Among the 13 South-East participants, 61.5% of them (8/13) named Moncton while the remaining participants named other locations, of which two of them are also located in the South-East (Dieppe and

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[72] Provided by participant number 36-SE-F-1.

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Memramcook). In comparing results between the two age groups, the Moncton situation is the opposite of Caraquet's; younger participants named Moncton much more frequently than did A2s (53.8%:8.3% or 7/13:1/12). Only one older participant named Moncton, meaning that 87.5% of participants who identified Moncton were of the younger age group. As with Caraquet, we found no difference in the data when comparing genders.

The data provided one explanation for why Moncton is possibly Acadia's capital. Participants who share this opinion see the city as an important urban centre for Francophones as its numerous institutions and organizations have given the South-East a more globalizing personality. The role of the Université de Moncton was particularly referenced, though we note how the artistic community, which has been shown to promote Moncton's bilingual identity, is also prominent in the explanations provided by participants:

> C'est Moncton c'est que moi je suis beaucoup au niveau de l'art contemporain, avant-garde, puis tout ça se passe tout à Moncton. L'Acadie institutionnelle c'est à Moncton, toutes les grandes institutions sont là alors qu'il y a des choses intéressantes qui se font dans les deux autres régions mais c'est beaucoup moins contemporain, avant-garde (36-SE-F-1).

> Moncton (xxx) à cause des institutions qu'on a, à cause de l'Université de Moncton, à cause (xxx) en Acadie c'est beaucoup plus (xxx) qui fait à Moncton qu'il est beaucoup plus urbain qu'ailleurs. Pour moi c'est ce qui définit une capitale (48-SE-F-1).

> Bien pour moi c'est Moncton (xxx). Bien juste parce qu'il y a tellement d'institutions qui sont concentrées ici puis je pense à l'université premièrement, qui est énorme là (xxx), puis le centre culturel Aberdeen (66-SE-F-1).

> Je dirais Moncton juste parce que c'est beaucoup fort dans les petits groupes 1755 puis ça fait beaucoup de monde de Moncton là (68-SE-M-1).

4.5.2.2 (North-Western) men say 'no'
It may be recalled that 41.3%, or 26/63 participants believed that there is no Acadian capital.

In this data, we discovered 3 responsive trends. First, a rather large number of these

participants (42.3% or 11/26) did not explain their reasoning; they simply stated that an

Acadian capital does not exist. It is somewhat unfortunate, perhaps a limitation in the data

collection process, that these answers were so brief and without detail. The following

examples of this type of response demonstrate the absence of explanation:

> Non (16-NE-M-2).

> Je ne penserais pas (33-NW-F-2).

> Une ville capitale, non ça n'existe pas selon moi (64-SE-M-1).

What we find much more interesting are the more detailed responses provided by participants

who greatly acknowledged certain cultural and institutional centres, despite the participants

initially saying that a capital does not exist. However, this acknowledgment, seen in 34.6%

of responses (9/26), came with the added explanation that these centres and organizations do

not entitle any particular location to owning the status as Acadia's capital. For example,

Moncton was acknowledged for its role as an academic, global economic and avant-garde

city, which supports previous discussions concerning the role played by the city in Acadia's

direct definitions. Caraquet is also recognized for its cultural contributions such as its

festivals that celebrate traditional aspects of *acadianité*. These 2 Acadian cores are

acknowledged as being important centres for the exact same reasons they are advocated by

some as being Acadia's capital yet, as we just mentioned, these reasons do not entitle either

location to being the capital. The following statements illustrate this opinion:

> je veux dire je ne pense pas qu'il y a de capitale mais il reste que Caraquet
> travaille fort au niveau culturel, au niveau de la langue aussi je pense que pour

nous-autres ici l'université a aidé aussi, c'est sûr, pour avoir nos jeunes qui peuvent commencer l'Université de Moncton à Moncton, ici c'est un atout puis Louis Robichaud, c'est ce qui nous a permis finalement (xxx) pouvoir s'éduquer parce que sans ça (xxx) (11-NE-F-2).

Non puis je ne crois pas c'est vraiment important là, non c'est sûr que Moncton, à cause du fait que c'est une grande ville avec une population importante, il y a un mouvement culturel ici qui (xxx) non je ne peux pas, bien si qu'il y en a une, peut-être Moncton à cause des institutions l'université (xxx) culturel (51-SE-F-1).

Bien il y en a plusieurs qui diraient que c'est Caraquet, moi je ne dirais pas que c'est Caraquet parce que pour moi Caraquet, « okay » si tu veux parler de « mainstream » acadien, c'est Caraquet, il y a le drapeau acadien « all over the place » puis euh c'est vraiment comme quasiment des Américains si tu veux, c'est comme « in your face ». Oui on est Acadien, on frappe les mains puis on joue du violon. J'aime le violon, j'aime beaucoup le violon mais pas dans ce contexte là où est-ce que c'est « overly expressive » acadien dans ce sens là, « I guess » tu peux l'appeler mais je ne trouve pas que ça, je ne sais pas, cette fierté là est un peu « too much » pour moi, puis moi je dirais qu'il n'y a pas de capitale, Moncton peut-être au niveau, tu sais, Moncton s'appelle la capitale. Si tu veux parler de culture plus avant-garde, on peut dire peut-être Moncton à cause de l'université (xxx) un gros rôle à jouer (xxx) un centre urbain aussi où est-ce qu'il y a beaucoup de jeunes qui se rassemblent ici but moi je dirais qu'il n'y a pas de capitale. (08-SE-M-1).

The final trend we found in the 'no' responses involves the implication of nationalism and territoriality. Approximately 15% of these 'no' participants (4/26) believe that Acadia cannot and does not have a capital centre because it remains officially geo-politically unrecognized. For this group of New Brunswick Francophones, all of whom are men, a capital signifies a political representation and therefore cannot exist without a formally geo-politically defined nation or territory. As well, ¼ of these participants are North-West residents and it may be recalled that the North-West is where we found not only the lowest degree of agreement over the existence of a capital, but also the highest reference to geography when it came to directly defining Acadia. This predominantly North-West male

perspective of associating a capital with geo-politics is perfectly illustrated by a 62 year-old

retired teacher from Grand Falls:

> Non je ne vois pas qu'il y a de capitale acadienne pas plus qu'un territoire
> d'Acadie puis la raison est ben simple, pour moi une capitale c'est un endroit
> qui administre les affaires (34-NW-M-2).

4.5.2.3 Up in the air for (North-Western) women
We recall that 17.5% of participants (11/63) were unsure if an Acadian capital exists. This

was a common answer in the North-West data, for 33.3% of participants from this region

responded in this fashion (6/18). Also, it appears that women are more uncertain than men

(24.2%:10% or 8/33:3/30). The following comment from a resident 20 year-old of

Edmundston is an example of this uncertainty:

> Mais s'il y en à une on ne la sait pas mais moi je dirais Moncton (28-NW-F-1).

Although this young woman admitted to not knowing if there is a capital, she did mention

Moncton, one of the locations identified as Acadia's capital. In fact, all but one participant

who responded as being unsure made mention of either Caraquet or Moncton, at times even

both. Interestingly, while these participants may be uncertain of whether or not there is a

capital of Acadia, they still mention Caraquet and Moncton in their responses, and for the

exact same reasons that the 'yes' participants claimed these 2 locations as the capital. One

particular participant, a 63 year-old former teacher from the North-East, did not say exactly

whether or not there is a capital, yet discussed the advantages Moncton has as an Acadian

city and even mentioned the benefits offered by other municipalities:

> Bien il y en a plusieurs qui se réclament être la capitale. Moncton, il me
> semble (xxx) qu'il se dit la capitale de l'Acadie probablement à cause de

l'Université de Moncton dont Caraquet se dit la capitale culturelle, Moncton
peut dire peut-être la capitale administrative de l'Acadie. Cap Pelé se dit le
cœur de l'Acadie, c'est Memramcook le berceau, Dieppe ici on dit que c'est
l'étoile de l'Acadie mais pour quelqu'un qui n'a jamais été à Caraquet, qui est
du sud, il va demander au (xxx) bien pourquoi ils se disent la capitale? Ce
n'est pas la capitale mais il y a beaucoup d'activités culturelles au moins pour
la publicité. Il se dit la capitale culturelle mais dans tout ça, à cause de
l'aéroport, à cause de l'université, à cause d'être la plus grande ville, Moncton,
où est-ce qui a eu le sommet de la francophonie, c'est peut-être que si on
pense à l'Acadie, on pense à Moncton mais c'est contradictoire un petit peu,
un peu ironique parce que Moncton, même si c'est une ville officiellement
bilingue, il y a des bouts qui ne sont pas trop trop francophones [...].

This answer is a perfect example of how debatable the issue of a capital is. We could even
go so far as to say that participants who have no fixed opinion are perhaps the best
representation of this whole issue because the discrepancy in the frequency between the 'yes'
and 'no' responses is so slight that we can draw no conclusion on this level. However, we do
know now that all three factors (region, age, and gender) are relevant in its discussion and
that by (not) identifying one location over another reflects the differents discourses in French
New Brunswick, as is explained by a North West participant (who here, only refers to region):

Je sais que ça peut causer des débats, je suis conscient que les Acadiens du
nord-est, la péninsule acadienne puis les Acadiens du sud-est, ils n'ont pas la
même définition» (72-NW-M-1).

4.5.3 Establishing a capital of Acadia

Participants were also asked if an Acadian capital should be created. We analyzed data from
27 participants, which represents just about half the amount of data used in the previous
analysis. Originally, this question was not part of the interview process, so we must first
describe its selection process. Of these 27 participants, 5 of them (28.5%) believe in an
existing capital, 16 do not (59%), 5 are undecided (28.5%) and 1 did not provide an answer
we could classify (3.8%). At first glance it would simply appear that we were more apt to ask

those who did not believe in the existence of a capital if one should be established; however this explanation is all too simple. Over 44% of these participants reside in the North-West (12/27), and as previously shown, this is the region where most participants were either uncertain or disbelieving in the current existence of a capital. Another tendency we found in the manner which we selected whom to ask this question correlates with the answers given by women in the previous analysis. There, we found women to be more uncertain than men and 70.3% of the participants who were asked if a capital should be established were women (19/27). Therefore, we were more likely to ask both women and North-West participants if there should be an Acadian capital, as a manner of compensating for the non-descript responses detailed in the previous section.

Although 27 is a small number on which to base conclusive results in comparison to other analyses of this study, we managed to obtain interesting and relevant results. Figure 10 shows us that 48% (13/27) did not believe that an Acadian capital should exist while 37% (10/27) were in favour of its establishment.

Figure 10: Wanting an Acadian capital
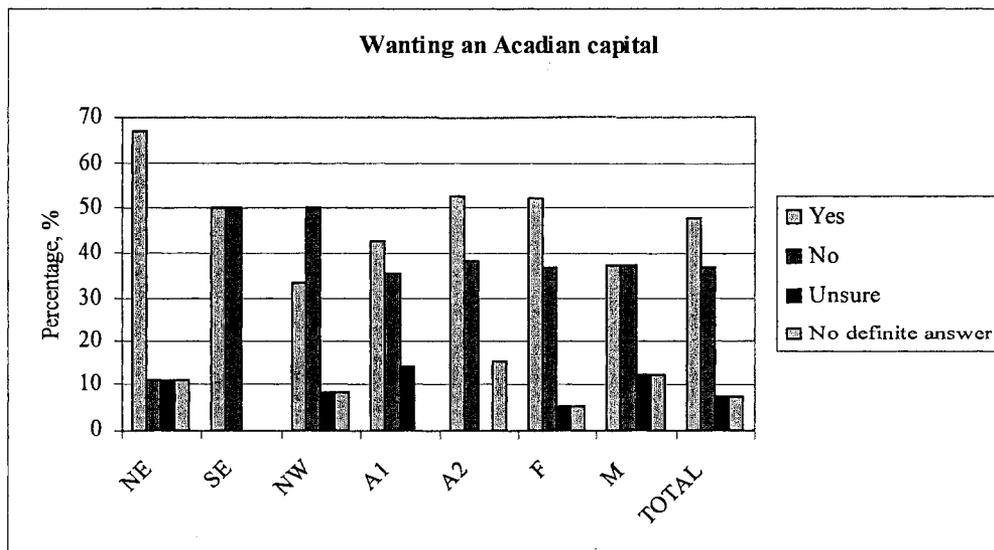
As well, 7.4% (2/27) were uncertain whether or not there should be a capital while another 7.4% (2/27) provided an answer that we were unable to identify as either 'yes', 'no', or 'unsure' (see Table 19 of the appendices). Once again, region has important relevance in this debate. First of all, the North-East perspective is quite clear in that they believe there should not be a capital, for 66.7% (6/9) answered 'no' while 11.1% (1/9) answered 'yes'. It is in these responses that we find the biggest discrepancy between the frequency of 'yes' and 'no' opinons, so we are fairly confident in saying that this issue is not a very debatable topic in the North-East. This contrasts a tendency we have seen in previous analyses that have shown the North-East as a region where our research topic has proven to produce a certain ambivalent variety of opinions. This time, this characteristic is seen in the South-East, where an equal number of participants answered both 'yes' and 'no'. The North-West is the only region that we find more participants answering that there should be a capital than not (50%:33.3% or 6/12:4/12), further supporting the association of geography to the term *Acadie* for Francophones from that region. In comparing both age groups and gender, the data did not reveal as striking results. In addressing the current existence of a capital, we recall that it was principally older men who answered that there is not one, yet here we find that it is mainly the older generation (52.8% or 7/13) and women (52.6% or 10/19) who were most against its creation.

4.5.3.1 To create a capital would be to cause a rift in *acadianité*
Parallels can definitely be drawn between the data negating the existence of a capital and that which indicated that one should not be created. Numerous towns, cities and larger regions that are associated with *acadianité* were repeatedly acknowledged, yet as previously shown, these centres do not merit the title of *capitale*. By granting this status to one town or

city was said to ignore the advantages another location could offer. How could one town possibly be crowned capital when so many are deserving of the title? This was the perspective given by participants of the eastern regions who referenced the cultural participation by not only Caraquet and Moncton, but also other locations within New Brunswick, such as Petit Rocher (North-East), Memramcook (South-East) and Edmundston (North-West):

> Je ne pense pas, je ne crois pas, ça ne me dérangerait pas qu'il y en a une mais pourquoi tu la mettrais? Où? Petit Rocher, ils disent que c'est eux-autres parce qu'il y a beaucoup d'institutions qui sont parties de là, Caraquet, ils veulent dire que c'est eux-autres, Dieppe veut dire que c'est là, Shédiac, ça serait peut-être difficile de dire. Où est-ce qu'il devrait avoir une, puis pourquoi pas? Ca serait où? Sans question, si on peut avoir un consensus là que peut-être si on répondait à ta première question, c'est quoi l'Acadie, on pourrait peut-être dire elle peut aller là (xxx) à Petit Rocher, la SANB s'appelle la Caisse Populaire (xxx) à ce moment-là ça serait une capitale culturelle, ça serait une capitale économique, ça serait une capitale. Il faut définir qu'est-ce que c'est l'Acadie (xxx) parce qu'on n'a toujours pas de pays, une structure géographique puis pourquoi ça ne serait pas l'Ile-du-Prince-Edouard? (14-NE-F-2)

> Non je ne pense pas qu'il devrait avoir une capitale de l'Acadie. Chacun se dit la capitale de l'Acadie, la capitale de la pêche, la capitale du sud mais non, je ne sais pas si on, ben les Acadiens, finalement, sont partout dans la province, ou même en Nouvelle-Écosse et même en Louisiane, à l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard. Non je ne pense pas qu'on devrait identifier. C'est sûr que Caraquet s'identifie la capitale de l'Acadie, peut-être les gens de Moncton, la région de Memramcook le berceau de l'Acadie, non je ne pense pas qu'on devrait avoir une capitale (13-NE-M-2).

> Je ne pense pas, tout simplement parce que si on commence à dire que Moncton est (xxx) capitale, bien ce qu'on fait, c'est qu'on ignore (xxx) Caraquet (xxx) on ignore tout ce qui se passe à Edmundston (xxx) puis je ne sais (xxx) d'avoir ça, plusieurs lieux où il y a des activités (65-SE-F-1).

Another reason why some participants were against establishing a capital is for its identity and the cultural impact regarding inclusiveness. Bringing us back to one of this project's primary research questions of what it means to be Acadian, several participants believe that if

a capital were to be created, anybody living outside of that capital would question their

acadianité. Here, a student of 19 years of age attending the Université de Moncton

(Shippagan campus), provides probably the clearest explanation for how creating a capital

could further complicate the debate on *acadianité*:

> Je ne pense pas parce que ça créerait comme, je crois, des tensions là [...]
> pourquoi c'est vous la capitale, tu sais? On est autant acadien ici qu'ailleurs tu
> sais, des choses comme ça. Je pense que c'est correct comme il est, qu'il n'y
> a pas de capitale là (45-NE-F-1).

Statements such as this one concur with other discussions in this chapter that one's *acadianité*

is not simply tied to geography or territory. The following 2 responses by South-East

participants indicate that creating a capital could imply a governmental institution, and even

dismiss its necessity, believing the current situation to be correct as it is with Fredericton

administering the province, thus eliminating the requirement of an Acadian capital:

> Non parce que les Acadiens, la région, la province, est tellement grande qu'il
> y a des Acadiens qui sont partout puis les Acadiens, on n'a pas un
> gouvernement. Pour moi, une capitale c'est pour diriger, c'est l'endroit du
> gouvernement tandis que le cœur de la province, c'est à Fredericton, c'est
> notre capitale, on en a une déjà puis nous sommes aussi des Néo-
> Brunswickois, alors on en a une capitale déjà. La capitale serait où, à
> Caraquet? Elle serait où, à Dieppe? Par Shédiac? Pourquoi pas Cap Pelé?
> L'étendue est tellement grande, non (xxx) (69-SE-F-2).

> Je ne vois pas la nécessité parce qu'au niveau d'une capitale, on parle d'un
> genre de gouvernement, on parle d'un territoire, je ne pense pas qu'on peut
> faire ça avec l'Acadie. Je ne pense pas qu'on peut réduire ça dans un territoire
> géographique. Avec une capitale, ça c'est surtout au niveau politique ou
> niveau gouvernemental, je ne verrais pas bien, avoir une capitale de l'Acadie
> (64-SE-M-1).

4.5.3.2 To establish a capital would be to strengthen and clarify *acadianité*
Whereas some participants believed that establishing a capital of Acadia could create cultural

tensions, another 37% (10/27) encouraged the creation of one for exactly the opposite reasons.

In this sense, being *Acadien* is very much tied to the concept of territory, although we have

previously seen in section 4.4.1 that geography is not a big factor in directly definining an

Acadian. As the following responses suggest, perhaps establishing an Acadian capital would

bring Acadians closer together with a stronger sense of membership as Acadia's definition

would become less abstract and more grounded in geography. They also suggest that while

Acadia may not be found on any official map, officially recognizing an Acadian capital by the

federal government (as they do the Acadian feast day of August 15[th)], may just be what is

necessary to clarify the meaning of Acadia:

> Bien moi je pense que oui parce que peut-être on aurait un contact tout
> ensemble, on aurait nos mêmes priorités ensemble, ça serait peut-être une
> façon de rejoindre toutes nos idées ensemble au lieu de proclamer chacun son
> coin tu sais, pas nécessairement capitale mais comme nous-autres, pour chez
> nous à Caraquet, ce n'est pas la capitale mais c'est le centre culturel (xxx)
> c'est sûr que c'est là où c'est la plus fort (xxx) ah oui oui il n'y aurait pas de
> problème (xxx) (25-NE-M-2).

> Ça serait le fun, j'aimerais ça (xxx) on ferait beaucoup plus, se centraliser en
> quelque part puis les gens qui veulent faire une différence pour la culture
> acadienne, puis qui veulent s'appliquer (xxx), une place pour rencontrer
> d'autres gens qui sont intéressés à travailler sur l'idée d'une Nouvelle-Acadie
> (52-SE-M-1).

Our 2 analyses that concern an Acadian capital have proven to be mostly complementary.

Overall, participants do not believe a capital currently exists and are against the creation of one.

North-West participants were the most frequent to say that there currently is no capital but

advocate the creation of one. The analyses have also repeatedly shown why Caraquet and

Moncton are valued as Acadian centres and how they add to and reflect the debate on how to

define both Acadia and an Acadian, which we discuss in our final chapter.

4.5.4 An official Acadian territory

We have already established how an Acadian capital centre evokes support as well as some

concern regarding the issue of territoriality among New Brunswick Francophones. Although

the Parti acadien's dissolution in the early 1980s is viewed as the official death of Acadian

nationalism, we wondered to what extent New Brunswick Francophones may still be in

favour of autonomy today, even after years of collective efforts toward sociolinguistic

equality. Here we attempt to discover the extent of the current desire for Acadian autonomy

by asking if an official Acadian province is beneficial to Acadians.

Data suggests that Acadians prefer to be known as *un peuple sans territoire (officiel)*; they

tend to not wish for autonomy, nor do they believe an official territory would be beneficial to

their cause (see Table 20 of the appendices). Out of 61 respondents, 56% (34/61) answered

that an official territory would not be beneficial, while 34% (21/63) answered that one would

be beneficial, which is illustrated in Figure 11. The remaining 10% of participants (6/61)

responded in such that we could not categorize as either yes or no; they were unsure and did

not elaborate on this perspective.

Figure 11: Wanting an Acadian territory
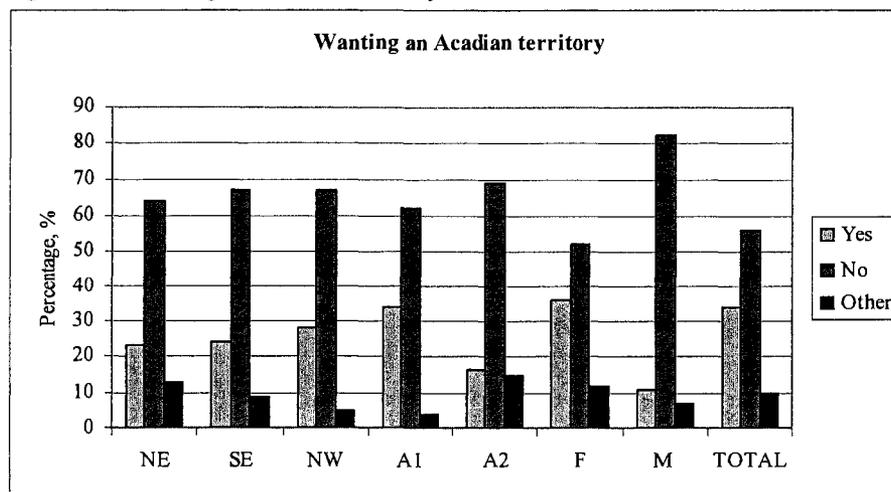
This initial analysis did not reveal many tendencies. Contrary to most analyses so far in this study, region was not a relevant factor. What is suggested is that younger Francophones are more in favour of an Acadian province than older Francophones (34%:16% or 10/29:5/32). Why is it that the younger generation is less homogeneous in their opinons concerning this issue? We believe it to be because they did not experience the Acadian movement of the 1970s and very early 1980s and are less informed on the socio-economic consequences that were published and discussed during that time period (Thériault 1982). As for men versus women, results show that 3 times the female participants supported the idea of an official Acadia than male participants (36%:11%). Therefore, while an official Acadian territory or province is generally not desired by participants, data suggest that it is mainly (younger) women who do think that it would be beneficial to their understanding of *Acadie*.

4.5.4.1 A territory to symbolize Acadians as *Francophones*
Among those who believe the idea of an official Acadian territory is a good idea, one principal reason was given: to visibly and politically stabilize their identity which concurs with why some participants wish for an Acadian capital. Reflecting that perspective, a 30 year-old journalist from the North-East explains how he believes an Acadian province would help establish a collective sense of proud membership to Acadians:

> (xxx) ben oui, on prendrait nos propres décisions, ça serait beaucoup de travail mais oui, ça donnerait quelque chose (xxx), donc un peuple qui prend les décisions pour lui-même, ça lui prend un territoire, oui ça donnerait quelque chose, ça ne serait pas sans heurt, sans difficulté, mais oui j'aime beaucoup l'idée, je ne déteste pas ça parce que ça concrétiserait dans l'imaginaire collectif, une image d'un territoire qui nous appartient. Je pense que c'est un besoin pour développer de la confiance dans notre identité (56-NE-M-1).

We identify this statement as support for Acadian territoriality as well as an example of the existence of the prospective ideology in French New Brunswick. Yet while participants acknowledged the positive steps Acadia has taken in becoming a society associated with a globalizing identity, we have learned that some people do not believe these steps toward sociolinguistic equality will have a lasting effect. Instead, it is suggested that it is through the gain of political power and geographically establishing themselves on the Canadian map that Acadians will (linguistically) survive and solidify their *acadianité* in today's society. For example, a North-East participant, believed that by obtaining more political power through the creation of an official territory, Acadians would be provided with the means to unify and subsequently define themselves as Francophones who, she says, are currently faced with rising assimilation rates, most notably in the South-East:

> Je pense que oùi, je pense qu'il nous faut mettre en place une structure où on aura des gens qui travaillent, qui comprennent la mentalité acadienne, qui travaillent pour les Acadiens parce que moi je considère que, bon, Fredericton est un bastion, on sait très bien, anglophone, le sud du Nouveau-Brunswick est très anglais. Les Acadiens qui vont à Fredericton, une fois qu'ils sont arrivés à Fredericton, je regrette, ils ne font pas beaucoup pour les francophones. Ils travaillent pour la majorité qui est anglophone et très souvent les francophones qui vont à Fredericton, ils finissent par perdre leur langue parce qu'ils n'ont pas l'occasion de parler ni d'écrire leur langue, donc les francophones qui s'en aillent à Fredericton ou « Saint John » ou même à Moncton, souvent le contexte social fait que les Acadiens n'ont pas l'occasion de s'épanouir dans leur langue alors finalement ce que ça fait, ça brime le développement des Acadiens (58-NE-F-2).

4.5.4.2 An Acadian territory - « ça va juste faire de la chicane »[73]
We have seen why 34% of participants (21/61) believed an Acadian political entity would be beneficial. However, the majority of participants (56% or 34/61) disagreed, describing the concept as unrealistic, impossible and *utopique*, in the sense that they believe that Acadians

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[73] Provided by participant number 25-NE-M-2.

do not have the resources to undertake the responsibility of properly governing a province; they do not think the province's 3 French regions would be able to economically survive together as a province. Here, one older participant explains why he finds the 3 regions too diversified in their regional economies to successfully collaborate on autonomy, which if we recall, is a reason why the proposed project of *la Nouvelle-Acadie* did not succeed in convincing Acadians to vote for the *Parti acadien*. He further explains his preference in working toward social and linguistic equality alongside Anglophones:

> (xxx) non, ça donnerait à absolument rien parce que je suis convaincu que
> Edmundston, puis les gens de la péninsule, puis les gens du sud de la province
> ne partageraient pas les mêmes notions politiques parce que leur économie est
> largement différente. Le long des côtes, ils ont des soucis économiques
> différents. A Edmundston, c'est très industrialisé puis ils ont d'autres soucis.
> Ici c'est beaucoup plus l'Acadie des terres et de la forêt, les gens vivent de
> l'industrie du bois et de l'agriculture tandis que la péninsule, c'est la pêche
> pour une grosse partie et le tourisme, beaucoup de touristes, et puis dans le
> sud c'est une vie des centres de services et de l'industrie de la manufacture.
> Ca ne pourrait pas marcher parce que les options politiques sont tellement
> différentes et on est tellement dispersé sur le territoire que comment est-ce
> qu'on ferait ça? Comment on ferait pour créer une province? On serait obligé
> de couper la province en deux puis d'avoir autant d'anglophones dans notre
> province que francophones au niveau démographique (xxx). Les gens qui ont
> pensé à ça, ils ont été obligé à cause de la réalité. Tu ne vas pas commencer à
> déménager les gens (xxx), ça ne marche pas, on ne fait plus ça aujourd'hui, il
> faut que tu fasses ça parce qu'on essaie au Nouveau-Brunswick. Moi je pense
> que l'option de la province (xxx), qui est l'égalité des deux communautés
> linguistiques, puis d'offrir de meilleurs services aux deux communautés
> linguistiques, puis essayer de créer à long terme une meilleure entente entre
> les deux groupes que de créer une province parce que là au moins on peut
> chicaner contre les anglais, mais une fois qu'on aurait notre province on va
> chicaner entre nous-autres. C'est un peu ce qui va arriver au Québec (xxx).
> Ce n'est pas une façon de régler le problème (34-NW-M-2).

This response echoes the globalizing ideology by defining the 3 regions through economy rather than as an entity defined through a common language. Opinions like this one reflect previous reasoning why the majority of interviewed participants do not believe an Acadian capital centre should be established: friction, instead of a sense of collectivity, could occur.

Possible friction among Francophones could also arise due to the difficulty in deciding to whom territorial membership should be awarded and which areas would not be part of the new province. Many participants voiced their concern over this issue by infering Bérubé's genealogical ideology, stating that Acadians are located in a wide number of areas, too wide to have them come together under one territory. Here, a young North-East university student explains how she finds it unrealistic to think that Acadians who do not initially live within the borders of an Acadian province would simply pick up and move to start a new life as *official* Acadians:

> Non pas du tout, non parce que ça n'a aucun bon sens, aucune logique. Premièrement qui va aller (xxx) là? Les gens vont quitter leurs emplois, vont quitter leurs maisons, vont quitter leurs familles pour aller déménager sur un nouveau territoire? Il n'y a aucune, c'est impossible impossible. Moi je n'y crois pas pas du tout. Je suis Acadienne, je suis fière de l'être puis je suis intéressée à promouvoir ma culture partout dans le monde puis je ne suis pas intéressée dans une place, il n'y a aucun aucun bon sens (10-NE-F-1).

This opinion is shared by another North-East participant, who discusses how a decision to establish a province could prove to be insulting to Francophones in regards to their identity beliefs. These responses reflect the overall North-East perspective of *Acadie*, as defined through bonding and the sharing of a common mentality and history, regardless of current locality:

> Je ne pense pas. On est trop éparpillé partout. Ce que ça va faire, ça va juste faire de la chicane. C'est qui? Qui va vouloir se dire la capitale puis je ne sais pas comment tu fais pour définir un lieu que tout le monde serait d'accord, je pense que c'est ça le plus gros défi parce que les Acadiens sont partout, il y en au Québec, il y en a en Ontario, dans les provinces maritimes puis ça c'est peut-être une chose. Chez les Acadiens, on a un esprit de clocher (xxx) chacun va aller de leur bord même si tout monde part. Tout le monde va vouloir avoir sa part. Je pense que ce n'est pas nécessairement. Je ne sais même pas si ça serait réalisable, j'ai l'idée que ça serait irréalisable (25-NE-M-2).

While some voiced their concern of the possible conflicts that could arise out of geographically excluding some Acadians, others took a look from inside the proposed idea. Along the same line of thinking as those who claim that a geographical Acadia could not economically succeed, we identified an element of concern regarding possible isolation from the rest of Canada and the world, something that *la cause commune* works to avoid:

> Je ne pense pas non je veux dire (xxx) ça serais-tu une telle section puis tout le monde vivrait là? C'est ça là? Ca serait l'idée? Tout le monde vivrait là, à peu près la même place? Non, je pense que c'est important de vivre avec toute sorte de monde, que se soit des Anglophones, que se soit n'importe quoi. Peut-être euh ça fait parti de la vie, surtout aujourd'hui, que (xxx) parler de la mondialisation puis tout ça là puis tout le monde est ensemble avec toutes les communications (xxx) puis tout ça je crois que c'est juste bon de vivre avec d'autres (68-SE-M-1).

Here, this South-Eastern informant raised a reoccurring issue found in the discourse of South-East participants. Instead of isolating themselves from other (French) Canadians, they believed that the most beneficial steps to take lie in welcoming people from all linguistic and ethnic communities and working together (through education) to create the strongest multicultural / multilingual society their economy permits. One of the clearest responses to the question of whether or not there should be an Acadian province that best reflects the ever emerging globalized discourse commonly found in the South-East was given by a 61 year-old retiree. This man emphasizes that Acadia is growing as a globalized community through education that teaches the inclusion of different (regional) identities and the acceptance of evolutionary changes that Acadians have witnessed:

> Je n'ai jamais été convaincu de la nécessité d'avoir une province acadienne. Je pense qu'à l'heure actuelle, avec les partis en place, on peut si on a des politiciens (xxx) de faire valoir les besoins ou les intérêts de la population acadienne et francophone du Nouveau-Brunswick. On peut avoir (xxx) ce qu'il nous faut pour se développer la province acadienne. Je n'ai jamais eu l'enclin à y croire, d'abord la ligne imaginaire qui partait du nord-ouest qui

descendait au sud-est, il y avait quand même toute une population qu'on éliminait. Je crois par contre à une région administrative, je pense qu'à l'intérieur de la province on peut avoir une réorganisation administrative qui fait en sorte qu'on respecte les identités. On le fait en éducation, on est en train de le discuter en santé, on pourrait très bien le faire au niveau administratif dans l'ensemble de la province. On peut le faire au niveau municipal, une décentralisation des pouvoirs dans les régions pour vraiment permettre aux régions de s'identifier telles qu'elles sont et de se développer comme elles devraient et puis pour moi ça serait plus efficace, plus réaliste qu'une province acadienne (62-SE-M-2).

In all, we see a confrontation between 2 ideologies. The prospective ideology is reflected in the responses that suggest that an official territory would solidify the definition of Acadians as Francophones, emphasizing the importance of that ideology's linguistic component (see Chapter 5: Concluding discussion). Yet the majority of participants do not hold this opinion. Overall, participants who view an Acadian province as unrealistic believe in the communication and education between linguistic communities as the appropriate steps to take, reflecting the globalizing discourse period.

4.5.5 Acadia's imaginary borders

During the interviews, participants were asked to describe where Acadia would be located if they were given a map and asked to indicate its borders. Initially, this question was not part of the list of interview questions, yet after a small number of interviews had been conducted, we realized that an important aspect of our research would be incomplete without this hypothetical question. Although our participants were not actually given pen and paper and asked to draw, we view this question as a comparison to the study of mental maps done by Colin Williams (1977) where he concluded that Acadia was primarily centered around the Moncton hinterland. Our study does not parallel those results.

Upon examining the data, we found that the majority of participants (58% or 34/59) provided

mental maps while 42% did not (25/59, see Table 21 of the appendices). As shown in Figure

12, it is even more evident from these results that the North-West's perception of Acadia is

very much associated with geography, for 72% of North-West participants (13/18) provided

us with mental maps. The eastern regions have a more abstract perception of Acadia, for

42% of North-East participants (8/19) and 55% of South-East participants (12/22) answered

in a way that could not be transformed into a mental map. We also found men to provide a

geographical answer much more frequently than not (63%:37% or 17/27:10/27).

Figure 12: Establishing Acadian borders
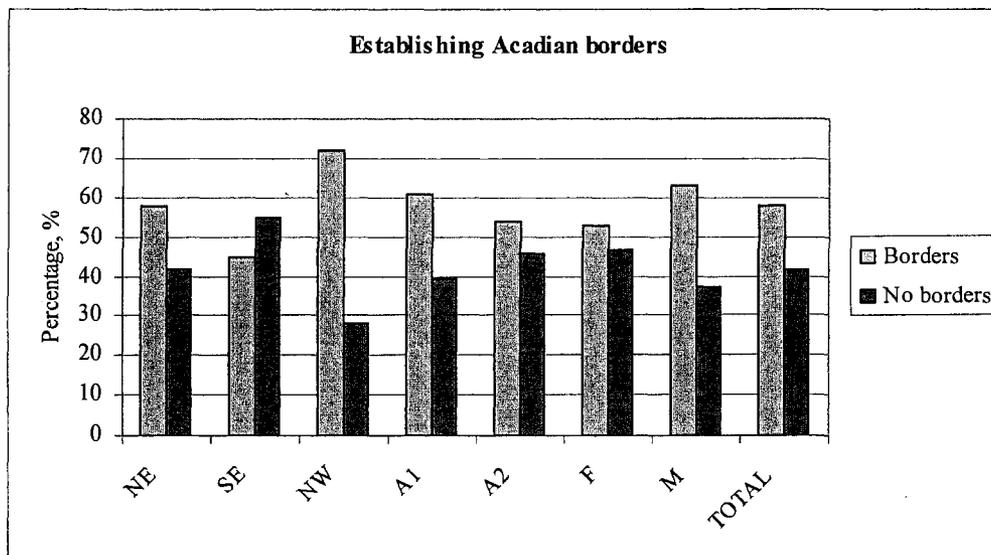
4.5.5.1 New Brunswick Acadia
The province of New Brunswick was overwhelmingly identified as (part of) the location of

where participants perceived Acadia (see Table 22 of the appendices).[74] Of the 34 'mental

maps', 33 of them (97%) included New Brunswick in their description, indicating just how

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[74]A minor result in our study is that we found 2 instances where participants, both North-West women, limited their geographical perception to the province of Nova Scotia. However, this represents only 3.4% of our entire 59 testimonials and with so slight a percentage, we will not concern ourselves further with this finding.

relevant the province is to the geographical component of the Acadian definition. This finding is illustrated in Figure 13.

Figure 13: New Brunswick as Acadia
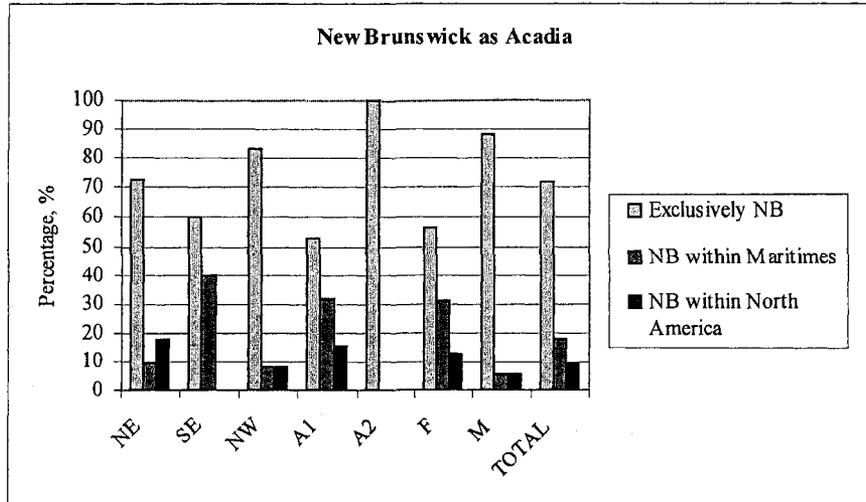
We also identified 3 sub categories, among them the 'maps' where participants described their Acadian border solely within the province of New Brunswick. This was the most frequent type of map that our data provided us (representing 72.7%, or 24/33 of the maps that included New Brunswick in some form). Secondly, we recognized responses that identified Acadia as the Maritime Provinces in which specific mention of the province of New Brunswick was made (representing 18.2%, or 6/33 of the maps that included New Brunswick in some form). Our final sub category is the group of responses that described Acadia as located in New Brunswick and other areas of North America (representing 9.1%, or 3/33 of the maps that included New Brunswick in some form).

A comparison of our results proves very intriguing in this section. Concerning region, we see conflicting opinions between the North-West and the South-East participants. North-West participants almost exclusively located Acadia within New Brunswick, while 40% of South-East participants (4/10) expanded their views to incorporate the Maritime Provinces,

leaving the North-East with a slightly more intra-regional varied perspective. Answers by

A2s reflect the North-West mental map, for all responses illustrated an Acadia within the

province, while this type of map was illustrated by 52.6% of the younger age group of

participants (10/19). Similarly, responses by men were much more exclusive to New-

Brunswick than women, 44% of whom did not limit their mental maps to the province (7/16).

This generates the postulation that A1 women from the eastern regions are more apt to

consider areas other than just New Brunswick as the geographical location of Acadia.

Although we have shown that some scholars disagree with the use of terms like the North-

East, the South-East and the North-West, we shall, for the short time being, limit our

discussion to those terms in order to gather a general idea of where participants tended to

identify the location of Acadia. In Figure 14, we discovered that every one of our

participants who considered New Brunswick in their description included the North-East (see

Table 23 of the appendices). Secondly, the South-East was included to a very high degree,

by almost 88% of participants (29/33). The North-West, although also strongly considered

part of Acadia, comes in 3rd place with 75.8% of participants (25/33) mentioning (areas of)

this region. Another attention-grabbing finding concerns the South-East, where that region's

own informants were the least apt to include themselves, even though 80% of them did so

(8/10), a very high degree.

Figure 14: New Brunswick regions as Acadia

New Brunswick regions as Acadia
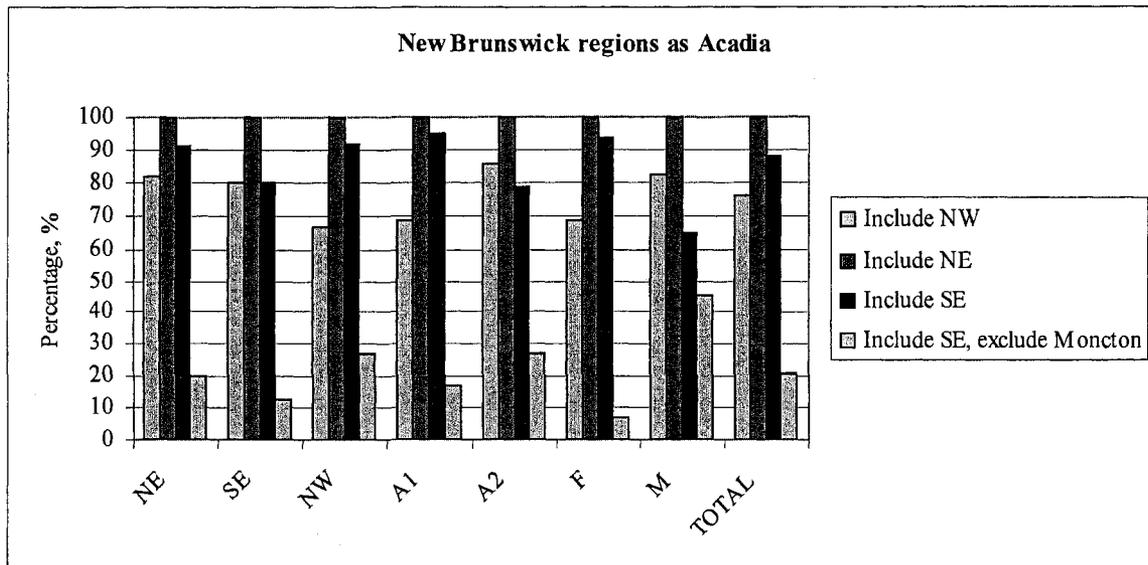
Overall, the mental image participants have of New Brunswick Acadia embraces the 3 traditionally described French regions. However, we have found out that contrary to Williams's study, ours places the North-East in the foreground as the most agreed upon location. In order to compare with other proposed maps of New Brunswick Acadia and perhaps even suggest our own, we took it upon ourselves to draw out the mental maps provided to us. We wholly understand that this method is not without fault in that we are using our own interpretation of how participants answered, and for that reason we have established some guidelines which we followed when visualizing their descriptions. Unless otherwise specified by the participant,

1) the 3 traditional Acadian regions described in our introduction will be used;

2) «la région de Moncton» is the equivalent of the Greater Moncton area, which includes: Moncton, Dieppe and Riverview;

3) the north begins with Grand Falls and finishes at the Miramichi Bay, following the borders of the 3 traditional Acadian regions;

4) if a description mentions the imaginary province descending down to Moncton, it will

include the Greater Moncton Area;

5) «la littorale» includes the North East and the South-East;

6) «(le long) des côtes» will be interpreted as the North-East and the South-East;

7) (a variation of) «de Grand Sault à Moncton» will designate the full 3 regions.

By using our version of the 3 Acadian regions as a model, we concluded with 13/33 maps

that imitated this version (approximately 40%, no variation found). 10 other maps (30.3%)

specified some variations to the model, 8 of which were provided by men. These consisted

of: 1) 3 exclusions of Moncton; 2) 1 where the western border began with Edmundston and

not Grand Falls; 3) 3 that included a greater part of the province's interior when tracing the

Grand Falls-Moncton line; and finally, 4) 3 maps that consisted of the province as a whole.

Of course, not all maps depicted (a version of) the 3 French regions together. In keeping

with the overall finding result that places the North-East on every map, we found (among our

33 New Brunswick maps) a small tendency to place Acadia on the eastern side of New

Brunswick. 6 maps (18.2%) included both the North-East and South-East, yet 3 of these

have a modified North-East in such that Acadia does not continue up into the Bay de

Chaleurs region of Bathurst and beyond, while another 2 depicted Acadia as solely located

within the North-East. Of these 6 'eastern' maps, 5 of them were described by northern

participants.

4.5.5.2 The naming of cities, towns, villages and general areas
In the 33 New Brunswick map descriptions, a total of 27 cities, towns and villages were

named. The following locations, divided into regions, are listed in alphabetical order with

the number of participants who mentioned them. Beginning with the North-East, there were

7 locations: Bathurst (2), Campbellton (5), Caraquet (4), Lamèque (1), Néguac (1),

Shippagan (1), and Tracadie (1). The 11 South-East locations were: Beauséjour (1),

Bouctouche (3), Cap Pelé (4), Dieppe (6), Memramcook (2), Moncton (12), Richibuctou (2),

Riverview (1), Rogersville (3), Saint Étienne (1), and Shédiac (1). Finally, the 6 North-West

mentioned areas included: Drummond (1), Edmundston (6), Grand Sault (6), Kedgwick (1),

Saint Jacques (1), and Saint Quentin (2).[75]

The most frequently mentioned localities (Moncton, Dieppe, Grand Sault and Edmondston)

are those found along the opposing 'corners' of the maps from where a proposed line of

thumb divider that places each of New Brunswick's linguistic communities on separate sides

of an imaginary border that is determined by demolinguistics: Francophones to the north of

New Brunswick and Anglophones to the south. A number of scholars have followed this

theory when geographically describing (New Brunswick) Acadia, such as Fitzpatrick

(1972:117-118): "one can draw an imaginary line from Grand Falls in the north-west to

Sackville in the south-east: north of the diagonal all districts are either French or mixed

[...].[76] However, this method encompasses the interior of the Northumberland County, an

area not included in the map we proposed as French New Brunswick (see section 1.2). In our

study, we find that this common method of physically identifying Acadia among some

scholars is best illustrated in the following description (see Map 9):

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[75] The municipalities of Miramichi and Newcastle (amalgamated with Chatham to form the City of Miramichi), are located on the border between the South-East and North-East. Perth Andover lies below the North-West border.
[76] For more information, please refer to: Thorburn, H.G. 1961. Politics in New Brunswick. Toronto, University of Toronto Press; and Fitzpatrick, P.J. 1972. *The Politics of Pragmatism* in Robin, M. (ed.). Canadian Provincial Politics. Scarborough, Ontario, Prentice-Hall.

C'est très simple, je prends le coin de Grand Sault puis le coin de Moncton puis je tracerais une ligne [...] (26-NW-M-2).

Map 9: Acadia according to 26-NW-M-2 and the 'line of thumb' division
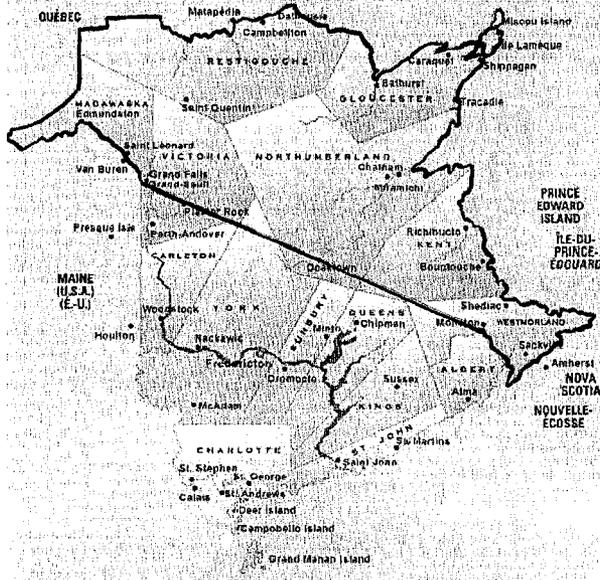
In addition to specific municipalities easily identifiable on a map, participants answered by using certain geographical expressions which provided a clearer and more detailed description of Acadia. Of the 33 people with New Brunswick mental maps, 30 of them made use of geographical expressions (90.9%), the most frequent being ones that symbolize Acadian regional differences: «le nord-ouest» was referenced a total of 6 times, «le sud-est» 4 times, «le nord-est» 7 times and «la péninsule» was mentioned 8 times. What this suggests is that perhaps these terms are very representative of how New Brunswick Francophones geographically (and culturally) perceive Acadia, which contrasts the position of Arseneault (1994) and Bérubé (1987), who view these terms as ambiguous and without cultural meaning. Our informants use these terms as a manner of indicating where Bloomfield's (1948) "lines of weakeness" are found in the definition of the French New Brunswick speech community (see section 5.9). In addition to this commonly used terminology, maps were illustrated through a description of other regional expressions. These regional expressions,

which are listed below, suggest that while New Brunswick Acadia may encompass the 3

regions, it is nevertheless centered around the coastline along the North-East and the South-

East as there was no other regional expression used to designate (part of) the North-West

save *le nord-ouest*:

- *filer la côte*
- *toute la cote* (3)
- *le long des côtes* (3)
- *le long de la mer*
- *la littorale acadienne*
- *toute la côte est*
- *le nord-est en descendant*
- *les littorales de la côte du sud-est et du nord-est*
- *en descendant le bord*
- *tout l'est*
- *la côte nord* (2)
- *le plus nord-est du Nouveau-Brunswick*
- *la région de Moncton*

Participants largely described their maps by both naming municipalities and by using

regional expressions. 19 out of the 33 New Brunswick maps (57.5%) combine the two

methods, as is illustrated through the description given to us by a 30 year-old student from

Shédiac attending the Université de Moncton. This particular participant provided a very

detailed description of where he envisions Acadia to be located. He used regional

expressions such as «le nord de la Miramichi» and «rentrant dans les terres...le sud» along

with precision points (Grand-Sault, Rogersville, Cap Pelé, etc) to explain that he views

Acadia as being located within the 3 francophone regions, though not constantly following

our adopted model (see Map 10):

> (xxx) bien c'est classique, je veux dire juste sous Grand-Sault, au travers de la
> région centrale de la province boisée (xxx) ça rejoindrait la côte nord de la
> Miramichi, n'incluant pas la ville de Miramichi, puis ça prendrait directement
> sous Miramichi, rentrant dans les terres jusqu'à Rogersville, descendant vers
> le sud rapidement, tout le comté de Kent. Je vais m'amuser un petit peu avec
> Moncton, tu pourrais avoir soit Moncton comme ville (xxx) partagé un district

ou quelque chose, soit qu'il fait le chemin « McLaughlin » (xxx) il va juste
dans le comté de Kent (xxx) puis aussi Dieppe, puis là Memramcook, puis là
tu coupes vers sous Cap Pelé (xxx) je veux dire moi, je trouve ça serait l'enfer
de diviser (xxx) il y a des poche,s il y a pleins de populations partout, des
francophones d'un coté, des anglophones de l'autre (49-SE-M-1).

Map 10: Acadia according to 49-SE-M-1
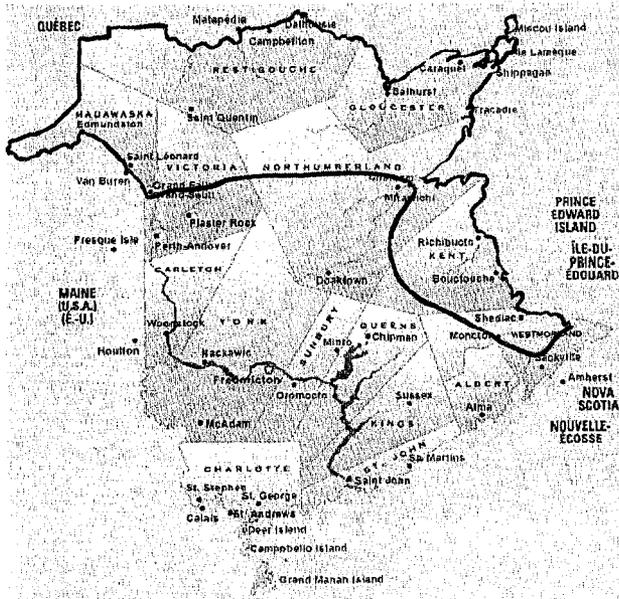
Even though most maps were drawn with the help of both municipalities and regional
expressions,[77] we discovered that maps including descriptions of the South-East were more
frequently detailed by naming municipalities than were the northern regions. The regional
expression «le sud-est» was mentioned less frequently than its northern counterparts, «le
nord-est» and «le nord-ouest». We would like to make the suggestion that the South-East's
Acadian importance and membership is expressed through descriptions punctuated with
regional municipalities, such as Moncton, because of the urban and globalized personality of
the region. An example of emphasizing municipalities of the South-East was provided by a
20 year-old South-East participant, who demonstrates her regional identity by clearly relating

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[77] 13 out of 33 participants (39.4%) described New Brunswick Acadia by using only regional expressions.

that she is more attached and aware of her immediate surroundings than of what she refers to as «tout en haut de ça», everything above:

> [...] probablement tout Moncton, Richibuctou. Moi je mettrais Rogersville je crois, bien c'est français là, bien pas comme Miramichi, puis tout dans le sud de la province c'est complètement anglais presque, comme c'est difficile vraiment trouver des Français, eux je les mettrais vraiment. Puis à part de ça, tout en haut de ça, moi je crois que ça serait tout pour la plupart. Je sais qu'il y a des anglo partout là puis je pense qu'il y a beaucoup d'Acadiens partout là (xxx) (35-SE-F-1).

While naming municipalities adds precision to descriptions of the South-East, expressions such as « le long des côtes » and « le long de la mer », are very *visual* descriptions, yet at the same time are less precise. Expressions such as these allow the reader to identify the general area but without an indication of exactly where the coastline stops. Do participants mean the whole coastline or only part of it? What we do understand is that unless otherwise specified by the participant, these types of visual expressions encompass the whole of the North-East. We postulate that this method of North-East description, that being the general regional expressions with less focus on municipalities, is a manner of demonstrating that the North-East is usually assumed as the Acadian heartland while the South-East's geographical inclusion remains debatable, though punctuated more often through the naming of municipalities.

Participants not only made a point of saying which municipalities were included in their mental map, they at times also made sure of establishing where the border *stops* within a certain region. 37.3% participants (22/59) detailed the exclusion of certain municipalities and / or were uncertain about their inclusion. Two of these exclusions also included the North-West as a whole, which continues the discussion of that region's multiple identity and

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debatable Acadian membership. The alphabetical list of 'excluded' municipalities include:

Bathurst (2), Fredericton (3), Miramichi, Saint John (2) and Moncton. Since the role of

Moncton has proven to be so debatable throughout research in Acadian studies, we decided

to look at the maps which excluded the city yet kept the South-East. We found that 21% of

participants (6/29) who included the South-East in their descriptions specifically said that

Moncton was not part of their geographical view, for Moncton is a city with a francophone

minority[78] :

> C'est sûr que lorsqu'on regarde ça, on pourrait probablement couper du
> Nouveau-Brunswick en deux à partir de Grand Sault juste en dessous de
> Grand Sault, traverser et venir jusqu'à Dieppe plus au moins, juste couper
> entre Moncton puis Dieppe (xxx) probablement tout le nord-ouest, le nord
> nord-est et toute la côte est jusqu'à Dieppe, puis Sheriff, Cap Pelé (xxx) non,
> pas pour moi parce que Moncton, même s'il se dit une ville bilingue et tout ça,
> il n'offre pas les services, il n'offre pas. Il ne reconnaît pas assez bien. Il ne
> faut oublier la minorité qu'il y a là, les francophones. Je ne veux dire qu'il
> faut les oublier, ce n'est pas ça, mais lorsqu'on parle des élus tout à l'heure, le
> nombre élus acadiens au conseil municipal à Moncton (xxx) il y en a
> seulement un ou deux, moi je ne vois pas Moncton aujourd'hui, même si elle
> se fait un peu être bilingue, pas encore là, mais pas aujourd'hui parce que
> Dieppe est en train de devenir, en train de prendre le flambeau. Si Dieppe ne
> faisait pas ça, les Acadiens de Moncton (xxx) (38-SE-M-2).

Nevertheless, while Moncton is excluded more often than other regions, further confirming

the ambiguity surrounding its Acadian status, its limitations do not outweigh its inclusion. In

this sense, it appears that the presence of English in a certain location does not deny its

Acadian geographical membership.[79]

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[78] We also found an instance that questioned Campbellton's membership, as well as Dieppe's. We suspect that in the case of Campbellton, the city's very high Anglophone population is grounds for that one case of uncertainty. As for the mention of Dieppe, we ascertain that this is due to it being encompassed in the Greater Moncton Area, again a region with a higher Anglophone population.

[79] Participants who depicted Acadia as (partially) encompassing the Maritime Provinces and even other regions of North America (particularly by one young women) illustrated their mental maps in very much the same way as those who limited Acadia to New Brunswick: through the naming of municipalities and especially through the use of regional expressions. In fact, never did a participant give a picture of Acadia as being found in the Maritimes solely by naming municipalities. Regrettably, our current focus of study does not allow us the time

4.5.5.2 *La territorialité, c'est l'isolement*

We know that despite the overwhelming evidence that indicates New Brunswick as the primary location of Acadia, an important percentage of participants would not provide a mental map (42% of all participants, for a total of 25/59). By examining these 'Acadia without borders' responses, we were able to determine that their opinion is based on a concern for the effects and consequences that a geographical perspective would have on Acadians. Interestingly enough, we notice that their reasonings correspond very closely with why many participants do not believe an Acadian capital currently exists or should exist (previously shown in sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3).

Aside from the few reactions that did not elaborate on why no perimeter could or would be traced («je n'en ferais pas de frontières» [47-SE-M-2]), several participants were concerned that by establishing an Acadian frontier, Acadians would then again begin questioning their membership and identity, illustrating a partial genealogical discourse. For example a 26 year-old teacher from Cap Pelé, explains that although Acadia for her is much related to an area populated by French speakers (*l'Acadie prospective*), she acknowledges the existence of Acadians scattered throughout other areas (indicating membership through genealogy): ·

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or the data to focus on any other locations save New Brunswick as Acadia. Future studies on a geographical Acadia would have to include the other Maritime Provinces as well as some of the 'other' localities mentioned in a few of the responses. 10 maps included areas other than New Brunswick and in these maps we found: 3 that grouped together New Brunswick and Nova Scotia («comme la péninsule la côte jusqu'à une petite partie de la Nouvelle-Écosse» [24-NW-F-1]); 1 exclusively in Nova Scotia; 3 for New Brunswick-Nova Scotia-Prince-Edward-Island such as « ça passe par le Madawaska puis par la péninsule acadienne en éliminant of course Bathurst [...] autour de Chéticamp [...] ensuite la Baie Sainte-Marie [...] l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard ben là il y a le comté d'Évangéline » (48-SE-F-1); 1 involving «tout l'est puis le sud puis une partie de la Nouvelle-Écosse [...] une partie du Nouveau-Brunswick comme tout l'est puis le sud à l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard puis à Terre Neuve il y a des petits villages que oui c'est tout Acadien» (44-NW-F-1); another that described North America as having spatters of colour where Acadians are found : « on mettrait juste des taches bleues sur l'Amérique du Nord il y en aura en Louisiane il y en aura dans les Plaines [...] puis le Nouveau-Brunswick puis l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard [...] » (12-NE-M-1); and finally 1 that encompassed the 3 traditional regions of New Brunswick along with Nova Scotia, Prince-Edward-Island and Louisiana.

> [...] mon dieu, les Acadiens un peu partout, par exemple. Ca ferait difficile
> à planifier, difficile à mettre des paramètres je crois (xxx) oui parce qu'il y
> a des Acadiens en Alberta, il y a des Acadiens, mon dieu, au Québec, il y
> en a un peu partout. C'est difficile mais il faudrait trouver, je pense, la
> région où c'est le plus français, oui (61-SE-F-1).

What is also fascinating are the parallels participants made with certain current political state

of affairs when asked to describe Acadia's perimeters. One participant, 54, of Beresford,

strongly opposed giving a geographical description, for not only does he consider it an

impossible task to undertake when dealing with a group that is so dispersed throughout the

Maritimes, this retired teacher also believes that in the effort to physically join Acadians

together in a province, conflict and miscommunication would possibly arise. He compared this

hypothetical situation to the recent and ongoing situation between Israel and Palestine in their

fight over Gaza. He answered:

> Ah mon dieu, ça je ne ferais pas. Même avec d'autres, je ne ferais pas non
> plus parce que c'est trop. Est-ce qu'on va aller du sud-est, au nord-est, en
> oubliant le nord-ouest de plus? En oubliant le sud-ouest, je veux dire? C'est
> où ça va être, la carte, puis où va être le territoire de l'Acadie? c'est que nous
> sommes trop dispersés, même au Nouveau-Brunswick avec la Nouvelle-
> Écosse et tout celà, l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard, surtout au Nouveau-Brunswick.
> Non, moi je ne ferais pas, moi j'aurais bien de la difficulté à délimiter un
> territoire. Est-ce que ça va être seulement le nord du Nouveau-Brunswick?
> Non, qu'est-ce qu'on va faire avec les autres composants de la province?
> J'aurais beaucoup de difficulté puis premièrement je ne crois pas dans ça,
> même si je suis un fervent acadien, je ne crois pas dans une province
> acadienne, je crois plutôt qu'au lieu de se diviser (xxx) comme la bande de
> Gaza en Israël, on n'est pas la Palestine puis Israël. Au lieu de se diviser
> comme ça puis avoir des guerres (xxx) et inutiles, c'est être où nous sommes
> puis de continuer à construire puis à propager la culture, faire la propagande
> au niveau de notre culture, de notre langue, et devenir de nous-mêmes, c'est
> d'être fier de ce qu'on est, Acadien (xxx) (53-NE-M-2).

What people such as this man are trying to relate is that Acadians should find their pride in

their existence as a group without a territory and should relate to each other through

commonalities, such as their language and evolution as a group that accepts and needs other

linguistic communities in order to not only survive, but thrive: «*c'est l'isolement finalement, on a besoin des autres il ne faut pas s'isoler dans le coin on a besoin de tout le monde*» (54-NE-F-2). It is important to these Francophones that they not fall into conflict that would disadvantage them at a time when economy is the driving force behind a successful introduction and establishment into a modernized and globalized world, as this following response refers to the similar situation facing Native Americans:

> Non, moi je ne pourrais pas. Non, on ne peut pas rejeter personne, un petit peu comme les Indiens, comme on ne les identifie pas nécessairement, ils ont très peu de place puis comme ils ont très peu de place, leur économie puis leur éducation, ils ont beaucoup de problèmes de violence, de drogues parce que justement on les a placés sur le bien-être finalement. Si on les avait inclus dans nos décisions, je pense que les Indiens auraient évolué un petit peu comme nous-autres, les francophones. Le fait que de temps en temps, on réussi à avoir un ministre, bien ça nous avance un petit peu (xxx) (11-NE-F-2).

We have now established Acadia's overall geographical role. Geography is not as important a factor in the Acadian definition as is inter- and intralinguistic, communal and economic membership, yet if we were to place Acadia on a map, it would encompass New Brunswick's 3 French regions with its heartland along the North-Eastern coastline.

4.6 The role of language in *acadianité*

So far, we have discovered how New Brunswick Francophones understand the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien*, and we have also discussed the relation between Acadia and geography. In this next section, we address another important element of our study, the role of language in *acadianité*. Here, we illustrate again that the French language has different meanings that reflect the ideological discourses of participants' age, sex, and region.

4.6.1 Differences between New Brunswick Acadians and other Maritime Acadians

Our analysis, illustrated in Figure 15, shows that 59% of participants (37/63) agree that New Brunswick Acadians differ from Acadians of the other Maritime Provinces (59%), while 22% (14/63) believe that there are no differences. 11% (7/63) answered that they were unsure and 8% of responses (5/63) were unable to be identified into one of these three types of answers (see Table 26 of the appendices). Data suggests that this is another debatable subject in the North-East, for 56% of North-East participants (13/23) believe that there are differences while 30% (7/23) do not. We found very little variation in how men and women answered and how both age groups answered, yet the 'unsure' category is much more represented by A1s than A2s (19%:3% or 6/31:1/32). In all, little variation was found overall; participants fundamentally agree that New Brunswick Acadians are different from other Maritime Acadians.

Figure 15: Differences between Acadians
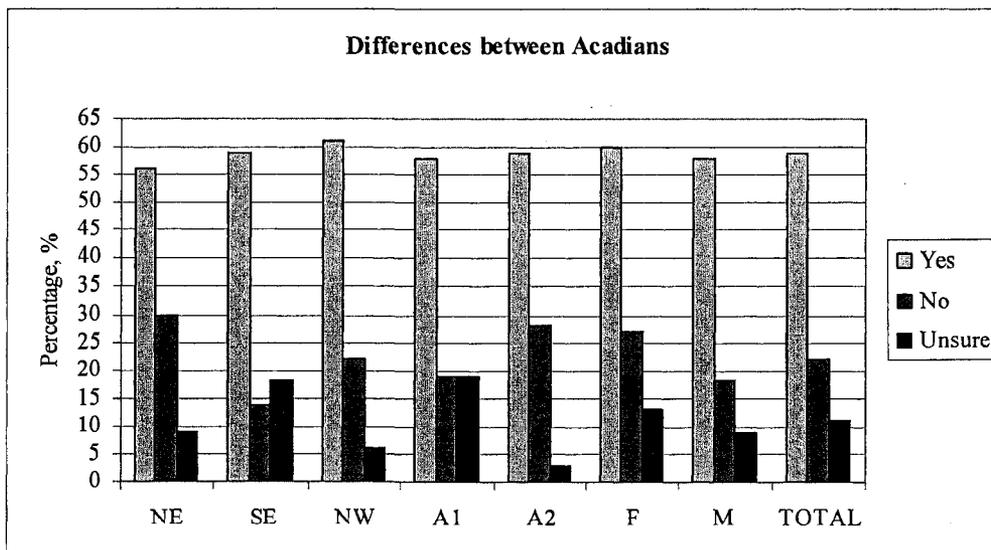
4.6.1.1 Agreement - « Tout le monde a un parler différent »[80]

While we know that participants agree that New Brunswick Acadians differ from Acadians

from the other Maritime Provinces, this gives us little useful information. What we

discovered, rather, was the reoccurrence of a common trend in the data. Participants revealed

that the main difference between Maritime Acadians is one concerning language. «L'accent»

and «le parler» were the terms used to explain this difference. This is not a surprising result,

for numerous studies (by Flikeid 1996, for example) have detailed the linguistic differences

between Maritime Francophones. However, one participant, a 24 year-old Masters student

from Beresford in the North-East, explains that the difference in accent and speech is due to a

lack of communication between the communities, which is what he also believes

distinguishes Francophones from within New Brunswick:

> La première (xxx) pas mal majeure, c'est probablement dans l'accent, le
> parler, mais encore là au Nouveau-Brunswick, dépendant d'où est-ce que tu es
> au Nouveau-Brunswick, tout le monde a un parler différent parce que (xxx)
> dans les petits villages on était encerclé par les anglophones, ça fait il n'y a
> pas beaucoup de communication entre francophones, ça fait ils ont (xxx)
> développé leur propre accent (02-NE-M-1).

What is understood as a lack of communication between the francophone regions of the

Maritime Provinces is a result of the demolinguistic situation of certain regions of other

Maritime Provinces and their relative isolation from larger francophone centres, such as

Moncton, which are capable of providing institutional support for the globalizing Acadian

cause of the globalizing discourse period. While still very much a provincial minority, New

Brunswick Francophones represent a much higher proportion of the provincial population

than do their other 2 Maritime counterparts (Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island). This

single fact was referred to in many ways by participants, such as a retired principal from

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[80] Provided by participant number 02-NE-M-1.

Moncton who describes the demolinguistic differences by addressing the higher level of

assimilation in the other provinces:

> [...] par ma connaissance peut-être qu'il y a certaines régions, il y a
> certainement des Acadiens qui vivent dans certaines régions des provinces
> atlantiques qui ont peut-être vécu beaucoup plus d'assimilation que d'autres.
> Il y a peut-être des Acadiens qui vivent d'autres régions qui ont moins
> l'occasion de vivre en français que nous (42-SE-M-2).

A Université de Moncton professor echoed this sentiment:

> Il y a des ressemblances c'est sûr mais le fait que tu vis à l'extérieur, le fait
> de vivre à l'extérieur a sûrement des influences sur toi. Par contre je pense
> que c'est sûrement avoir l'assimilation au niveau culturel puis au niveau
> langage aussi. Par contre je pense qu'on s'identifie tout par le fait acadien,
> avant on était plus francophone (11-NE-F-2).

This particular participant speaks of Acadians as being more francophone in the past but we

understood from her response that language is not the only component of *acadianité*. This

opinion is supported by participants, particularly from the South-East, who describe New

Brunswick as having certain advantages that encourage language contact and mixed

identities, such as its bilingual status, cultural institutions and educational rights for

francophones. The same Université de Moncton professor further explains how New

Brunswick Acadians are more fortunate than Acadians of both Nova Scotia and Prince

Edward Island, which in turn can explain the lack of communication that is said to exist

between the provinces:

> Je pense qu'au Nouveau-Brunswick on est choyé (xxx) si on se compare avec
> eux autres parce qu'on a certains droits puis je pense qu'on est tout nombreux
> aussi, on a certainement vu (xxx) beaucoup de nos acquis. On a fait un grand
> bout de chemin. Je sais qu'en Nouvelle-Écosse ils ont plus de difficultés
> justement d'avoir droit aux institutions scolaires puis à l'Ile-du-Prince-
> Édouard aussi (67-SE-F-2).

To this we add the opinion of a 27 year-old graduate student from Richibucto, who believes that the further developed New Brunswick Acadia becomes institutionally, the more disadvantageous Acadians from the other Maritime Provinces become:

> La grande différence, c'est qu'ici les institutions sont quand même plus développés, on a tendance à parler un petit peu plus fort au Nouveau-Brunswick puis j'ai l'impression qu'il y a (xxx) dynamique qui se passe en Acadie. Tout de suite ça fait que nous, on a tendance à chialer sur le fait que les Québécois prennent plus de place mais au Nouveau-Brunswick on prend nettement plus de place que l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard pis la Nouvelle-Écosse, on les écrase oui (65-SE-F-1).

And finally, echoed by the retired principal of a South-Eastern school:

> Au point de vue histoire, au point de vue culture, au point de vue de langue, il n'y a pas nécessairement de différence par rapport à ce qu'ils ont vécu. C'est surtout par rapport à leur réalité quotidienne, c'est que les gens des autres provinces de l'atlantique, à l'extérieur du Nouveau-Brunswick n'ont certainement pas les mêmes réalités à cause du nombre (xxx) ils n'ont pas accès aux mêmes services que les francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick bénéficient (xxx) la loi officielle de la province puis malgré tout ça, même au Nouveau-Brunswick on a une loi sur le bilinguisme, on doit toujours continuer à être au (xxx) pour s'assurer que les droits qu'on a obtenues à travers les ans soient respectées (62-SE-M-2).

4.6.1.2 Disagreement – « Le français est différent mais c'est toutes les mêmes souches de par chez nous »[81]

Using a traditional-style discourse in their interviews, some participants are united in that they do not see any difference between Acadians of the Maritime Provinces. This perspective was described in various manners, such as pride, or *le feeling* as it was put by one South-East A1 participant, membership (understood as the sharing of values, objectives, expectations and heritage), and the sea. Many participants identified language as the element that makes all Acadians unique from one another, yet these different accents or dialects were

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[81] Provided by participant number 25-NE-M-2.

not perceived as cultural barriers but rather as a unifying force. For example, a foreman from

Tracadie, 55, stressed that it is the (linguistic) heritage that unifies Acadians:

> [...] il y a la langue c'est sûr parce que si tu vas en Nouvelle-Écosse, l'Ile-du-
> Prince-Édouard, leur français est différent mais c'est toutes les mêmes
> souches de par chez nous. Les noms se ressemblent toute la même chose puis
> il n'y a pas vraiment de différence à part qu'un petit peu la façon de parler.
> La fierté ou l'identité acadienne sont la même, on a juste à voir l'année passée
> avec le quatre centième anniversaire en Nouvelle-Écosse, ça vient de partout
> puis ils fêtaient toute la même chose comme s'ils se connaissaient toujours
> (25-NE-M-2).

This sentiment is echoed by a 20 year-old student from the North-West city of Edmundston,

in addition to identifying his ideological discourse through a geographical reference,

discusses how Acadians share certain traditions, despite being somewhat geographically

dispersed from one another:

> À part du fait qu'ils ne restent pas exactement au même endroit, je ne
> crois pas. Habituellement ils ont les mêmes traditions un peu, ils vont
> fêter les mêmes fêtes, ils vont parler la même langue. À part de la
> situation géographique je ne trouve pas [...] (27-NW-M-1).

**4.6.1.3 Uncertainty - « Je ne pourrais pas vraiment dire, je n'ai pas vraiment rencontré
beaucoup de personnes »[82] (37-NE-F-1)**
Among the small number of answers (11%, or 7/63) that demonstrate the participants'

uncertainty regarding possible differences between Maritime Acadians, we noticed one

commonality. As the following statements clearly suggest, New Brunswick Francophones

who are unaware of any differences are of this opinion because they are not personally

acquainted with the French-speaking population of the Maritimes outside of their own

province:

> Je n'ai pas vraiment eu la chance de rencontrer beaucoup d'Acadiens
> d'ailleurs, des autres provinces, je ne peux pas vraiment répondre à
> cette question (52-SE-M-1).

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[82] Provided by participant number 37-NE-F-1

> Je ne pourrais pas vraiment dire, je n'ai pas vraiment rencontré
> beaucoup de personnes venant d'autres provinces qui étaient
> Acadiens, ça fait que je ne peux pas vraiment me prononcer là-
> dessus (37-NE-F-1).

To briefly summarize, these results further support the general French New Brunswick view that Acadians are fore mostly defined through their ancestry, and that traditional and linguistic factors unite them even further.

4.6.2 How New Brunswick Acadians differ from each other

By looking at Figure 16, we can say with a fair amount of certainty that New Brunswick Acadians see differences between not only them and Acadians of other Maritime Provinces, but also among themselves, as was indicated by 72% of participants (38/53). Yet, another 23% of our participants disagreed (12/53), and 5% responded in a way that made it unable for us to confidently identify their opinions (see Table 25 of the appendices). Examining the initial responses by participants, we find no relevance to region, age group, or sex.

Figure 16: Differences between New Brunswick Acadians
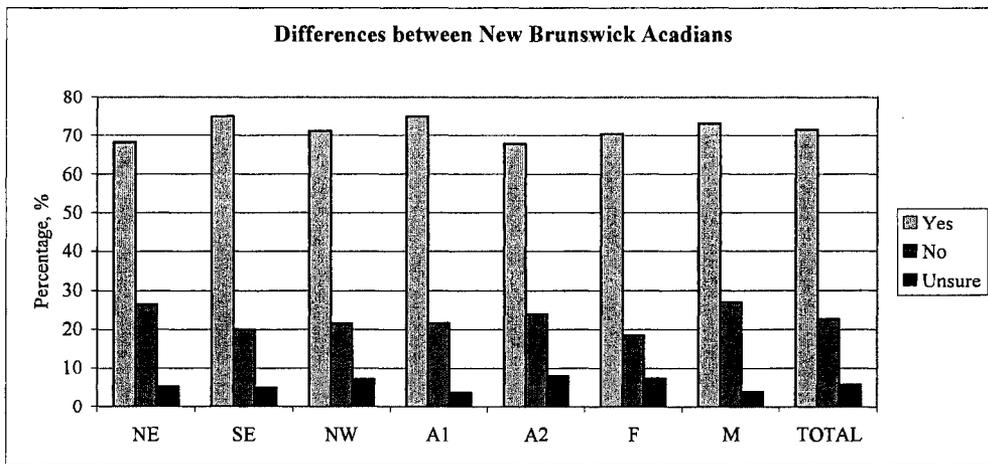
4.6.2.1 *C'est dans la fierté*

Participants provided some very interesting and detailed explanations of how New Brunswick Acadians differ, for they stress the role of the 2 eastern regions in the definition of

Acadien. First of all, the North-West discourse that emphasizes the role of geography in their definition of *Acadien* was evident in this discussion. As is illustrated in this following statement by a 25 year-old teacher from Grand Falls, North-West Francophones associate Acadians with the sea and its subsequent economic ressources, which is a reason why that region, sustained primarily through agriculture and forestry, affirms its regional identity as Brayon and not Acadian:

> Un peu c'est sûr, comme ceux qui s'identifient comme Acadiens puis les autres juste comme francophones. Je pense que les Acadiens sont surtout sur le long de la côte, les francophones sont les restes, comme nous-autres. Ici il n'y a personne qui va dire qu'il est Acadien (xxx) mais à Moncton t'es francophone, t'es Acadien (24-NW-F-1).

Other participants echoed this viewpoint, adding that while North-West Francophones have Acadian blood in them, they refuse to acknowledge that lineage because of the social and economic struggles with which that identity marker is often associated, as was shown in our review of literature:

> Surtout dans la région où nous sommes, dans la région du Madawaska où ils refusent totalement de se faire dire Acadien totalement, c'est parce qu'autrefois être acadien c'était relié à la pauvreté, à la pêche puis il y a des gens qui vivaient, des citoyens de deuxième classe puis on dirait que les gens n'ont pas rattrapé ou n'ont pas ce cheminement de voir l'Acadie grandir (xxx) à Edmundston ils ne veulent pas se faire appeler Acadiens, ils veulent se faire appeler Brayons. C'est que le peuple qu'ils ont appelé Brayon. C'était des Acadiens qui étaient réfugiés à l'intérieur des terres, ils sont de descendance acadienne mais qui ont acquis une espèce d'indépendance dans la république du Madawaska (26-NW-M-2).

Along the same lines, a retired teacher from Drummond describes the North-West as a region caught between 2 cultures, Acadian and Québécois:

> Je crois que oui, ici on se dit plus francophone à cause probablement de la proximité du contact québécois qu'acadien, puis dans mon cas, par exemple, mon père est québécois, mon grand père du coté de ma mère était québécois

aussi. Je me suis toujours plus identifiée dans ce sens là qu'acadien. Pour moi, pour longtemps acadien voulait dire venant du sud-est, il y avait très peu dans la région ici» (23-NW-F-2).

These results further clarify previous results suggesting that New Brunswick Francophones view geography as in important factor in determining who is *Acadien* and who is not. For them, it is not the sharing of a common Acadian ancestry that is the defining factor, as participants from the eastern regions believe, but a proximity to the sea that produced in a long history of economic sustainability through aquaculture that has recently weakened and sharply declined in profit.

North-West participants were vocal in stating that they are not Acadians. However, what is not said is just as powerful a message as what is said. Discussion about North-West Francophones by participants from the other 2 regions was practically non-existent. Among the South-East responses, the North-West was mentioned by 3 participants and they all support the North-West opinion that despite a shared heritage with Francophones of the eastern regions, those from the North-West do not identify themselves as Acadians. A city councilor from Dieppe and a retired principal from Richibucto illustrate respectively:

> Si tu vas dans le Madawaska c'est encore une autre approche parce que souvent on se demande, souvent ils se demandent eux-autres aussi s'ils s'ils ont vraiment une connexion acadienne de sang. Oui ils sont dans la même province mais ils touchent aux Etats-Unis, au Maine, ils touchent au Québec alors il y a tout un mélange, c'est un mélange culturel et racial d'une certaine façon qui nous distancie un petit peu plus de l'appartenance claire et nette du peuple acadien, même si pour la grande majorité des gens du Madawaska ils ont une connexion acadienne historique mais souvent ils ne le savent pas (07-SE-M-2).

> [...] c'est sûr que les gens du nord-ouest du Madawaska, plusieurs se définissent comme des Brayons, ils ne reconnaissent pas nécessairement leur descendance acadienne. Moi je pense qu'eux aussi ont le droit de s'identifier à une culture mais fondamentalement s'ils connaissent bien leur

histoire, ils sont plusieurs de descendances acadiennes, malgré le fait qu'ils ne veulent pas nécessairement le reconnaître [...] (62-SE-M-2).

We also discovered trends regarding age. The only times the North-West was mentioned in this particular discussion was by the older participants, as we see in these 2 answers which suggest that North-West's proximity to Québec is cause for that region's dissociation from Acadia:

> (xxx) du nord-ouest sont plus du côté du Madawaska, sont plus du côté du Québec, sont moins Acadiens que nous autres parce qu'ici dans la région de la péninsule acadienne ici, c'est vraiment le bassin [...] (54-NE-F-2).

> [...] je sais apprécier les deux groupes, les deux mentalités, les gens du Madawaska. Quant à moi, ils ont quelque chose de québécois [..] (58-NE-F-2).

Perhaps the younger generation from eastern French New Brunswick does not feel the need to mention the North-West because its distinction with the rest of French New Brunswick had already been established by their older generation to the point of being completely disassociated from any current discussion on Acadia. We have no evidence to this, so for the moment it remains only a suggestion.

If we consider, for the purpose of this particular analysis only, that the North-West is not part of Acadia, what differences exist between the North-East and the South-East? Through our analysis, we determined that they are in the levels of pride in the regional (demolinguistic) lifestyles. As we have previously seen, Acadians are described as proud of their heritage and way of life. Although we do not doubt that pride is part of *acadianité*, we cannot possibly suggest that all Acadians are equally proud of whom they are, or for the same reason.

Data from North-East participants revealed that the level of pride varies according to the demolinguistic situation of the North-East and the South-East. By large, they consider Acadians from the South-East to be less openly proud of their identity than those from the North-East because Francophones of the South-East are a regional minority. The conclusion to this explanation is that the presence of English, whether in language or simply demography, is perceived by North-East participants as shameful to *acadianité*; homogeneity is valued. Although a female retired teacher from Shippagan does not use the specific term 'pride' or any variants of it, she very clearly believes that it is difficult to stand up for social and linguistic rights once you are no longer in a French majority region because of the (continued) dominance of English:

> Je pense que c'est du côté de la langue, c'est que nous-autres on est complètement francophone, on veut s'exprimer en français, mais dès qu'on sort un petit peu de la place on s'aperçoit que finalement c'est l'anglophone, c'est la langue anglaise qui prime donc on va surtout utiliser la langue anglaise avant la langue française parce qu'il se rend dans un milieu où le besoin de la langue anglaise est là puis aussi parce que les francophones souvent n'ont pas nécessairement utilisé leur langue, ils vont tout de suite répondre en anglais parce que pour eux-autres c'est plus facile, ça devient naturel pour eux-autres. Finalement on doit répondre en anglais, il n'y pas assez de gens qui ont des convictions assez solides justement pour faire demander les services en français [...] (11.NE-F-2).

Here, this woman clearly defines an Acadian as a Francophone who is proud to fight for their linguistic rights. Yet, she also states that it is easier to be Acadian in the North-East due to their demolinguistic situation. As well, she does not negate Acadian status to those who, according to her, face the difficulties of being recognized as equally Acadian in areas of language contact. Thus, we would have to conclude that the South-East is still an Acadian region. In fact, in this particular discussion, no North-East participant ever indicated that the

South-East was not Acadian. However, they were clear in their pessimistic opinion about the state of French in the South-East. A North-East graduate student explains:

> De mes expériences je ne sais pas, probablement les Acadiens du nord sont plus typiques (xxx) c'est vraiment dur mais (xxx) une fierté ou quelque chose. Je pense que c'est difficile parce que nous autres, on n'était pas influencé par les anglophones, et nous autres, on vient des places qui sont francophones comme Caraquet tandis que les Acadiens du sud ont pendant longtemps (xxx) je ne dirais pas assimilés mais sont obligés de se faire servir, juste parler en anglais puis c'est lamentable (xxx) (02-NE-M-1).

Reflecting Heller 2007, the North-East has placed a lot of emphasis and pride in speaking French as part of their identity; the South-East prides itself more in the uniqueness and the economic reality that the presence of English has added to their *acadianité*. They acknowledge that the North-East may have an advantage in that their status as a majority allows their French to remain homogeneous, yet they also point out the difficulties the North-East's rural environment has created. Cultural and educational institutions are believed to be more readily available for Acadians of the South-East that are maintained and in fact flourishing due to the regional economy that is currently stronger than the North-East's. We illustrate these beliefs using the responses of 3 participants; two students and the city councilor for Dieppe respectively):

> [...] puis la vie à Moncton, je pense que c'est pas du tout la même chose à Moncton, on a toutes les institutions qui législaminent le fait qu'on est Acadien, le fait qu'on est là, le fait qu'on a le droit d'être là, je veux dire c'est sûr que dans le nord, oui ils sont majoritairement en milieu mais ils n'ont pas toutes les institutions. Ils ont fermé les hôpitaux tu sais, c'est toute une différente question puis parce que là-bas c'est beaucoup plus une lutte, bien c'est une lutte qu'on a faire en milieu rural aussi que c'est nécessairement propre au fait que c'est Acadien, c'est fait que c'est en milieu rural qui dépend de l'industrie qui n'est plus viable maintenant [...] (49-SE-F-1).

> [...] dans le sud-est je trouve que c'est comme notre réalité ici (xxx) ces gens du nord, dans l'ouest, dans l'est, tout seul, des minorités des autres provinces, je pense que notre coin, depuis les années soixante il y a eu la loi sur les

langues officielles, il y a eu l'Université de Moncton, il y a eu des services en
français du gouvernement et plein de choses qui ont renforcé le statut du
français ici [...]» (49-SE-M-1).

Il y a des différences qu'on entend, des différences de langage qu'on entend
facilement mais il y a aussi des différences de pensées. Les Acadiens de la
péninsule acadienne, en termes beaucoup plus homogènes, dans leur
formation de leur langue, leur langue qu'ils utilisent, ça crée un noyau, ça créé
un environnement particulier. Dans le sud-est c'est sûr l'acadien s'entend
différemment, s'entend souvent avec des mots anglais ou des fois on se
demande si c'est de l'anglais avec du français ou si c'est du français avec
l'anglais, le fameux chiac. Puis à travers de tout ça, il faut mentionner aussi
qu'il y a une façon de penser qui est carrément différente, une approche de
fierté, une approche dans la façon d'exprimer sa conviction ou être Acadien.
Si tu vas dans la péninsule acadienne puis (xxx) pour être Acadien il faut que
tu parles le français, c'est une condition (xxx) tandis que dans d'autres régions, ·
dans le sud-est, pour être Acadien, le français n'a peut-être pas la même
importance le français [...] (07-SE-M-2).

South-East participants acknowledge the presence of English in their manner of speaking yet

have a far less negative opinion about it than do North-East participants. As we saw, the city

councilor for Dieppe believed that the North-East commonly defines *acadianité* with

reference to a more homogeneous form of French. In the South-East, however, a

homogeneous form is not as imperative a criterion of *acadianité*; the English language is

recognized as a powerful economic tool that helped Acadia evolve in the 21st century. One

participant, a 26 year-old Masters student of Moncton, explains that, for him, *acadianité* is

not determined through one's linguistic pureness and that Chiac, as we illustrated in our

review of literature, is how the younger South-East generation identifies with being Acadian:

Je pense que c'est une bonne question, je pense que pour moi c'est le gros
facteur parce que je pense que c'est là. Pour moi je m'associe beaucoup au
chiac, le dialecte qu'on parle dans le sud-est puis je pense que ça vient
directement de cette relation minoritaire majoritairement des anglophones.
Alors pour moi c'est comme un genre de « melting pot » [...] moi je m'associe
plus directement avec être acadien (08-SE-M-1).

This study strongly concurs with literature that describes the South-East identity as reflective of a globalized Acadia that is currently being promoted in New Brunswick French discourse. Similarly and along the same lines as the previous statement, another student from the same city provides us with an elaborate and vivid description of this exact theory. He illustrates how Chiac defines reality for a young francophone adult of the South-East:

> [...] donc entre ces trois pôles-là il y a des différentes critères par rapport au concept de identité acadienne, par exemple on n'a pas le même parler, les gens de Caraquet ne parlent pas le chiac, ils sont beaucoup moins anglicisés que les gens du Madawaska qui sont beaucoup plus proches de l'accent québécois avec des hosties puis des tabernacle alors que nous-autres c'est des « fuck » puis des « goddam » et tu comprends ce que je veux dire? Il faut lire le poème de Raymond (xxx) LeBlanc (xxx) je jure en anglais, j'ai des « fuck » puis des « goddam » qui me remontent à la bouche, si au moins je pouvais dire hostie câlisse tabernacle je saurai que je suis Québécois. Je jure en anglais non c'est « weird » notre identité (xxx) comme étant francophone, quand tu te fais mal tu dis « goddammit » c'est ça qui sort, ça sort en anglais, donc il faut comprendre qu'il y a des différents (xxx) métissages entre la langue anglophone puis la langue francophone au Nouveau-Brunswick. Il y a des différentes identités à la généalogie aussi, ça c'est difficile ça, c'est ce qui est en train de changer (xxx) [...] (50-SE-M-1).

The demolinguistic situations of both the South-East and the North-East are viewed differently by both regions. According to the North-East participants, their status as a majority gives them the strength to pass on the the traditional Acadian French language. They view the South-East as a region struggling to hold on to acadianité due to linguistic contact and that that region's Francophones not quite as Acadian as the North-East's. Participants of the South-East, on the other hand, believe that the North-East's declining economic situation is detrimental to the effort in defining Acadia through globalizing economics, all the while priding themselves in being the centre of the Acadian evolution that is recognized through the use of Chiac.

4.6.3 The importance of language in *acadianité*

When directly asked, over 60% of participants (30/49) believe that French is the primary element of the Acadian identity (see Table 26 of the appendices).[83] While we did not find a difference of opinion between the two age groups or between men and women, our results suggest that equating language with *acadianité* is largely a regional perspective separating the two northern regions from the South-East. In the latter region, only 33.3% (4/12) identified French as *acadianité*'s top criterion while this occurred in 70% of North-East responses (14/20) and in 71% of North-West responses (12/17). The following examples of the prospective discourse demonstrate this northern opinion as the participants mention that by adopting (forms of) another language (in this case, mainly English), a vitally important part of their *acadianité* is being lost, regardless of heritage:

> C'est la langue, c'est ta langue. Si je deviens anglais par assimilation, nécessairement je vis une culture, une autre façon de voir les choses, je change complètement (11-NE-F-2).

> C'est notre façon de parler, c'est notre façon d'être, c'est une façon de voir qui on est, dire qui on est dans une autre langue sans avoir, en premier lieu, l'avoir vécu dans sa langue maternelle, qui est le français. J'ai l'impression qu'on perd une bonne portion de l'identité culturelle. Un Acadien qui naît en anglais parce qu'il est dans un milieu, il est trop minoritaire puis (xxx) comme anglophone je pense qu'il perd toute la notion culturelle, ou en tout cas il va avoir de la difficulté à se l'assimiler de façon viscérale, cette culture-là (56-NE-M-1).

> C'est le critère numéro un parce que lorsqu'on abandonne (xxx) on a le passé acadien, on n'a pas de présent acadien. Pour être acadien aujourd'hui, il faut parler la langue française, on pourrait être un Acadien de souche d'héritage, ça ce n'est pas de problème, moi je parle de l'Acadie moderne dans un contexte qu'on vit aujourd'hui, c'est la langue qui nous identifie (xxx) (31-NW-M-2).

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[83] For this section we had less data to analyze because of an error on behalf of the interviewer during the interview process. 22 participants were not involved in a direct discussion about this topic because they made a point of indirectly discussing it when responding to other questions. In order to ensure as much continuity with previous analyses as possible, we decided to use the data only from those who had a direct discussion. However, a separate examination of the data provided by these 22 participants offered a complete support of the results garnered from the direct discussion data.

Je trouve que c'est vraiment essentiel. J'ai de la misère avec un anglophone qui se dit Acadien, quelqu'un qui dit qu'il ne parle pas un mot français puis je suis Acadien, non il me semble que ça ne va pas ensemble. Il me semble que si tu parles français tu peux te dire Acadien, quand même j'ai de la misère aussi avec un bon Québécois ou l'Américain qui arrive qui se dit Acadien, j'ai de la misère avec ça. C'est quelqu'un qui vit en Acadie, il peut peut-être vivre ailleurs mais qu'il a la mentalité, ce goût de survivre en français. Il y en a beaucoup qui s'en va à l'extérieur, se mettre dans quoi (xxx) ce sont des Acadiens qui ont perdu la fierté de la langue puis ils ont perdu la fierté de se battre pour la langue, donc ça ce n'est pas un Acadien de mon point de vue (71-NW-M-2).

However, defining *acadianité* through language was not the only perspective that came up in our discussions with participants, for the globalized discourse was also prominent, in particular in responses provided by South-East participants. As we have previously shown, language contact is the reality for South-East Francophones and is representative of a current and urban Acadia. Globalization has allowed / forced Acadians to adapt to regional economic changes and thus, English has become an element of the South-East Acadian identity. This fact was transmitted to us by a number of participants, such as one student, who explains that, in his mind, *acadianité* does not impose a limitation on one's manner of speaking:

Ca dépend à qui tu parles, il y a plein de gens maintenant qui, puis encore une fois je peux beaucoup plus parler par rapport à la réalité de Moncton (xxx) tu fais la linguistique, tu connais le concept du pidgin puis du créole mais moi je crois qu'on est un peu un pidgin. Le créole c'est (xxx) nettement bien avec la définition, c'est plusieurs langues qui sont mêlées ensemble alors que le pidgin c'est comme une langue développée par réaction aux cultures afin de pouvoir se faire comprendre (xxx) mais je vois plus le chiac comme étant un peu un pidgin, ça veut dire c'est « fucking » intéressant ce qui se passe structurellement là-dedans, le syntaxe qui est vraiment en fusion entre l'anglais puis le français, puis il y a une appropriation de mots anglophones mais à la française, j'ai starté mon car mais on ne dit pas j'ai crossé la street, il n'y a personne qui dit ça, c'est dans la réalité que les règles sont fixées, c'est ça qui est vraiment intéressant [...] il faudrait que je suis en train de parler avec d'autres Chiacs pour que ça sort plus « you know » but euh tu sais les marqueurs de relation, j'aime beaucoup être en anglophone, worry pas about it,

ça c'est comme worry pas about it, mais si je dis yo worry about ça. Là la difference entre le « it » puis le ça peut marquer l'intensité de la phrase. Dans le fond il y a des gens qui utilisent ça (xxx) moi je parle juste « I don't know why I speak it that way », ça sort juste comme ça tu comprends ce que je veux dire? Mais ce qui est important, il faut quand même comprendre que les gens ici se définissent en fonction de leur dialecte puis de leur langue, de leur chiac ou du français. Dans la péninsule ou dans du français à Moncton aussi [...] (50-SE-M-1).

We find this explanation fascinating in that he clearly relates how the linguistic uniqueness of Chiac has developed into a sense of emotion. He also mentions at the very end a parallel with our overall results, that the relationship between language and the Acadian identity differs between regions. We did notice, however, that participants who did not primarily define the Acadian identity in relation to language often felt that assimilation or the adoption of another language into their repertoire can be regrettable in that they sometimes have a greater difficulty to communicate solely in a standard form of French. We noticed a globalized discourse among these participants, several of whom are quoted here, who emphasize that English has a place in *acadianité*. This suggests that *acadianité* is a personal choice and not one imposed by specific linguistic criteria.

Je pense que la langue, c'est important. Je veux dire que c'est pour nous, des Acadiens, c'est surtout des francophones, quelqu'un qui parle la langue française. Maintenant dans ça on a du français, on a du chiac puis on a encore du brayon, on parle un peu de québécois. Ce sont quand même des Québécois qui sont Acadiens, qui ne le savent pas ou d'autres qui le savent puis qu'ils parlent différemment. Également les anglophones, il y a plusieurs Acadiens Acadiennes qui, malheureusement pour des raisons historiques et scolaires et tout ça, malheureusement ils n'ont pas gardé le français alors ils sont anglicisés (xxx) alors je crois que moi je vois que c'est sûr que la majorité des gens on les identifie comme Acadiens ou francophones, les gens d'ici, mais moi j'identifie également des anglophones comme Acadiens (38-SE-M-2).

Il est Acadien en autant qu'il soit toujours fier de sa culture, qu'il connaisse son histoire, qu'il sache qu'il y a des gens qui se sont battus pour sauvegarder les droits [...] (69-SE-F-2).

[...] une autre personne qui va lui dire, bien toi tu n'es pas Acadien, tu t'es fait assimilé, mais si la personne, elle conte qu'elle est toujours Acadienne, elle va toujours l'être (1-NW-F-1).

Therefore, this particular analysis provides us with two ideologies concerning *acadianité*.

The first is a very prospective perspective and largely located in the discourse of North-East and North-West participants: to be Acadian means to speak only French. The other, more globalized definition is one pronounced primarily by South-East participants who do not emphasize language as a criterion of identity to the same degree as do northern participants.

4.6.4 Comprehension and communication difficulties among New Brunswick Acadians, *le chiac surtout*

Next, we address the issue of linguistic comprehension among New Brunswick Francophones to elaborate on how language affects *acadianité*. Figure 17 shows that, overall, participants were very divided over this issue, for 52% (32/61) answered that comprehension among New Brunswick Acadians is indeed impeded, while 48% (29/61) responded that it is not impeded (see Table 27 of the appendices).

Figure 17: Comprehension difficulties among New Brunswick Acadians
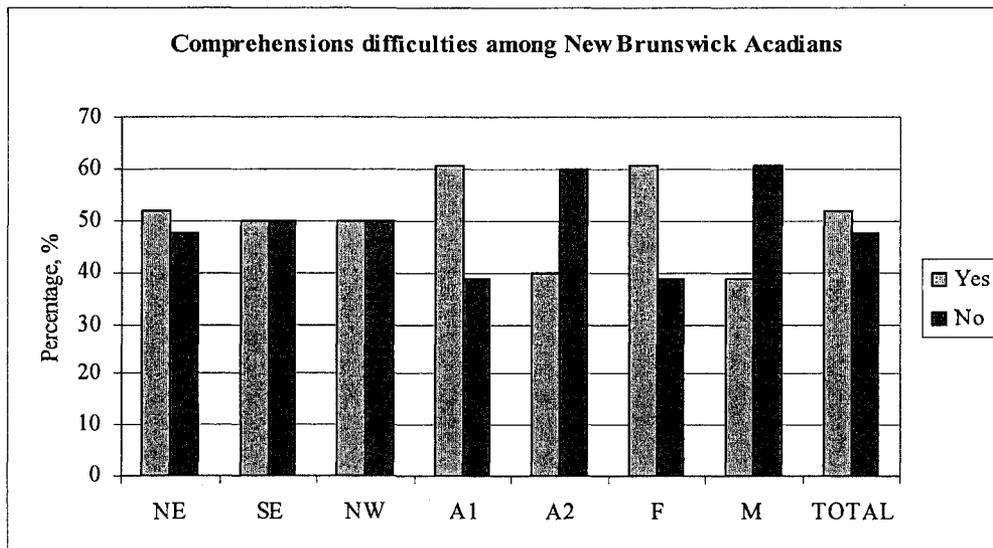
In this discussion, we find the thus-far uncommon trend of all three regions being in agreement with each other, and regionally speaking, the issue appears to be ambivalent, for practically 50% of participants from each region either say that there are comprehension difficulties or that no, there are none. The factors of both gender and age are relevant, for 73.7%, or 14/19 A1 women explained that regional linguistic variation is the main reason Acadians have difficulty understanding one another. One particular North-West young female resident from Edmundston explains very clearly the frustration she felt in having to repeat herself and in having to ask others to repeat themselves in order to fully understand a conversation upon spending 3 weeks in Moncton. This linguistic barrier prevented her from developing a rapport with people from the South-East region:

> bien moi je peux dire je peux te répondre ça bien bien moi j'étais à Moncton je suis restée là trois semaines il fallait inscrire en arts visuelles en deuxième année là-bas puis j'étais là-bas puis j'ai chaviré j'aimais pas ça le monde parlait puis moi je ne trouvais pas d'affinité avec ce monde-là puis ils parlaient bien trop « weird » pour moi moi je leur parlais puis il fallait que je répète trois fois eux-autres me parlaient il fallait qu'il me répète trois fois non moi (xxx) moi j'aimais pas ça (xxx) moi j'avais bien de la misère avec ça je n'ai vraiment pas aimé ça (28-NW-F-1).

Other responses by young women who believed that linguistic comprehension difficulties exist were very similar to both that experience and those described in the following 2 statements:

> Ah oui mais je ne pourrais pas te donner d'exemples tout de suite mais c'est sûr et certain (xxx) entre la langue ah oui, même des fois je n'arrivais pas à comprendre le monde de Bouctouche. La première fois que je les ai entendus parler, j'étais comme okay peux-tu répéter s'il vous plaît, je n'ai absolument rien compris. Des conflits oui par rapport aux expressions qu'ils ont utilisées, moi j'étais comme qu'est-ce que tu veux dire, ça ne fait pas de bon sens, comme moi ça veut dire carrément autre chose oui (10-NE-F-1).

> Je connais des Acadiens qui ont des expressions que je ne comprends pas. Franchement je pense que nous-autres au nord-ouest on parle mieux que la

plupart des Acadiens comme les Chiacs, on dirait que c'est un gros mélange
de bouts d'anglais puis d'expressions que je n'ai jamais entendu dire, comme
la première fois que je suis venue à Moncton, il y avait beaucoup de personnes
que je ne comprenais pas, je trouvais ça bizarre (44-NW-F-1).

In these 3 responses by young women we find that the regional variety / varieties of the

South-East is / are highly stigmatized. In fact, among the responses by participants who

agree that comprehension difficulties exist, the South-East is almost exclusively referenced

as participants criticized Chiac and locations such as Moncton and Bouctouche because of

the influence the English language has had on French in the South-East:

Le pire parler que j'ai entendu, c'est par Moncton, c'est Bouctouche, le chiac
(xxx) bien pire que c'est tout mélangé anglais français, ils ont des mots,
j'aime la « way » que ça « hang », je n'avais jamais entendu ça (20-NE-F-1).

Table 8 details the areas named by participants where linguistic variation impedes

comprehension. We included all mentions of Chiac that did not acually name a town or city

and considered this type of answer to represent the South-East as a whole. As we can see, it

is mainly A1 women from the northern regions who specify these areas.

Table 8: Areas of linguistic confusion, as named by participants

NE		SE		NW	
F-1	Bouctouche Bouctouche Moncton, Bouctouche Moncton Moncton, Bathurst le chiac, le sud-est	F-1	le chiac, le sud-est	F-1	Moncton Moncton
F-2	le chiac Léonardville	F-2	le sud-est	F-2	Nouvelle-Écosse Memramcook
M-1	les Chiacs (le Sud-Est)	M-1	les Tracadiens Pubnico, Baie Sainte Anne, Chéticamp	M-1	-
M-2	Moncton	M-2	-	M-2	-

In fact, as is illustrated in the table above, only one northern population was ever specified in

the data, the people of Tracadie:

> [...] mais j'ai de la misère à comprendre les Tracadiens, des fois je vais
> l'admettre ça. C'est différent des fois (52-SE-M-1).

We are reminded however, that 48% of participants (29/61) disagree that linguistic

comprehension is impeded in New Brunswick Acadia. These participants explained that the

different francophone regions have been in creasingly intermingling over recent years as the

globalizing discourse has emerged and that these regions are not as socially isolated from one

another as some may believe. We have seen evidence of the success of this discourse period

in events and gatherings whose objective was to promote Acadia and strengthen its role as an

international participant. We are reminded of these events by participants who believe that,

despite regional differences already discussed, Acadians have been unified through events

such as le *Congrès mondial acadien* and youth competitions like *les Jeux de l'Acadie*.

Events like these, explains one participant, have enabled a closer communication between the

regions and brought about an acceptance of the differences that makes these regions unique

to New Brunswick Acadia:

> Je pense qu'avec le Congrès mondial acadien, ça a quand même donné
> beaucoup d'ouverture aux gens, ça leur a permis de voir puis ça a aussi
> sensibilisé les gens du sud qui auraient tendance à s'assimiler aussi, mais le
> fait que le congrès a eu lieu, ils réalisent que ces gens-là ont quand même les
> mêmes convictions que nous sauf qu'ils ont vécu dans un milieu différent.
> Mais de plus en plus je pense qu'ils retrouvent leurs racines parce qu'à cause
> du congrès, des conférences, puis le fait de se retrouver (xxx) Aussi quand je
> regarde à l'université, une personne de l'extérieur, puis tu viens, est-ce que tu
> te dis Acadien automatiquement ? Il y a des gens qui se cliquent,
> probablement tous les anglos aussi mais automatiquement ça se crée parce
> qu'on a des similitudes puis des liens qui sont similaires, c'est plus facile de
> créer des relations (11-NE-F-2).

This commonly found perspective is very similar to the overall opinion of South-East

participants in our previous analysis regarding the importance of the French language in

acadianité. In fact, both analyses have proven very complementary. The North sees the

maintenance of an 'uninfluenced' form of French as the top component of the Acadian

identity and has named the South-East as the region where linguistic variation is the most

difficult to understand. On the other hand, the South-East participants were quick to explain

how Chiac and their bilingual identity reflect the current definition of Acadia that has slowly

been emerging within (South-Eastern) New Brunswick Acadia since the 1980s. This

definition has been strengthened by social, cultural and academic gatherings and events that

promote the possibility of Acadians having mixed and regional identities. These findings

parallel Haugen's 1967 article, "Semicommunication: the language gap in Scandinavia", in

which he raises an issue important to any analysis of language attitudes in his discussion of

mutual comprehension within the three Scandinavian countries of Finland, Norway, and

Sweden. Through an analysis of his questionnaire data, he stresses that in addition to social

contact, language attitudes, as an interdependent variable of mutual comprehension, can

effectively reduce or enhance "the will to understand" (1967:290). The will to understand

Chiac by younger women is perhaps low because the dialect is not representative of the

modernizing-prospective ideology that this study has shown to be found in the discourses of

New Brunswick female Francophones. As well, the fact that attitudes toward Chiac are

examples of 'non-local' community boundaries, as illustrated in Keppie (2002), we can

justify that the further one is from the South-East where Chiac is commonly spoken and

where globalizing events are frequently taking place, the more northern New Brunswick

Francophones tend to stigmatize the South-East dialect.

4.6.5 Reactions to New Brunswick French varieties

Overall, participants were highly supportive of regional linguistic diversity as 83.9% (47/56) indicated either a neutral or positive reaction to hearing different French varieties within New Brunswick. The only relevance found in a comparision of the three factors was found between the two age groups; of the 9 participants who indicated a negative reaction, 8 of them were of the older age group.

We will begin with the opinion that was shared by the majority of participants. Their responses strongly reflected the globalizing discourse that accepts regional diversity, for discussion frequently revealed that linguistic variation within French New Brunswick adds colour and richness to the Acadian identity. For example, a student from Moncton describes how he finds Chiac lyrical and deserving of serious academic study:

> Moi j'adore ça, moi je trouve que les accents qu'on retrouve au Nouveau-Brunswick puis les différents dialectes, si je peux me permettre d'utiliser ce mot, je ne sais pas quel mot traite spécifiquement à cette définition (xxx) les différents parlers, disons moi je pense que c'est une richesse culturelle (xxx) « it sounds so good », c'est tellement plus beau que le joual de Montréal, « allright » (xxx), c'est beaucoup plus (xxx), c'est magnifique. Les Chiacs aussi, je trouve ça très beau même, « hey » comment ça « man », c'est chantant, c'est ça me fait penser un peu à ce que j'ai vécu à Cuba. Même un accent qui est vraiment (xxx) presque comme (xxx) qui est « loose », c'est vraiment « loose » (xxx) [...] moi je trouve ça comme vraiment vraiment intéressant, c'est « cool » que tu viens (xxx) faut continuer à étudier la structure (xxx) (50-SE-M-1).

This opinion is echoed by a resident of Grand Sault in the North-West by adding that linguistic diversity is a helpful and rich tool in identifying Acadians:

> Non c'est coloré. [...] Comme j'ai dit tout à l'heure, ça identifie un coin, je vais (xxx) une réaction, disons s'il est entremêlé, il y a beaucoup d'anglicismes. Je veux dire il y a quand même une richesse à ces langages, par leur accent et même les mots. Finalement ce sont des bons mots mais nous-autres on n'utilise pas, ça ajoute une couleur je crois (23-NW-F-2).

Responses like these two indicate quite evidently a positive attitude toward linguistic

variation and the presence of English that we find in Chiac within French New Brunswick.

However, we have previously documented a stigma toward the South-East linguistic variety

in that it is not well understood by younger women from the northern regions. To this we

add the opinions of 9 participants, 8 of which belong to our older age group, who mentioned

that they are not impressed and at times even insulted when they hear a form of French

mixed with English. We understand these to be references to Chiac (if the variety was not

specifically mentioned by the participant). The following responses clearly mirror the

modernizing discourse that does not advocate English as part of *acadianité*:

> Ça dépend de qui c'est, lorsque j'enseignais avec des élèves, continuellement
> je les corrigeais puis ça fait mal, ça me fait mal lorsque j'entends, qu'est-ce
> que je pourrais dire, pour moi le chiac c'est mélangé le français et l'anglais
> [...] à l'intérieur je réagis, à l'intérieur moi ça me dérange, mon mari, mes
> enfants, ça ne les dérange pas mais on se comprend quand même (69-SE-F-2).

> Moi ce qui me taquine le plus ou ce qui m'insulte à un certain niveau, c'est
> lorsqu'on emploie un farci des bases d'anglicismes. On pense qu'on a très
> bien parlé français mais tout ce temps là on fait une traduction littérale d'une
> phrase anglaise. Ils ont employé des mots français oui mais c'est une
> traduction littéraire et c'est calqué de l'anglais donc moi je dis que nos pires
> ennemis ce ne sont pas les anglophones ce sont les anglicismes puis parfois
> nos pires ennemis ne sont absolument pas les anglophones ce sont les
> francophones les Acadiens [...] qu'est-ce qu'on fait? On perd des beaux mots
> qui sont des perles dans la langue française donc c'est pour ça que je te disais
> tout à l'heure que nos pire ennemis qu'on appelle nos faux amis, ce sont les
> anglicismes (53-NE-M-2).

To recapitulate simply, a discussion on the linguistic variation in French New Brunswick

largely reflects the operational ideology that promotes this acceptance of mixed (linguistic)

identities, yet the discussion also shows that this ideology has not become part of the

discourse of all New Brunswick Francophones. When addressing linguistic comprehension,

younger women appear to have difficulty understanding Chiac yet still appreciate the

diversity it adds to *acadianité*, whereas older participants are more apt to understand the

dialect despite not having a positive opinion of it.

4.6.6 The fear of linguistic assimilation - « une forme légère de schizophrénie »[84]

In our review of literature, we discussed the concept of linguistic assimilation in the South-

East. Here, we look at whether or not participants are fearful of this phenomenon and its

consequences. Overall, opinon in French New Brunswick appears to be quite varied, which

we show in Figure 18: 40.7% of participants (24/59) answered that assimilation is a fear of

theirs while 23.7% (14/59) answered that it is not (see Table 28 of the appendices). Another

35.6% of responses (21/59) were identified as 'other', in which participants explained

specific circumstances that assimilation may be cause for concern, yet pointed out that these

circumstances are not universal throughout French New Brunswick.

Figure 18: Assimilation fears in French New Brunswick

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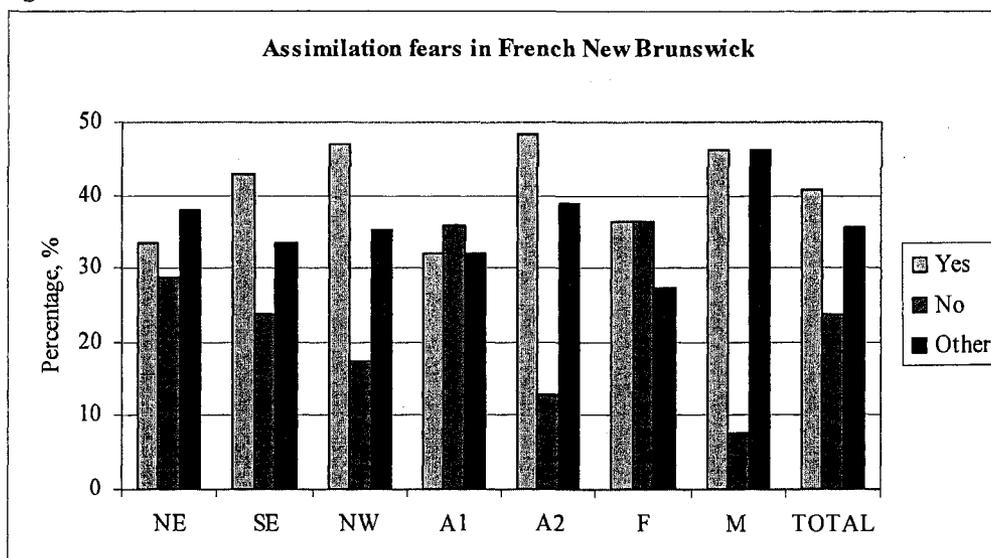
[84] Provided by participant number 32-NW-F-2.

A reoccurring opinion we immediately noticed is that participants who feel threatened by linguistic assimilation never placed the blame on New Brunswick's Anglophone majority. They consistently described the phenomenon as a choice made on behalf of the Francophone who does not transmit and maintain an Acadian family tradition of speaking French. One male participant, a North-East teacher living in Beresford, describes how he feels very disappointed by people who abandon the use of their family's French name for the English equivalent once they experience language contact, such as attending school in English. Using a very modernizing style of discourse in this discussion, this participant is very clear in how he considers assimilation a real danger to the future of Acadians; a danger caused by Acadians:

> Moi je ne dirais même pas que c'est vu comme une crainte, moi je la vois comme une lèpre (xxx). Ce n'est pas à cause des anglophones, c'est la faute des francophones, des Acadiens. Napoléon a dit ne cherchez pas l'ennemi à l'extérieur des murs, cherchez l'ennemi à l'intérieur de nos murs. Ici dans la région de Pointe Verte, parce qu'ils sont plus près de Belle Dune, ils envoient leurs enfants à l'école anglais de Belle Dune, première sixième année. Le père est un Guitare, la mère est une Landry. Le petit bonhomme, après sa sixième année, ne peut pas se joindre à l'école francophone, à l'école française ici parce qu'il n'a pas une base assez solide en français mais il est né de père acadien et de mère acadienne. « What's your name? I'm Ted Guitar. » Ben je dis « where are you from? I'm from Green Point ». J'ai dit « Green Point ?» J'ai dit « where is Green Point? » Je savais de quel village il parlait, ah il dit « just beside, not very far from petit roche », mais il a dit, mon père est un Guitare et ma mère est une « Landry » mais j'ai dit comment ça fait tu parles anglais et tu ne parles pas français? Bien il dit, mes parents m'on envoyé à l'école anglaise de Belle Dune puis moi je ne peux plus parler français, ça fait que c'est un danger l'assimilation et un danger non pas de la part des anglophones mais des francophones, des Acadiens qui ne font pas l'effort d'envoyer leurs enfants dans des écoles (53-NE-M-2).

Although this discussion produced results that suggest an age and gender relevance (see Table 28 of the appendices), no explanation could be found in the data. According to our participants, fear of linguistic assimilation can be explained in regards to region. In the

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North-East, we find that the phenomenon is not much of a concern to participants. What is interesting is that North-East data reflects the region's relative isolation from large urban centres of language contact and its general linguistic homogeneity. As we see in the following responses, North-East participants were often not even concerned at all by the issue of assimilation:

> Pas moi, je n'ai jamais pensé à ça (20-NE-F-1).

> Je dirais qu'en général que ce n'est pas une question que les gens se posent, la majorité des gens s'en fichent pas mal puis ce n'est pas une question qu'ils se posent (58-NE-F-2).

In the South-East, 42.9% of participants (9/21) indicated an apprehension towards assimilation. Though again, what we find more interesting is not whether or not participants are apprehensive and fearful of assimilation, but rather their reasoning. In the South-East, participants accept assimilation as an effect of their reality which has them in constant contact with the English language. Their responses support the South-East perception of previous results in that they view assimilation as perhaps a regrettable consequence (to the traditional model), yet as a 24 year-old student from Moncton illustrates, participants understand that the South-East's urban, globalizing and evolving identity demands an evolution from the traditional and modernizing identities that portrayed Acadians as victims of English domination:

> Pour moi non, sur le plan personnel, non c'est sûr. Je veux dire (xxx) « leadership » je les vois puis je travaille avec. Oui c'est une crainte (xxx) qui sont minoritaires, je pense que maintenant il y a beaucoup de jeunes modernes qui disent comme « cause it's bad employment » (xxx) qui définit comme l'Acadie puis je pense quand même qu'au niveau de la langue c'est comme (xxx). Ca fait que c'est sûr que c'est une crainte mais je ne pense que quand même que le discours de l'assimilation, je ne pense pas que l'assimilation peut être un requis comme principe pour pouvoir continuer sur la voie des autres puis je pense que c'est ça qu'ils font beaucoup (xxx), dans les mouvements

sociaux puis des choses comme ça je pense que souvent on oublie, on se croit
tout permis parce qu'on est victime de l'assimilation puis je pense que là il y a
un problème (48-SE-F-1).

Participants of the North-West are more fearful and apprehensive toward toward assimilation
in comparison with the eastern regions (47.1%, or 8/17). As we saw in our direct dicussions
on the role played by language in the Acadian identity, North-West Francophones consider
the French language as its principal feature. They do not consider themselves Acadian for
reasons already presented and here we see how they perceive Acadians as being culturally
'schizophrenic' once they begin adopting a bilingual identity developed through language
contact:

> Pour les Acadiens, oui et elle est justifiée. C'est que le français, c'est une
> langue parlée dans presque cent cinquante pays. C'est une très belle langue et
> en Amérique du Nord, dans l'océan anglophone, c'est un atout. Une langue,
> c'est une façon d'être, une façon de se concevoir, c'est une façon de voir le
> monde et lorsqu'on est bilingue, moi je vois ça le bilinguisme comme étant
> une forme « a mild form of schizophrenia », une forme légère de
> schizophrénie parce que quand on est fonctionnellement bilingue on ne se sent
> pas de la même façon, on se sent une personne quand on parle anglais ou
> quand on parle français, ce qui enrichit [...] (32-NW-F-2).

The importance that North-West participants place on the French language in regards to
acadianité is also illustrated by another older participant, this time of Grand Sault, who .
likens assimilation to the loss of an animal species. This statement echoes the previous
response that the region's Frenchness is a characteristic of irreplaceable uniqueness and
richness that they share with Acadians, who have no identity if they 'lose' their French:

> Oui c'est une peur, mais c'est une menace et c'est un drame. On a peur parce
> que ça arrive, une menace, c'est que ça se passe puis le drame c'est qu'à
> chaque fois qu'il y a un francophone qui perd la langue française, sa culture,
> ce n'est pas qu'il devient un être inférieur mais il devient un être avec plus
> d'identité parce qu'il n'est pas, ce n'est pas parce qu'il a adopté la langue
> anglaise comme langue première qu'il devient anglais, il n'a plus d'identité

puis moi je vois la perte identité chez un individu comme la perte d'une
espèce d'animal (xxx) (31-NW-M-2).

We found further evidence that the role of language in *acadianité* differs depending on where
one lives. In addition to the regional results we just presented, we see that New Brunswick
Francophones are aware that linguistic assimilation is more threatening in some regions than
in others. For example, a student of l'Université de Moncton from Notre Dame des Érables
in the North-East says that for her home region, assimilation is not a problem but that this is
not the case for all Acadians:

> Un petit peu plus par ici c'est une crainte parce qu'il y a plus d'anglais donc
> c'est plus facile de s'assimiler puis on ne s'aperçoit même pas là, mais dans le
> nord c'est moins. Moi où j'ai grandi, il n'y a pas de crainte de ça là, tu sais on
> était tout français (xxx) (45-NE-F-1).

Similarly, a Richibucto retiree explained that assimilation is increased through bilingual
schools, which are most common in the South-East. He mentions that some regions are less
threatened than others because of their « écoles homogènes » and is worried about the
linguistically heterogeneous situation of the South-East:

> (xxx) des écoles homogènes au Nouveau-Brunswick, ça a certainement eu un
> effet positif. J'étais directeur d'une école bilingue, j'avais un personnel dans
> le sens que bilingue, les francophones étaient bilingues, les anglophones
> n'étaient pas donc à un moment donné je me suis rendu compte que, faire des
> réunions de personnel, souvent ça se passait en anglais donc j'ai décidé qu'on
> ferait des réunions, ça serait plus taxant pour moi (xxx), des réunions pour les
> personnes anglophones puis des réunions pour les personnes francophones et
> jusqu'à (xxx) des écoles homogènes, les écoles bilingues (xxx) puis ce n'est
> pas vrai de dire que les écoles bilingues rendaient les anglophones bilingues
> (xxx), les francophones dans bien des cas perdaient la qualité de leur langue et
> (xxx) une langue plus ou moins adéquate pour certaines personnes. C'est ben
> beau le chiac mais à un moment donné tu t'en vas à l'extérieur puis il n'y a
> pas grand monde qui va te comprendre (xxx). Je pense que les écoles
> homogènes, la fierté, la question d'identité mettent en sorte qu'il y a moins, on
> est moins assimilé mais quand même dans certaines régions de la province, il
> y a encore de l'assimilation qui se fait qu'on arrive au sud-est puis il y a quand

> même des taux d'assimilation qui sont plus de dix pour cent d'un recensement à l'autre. C'est correct si on parle de l'ensemble du Nouveau-Brunswick, c'est différent, mais lorsqu'on cible des régions entre d'autres, le sud-est c'est inquiétant (62-SE-M-2)

We firmly believe that linguistically speaking, Acadians live their *acadianité* regionally: the North-East appears the least concerned with the concept of assimilation because it is a situation that is currently not facing them as they live in relative linguistic isolation. Francophones of the South-East accept the phenomenon because it is their reality and they are proud of their specific identity and the globalizing progress the South-East has accomplished.

4.6.7 Consequences to linguistic assimilation - « une violence symbolique »[85]

Previous analyses have related opinions concerning the presence of English in the Acadian identity, yet those opinions did not all result from discussion directly on that topic. Here, we will show that when directly addressing the topic of linguistic assimilation, participants overwhelmingly believed that if an Acadian were to become assimilated to English, than he/she would still be considered Acadian (see Table 29 of the appendices). As shown in Figure 19, only 12.9% of participants (7/54) indicated that *acadianité* would be lost and another 16.7% (9/54) were either unsure or else provided an answer that we were unable to confidently identify as either yes, they would still be Acadian if one were become assimilated, or no, they would no longer be Acadian.

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[85] Provided by participant number 36-SE-F-1.

Figure 19: Assimilation consequences – loss of *acadianité*
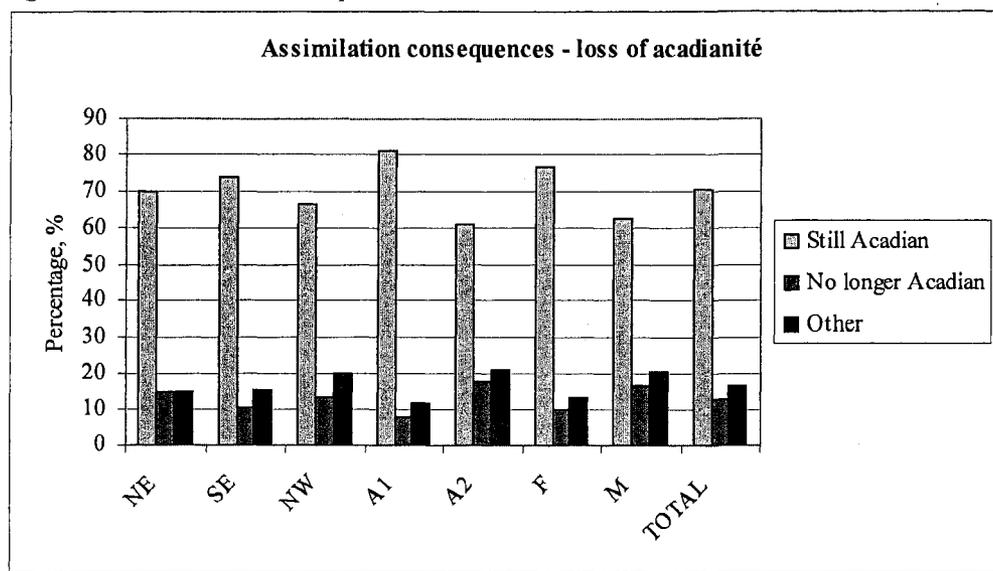
Of the more than 70% of participants (38/54) who believe that if an Acadian were to become

assimilated and still be considered Acadian, the chief explanation came back to the element

of genealogy: they remain Acadian because they are of Acadian heritage, echoing a

traditionalist style of discourse and Bérubé's *Acadie de la Diaspora*, but contrasting previous

results which suggest that *acadianité* is defined by the French language. However, what we

remarked was that accompanying these responses that explained *acadianité* through a

common genealogy was an added opinion that despite the fact that assimilation does not

negate one's Acadian membership, the person would not live the same or be as true or pure

an Acadian as they could possibly be if their French had been maintained. For example, a

female participant from the North-East town of Shippagan explains that in her mind, the

mentality and manner of living in places of higher linguistic assimilation are not the same as

they are in areas of lesser language contact (she gives the city of Bathurst as an example).

Nevertheless, in keeping with the the general results of this particular analysis, she considers

Moncton part of Acadia for reasons of genealogy:

Oui on peut être Acadien parce que nos origines le sont mais tu perds cette
valeur. Disons je sais que ça se regagne rapidement aussi mais si on perd
cette valeur-là, ta façon de penser va changer, tes convictions vont changer,
c'est différent un petit peu, comme si tu quittes ici puis tu vis à Moncton, c'est
un petit peu différent parce que moi j'ai des jeunes qui vivent à Moncton
(xxx). Je m'aperçois déjà qu'ils ont des expressions anglaises, la mentalité
n'est pas vraiment différente parce que ça ne fait assez longtemps qu'ils sont
là mais par contre si je regarde ma sœur elle n'a pas changé parce qu'elle a
toujours vécu pensant en français puis elle a vécu en français, puis mon beau-
frère lui, (xxx) il vient de Bathurst donc un milieu où c'est plus francophone
mais par contre ils ont vécu aussi anglophone donc ce n'est pas la même façon
de voir les choses du tout, non parce eux-autres, parler en anglais pour eux-
autres, je déplorais le plus s'ils avaient des enfants, c'est le fait justement, la
façon de parler de Moncton qui est moitié anglais, des expressions anglaises,
je trouve ça dommage parce qu'ils ont quand même vécu en français, il a
appris le français puis il a appris à bien écrire. Pourquoi pas simplement pas
continuer à bien le parler puis à bien l'écrire? (xxx) mais par contre ils ont
quand même la chance d'avoir l'anglais qu'ils maîtrisent bien (11-NE-F-2).

We get the sense from this participant that *acadianité* is not simply a question of having the

right heritage, but rather that it has evolved into more of a community effort built around not

only both speaking and maintaining French, but also sharing a common mentality and

lifestyle. This sentiment was echoed throughout by participants who agreed that *acadianité*

is not erased through (English) language contact to the point of being assimilated, as is

summed up in the following statement made by a Cap Pelé resident:

Il est Acadien en autant qu'il soit toujours fier de sa culture, qu'il connaisse
son histoire, qu'il sache qu'il y a des gens qui se sont battus pour sauvegarder
les droits [...]

While our results do not suggest any difference of opinion between the three regions, we did

find that responses by South-East participants were very reflective of the region's current

demolinguistic reality and globalizing discourse that we have seen throughout this study. For

example, a professor of the Université de Moncton illustrates that if a person maintains an

Acadian identity, which we believe to be regionally different within New Brunswick, than

that person does not necessarily need to speak French and is still Acadian, regardless of reginal demolinguistics:

> Mais ça dépend de lui, ça dépend, parfois il y a des gens qui ne parlent plus le français mais se sentent très acadiens, qui revendiquent l'identité acadienne mais il y a quand même la question de nombre, ceux de facteur démographique (xxx) et quand il n'y a plus suffisamment d'Acadiens pour justifier des politiques égalitaires, ils seront plus difficiles à obtenir donc un Acadien qui s'assimile c'est une réduction du poids démographique de l'Acadie par rapport au groupe majoritaire, donc c'est pour ça que c'est toujours dangereux et menaçant (47-SE-M-2).

A recent law graduate of Moncton provides another clear example of the South-East perspective that (South-East New Brunswick) Acadia has evolved into an entity that welcomes different cultures and is not solely defined through language, although he does indicate that speaking French is a very important element of *acadianité*, yet not a necessity:

> Cette question est plus complexe. On aurait tendance à dire que pour être Acadien il faut parler français, ça serait peut-être une notion un peu fausse pour les mêmes raisons que je discutais d'une Acadie moderne, l'Acadie qui se veut d'inclure de différentes cultures, mais cela étant dit c'est certain que la langue française est un lien important dans l'identité acadienne puis le fait de ne pas pouvoir parler français, malgré le fait que ça n'enlève pas le droit, le privilège de se nommer de se dire Acadien, c'est certainement un élément très essentiellement à l'identité acadienne, donc euh je pense que c'est possible puis je pense qu'évidemment il y a des Acadiens, des Cajuns en Louisiane qui ne parlent pas français, qui se disent Cajuns ou Acadiens, ça c'est d'autres extrêmes, puis il y a des gens du sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick, à l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard, Nouvelle-Écosse qui sont assimilés, qui se diraient peut-être Acadiens quand même puis je pense que c'est possible mais il demeure que le fait que la langue française, il est un élément assez important dans l'identité acadienne puis dans la préservation de la culture acadienne, c'est certain (64-SE-M-1).

Finally, a 23 year-old Masters student at the Université de Moncton, explains that Acadians should be defined through their actions, which we understand as being their willingness and efforts to maintain social and linguistic equality:

> Je savais que tu allais me poser cette question là, je veux dire c'est une question qui a été abordé jeudi passé euh vendredi passé à une table ronde à Grand Pré (xxx) sur la déportation puis il y a, c'est une table de Nouvelle-Écosse qui s'est (xxx) offusqué du fait qu'on a commencé à dire qu'un Acadien assimilé ce n'est plus acadien puis je peux comprendre son point de vue dans le sens qu'il y a toujours cette question de violence symbolique là alors ce que je pourrais dire pour répondre à cette question, c'est que je ne voudrais pas dire ni un ni l'autre mais je crois qu'il faut, en pensant à l'Acadie, il faut absolument penser à ce coté des choses, ce que les gens ne font pas (36-SE-F-1)

We were unable to find any other regional tendencies in the data yet results indicate a slight tendency by the older participants over the younger ones to equate *acadianité* with the maintaining of the French language yet their responses did not reveal any explanations. We can therefore only suggest that older Francophones are more likely to associate *acadianité* with French because they have experienced the force of the modernizing discourse period, which the younger Francophones have not.

Looking solely at this particular analysis concerning the consequences to linguistic assimilation, *acadianité* is defined primarily through a traditionalist style of discourse, equating it with heritage. However, what we find more important is that participants are of the opinion that by becoming assimilated, or by speaking an English-influenced form of French, one's *acadianité* is weakened because they believe it is through language that traditions and pride are properly maintained and transmitted. There are two exceptions to this perspective; one related to region, the other related to age. Regionally speaking, South-East participants use a more globalized discourse by discussing the reality of the presence of English in their language, while the perceptions of both age groups reflect the discourse periods of their own generation.

4.7 Resulting trends

This study involved an in-depth content analysis of the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien* by the region, age, and gender of New Brunswick Francophones. From our results, we firmly believe that to belong to Acadia or to be part of Acadia does not necessarily entail being Acadian. As well, language ideologies in Acadian discourse are complete reflections of Bourdieu's metaphor of the linguistic marketplace in that they are "directly responsive to the realities of everyday social and political life" (Gumperz 1997:201) in the North-East and South-East.

With plenty of results worthy of comparison and discussion, we conclude our results chapter. We have presented a variety of angles from which to define the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien*, including the roles of genealogy, language and geography as well as the relevance played by region, age, and gender. From these results, we notice several larger trends. For one, participants' discourse largely evokes the adherence to a single ideology. Secondly, the three factors of region, age and gender are greatly relevant in how participants understand *Acadie* and *Acadien*. Participants from the North-East focus on genealogy and linguistic traditions, giving language symbolic power; participants from the South-East have a globalizing perspective in that language is a symbol of economic commodity, where as in the North-West, the focus is on geography, a prospective viewpoint. In terms of space, Acadia is located in French New Brunswick with its heartland in the North-East, the area where Acadians are argued to have the strongest *acadianité*, mainly for its linguistic homogeneity. Caraquet and Moncton symbolize the 2 poles of *acadianité*: Caraquet as the traditional and genealogical meaning of Acadia described by women of all ages and older men, and Moncton as the urban and linguistically heterogeneous Acadian future, as promoted by men, most of who are of the

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younger generation. The absence of a North-West Acadian pole symbolizes that region's Acadian identity void. These larger trends will be addressed in further detail in our following chapter as we establish connections with our results and our theoretical framework.

5.0 Concluding discussion

In this final chapter, we discuss the larger trends in New Brunswick French discourses in relation to our 5 research questions and hypotheses presented in our second chapter. We recall the reader that our primary objective research questions saught the meanings of the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien*. We were pleased to discover that in answering our 4 secondary objective research questions, we have a more profound understanding and answers to our 2 primary objective questions. In fact, without these secondary objective questions, answering the primary ones would have been a much more difficult and daunting task. The content analysis of our data has shown a general support of our 5 hypotheses, with some modifications and so, this chapter will detail the extent to which our hypotheses have been confirmed through parallels between our resulting trends and our theoretical framework. Finally, we offer a new name for New Brunswick Acadia which we believe symbolizes the dynamic in the ideological discourses of that province.

5.1 Patterns in Acadian typology

We now know that defining Acadia by participants involves a mixture of the genealogical and operational ideological discourses, along with, though to a lesser degree, the modernizing period. As well, an Acadian was primarily defined as a genealogical concept. Because Bérubé's historical perspective was identified infrequently in our data, we will not include it in this particular discussion. In this section we examine the different ideological patterns in our definitions. More specifically, we establish the frequency at which our participants used a single ideology or multiple ones when directly discussing the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien*.

An examination of our data reveals that participants largely answered in a manner that reflected one ideology alone (see Table 6 of the appendices). In fact, reference to multiple ideologies was most frequently an operational-prospective combination. Multiple ideology responses were least frequent among the discourse of South-East participants (8.7% or 2/23) and most frequent among North-West participants (21.1% or 4/19). We believe that the highest frequency of multiple ideologies was found in North-Eastern discourse because their meaning systems of the term *Acadien* incorporate an understanding of the power struggle that exists between the North-East and the South-East which literature has shown to be inevitably tied to the marketability of language (Fairclough 1989, Gal 1989, Bourdieu 1977). As for the other factors analysed, we found no difference in the results between age groups, nor did we find any between men and women.

In looking at the meaning systems for our two primary terms, the overall multiple ideology frequency was higher in discourse relating to an *Acadien* than for the discussion of *Acadie* as 39% of participants (23/59) commonly referenced a genealogical-operational combination of ideologies (see Table 9 – combination of ideologies). As we saw with *Acadie*, the region to most frequently reference more than one ideology at a time was the North West (52.9% or 9/17 of responses by participants from this region were identified as a multiple response). We again found no difference between the typology tendencies of the two age groups. In comparing gender, we identified more references to multiple ideologies in responses given by men than in by women (46.7%:31% or 14/30:9/29).

Table 9: Combinations of ideologies

Acadia (/10)	%	Acadian (/23)	%
genealogical-operational	20	genealogical-operational	52.2
genealogical-prospective	30	genealogical-prospective	26.1
operational-prospective	50	operational-prospective	13.0
genealogical-operational-prospective	0	genealogical-operational-prospective	8.7

Table 10: ideological elements

	Genealogical		Operational		Prospective
1	blood relations; ancestry	1	geography – the Maritime Provinces	1	geography – New Brunswick
2	no territory; Acadians throughout the world	2	speaker of French	2	Native French speakers
3	*patrie intérieure*	3	sociolinguistic community; *la cause commune*		

We will first discuss the patterns in typology found in the discussions of the term *Acadie* (Table 10 recapitulates the elements that compose our 3 main Acadian ideologies). Looking at the 31.8% of responses that reflected a genealogical perspective (21/66), we find that all three ideological elements (ancestry, no borders, *patrie intérieure*) were frequently referenced, in particular the element of ancestry (see Table 9 of the appendices). In responses which implied a genealogical adherence only, we found that *Acadie* was defined primarily through a single component of the ideology: 28.6% of these definitions indicated the importance of ancestry alone (6/21). However, what we find interesting is that neither of the other 2 genealogical elements (having no borders and *la patrie intérieure*) were used in conjunction with another ideological perspective (operational and/or prospective). When discussion produced elements of multiple ideologies (genealogical + operational and/or prospective), ancestry was referenced one hundred percent of the time. This suggests that ancestry is the principal element of Bérubé's *Acadie de la Diaspora*.

Responses that inferred an operational ideology were overwhelmingly composed of the element of geography. Out of 26 responses identified as operational, 21 of them referred to the Maritime Provinces as part of Acadia's definition (80.8%, see Table 8 of the appendices). As was the case with the genealogical responses, the other two operational aspects (speakers of French and *la cause commune*) were never referenced by participants whose responses involved only the operational ideology; they were only found in conjunction with either the genealogical and / or prospective ideologies. In definitions that indicated only an operational viewpoint, geography was again the most frequently discussed component, for 53.8% of these definitions (14/26) limited themselves to a focus on the Maritime Provinces as the location of Acadia. Language (or the choice of [linguistic variety]) does not appear to be much of a concern for respondents who adhere to this type of ideology as it was rarely mentioned in discussion. We can therefore stipulate for New Brunswick Francophones, *l'Acadie opérationnelle* represents the Maritime Provinces in which live a group of people who are focused on sociolinguistic equality between the 2 traditional linguistic communities.

We recall that the prospective viewpoint of *Acadie* was identified in 30.3% of definitions and in looking at the patterns in typology, we discovered that the geographical criterion of the New Brunswick territory and the linguistic criterion of being Francophone were represented fairly equally (see Table 9 of the appendices). When accompanied by elements of other ideologies, the criterion of being Francophone was the most commonly referenced component (85.7% of the time or by 6/7 participants) while geography was referenced 42.9% of the time by 3/7 participants. This latter component was more frequently part of responses that referenced only the prospective ideology (84.6% or 11/13).

We now move on to the typology patterns identified in defining an Acadian, beginning with the genealogical ideology (Table 9 – combination of ideologies). Reflecting our initial results that an Acadian is most often defined through heritage, the factor of ancestry was found in 33 of the 35 genealogical responses (94.3% see Table 10 of the appendices). It was referenced equally in answers containing both a single ideology and multiple ideologies. The notion of *la patrie intérieure* was referenced by 14.8% of participants (5/35), while the issue of an Acadian having no borders was not found in our data. In fact, we found only 3 instances where Acadien was defined through the use of multiple genealogical components (8.5% of responses or 3/35).

Next are the patterns of the operational responses (see Table 11 of the appendices). As it may be recalled, we found 24/59 responses to contain components of this perception. Most frequently referenced in those responses was *la cause commune* at 66.7% (16/24), followed by speakers of French (45.8% or 11/24) and finally the Maritime Provinces (29.2% 7/24). Thus, an operationally-defined Acadian is a person who adheres to the Acadian cause, with less importance placed on language and geography. Curiously, the latter was mentioned more frequently among multiple ideological responses than in single responses (40%:11.1% or 6/15:1/9), suggesting that *un Acadien opérationnel* cannot be defined through geography alone, contradicting our operational results for *Acadie*.

Finally, the prospective manner in defining an Acadian was dominated by its linguistic symbolic element, being Francophone. This was found in 92% of the responses identified as prospective (23/25, see Table 12 of the appendices). Being Francophone was also almost

always a part of both single and multiple ideological responses, which strongly suggests that

the linguistic element is the dominating element of the prospective ideology. What is noted

however, is that the geographical component (New Brunswick) was found more than twice as

frequently in single ideology responses than in multiple ones (42.9%:18.2% 6/14:2/11). This

contrasts with what we previously discovered for the operational references to the Maritime

Provinces, yet supports the concept of *l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick* that was established

on demolinguistics.

5.2 *L'identité de l'Acadie versus l'identité de l'Acadien* - To belong to Acadia or to be part of Acadia does not necessarily entail being Acadian

Since the 1980s, we have seen the globalizing discourse emerge with more and more force in

French New Brunswick. Among others, scholars, artists and politicians have put a lot of

effort in portraying Acadia in a manner beneficial to its future that emphasizes co-existence

between New Brunswick's 2 linguistic communities, without implementing the Francophone

and autonomist definition that failed to garner long lasting support in the 1970s. Even

though our project is the first of its kind, we have firm reason to believe that these advocates

have succeeded in their quest, and that when dealing with the term Acadie, we encounter a

case of dominated discourse types contained by a dominant one (Fairclough 1989). Overall,

New Brunswick Francophones have defined Acadia through the use of a globalizing

discourse (the dominant discourse type), or Bérubé's operational ideology known as *l'Acadie*

opérationelle. This means that while we found Acadia to be defined through the use of the

other 2 types of discourses (the dominated discourse types) in our study, New Brunswick

Francophones as a whole are in agreement that Acadia is globalizing. We are not at all

surprised to find the co-existence of discourses within French New Brunswick, for in establishing his Acadian ideological typology, Bérubé (1987) stated that his 4 proposed definitions are not mutually exclusive. However, since we have found no evidence of Acadia defined through Bérubé's historical ideology that conveys Acadia as a former territory and therefore currently a non-existent concept, we propose that in the minds of New Brunswick Francophones, Acadia exists primarily as a non-mutually exclusive globalizing concept.

The reason we define Acadia as globalizing, yet non-mutually exclusive is that our content analysis revealed that New Brunswick Francophones commonly associate the term with 2 issues: membership and geography. This would indicate that Johnson's (2006) suggestion that the *identité de l'Acadie* is based upon geography is not completely accurate: membership with Acadia would also have to become part of his definition. The manner in which membership and geography were raised and discussed during the interviews allowed us to identify regional tendencies and perceptions within French New Brunswick. We can confirm our second hypothesis in saying that each of French New Brunswick's 3 regions defines Acadia through the use of a different Acadian discourse. This is to be expected in an overall adherence to the operational ideology, for it promotes the co-existence of mixed identities. Here, within French New Brunswick, Acadia is perceived in 3 different manners yet they all co-exist under the globalizing discourse umbrella.

We are of the mind that while the efforts to portray the concept of Acadia in a globalizing perspective have been a successful venture, the same efforts have not crossed over to the definition of *Acadien*. We conclude that contrary to *Acadie*'s globalizing identity, the term

Acadien evokes by and large a traditionalist discourse among New Brunswick Francophones. Our content analysis revealed that an Acadian is a person who can trace their lineage back to the Acadian Deportation yet whose acadianité is (sometimes) determined by their linguistic variety. The overall content analysis revealed no real ties with geography, further supporting our conclusion that an Acadian is most commonly described through the use of the traditionalist discourse, calling to mind the image of Bérubé's *Acadie de la Diaspora* that places Acadians throughout the world.

Nevertheless, we cannot say that all New Brunswick Francophones have a traditionalist perspective in relation to *un Acadien*, but rather that the relationship between discourse types (dominant and dominated) here are in opposition to each other (Fairclough 1989), which we describe in our section on language as symbolic power and economic commodity. In continuing with Bérubé's statement that his Acadian typology is not composed of mutually exclusive definitions, we believe that this holds true for *Acadien* as well and we believe that we have evidence of an ideological struggle in discourse over language (Fairclough 1989). Recalling that participants were much more certain of their understanding of an Acadian than they were of Acadia, this means that in regards to *Acadien*, the term made ideologically common sense to participants, which is able to sustain power struggles (ibid). The discourses of New Brunswick Francophones are influenced by their region, age and gender all the while standing under the two ideological umbrellas that define Acadia and what it means to be Acadian.

5.3 The relevance of one's region

Where a New Brunswick Francophone grew up and spent the majority of his or her life has greatly influenced this study. It is exciting to have evidence of the dynamic that exists between the 3 French regions because of the impact it has on our primary objective – the definitions of *Acadie* and *Acadien*. We have already stated that the French provincial discourse has *Acadie* described as a globalizing concept and *Acadien* as a traditionalist concept, yet we have discovered that both these terms are discussed through the use of a single, yet different discourse in each of the three regions that reflects their sociolinguistic and socioeconomic situation. We begin with the North-East and move clockwise around the province and discuss the first 2 sections of our study; those directly related to geography and language will be addressed afterward.

5.3.1 The North-East –« l'union fait la force »

The North-East, the linguistically-isolated region currently facing economic difficulties due to the loss of seasonal jobs, government regulations and the lack of resources, has commonly been described as having a traditionalist-style identity. Our study firmly confirms this. Despite our overall operational ideology umbrella that covers French New Brunswick, it is in fact very easy to not call the North-East a region adherent to the globalizing discourse because as literature has shown, bilingualism is a vital element for a globalizing Acadian economy and the North-East is the most linguistically isolated French region of the province where English is not an economic commodity. This region does not identify with a regional title, such as we see with Chiac in the South-East and Brayon in the North-West, a phenomenon that really became apparent after the traditionalist discourse period that ended in the 1950s and 1960s. The North-East identifies 100% with the title *Acadien*, as is

demonstrated by all North-East participants circling that particular title on the questionnaire prior to the interview.

We have firm reason to believe that this region perceives Acadia as a sort of society of which one is a member through solidarity. It may be recalled that membership was one of the two primary components that define the concept of Acadia, as revealed by our content analysis. In reflecting their adherence to a traditionalist discourse, the North-East perceives this solidarity as traceable through genealogy, though not exclusively. An individual is part of Acadia if they can trace their family tree, which, in turn, is primarily how the North-East defines an Acadian. Therefore, to be Acadian means to be part of Acadia. Ancestry governs all discussion on Acadia or being Acadian in the North-East, yet the region also places much importance on language.

We also conclude that the North-East considers an individual's membership to Acadia to be unwavering as long as they maintain as standard a form of French as possible, suggesting that the region perceives *acadianité* as having different degrees. One must be an Acadian to belong to Acadia, yet an Acadian's *acadianité* can vary from that of another's. We postulate that the North-East considers itself as the most Acadian of the three regions in New Brunswick, as some participants have revealed to us in their interviews. The reoccurring point made by North-East participants that speaking a variety of French with English lexical borrowings, such as Chiac, weakens one's *acadianité* and is a source of linguistic conflict in communication between New Brunswick Francophones. This is evidence of the demarcation of a language border between the two eastern regions, constructed by members

of the North-East. However, this demarcation is not to the extent of total communication breakdown, such as Chambers and Trudgill (1980) view the term language border. Rather, it reflects our discussion of the situation in Scandinavia as described by Haugen (1967), where "intercomprehension also depends on communication interests" (Bush et al. 2004:4). In the case of the North-East versus the South-East, the difference in interests lies in their ideologies and meaning systems. The general North-East belief is that the region has a stronger *acadianité* than the South-East because the former is much more linguistically homogeneous, reflecting the motto «*l'union fait la force*». Francophones here are not even much concerned of the phenomenon of assimilation because as there is no large urban centre in the region, save Bathurst which is located on the western side of the region, the phenomenon is not part of their daily lives; it is more something they hear about and experience through media and travel. Nevertheless, the North-East discourse firmly includes the South-East in Acadia, because while its *acadianité* may be perceived as weaker than the North-East's for reasons of linguistic symbolism, the region maintains its membership through the primary factor: genealogy. Concerning the North-West's membership according to the North-East, we suggest that the latter does not consider the North-West as *Acadien* because while North-West Francophones may not be facing rising assimilation rates reflected in their French variety like the South-East, their heritage is largely a mixture of different cultures and therefore, North-East Acadians do not even discuss them. In this sense, we also understand an Acadian by what he/she is not – namely a person with a mixed heritage. Thus, we postulate that the North-East considers their region and the South-East as *Acadien*, though each holding different degrees of *acadianité*.

5.3.2 The South-East - « l'unité dans la diversité »

The next region we will discuss is the South-East. This region, as literature has suggested, is home to a very unique and distinct perspective in regards to the meanings of *Acadie* and *Acadien*. Centred in the Greater Moncton Area, the region's growing urban environment that has led to the establishment of numerous cultural associations, organizations and institutions and the development of the locally symbolic and well-known dialect Chiac has given itself a globalizing personality of which it is very proud. First of all, South-East Francophones commonly identify themselves as Chiacs, the regional name that reflects the existence of multiple and regional identities within French New Brunswick. The region's mixed identity is also obvious by the fact that all South-East participants identified themselves as Acadians. Therefore, we can describe the South-East as both Acadian and Chiac at the same time.

Another similarity that we found with the North-East is that practically all discussion by South-East participants involved the use of a single discourse, though here we are principally talking about the globalizing discourse. Regionally speaking, therefore, ideologies have become naturalized (Fairclough 1989) in Eastern New Brunswick. The issue of the Acadian common cause was at the centre of the South-East's discourse, whether discussing their opinions concerning Acadia and / or Acadian throughout the interviews. It is interesting and in fact logical that this particular component takes centre stage of the ideology because it suggests just how less important language is to its adherents than the issue of a group of people working together or equal rights and opportunities. This is evidenced in our study by the actuality that language was referenced very infrequently by operational ideologists in our study. It is the *cause commune* that suggests advancement and evolution, the theory around which the most recent discourse period has been built.

South-East Francophones agree with the North-East in that Acadia is primarily a type of membership, or *acadianité*. We have already described how North-East Francophones determine *acadianité* largely through genealogy and demonstrate this perception by speaking a more standard form of French. This differs from the perception of Acadian membership by South-East Francophones. In keeping with their regional discourse, they do not believe that an individual of Acadian descent becomes less Acadian by speaking Chiac. This is dissimilar with the North-East where it is believed that there are different degrees of *acadianité*. South-East Francophones consider Chiac to reflect the reality of their urban environment, an environment that produces and demands language contact, and as a common function of language difference (Gumperz 1982), it is a mark of their social identity. Therefore, we suggest that the South-East's perception of *acadianité* is determined initially through genealogy, yet greatly carried by leading a life that reflects the common cause; participating in the linguistic market. This means that while the South-East participants agree with the North-East participants that an Acadian is a person with the right heritage, you can also become Acadian through the development of a globalizing identity. This could also include people from the North-West. If we have interpreted the South-East perspective properly, North-West Francophones are not regarded as being Acadian, for they were absent from practically all discussion by South-East participants. However, the former could also become Acadian by developing their *acadianité* in a globalized perspective. A manner in which this could be accomplished is through participation in events and organizations that promote intra-regional interaction, such as the Acadian Games. Participants described such events as becoming more and more popular and that the understanding of regional

differences, such as dialects, is increased because of them, which leads to a better partnership in *la cause commune*.

5.3.3 – the North-West – part of Acadia but not Acadian

Our last region to discuss is the North-West. While there are some similarities between the two eastern regions in terms of *acadianité* and its role in the definition of Acadia, the North-West perspective is quite different from both of theirs. We have concluded that the North-West adheres strongly to the prospective ideology, with much of their emphasis placed on the role of geography. While Bérubé includes the element of geography in both the prospective and operational ideologies, our analyses on patterns in Acadian typology leave us to conclude that geography is rarely discussed in a globalizing-style discourse. The modernizing discourse, however, has seen fairly equal reference to both its components (language and geography) in this study and we therefore identify geography principally as a prospective / modernizing component of Acadian typology.

While under *Acadie*'s dominant globalizing umbrella, the North-West's modernizing discourse is clearly demonstrated by defining Acadia primarily as a physical place in which they live despite not being *Acadiens*. While 100% of eastern participants circled the title *Acadien* on the initial questionnaire, this was done by only 35% of North-West Francophones, who identified more with their regional title of *Brayon*. While strongly reflecting our literature review of the North-West discontinuity (Couturier 2002), it also suggests a certain uncertainty and identity displacement. While North-West Francophones certainly consider themselves as *Francophones*, as literature has suggested, are they Acadian, Brayon, or both? Their uncertainty is illustrated in their discourse use. While this study's participants

communicated as a whole by using a single discourse that reflected their region's ideological adherence, more than half of multiple discourse discussion came from North-West participants, showing their identity displacement from the New Brunswick Eastern understanding of the term *Acadien*, as previously discussed. Their membership as part of Acadia, however, is maintained through their faithfulness to *la cause commune*.

Our North-West data was quite intriguing and perhaps the most difficult to interpret. However, we firmly believe to have done so properly, and if so, our results contrast somewhat what literature has suggested concerning the North-West's ideological discourse. In our review of literature, it is strongly suggested that this region adheres to a traditional style of discourse with regard to their views on the role of genealogy in the Acadian definition (Belzile 2003). This is partly accurate according to our study. Indeed, the North-West Francophone discourse supports our overall definition of an Acadian as defined primarily through ancestry in relaying that since many North-West Francophones do not have an Acadian heritage or that their heritage is mixed with that of other cultures, they cannot be Acadian. However, we know that the North-West understanding of *Acadie* and *Acadien* is closely associated with geography and in discussing what makes an Acadian, the geographical factor is economically related, calling to mind the representations of boundaries as described by Bush *et al.* (2004). In this sense, North-West Francophones define an Acadian by its relation to the sea and aquaculture – the closer one lives to the eastern shoreline, the more likely he / she is to be involved in this particularily traditional Acadian economy. The North-West, being separated from the coastline by a thick wall of forest, cannot partake in aquaculture and thus are not Acadian. While they perceive *acadianité* as

established through genealogy and geography, the discourse of North-West Francophones

indicates that they agree with North-East Francophones that there are different degrees of

acadianité: they concur that an Acadian who does not speak a homogeneous variety of

French is considered less Acadian, but Acadian nevertheless. A perspective such as this

clearly illustrates that while there is a general consensus by all three regions that an Acadian

is defined through its heritage (Fairclough's notion of naturalization, 1989), the North-West's

focus on regional economy added to the importance placed on language in determining one's

acadianité demonstrates its prospective nature.

This study supports our second hypothesis in that a New Brunswick Francophone's native

region strongly influences their ideological discourse in any discussion concerning *Acadie*

and *Acadien*. Overall, we concur with Heller and Labrie (2003), who postulated that in order

to understand Acadia as whole, one must look at regional differences, echoing the

importance stated by Davis (1985) that anthropological studies have traditionally been based

on a single community to represent a whole.

5.4 Acadia, geography, and *l'espace acadien*

Our border analysis reflects very much border studies of the Yugoslav successor states, as

described in Bush et al. (2004). Discursive projects undertaken there revealed borders as a

major topic and all types of mental maps were produced, such as "ethnic maps (and)

historical maps" (ibid, p. 3). As a major part in the construction of identity, borders also took

a major role in the understanding of French New Brunswick ideologies, and similar to what

Acadian literature has shown us, we also found a variety of geographical representations of Acadia, similar to studies on the Yugoslav successor states.

Our analyses support our hypotheses in that we have concluded that the geographical aspect of the Acadian definition includes the three French regions of New Brunswick. This would mean that the North-West is part of Acadia. Supporting the trend we have seen of the eastern regions having a more abstract perception of Acadia, the North-East and the South-East did not provide as many mental maps per region as did the North-West. This was especially the case in the North-East, a trend also found by Williams (1977), which supports our theory that the North-East defines itself and Acadia through a primarily genealogical discourse in which geography does not play a role. In fact, we found among South-East participants and younger participants to have a wider perception on the location of Acadia by often describing their maps to include the Maritime Provinces, a trend we saw in the geographical analysis of the direct definitions of Acadia, and is a sign of the operational ideology in their discourse.

Furthermore, our study does not support the results of the study by Williams (1977) that placed Moncton at the centre of a geographical Acadia and described Tracadie as inferring a non-image of Acadia. In our study, it is the North-East as a whole that is the most agreed upon location of Acadia. All the mental maps in our study included this region. We postulate that the reason for such a contrast between study results could lie in the study's objectives and methodologies. The focus of Williams' study was solely on geography while we conducted interviews to determine how New Brunswick Francophones define 2 very abstract terms through discourse. While all 3 regions were commonly described as being

within the borders of Acadia, we did discover a small tendency, especially by North-West participants themselves, to exclude the North-West from the map. These result partially parallel Williams' study (1977) in such that he found that students of North-West schools had a strong tendency to not include themselves in their Acadian mental maps, however our overall geographical map consists of all 3 French regions. We conclude that the Grand Falls / Edmundston – Dieppe / Moncton rule of thumb line is a general reflection of our mental maps by New Brunswick Francophones; there is an inclination to emphasize the east through the use of regional expressions and the names of municipalities. We refer the reader to our review of literature in which we quoted Thériault (1981:60), who describes a geographical Acadia as a coastal territory located primarily to the north and to the east of New Brunswick.

Concerning the city of Moncton, our mental maps indicate that it is indeed part of Acadia yet its occasional exclusion, done chiefly by the older generation, leads us to believe that the city's *acadianité* is still a debatable subject in French New Brunswick and this reflects the polarized opinions concerning *acadianité*. We find our geographical results to be in complete support of our other analyses because they reflect the debate over the status of the North-West within Acadia. Because of the emphasis seen in describing Acadia through the use of regional expressions and municipalities that relate to the North-East and the South-East and the occasional exclusion of the North-West from mental maps by Francophones of all 3 regions, we believe that the rule of thumb line is a reflection of the globalizing discourse that describes Acadia as inclusive of regional and mixed identities but that *acadianité* and Acadians are focused in the east, in particular the North-East. This postulation is further confirmed by the fact that in direct discussion about what signify *Acadie* and *Acadien*, there

was no emphasis placed on the north-eastern coastline, meaning that the only time we firmly know that there is an Acadian heartland is when there is a discussion directly related to the Acadian geography. Therefore, the North-West is part of Acadia yet it is not Acadian because its Francophones do not have *acadianité*.

This brings us to a key point in our discussion. We actually believe that geography and space hav more relevance in our understanding of *Acadien* then it does for *Acadie*. We now know that despite geography playing a relevant role in how one defines Acadia, it is mainly an issue that concerns the North-West and patterns in typology have shown that geography is not the chief component of Bérubé's operational ideology. Rather, it is the Acadian cause that dominates the globalizing-style discourse. The North-East being singled out as the heartland of Acadia in fact reflects the argument made by many that the real or truest Acadians are found in the Acadian peninsula, mainly for demolinguistic reasons and the cultural symbolic power associated with 'pure' French. This is evidence that the globalizing discourse (period) has not yet overtaken the impact left by the modernizing period, or become Fairclough's dominant discourse type concerning the understanding of *Acadien*; for if it had, our study would parallel Williams' by placing the centre of Acadia in Moncton which we know to be the symbol of a globalizing, urban Acadia. By placing this central emphasis on the North-East, New Brunswick Francophones are actually advocating a prospective-like ideology that stresses the necessity of an autonomous, French homogeneous space, mirroring the traditional point of departure in studies on the relation between territoriality and language borders in search of a (national) identity (Bush *et al.*, 2004, Gal 1989). Geography, therefore, is not as inclusive in the meaning systems of *l'Acadie* as it is in

the understanding of *l'Acadien* because what we call *l'espace acadien* embodies an area that is considered as the centre of Acadia due to the symbolism of language in *acadianité*, which we will discuss in a further section of this chapter. As well, we believe that *l'espace acadien* is portrayed through the traditions of Acadians' relationship with the sea as the geographical descriptions of the North-East were most frequently made through coastal references instead of municipalities, which was how the South-East's inclusion was depicted. Larger municipalities, such as those found in the South-East, are largely linguistically heterogeneous. Thus, *l'espace acadien* of the North-East is defined through the family traditions established by Acadians centuries ago, mainly language and a coastal lifestyle. This study of space and the Acadian identity is indeed an area which we would like to and need to pursue further.

However, with over 40% of participants refusing to describe where they would consider Acadia to be geographically located, we can conclude that the issue of space is of real concern for New Brunswick Francophones. Most New Brunswick Francophones do not even desire an official Acadian province. Their desire to be identified, acknowledged, and respected as a community with something to contribute to the rest of the country as well as to the world is clearly illustrated in their discussions and is evidence that the autonomy debate, although no longer in the form of a political party, continues to touch New Brunswick Francophones in a very personal manner as it is directly related to how they identify themselves. Perhaps Acadia would have a better chance of thriving and enduring without the enclosure of borders which could well become the symbol of Acadian isolation and exclusion. Perhaps such a step would create «une forteresse» (16-NE-M-2) that would undo all the progress Acadians have made in guaranteeing and implementing their social, educational and

linguistic rights. We are reminded of the former Yugoslavia, where "simple lines on maps became true borders, obstacles to human communication [...] people have gone, been killed, expelled or forcibly settled on all sides" (Dragicevic-Sesic 2002:75,84, quoted in Bush *et al.*, 2004:3). This is indeed an area of study deserving of future investigation, for those who do wish for an autonomist Acadia do so because they believe it is a necessary step to take in order to maintain and solidify their identity as Francophones. In this sense, the Acadian cause, or working toward sociolinguistic equality, appears dependant upon autonomy, suggesting that equality is unobtainable without an Acadian territory that excludes regions of language contact.

5.5 The relevance of one's age

While the relevance of region was a large trend identified in this study; we also found age to be a pertinent factor in the analysis of one's discourse, and we are able to validate our fourth hypothesis. First of all, the younger generation behaves in a manner that is regionally identifiable and mirrors the the definition of *l'Acadie opérationnelle*, as the younger participants of the North-West are self-identified as Brayons and those from the South-East call themselves Chiacs. Their operational perspective is also evident in their discussion on the importance of French in *acadianité*. Regardless of their native region, younger New Brunswick Francophones echo in large the South-East opinion that assimilation does not cause one to become less Acadian as long as they are of Acadian descent and that, as students, their lives are focused on creating (business, social and/or academic) relationships that often result in language contact. Echoing Gal's (1989:201) postulation that discourse is "directly responsive to the realities of everyday social and political life", we have seen throughout our

study the claim by younger New Brunswick French speakers that this phenomenon of language contact reflects the current Acadian reality and that there are other ways of showing one's *acadianité* than through the use of a standard form of French. Again, these results compliment previous studies on language attitudes by young New Brunswick Francophones of the South-East, such as we detail in our review of literature (Boudreau 1996, 1991, Boudreau and Dubois 2003a, Keppie 2002). In this sense, we believe that the opinion of A1s parallel the overall operational ideology through which we have defined the term *Acadie* in this study, a concept that is defined through one's actions to obtain and maintain social and linguistics rights within a certain (unofficial) geographical location. Therefore, the ideology of younger New Brunswick Francophones is best represented by the symbolism of Moncton.

Among the older generations of New Brunswick Francophones, we do not find the adherence to regional identity titles that we do among the younger generation. In fact, no A2 participant even circled the title *Chiac*. While some older New Brunswick Francophones do identify themselves as *Brayons*, the absence of the title *Chiac* among them is in itself strong indication that the operational ideology is not commonly found among their generation. The title *Brayon* suggests, among other notions, an important tie to a certain ancestry and we have seen the extent to which the notion of ancestry has been identifies as important by both the North-East and the North-West in their discussions. We find the older generation of New Brunswick Francophones to be quite similar in regards to the notion of *acadianité*. Their emphasis on genealogy was a constant in their discussion and although we can convincingly say that, overall, New Brunswick Francophones believe Acadians are still Acadians despite linguistic assimilation; those who do consider the phenomenon to cause a loss in *acadianité*

were almost exclusively older participants, indicating the ties they see between being Acadian and speaking French and their tendency to use a traditional and / or modernizing-style discourse. In this sense, we believe that the opinions of the second age group parallel the overall genealogical ideology through which we have defined the term *Acadien* in this study: a concept that is defined primarily through the element of genealogy but demonstrated through one's adherence to the use of a standard form of French, regardless of location.

5.6 The relevance of gender

Our fifth and final hypothesis concerns Fasold's (1990) sociolinguistic gender pattern that, as previously discussed, illustrates the symbolism women have toward language. Following our analyses, we believe we can confirm Dairon's 2003 statement that women in French New Brunswick, especially younger women, symbolize the modernizing discourse period. For women, Acadia does not presently involve a geographical aspect; rather, it is perceived as a notion maintained through ancestry. This would suggest a genealogical perspective, yet women's prospective adherence is strongly evident in all discussion involving *acadianité* or the future of Acadia. They do not believe an Acadian capital currently exists, nor do they believe there should be one. Rather, they would prefer an official, francophone Acadian territory to be established. In fact, New Brunswick Francophone women are unable to partake in a discussion on the relation between geography and Acadia as it has no ideological relevance to them. Through their discourse, we understand women as presently seeing Acadia as a diaspora yet wanting of *l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick*. In this desired territory, its occupants, *les Acadiens*, would speak a traditionally standard form of French, for we believe that our study's women perceive this variety as a necessary tool in maintaining their

active participation in sectors formally dominated by men (see Gal 1975). Therefore, while *Acadie* infers primarily a globalizing-style discourse, we believe that the ideology held by women in French New Brunswick is illustrative of the belief by Allain, McKee-Allain and Thériault (1995), who say that the globalizing period has not yet completely overtaken the impact made by its predecessor, the modernizing period. It is in fact then women that embody the meaning of Watine's (1993) 'typical Acadian' who have a genealogical perspective and highly value the maintenance of French as a symbol of *acadianité*. Therefore, an analysis of the ideological discourse in French New Brunswick women is supporting evidence of the validity of the gender pattern brought forth Labov's (1972a) sociolinguistic variability research, indicating the extent to which qualitative and quantitative research are complimentary in language related studies.

5.7 Language as symbolic power and economic commodity

We know that discourse can have different symbolic value depending on the economic environment of the community (Bourdieu 1977, Gal 1989). In the case of French New Brunswick, we have definitely seen evidence of different values attributed to languages and linguistic varieties, in particular in the North-East and South-East regions. From the former region, participants value a purer or standard form of French, the language of Acadian modernity and symbol of traditional Acadian culture, while the strong political and economic symbolism of the English language (the language of Acadian globalization) was identified in the discourse of South-East participants.

Currently in the speech community we studied, we have seen evidence of a globalizing discourse period strongly emerging, a discourse period that is framed around economic commodities, and Francophones (in our study as well as in literature) have shown a desire for international (economic) participation. However, as previously discussed, this initiative had its origins during the modernizing period (Heller and Labrie 2003) as Acadians focused on the construction of (national) identity through the imposition of sociolinguistic equality that eventually took the form of nationalist consciousness under the *Parti acadien* (Ouellette 1982). Yet the market value of French only within New Brunswick proved to be insufficient to maintain economic security for Acadians (Thériault 1982) as large, developing urban centres (Moncton) began to expand international connections through industries such as transportation, call centres and information technology. Therefore, it is not having either French or English that makes a person marketable today in the South-East, but having linguistic compentence in both languages that is economically valued, for the linguistic market (Bourdieu 1977) "depends on its ability to give access to desired positions in the labor market" (Gal 1989:353). We propose that French speakers of the North-East are aware of the economic commodity of the South-Eastern French-English bilingualism as they continue to feel, more so as the years go by, the economic repercussions of a dying traditional fishing industry that sees more and more intra-provincial displacement towards urban centres, namely Moncton. In a globalizing perspective then, the linguistically homogeneous North-East Francophones have a less marketable linguistic capital (which, as we have seen in our analyses, is acknowledged by North-West Francophones who claim residents of the North-East to be poor, second-class citizens associated with a fishing lifestyle that has little economic future), and are therefore the economically dominated group in

French New Brunswick (dominated of course by the French speakers of the South-East).

Thus, while Gal (1989:354) interprets Bourdieu's theories of symbolic capital as "the linguistic insecurity of working-class and minority speakers [... as] the results of symbolic domination", we propose that in the case of French New Brunswick, it is rather the economic insecurity of working-class, linguistically homogeneous groups that is the result of economic domination by linguistically heterogeneous groups. To compensate for this economic insecurity, North-East Francophones present traditional Acadian French and/or a standard form of French as inherently better than other varieties available in French New Brunswick.

Bourdieu (1997) reminds us of how speakers attribute symbolic and social value to linguistic varieties through properties such as setting and accent. In our study, the symbolic value of standard French was evident in the discourse of North-East participants as they frequently identified French accents and dialects, in particular the dialect of the New Brunswick South-East, as difficult to understand to the point of creating communication boundaries: "terms for judging language – its vulgarity, complexity, elegance, mannerliness, roughness – certainly constituted a cultural system, but one forged in [ideological] political conflict" (Gal 1989:355). The extent to which these communication boundaries are actually the result of linguistic incomprehensibility or communication interests (Bush et al., 2004, Haugen 1967, Keppie 2002) deserve further investigation which we have not the time to address in this particular study. However, what we are confident in proposing is that these communication boundaries mirror the different values attributed to language in Acadian ideologies.

In the South-East, the value attributed to language, as seen in the discourse of participants, is quite different from that of the North-East. The discourse of participants of the South-East

and in particular men of a younger generation echoes what scholars have suggested in studies of power and cultural practices: that resistance to dominant forms of language occurs "when devalued linguistic strategies and genres are practiced despite denigration, and when these devalued practices propose or embody alternate models of the social world" (Gal 1989:349). This study has shown evidence of the extent to which the generational phenomenon of Chiac, the linguistic variety used by French South-Eastern youths, is stigmatized by other New Brunswick Francophones, namely from the North-East. Chiac, whose use and maintenance research has shown to be a symbolic expression of the regional identity (Perrot, 1995), is also how its speakers demonstrate solidarity (Gal 1989), and we recall that solidarity, or membership, is how more than 60% of South-Eastern participants understood the term *Acadie*. Their common interests and responsabilities are tied to the linguistic market, suggesting what Gal (ibid, p. 357) refers to as "a socio-symbolic approach to language contact".

Language ideologies affect language choice, and "to study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning serves to sustain relations of domination" (van Dijk 1984:130-131). We firmly believe that the use of Chiac is a form of what Gal (ibid, p. 360) refers to as "counter-hegemonic discourses" and that therefore the globalizing discourse is a form of resistance to the modernizing discourse period. We know that as Moncton gradually developed its bilingual identity through an economic upturn, Francophones of that region began seeing how the knowledge in both official languages would serve their interests and they used their linguistic practices to carry the South-Eastern cultural defintions. Promoting sociolinguistic equality through discourse therefore became the manner through which (younger) South-

Eastern Francophones justified their local interests to the rest of the Acadians who valued

monolingualism (through autonomy). By legitimating the political economic domination of

English-French biligualism through discourse, Chiac speakers compensate for their own

linguistic insecurity. While we know that Chiacs are indeed proud of their dialect for what it

symbolizes, we also recognize that their language contact situation has weakened their

linguistic abilities in standard French, which is regrettable to them (Keppie 2002), despite the

fact that the dominant French variant (standard French) is legitimized through school-based,

formal institutions. When confronted by similar situations, users of non-legitimate variants

are known to stigmatize their own speech, a sign of linguistic insecurity (Gal 1989, Labov

1972). The North-East suffers from economic insecurity while the South-East suffers from

linguistic insecurity, and both regions construct their identity through the security of the

other's 'weakness'.

Our discussion thus far in the Acadian power struggle as demonstrated in discourse has been

between the two eastern regions. We have not included the North-West in this section for the

simple fact that it is in fact a discussion about the ACADIAN power struggle, and while the

North-West is part of Acadia, we know that its French speakers are not *Acadien*. An analysis

of their discourse has revealed in fact a reiteration of the theories surrounding the relation

between language and the linguistic market. They share the North-East perspective that a

standard form of French is more desirable in the construction of acadianité, yet they are just

as conscious of the demands of a globalizing society that is defined through economic

commodity. For North-West Francophones, their language ideology may give symbolic

power to French, yet economically "weaking languages are often confined to rural areas, and

associations are often made between the language and poverty, isolation and lack of sophistication of its speakers" (Williams 1991:36). Therefore, identifying themselves as *Brayons* and not *Acadiens* is their manner of avoiding the power struggle currently happening between Acadians. Thus, French speakers of the North-West do not enter into the analysis of Acadian language ideology, or to reiterate Duranti (1988:131), "the analysis of ideology is fundamentally concerned with language, for language is the principal medium of the meaning (signification) which serves to sustain relations of domination".

5.8 The 2 poles of *acadianité*

"Control of the representations of reality is not only a source of social power but therefore also a likely locus of conflict and struggle" (Gal 1989:348).

As we have just discussed, our study suggests an ideological polarity between the north and the south, in particular between the North-East and the South-East. We have shown so far that the North-West, while adhering more to the North-East perspective regarding *acadianité* than to the South-East perspective, is not considered Acadian regardless of being part of Acadia. This polarity is perhaps best symbolized through discussions relating to an Acadian capital.

We are able to draw several conclusions from our data relating to the issue regarding an Acadian capital. While New Brunswick Francophones generally do not believe that a capital currently exists (although we have seen this issue to be quite debatable), there is a strong acknowledgment that there are two centres representative of Acadia. Caraquet, as the Acadian centre for genealogically adherent Acadians, represents the foundation of the

definition of the term *Acadien* and the perspective of women, seen as family oriented and Francophone. We suggest that although participants described Caraquet as Acadia's cultural centre, it is in fact Acadia's traditional cultural centre, for the festivals which participants claim give the town merit to its title of Acadian capital are not closely representative of the globalizing definition of Acadia that we have discovered. Homogeneic history is much more prevalent in these celebrations than it is in ones that occur in the South-East. For example, *le festival de la pêche* celebrates what is now an unlucrative North-Eastern economy, an economy which many Acadian scholars see as a portrayal of an overall former Acadian lifestyle. The second pole, Moncton, is the Acadian centre for the operational Acadian as its numerous cultural centres, institutions and organizations aim to promote the very overall definition of Acadia with which we have concluded. As well, its cultural celebrations are very often centred on the bilingual identity that has developed out from the regional economic growth that has helped globalize the concept of Acadia for many. In any discussion addressing the issue of an Acadian capital, the North-West perspective differs greatly from those of the eastern regions, emphasizing our postulation that the North-West is not Acadian. The North-West participants are mostly unable to identify an Acadian capital, yet they share the belief that creating one or even a territory would aid in establishing a firmer, more identifiable *Acadie* with a specific territory from which they, as Brayons, could further distinguish themselves as a group of Francophones who do not partake in industries related to aquaculture. On the other hand, both eastern regions are against formally establishing a capital or territory, supporting their viewpoints on *acadianité* as an identity that is not associated with any specific territory. The eastern opinion is that in establishing either an Acadian capital or an Acadian province, Acadians would become uncertain as to

their membership, though for different reasons depending on their native region. North-East Francophones, whose ideology is the most removed from any geographical association, tends to wonder that if Acadia becomes too identified with a specific territory, then *l'Acadie de la Diaspora* would cease to provide as much significance, suggesting that anybody who does not reside within that particular territory named Acadia is without *acadianité*, despite being Francophone of Acadian descent. South-East Francophones, whose ideology is principally based on the notion of working together for equal social and linguistic opportunities, wonders how equality can be limited to a particular region, suggesting that creating an Acadian province would perhaps isolate Acadians from the rest of Canada and the world, countering the objective of the globalizing ideology.

Dairon (2003) postulated that the Acadian woman best stands for the modernizing discourse period and we are in complete agreement. We would like to further suggest that the primary understanding of *Acadie* is representative of the opinions of people who are male, from the South-East and predominantly of a younger generation, whose discourses best embodies the operational ideology. The globalizing reality of language contact and its relation to Acadians today is symbolized by Moncton and the economic benefits the city offers Acadia(ns). Moncton is the centre of *l'Acadie opérationnelle*, without a doubt. On the other side of the pole, the characteristics of *un Acadien* are best embodied by people who are predominantly of an older generation, and residing in the North-East, whose discourses mirror an overlapping of the genealogical and modernizing ideologies. Women also fall in this category. These people were found to be continuously adherent to the genealogical ideology

through emphasies on tradition, heritage and the symbolic power of the French language, as Caraquet well symbolizes.

We further believe that until the globalizing discourse becomes naturalized among New Brunswick Francophones of the northern regions, the city of Moncton will continue to be occasionally criticized and perceived as non-Acadian, or at least of having a weaker *acadianité* than the North-East, simply for demographic reasons that have led to language contact. However, we are convinced in saying that Moncton is indeed Acadian and part of Acadia, for in all, Acadia is moving forward and evolving due to the benefits of eduation in cultural diversity that is much appreciated by the younger (male) generation and we can only suppose that this will increase with each following generation.

5.9 Final postulation - *l'Acadie communautaire*
It may be recalled that in our introduction, we referred to LeBlanc (2003) who put forth that works such as Longfellow's widely read and popular l'Évangéline have mythicized *Acadie* through referents to "widely held but false belief(s)" (the Concise Oxford Dictionary). In correlation with Bérubé's Acadian typology, we conclude that there are no false beliefs concerning Acadia. *L'Acadie de la Diaspora, l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick* and *l'Acadie des Maritimes* are all possible manners to perceive the meaning of *Acadie* in French New Brunswick. Acadia is therefore not a myth, nor is it completely "an imagined community that is limited and sovereign" as LeBlanc (2003:99) views it. We agree that while Acadia is mainly discussed using a globalizing-style discourse, it is still 'limited' as there is a notion of territory attached to its definition. Yet, we have seen how this geographical notion is elastic

depending on the different regional and gender discourses. As for calling Acadia 'sovereign', we find this a delicate term. As pointed out in our introduction, Anderson (1991) defines a sovereign nation as having a certain degree of self-determination, yet our study has shown that Francophones of different ages, gender and regions have different perspectives of what constitutes *acadianité*, meaning that their self-determination is fueled from different sources. Women and northern Francophones are linguistically self-determined while men and South-eastern Francophones chracterize themselves through their globalizing and bilingual identity. We are also not comfortable in calling Acadia "an imagined community", for we have shown that New Brunswick Acadians can identify fellow 'members' (to use Anderson's terminology) through a shared heritage and that this is primarily how Acadians are united as a people. Generally speaking, a person does not need to speak French to be considered Acadian as long as they have an Acadian family name or can trace their family tree back to the time when Acadie was found on official maps, though we have seen how certain groups within French New Brunswick view the choice or use of certain varieties of French as a strength or weakness to one's identity as an Acadian. Therefore, if Acadia is largely a term that invokes a globalizing-style discourse and if Acadians are first and foremost identified through genealogy, we propose modifying LeBlanc's definition of Acadia from "an imagined community that is limited and sovereign" to "a globalizing, limited community".

The word 'community' leads us to the final points of our study. In our review of literature, we discussed the work of Trépanier (1994, 1996) in which different representations of Acadia were found throughout the Maritime Provinces, in particular one called *l'Acadie sentie et vécue*. *L'Acadie sentie et vécue*, described by Trépanier as «pratiquer la façon

acadienne» (1994:186), does not involve any sense of geography and is based primarily on genealogy. Therefore, *sentie et vécue* is a manner to describe *les Acadiens,* as *acadianité* is lived differently throughout New Brunswick Acadia, either through language or through sociolinguistic equality.

Because of the relevance the 3 French regions found in almost all discussion by participants, we are much more inclined to agree with another one of Trépanier's conclusion that within French New Brunswick, there are 3 different Acadian communities: *l'Acadie prétentieuse* in the North-East, *l'Acadie frileuse* in the South-East, and *l'Acadie brayonne* in the North-West.[86] We feel, however, that 2 of the terms provided do not properly reflect the ideological discourses of the regions. In particular, we disagree with the use of the term *l'Acadie frileuse* because contrary to Trépanier who found South-East Acadians to be ashamed of their regional dialect and thus their *acadianité*, we find South-East Francophones to be very proud of their bilingual identity and its linguistic marketability. As for how we propose calling the 3 regions of New Brunswick Acadia, we agree with Trépanier in that we find *l'Acadie brayonne* to be a very fitting way to express the North-West's position as part of Acadia. It describes the region's inclusion in Acadia under a globalizing discourse that promotes mixed identities, yet it shows proof of the regional Brayon identity that has become disassociated from acadianité. We propose simply calling the North-East *l'Acadie de la tradition* as it evokes an image of a region that finds its cultural security through the maintaining of ancestral traditions, and the symbolic power of French. As for the South-East, it represents all new and future developments to be undertaken in the name of *Acadie,* and for

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[86] We disagree, however, with Trépanier's (1996) conclusion that members of *l'Acadie frileuse* are less proud of their identity because their regional French dialect(s) are mixed with English. Our study found South-East Francophones to be very proud of being Acadian and proud of their bilingual and globalizing identity.

that reason we propose calling the region *la Nouvelle Acadie*. This is not to be confused with

the concept proposed by the *Parti acadien* during times of autonomist sentiment, rather it

symbolizes the polarity between the traditional (the North-East) and the new (the South-East).

New Brunswick Acadia can therefore be perceived as encompassing 3 regional networks

(Gumperz 1997), two of which are populated by Acadians. In keeping with the

anthropological nature of this study, and to return to the point of departure in order to

complete the circle of research, we feel the need to revise our choice of definition of a

'speech community'. We put forward that there is both a French New Brunswick speech

community and a New Brunswick Acadian speech community. We took French New

Brunswick as our point of departure yet we now believe that Bloomfield does not adequately

describe the community that our discourse analysis has shown us. Rather, we suggest that

the French New Brunswick speech community be understood through the words of Barth

(1969) who discusses boundaries through extralinguistic factors. If French New Brunswick,

if geographically perceived in the manner established by us at the beginning of this study, is

also seen as the unofficial representation of Acadia, then we understand the French New

Brunswick speech community through a globalizing ideology, echoing Barth (1969:9-10)

who postulates that members establish and maintain their own sense of group through

interaction:

> [...] it is clear that boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them.
> In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of
> mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion
> and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained *despite* changing
> participation and membership in the course of individual life histories (1969:9-
> 10, emphasis original).

We see this interaction as *la cause commune*, the desire for sociolinguistic equality of all New Brunswick Francophones, an interaction that overrides the ideological boundaries that flow between the 3 French regions of the province. Speech communities are internally diverse, and we consider *l'Acadie brayonne, l'Acadie de la tradition* and *la Nouvelle Acadie* as the community's cultural distinctions. We suggest, therefore, that if French New Brunswick is in fact a speech community, that we name it *l'Acadie communautaire* in reference to the ideological discourses that separate its 3 sub-groups. As well, we believe that this title also acknowledges our finding that one does not have to be Acadian to be part of Acadia; *la cause commune* is what unites New Brunswick Francophones, not simply New Brunswick Acadians.

As for the New Brunswick Acadian speech community, we understand this community to be populated not by members of Acadia, but by Acadians (the North-East and the South-East). Our analysis of this community follows Bloomfield's perspective, "a group of people who interact by means of speech" (1948:42), and whose lines of weakness are the language boundaries constructed through ideological discourse. What this study strongly suggests is that naturalization, a process Fairclough (1989:92) describes as "the royal road to common sense", is not manifested throughout New Brunswick Acadia. Despite the globalizing umbrella under which Acadia largely sits, there was evidence in the social practices of our participants that there is still a struggle over ideologically diverse discourse types among Acadians. Reflecting the quote "Acadian society has not fully harmonized its relations" by Allain, McKee-Allain and Thériault (1995:357), which we cited in our introduction, the struggle between dominant and dominated discourses are constructed, desconstructed, and

reconstructed between the two 'Acadian' regions of the east where social practices have created (language) borders demarcating the different interests in the role of language in the construction of identity. For Acadians to harmonize its relations and become a globalized speech community, their language boundaries, or barriers to communication, would have to be broken down (Gumperz 1982), meaning that there would have to no longer be a power struggle between the North-East and South-East concerning the role of language in *acadianité*. By empirically demonstrating how the boundaries of the New Brunswick Acadian speech community are defined, we have succeeded where Gumperz (1997:188) says "sociologists as well as anthropologists have all but given up". We have been able to relate individual action / discourse to community wide patterns, seen as a limitation of the Labovian school of variability analysis, yet a great advantage of ethonographic research (Gumperz ibid).

As indicated in our introduction, Acadia and its related terms have long been debatable subjects, going as far back as to the origin of the name *Acadie*. In regards to the globalizing discourse that is generally used to describe Acadia, we have a certain affinity toward the proposed mi'kmaw origin of the term. «Cadie», a place worthwhile of settlement, has become *Acadie*, now deserving of *la cause commune*. It is worth defining and studying. Defining Acadia is not a simple task, as Basque, Barrieau and Côté (1999:11) have stated. Yet what this study has given to the field of Acadian studies is the first of its kind, an examination of the ideological discourses in all three French regions of the Province of New Brunswick and we have shown just how important it is to not limit one's conclusions to the referents of a single community or region. Of course, one could say exactly the same thing

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about this study limiting itself to uniquely New Brunswick; however we believe that in illustrating that regional, gender and age-related differences are at times quite incongruent of one another within a single province, our point has been justified.

It is our full intention to continue this line of research in other Canadian provinces and American states in order to fully comprehend Acadian discourse and language ideologies, for the "conceptions that mediate between identity and speech deserve attention not only as cultural constructions, but also as part" of ideological / power struggles (Gal 1989:355).

Finally, am I Acadian, as my friends stated years ago in Belgium? I would have to say no, for I have neither the Acadian heritage nor French as a first language. However, I do consider myself part of Acadia as I partake in la cause commune. This study is proof of my membership with *l'Acadie communautaire*.

5.10 Limitations of study

Having provided the reader with our results, we must however inform him or her of certain limitations we encountered during our research which must be taken into consideration when reading our final chapter. This study has the benefit of having a large amount of tape-recorded data to work with. However, there are well-known problems associated with the tape-recorded interview-based method of data collection. The primary one is know as the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972:209, Becker 1996). As we have described, the aim of our research was to understand how New Brunswick Francophones identify themselves with the terms *Acadie* and *Acadien* in day-to-day life, that being when they are not under systematic observation. However, this sort of data collection described can only be done by such

systematic observation as researchers cannot insulate themselves from data (Becker 1996:56).

The visibility of the interviewer has been fully realized by ethnographers as "they are part of

the interactions they seek to study and influence those interactions" (Fontana and Frey

2000:663). Participants were fully aware that they are being recorded and, in some sense,

observed. Therefore it is entirely possible that their responses to the interview questions

were not as authentic as they would have been if they had been simply conversing with, for

example, a neighbour. We cannot be certain that our data is not what Labov (ibid, p. 43)

refers to as "a special product of the interaction between the interviewer and the subject".

When such a situation arises, what is often produced in this type of situation is known as

spontaneous speech, "a pattern used in excited, emotionally charged speech" (ibid, p. 88). In

research dealing with the New Brunswick francophone identity, this is largely the type of

speech we would expect to receive from participants, rather than 'casual speech' (ibid),

understood as an everyday, informal manner of conversing.

Regardless of this general methodological constraint encountered by sociolinguistics in the

field, there are ways of overcoming it by making the interview situation as authentic as

possible for the participant, by conducting the interview in his "own natural social context"

(ibid, p. 43). Here, the interviewer framed the interview by drawing attention away from the

recording device which involved participating in small talk or activities of the surroundings

in order to elicit casual speech from the participant (ibid, p. 88; Fontana and Frey 2000:660),

which is particularly desired in ethnographic-style research.

Another difficulty we faced in this study was the role of the researcher/interviewer as an outsider. As a university-educated anglophone, it was important not to mix my own personal and cultural understandings of Acadia and the Acadians as those of the participants, especially since literature has often defined Acadians in relation to the English majority and to the use of English in their speech. The goal was to become as acquainted as possible with the "local linguistic, social, or institutional histories and practices" of French New Brunswick (Miller *et al.* 2003: 223). We have the utmost confidence to have broken down the researcher-participant barrier (ibid.) by: 1) formulating a problem for study for which previous scholarship has shown a need, indicating to participants that their concerns toward and the importance of their identity were understood and valued by the researcher/interviewer; 2) the researcher/interviewer being fluent in the French language and very familiar with the regional dialects so not to require interpreters that sometimes introduce new difficulties of interpretation (Fontana and Frey, 2000:655); 3) the researcher/interviewer presenting herself in an informal manner, such as dressing casually as participants were frequently habitants of rural areas of low economic growth; 4) the researcher/interviewer gaining trust and establishing rapport by locating informants through friends, family and acquaintances rather than by random sampling for it widely agreed upon that "doors open much more rapidly if the ethnographer has a trusted associate in the community" (Miller *et al.* 2003:226). After years of establishing personal connections and spending time in and around the areas studied that inevitably led to appropriate linguistic practices and knowledge of local concerns, we are confident that the interviewer's status as an English-speaking researcher had little influence in our data collection and that the possibility of being viewed as an outsider was largely diminished. [87]

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[87] See Chapter 1 for an account of the researcher's/interviewer's linguistic and cultural background.

We were also faced with the constraint of time, which in qualitative research, can prove to be a real issue in one's desire for triangulation (the use of multiple methods, Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Perhaps a fully and more in-depth understanding of the French New Brunswick identity/ies would have been accomplished through a combination of other ethnographic practices for triangulation, such as participant observation, note taking, and group interviews. Yet qualitative research does not have a distinct set of methods that one must use in order to gain a thorough analysis of the data, and given the amount of data and number of analyses contained in this study, we are confident to have as in-depth an understanding of the heterogeneous identities of French New Brunswick as possible.

In keeping with the theme of time constraints, though here in terms of analysis, the size of our sample and immediate relativity does not permit this current study to encompass all questions asked during the interview process. Most of the data which we are overlooking at this time concerns the opinions of New Brunswick Francophones toward education, government and public services. We fully intend on returning to this data at a later date in hopes of enriching our current work. The responses to the interview which we have analyzed for this particular study can be found in the appendices.

This leads us to what some may call a study limitation but is also part of the dynamic process that is ethnographic inquiry. As we are well aware, ethnography is characterized by "generative and self-corrective methodologies" (Miller et al. 2003:224) that often require flexibility in the formation of research questions and data collection procedures. During the first few interviews of our fieldwork, we realized that a very important question was missing

from our list of questions. Originally, we had not thought of asking participants where they would draw Acadia's borders were they given a map, but in our initial discussions with them about their opinions concerning la Nouvelle-Acadie (an autonomous Acadian territory), we came to realize that regardless of whether or not participants believed that such a concept would be beneficial or not to Acadians, asking them to geographically situate their image of Acadia would add a much deeper level to our analysis in terms of ideological adherence. Their descriptions would provide us with mental maps of how New Brunswick Francophones physically perceived Acadia in comparison with the maps suggested in literature, and they would give us another means of testing whether or not their ideological discourse reflected the role of geography in Acadian ideology. Therefore, because we did not add this question of 'mental maps' until after approximately 7 interviews, we were left with slightly less data to work with. Nevertheless, we believe in fact that this limitation was somewhat compensated by another limitation, this one concerning transcription. As is often the case in tape-recorded interviews, we were occasionally faced with poor recording situations (background noise such as children crying, music, traffic) which left us in fact with uneven amounts of data to analyse for all our questions. Therefore, while we initially had collected data from 71 informants, we were unable to analyse 71 responses for each interview question. A breakdown of the number of participants whose data was analysed for each question can be found in the appendices.

Finally, we must mention a limited generalizability. In reading this research, we must keep in mind that our claims are based on the results of data gathered from a sample of specific people in French New Brunswick, namely those who are educated and of a middle social

class who have lived most of their lives in New Brunswick. Therefore, our claims of how Acadie and Acadien are defined in French New Brunswick do not encompass all New Brunswick Francophones. We did not include a sample of children either, which could have affected our overall results and these remain possible areas of future comparative research.

Having discussed our limitations, we firmly believe that the results and claims discussed in this chapter are validated, and will give rise to new research.

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7.0 Appendices

7.1 Interview forms, questions, and transcription protocol

7.1.1 Consent form

Madame, Monsieur,

Je suis étudiante du 3e cycle à l'Université d'Alberta à Edmonton, Alberta. Je suis en train de mener une recherche au Nouveau-Brunswick sur la relation entre l'identité acadienne et la langue.
Je vous demande la permission de vous faire passer une entrevue avec moi qui porte sur ce sujet. L'entrevue sera menée en français et durera approximativement 1 heure. Elle sera aussi enregistrée sur cassette.

Vous êtes libre de refuser votre participation au projet même après avoir passé l'entrevue. Toutefois, j'espère que vous accepterez de participer à cette recherche, qui fournira des informations importantes sur les relations entre la langue et l'identité en Acadie.

Ci-dessous vous trouverez mes coordonnées. N'hésitez pas de me contacter si jamais vous avez des questions. Vous remerciant de votre attention, je vous prie, Madame, Monsieur, d'accepter l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs.

Christina Keppie *(chercheure)*
Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies, 200 Arts
University of Alberta, Edmonton Alberta T6G 2E6
Courriel: ckeppie@ualberta.ca
Téléphone: (780) 492-8543

A être complété par le/la participant/e :
1.   J'ai lu la lettre ci-dessus et j'accepte de passer une entrevue enregistrée avec Christina Keppie.

        Oui □   Non □ (Si *oui*, veuillez continuez.)

2.   Je donne la permission à Christina Keppie d'utiliser mon nom dans sa recherche.

        Oui □   Non □

Nom : _____

Signature du/de la participant/e: _____

Signature de la chercheure : _____

Date : _____

Code (*à être complété par la chercheure*) : _____

7.1.2 Personal information questionnaire

Code : ___example : 02-NE-M-1_____

1. Nom :

2. Age :

3. Sexe :

4. Profession :

5. Education :

6. Lieu de naissance :

7. Lieu de résidence (si différent du lieu de naissance, veuillez indiquer le nombre d'années que vous y avez vécu :

8. Langues parlées :

9. Identité (encerclez tout ce qui s'applique à vous): Canadien / Francophone / Acadien / Brayon / Chiac / Autre :

7.1.3 List of all interview questions[88]

1. Selon vous, qu'est-ce que l'Acadie?

2. Selon vous, qu'est-ce qu'un Acadien?

3. Est-ce qu'il y a des différences entre les Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick et ceux des provinces maritimes? Si oui, lesquelles?

4. Est-ce qu'il a des différences parmi les Acadiens ou les Francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick?

5. A quel point est-ce que la langue est importante dans l'identité acadienne?

6. Selon vous, est-ce qu'il existe des problèmes de communication ou des tensions de compréhension parmi les Acadiens ou les Francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick?

7. Comment réagissez-vous aux différentes manières de parler français au Nouveau-Brunswick?

8. Selon vous, est-ce que l'assimilation à l'anglais est une peur ou une crainte?

9. Selon vous, est-ce qu'il y a des conséquences de l'assimilation? Par exemple, si un Acadien s'assimile ou se fait assimiler à l'anglais ou à une autre langue, est-ce qu'il est toujours ou autant Acadien?

10. Selon vous, est-ce qu'il y a une capitale de l'Acadie?

11. Selon vous, est-ce qu'il devrait avoir une capitale de l'Acadie?

12. Pensez-vous qu'une province acadienne serait avantageuse aux Acadiens?

13. S'il fallait tracer les frontières de l'Acadie sur une carte, où est-ce que vous les mettriez?

14. Comment est-ce que les Acadiens figurent dans la gouvernance de la province?

15. Comment est-ce que vous trouvez les services institutionnels en français?

16. Comment est-ce que vous trouvez le système d'éducation pour les Acadiens?

17. Qu'est-ce qui améliorera la situation des Acadiens?

---

[88] Questions 14-17 were not analyzed in this study.

7.1.4 Transcription protocol

1. The first page of each transcribed interview is identified through the following example (Times New Roman, 12 point font):

<div align="center">

KEPPIE CORPUS
(Participant code)
Interview conducted in July/August 2005
Interviewed and transcribed by: Christina Keppie

</div>

2. Transcription begins on the second page.

3. Each time the interviewer asks a question, introduce the question by **CK:** and the interviewee's response by the **code** assigned to that particular interviewee, for example 35-SE-F-1.

4. Parentheses have 2 functions. Regular parentheses mark **incomprehensible passages** (xxx). Do not force interpretations. Square parentheses are to be used only in the occasion that a particular passage is to be included in the research paper and the author wishes to **delete some information** deemed unnecessary to prove their point ([...]).

5. When **English words** are pronounced in English, put quotation marks around the word (ex. «Fredericton», «oh boy»). When English words are pronounced in French, do not use quotation marks (Fredericton, etc.). Certain interviewees will use the English conjunctions *but* and *so*. Transcribe these words without the use of quotation marks.

6. Transcribe all data using a **standard variety of French**, meaning no word omissions, word additions, non standard grammatical elements and non standard pronunciation.

7. Delete all **false starts and repetitions** (ex. *il est mon mon voisin*).

8. Transcribe all **pause fillers** (ex. *euh, je ne sais pas*). Do not transcribe the encouragment markers pronounced by the interviewer.

7.2 Personal data collected

7.2.1 Age, profession, and education of participants

Participant code	Age	Profession	Education
01-NW-M-1	21	student	4 yrs uni
02-NE-M-1	24	student	Masters
03-SE-F-1	23	student	3 yrs uni
04-NE-F-1	23	student	Masters
05-NE-M-2	55	civil servant	Masters
06-SE-F-2	68	teacher/rt	Masters
07-SE-M-2	66	conseiller	Masters
08-SE-M-1	26	student	Masters
09-NE-F-1	27	student	Bachelors
10-NE-F-1	21	student	3 yrs uni
11-NE-F-2	56	teacher/rt	Bachelors
12-NE-M-1	25	student	Bachelors
13-NE-M-2	60	prof. phys.	Masters
14-NE-F-2	60	psychologu	Masters
15-NE-F-2	60	teacher aid	certificat
16-NE-M-2	63	courtier	Bachelors
17-NE-M-2	57	teacher	certificat
18-NE-F-1	22	student	Bachelors
19-NE-F-1	26	librarytech	Bachelors
20-NE-F-1	21	student	4 yrs uni
21-NW-F-2	60	teacher	Masters
22-NW-F-2	58	teacher/rt	BA/BED
23-NW-F-2	55	teacher/rt	Masters
24-NW-F-1	25	teacher	BA/BED
25-NE-M-2	55	foreman	
26-NW-M-2	65	teacher/rt	Masters
27-NW-M-1	20	student	2 yrs uni
28-NW-F-1	20	student	2 yrs uni
29-NW-F-2	59	teacher/rt	BA/BED
30-NW-F-1	22	student	5 yrs uni
31-NW-M-2	61	bus. Owner	2 yrs uni
32-NW-F-2	60	banker/fr. Monitor	certificate
33-NW-F-2	56	educator/kndgt	college
34-NW-M-2	62	teacher	Masters
35-SE-F-1	20	student	3 yrs uni
36-SE-F-1	23	student	Masters
37-NE-F-1	23	student	5 yrs uni
38-SE-M-2	54	public relations	BA
39-SE-M-1	25	educator	BA
40-NE-M-2	63	teacher/rt	Masters
41-NW-F-1	24	student	5 yrs uni
42-SE-M-2	60	principal/rt	Masters
43-NE-F-1	20	student	2 yrs uni

44-NW-F-2	24	student	6 yrs uni
45-NE-F-1	19	student	2 yrs uni
46-SE-M-1	19	student	1 yr uni
47-SE-M-2	56	professor	PhD
48-SE-F-1	24	student	BA
49-SE-M-1	30	student	Phd ABD
50-SE-M-1	25	student	6 yrs uni
51-SE-F-1	23	student	BA
52-SE-M-1	19	student	1 yr uni
53-NE-M-2	54	teacher	BA/BED
54-NE-F-2	64	teacher/rt	BA/BED
55-NE-M-2	64	teacher/rt	BA/BED
56-NE-M-1	30	journalist	BA
57-NE-M-2	59	educator	Masters
58-NE-F-2	56	translator	BED
59-SE-M-2	64	principal/rt	BA/BED
60-SE-F-2	59	nurse/rt	college
61-SE-F-1	26	teacher	BA/BED
62-SE-M-2	61	director/AAFANB	Masters
63-NW-M-1	23	teacher	BA/BED
64-SE-M-1	32	lawyer	BBA/LLB
65-SE-F-1	27	student/translator	Masters
66-SE-F-1	26	student	Masters
67-SE-F-2	53	professor	Masters
68-SE-M-1	26	student	Masters
69-SE-F-2	58	teacher/rt	BED
70-NW-F-2	57	teacher/rt	BED
71-NW-M-2	59	teacher/buisnessman/rt	Masters
72-NW-M-1	20	student	3 yrs uni
73-NW-M-1	21	student	3 yrs uni

7.2.2 Place of birth, current residence and languages spoken by participants

Participant code	Birth place	Place of residence	Languages spoken
01-NW-M-1			
02-NE-M-1	Saint-Leonard	Saint-Leonard 3yrs	FR/ENG
03-SE-F-1	Beresford	Moncton - 1yr	FR
04-NE-F-1	Shediac	Shediac	FR/ENG
05-NE-M-2	Bathurst	Tracadie-Sheila-23yrs	FR/ENG
06-SE-F-2	Bathurst	Moncton - 7yrs	ENG/FR
07-SE-M-2	SteMariesurMer	Dieppe- 35yrs	FR/ENG
08-SE-M-1	Memramcook	Dieppe - 31 yrs	FR/ENG
09-NE-F-1	Moncton	Moncton	FR/ENG
10-NE-F-1	Dalhousie	Fredericton 7yrs	ENG/FR
11-NE-F-2	Bathurst	Shippagan-20yrs	FR/ENG
12-NE-M-1	Tracadie	Shippagan-30yrs	FR
13-NE-M-2	Caraquet	Shippagan- 20yrs	FR/ENG

14-NE-F-2	Shippagan	Shippagan	FR/ENG
15-NE-F-2	SteMariesurMer	Shippagan	FR/ENG
16-NE-M-2	Paquetville	Shippagan	FR/ENG
17-NE-M-2	St. Isidore	Shippagan	FR
18-NE-F-1	Shippagan	Shippagan	FR/ENG
19-NE-F-1	Shippagan	Shippagan	FR/ENG
20-NE-F-1	Tracadie	Shippagan	FR/ENG
21-NW-F-2	Lameque	Lameque	FR
22-NW-F-2	Drummond	Fredericton-30yrs	FR/ENG
23-NW-F-2	Drummond	Grand-Sault-34yrs	FR/ENG
24-NW-F-1	Drummond	Grand-Sault-30yrs	FR/ENG
25-NE-M-2	Grand-Sault	Moncton-3yrs	FR/ENG
26-NW-M-2	Tracadie	Tracadie	FR/ENG
27-NW-M-1	Grand-Sault	Saint-Andre/Grand-Sault	FR/ENG
28-NW-F-1	Edmundston	Edmundston	FR/ENG/SP
29-NW-F-2	Saint John	Edmundston-20yrs	FR/ENG
30-NW-F-1	Edmundston	Saint-Basile/Edmundston	FR/ENG/SP
31-NW-M-2	Grand-Sault	Saint-Andre	FR/ENG
32-NW-F-2	Saint-Leonard Parent	Grand-Sault	FR/ENG/SP
33-NW-F-2	Grand-Sault	Grand-Sault	FR/ENG
34-NW-M-2	Kedgwick	Drummond	FR/ENG
35-SE-F-1	Grand-Sault	Saint-Andre	FR/ENG
36-SE-F-1	Miramichi/Rogersville	Moncton-3yrs	FR/ENG
37-NE-F-1	Moncton	Moncton	FR/ENG
38-SE-M-2	Lameque	Chiasson-Office	FR/ENG
39-SE-M-1	Saint-Paul de Kent	Dieppe-7 yrs	FR/ENG
40-NE-M-2	Moncton	Moncton	FR/ENG
41-NW-F-1	Allardville	Dieppe (40yrs)	FR/ENG
42-SE-M-2	Edmundston	Moncton-3yrs	FR/ENG
43-NE-F-1	Moncton	Dieppe	FR/ENG
44-NW-F-2	Beresford	Beresford	FR/ENG
45-NE-F-1	Edmundston	Moncton-3yrs	FR/ENG
46-SE-M-1	NotreDamedesErables	NotreDamedesErables	FR/ENG
47-SE-M-2	Moncton	Moncton	FR/ENG
48-SE-F-1	Nigadou	Moncton	FR/ENG
49-SE-M-1	Moncton	Moncton	FR/ENG
50-SE-M-1	Shediac	Moncton	FR/ENG/GR/SP
51-SE-F-1	Moncton	Moncton	FR/ENG/SP
52-SE-M-1	Dieppe	Dieppe	FR/ENG/SP/ITL
53-NE-M-2	Moncton	Moncton	FR/ENG
54-NE-F-2	Cap-Bateau	Beresford	FR/ENG/SP
55-NE-M-2	Shippagan	Caraquet	FR/ENG
56-NE-M-1	Cap-Bateau	Lameque	FR/ENG
57-NE-M-2	Caraquet	Moncton-3yrs	FR/ENG/GR
58-NE-F-2	Tracadie	Beresford	FR/ENG
59-SE-M-2	Acadieville	Bathurst	FR/ENG
60-SE-F-2	Cap Pele	Cap Pele	FR/ENG
61-SE-F-1	Saint Joseph	Cap Pele	FR/ENG
62-SE-M-2	Cap Pele	Cap Pele	FR/ENG
63-NW-M-1	Caraquet	Richibucto-50yrs	FR/ENG

64-SE-M-1	Saint-Basile	Moncton-2yrs	FR/ENG
65-SE-F-1	Richibucto	Moncton	FR/ENG
66-SE-F-1	Richibucto	Cocagne	FR/ENG/GR
67-SE-F-2	Moncton	Moncton	FR/ENG
68-SE-M-1	Moncton	Moncton	FR/ENG
69-SE-F-2	Cap Pele	Cap Pele	FR/ENG
70-NW-F-2	Moncton	Cap Pele	FR/ENG
71-NW-M-2	Grand-Sault	Edmundston	FR/ENG
72-NW-M-1	Edmundston	Edmundston	FR/ENG
73-NW-M-1	Grand-Sault	Grand-Sault	FR/ENG
	Saint-Quentin	Saint-Quentin	FR/ENG

7.2.3 Participant identity

Participant code	Identity				
	Canadian	Francophone	Acadien	Brayon	Chiac
01-NW-M-1	X	X		X	
02-NE-M-1	X	X	X		
03-SE-F-1	X	X	X		X
04-NE-F-1	X	X	X		
05-NE-M-2	X	X	X		
06-SE-F-2		X	X		
07-SE-M-2	X	X	X		
08-SE-M-1	X	X	X		X
09-NE-F-1			X		
10-NE-F-1	X	X	X		
11-NE-F-2	X	X	X		
12-NE-M-1	X		X		
13-NE-M-2	X	X	X		
14-NE-F-2	X	X	X		
15-NE-F-2	X	X	X		
16-NE-M-2	X	X	X		
17-NE-M-2	X	X	X		
18-NE-F-1	X	X	X		
19-NE-F-1	X	X	X		
20-NE-F-1	X	X	X		
21-NW-F-2	X	X		X	
22-NW-F-2	X	X		X	
23-NW-F-2	X	X	X		
24-NW-F-1	X	X			
25-NE-M-2	X	X	X		
26-NW-M-2	X	X	X		
27-NW-M-1	X	X		X	
28-NW-F-1	X	X		X	
29-NW-F-2	X	X	X	X	
30-NW-F-1	X	X		X	
31-NW-M-2	X	X	X		
32-NW-F-2	X	X	X		

ID	1	2	3	4	5
33-NW-F-2	X			X	
34-NW-M-2	X	X	X		
35-SE-F-1	X	X	X		X
36-SE-F-1	X	X	X		X
37-NE-F-1	X	X	X		
38-SE-M-2	X		X		
39-SE-M-1	X	X	X		X
40-NE-M-2	X	X	X		
41-NW-F-1	X	X		X	
42-SE-M-2	X	X	X		
43-NE-F-1	X	X	X		
44-NW-F-2	X	X		X	
45-NE-F-1	X	X	X		
46-SE-M-1	X	X	X		X
47-SE-M-2	X	X	X		
48-SE-F-1	X	X	X		X
49-SE-M-1	X	X	X		X
50-SE-M-1	X	X	X		X
51-SE-F-1	X	X	X		X
52-SE-M-1	X	X	X		X
53-NE-M-2	X	X	X		
54-NE-F-2	X	X	X		
55-NE-M-2			X		
56-NE-M-1	X	X	X		
57-NE-M-2	X	X	X		
58-NE-F-2	X	X	X		
59-SE-M-2	X	X	X		X
60-SE-F-2	X	X	X		X
61-SE-F-1	X	X	X		X
62-SE-M-2			X		
63-NW-M-1	X	X		X	
64-SE-M-1	X	X	X		
65-SE-F-1	X	X	X		X
66-SE-F-1	X	X	X		X
67-SE-F-2	X	X	X		
68-SE-M-1	X	X	X		X
69-SE-F-2	X	X	X		
70-NW-F-2	X	X			
71-NW-M-2				X	
72-NW-M-1	X	X	X		
73-NW-M-1	X	X			

7.2.4 Number of responses to interview questions, as per region, gender, and age

Data analyzed and total number of responses	NE	SE	NW	Women (F)	Men (M)	Age group 1 (A1)	Age group 2 (A2)
Definition of Acadia (/66)	24	23	19	33	33	33	33
Definition of an Acadian (/59)	21	21	17	29	30	29	30
Differences among Atlantic / Maritime Acadians (/63)	23	22	18	33	30	31	32
Differences among NB Acadians (/53)	19	20	14	27	26	28	25
The role of language in *acadianité* (/49)	20	12	17	25	24	23	26
Linguistic comprehension (/61)	21	22	18	33	28	31	30
Reactions to linguistic varieties (/56)	18	23	15	28	28	29	27
Fears of assimilation (/59)	21	21	17	33	26	28	31
Consequences of assimilation (/54)	20	19	15	26	28	30	24
An Acadian capital (/63)	22	23	18	33	30	30	33
Wanting an Acadian capital (/27)	9	6	12	14	13	19	8
Wanting an Acadian province (/61)	22	21	18	33	28	29	32
Geographic borders of Acadia (/59)	19	22	18	32	27	31	28

7.3 Data analyzed (tables)

Table 1: Participant identity as per region, age and gender

	Canadian	Francophone	Acadian	Brayon	Chiac	other
NE /25	24	23	25	-	-	-
%	96	92	100	-	-	-
SE /26	24	24	26	-	17	-
%	92.3	92.3	100	-	65.4	-
NW /20	19	18	7	11	-	2
%	95	90	35	55	-	10
A1 /37	37	36	28	7	15	1
%	100	97.3	75.7	18.9	40.5	2.7
A2 /34	30	29	30	4	2	1
%	88.2	85.3	88.2	11.8	5.9	2.9
F /36	35	35	28	7	9	1
%	97.2	97.2	77.8	19.4	25.0	2.8
M /35	32	30	30	4	8	1
%	91.4	85.7	85.7	11.4	22.9	2.9
Total (/71)	67	65	58	11	17	2
%	94.4	91.5	81.7	15.5	23.9	2.8

Table 2: Definitions of *Acadie* as per region, age and gender

	no borders	«pays de mes ancêtres»	feeling	ancestry	geography	Francophones	other
NE /24	3	2	10	5	9	5	2
%	12.5	8.3	41.7	20.8	37.5	20.8	8.3
SE /23	-	1	14	3	10	-	2
%	-	4.3	60.9	13	43.5	-	8.7
NW /19	-	3	5	-	9	8	1
%	-	15.8	26.3	-	47.4	42.1	5.3
A 1 /33	-	3	16	4	15	8	3
%	-	6.1	48.5	12.1	45.5	24.2	9.1
A 2 /33	3	4	13	4	13	7	2
%	9.1	12.1	39.4	12.1	39.4	21.2	6.1
F /33	-	4	15	6	12	7	5
%	-	12.1	45.5	18.2	36.4	21.2	15.2
M /33	3	2	14	2	16	8	-
%	9.1	6.1	42.4	6.1	48.5	24.2	-
Total (/66)	3	6	29	8	28	13	5
%	4.5	9.1	43.9	12.1	42.4	19.7	7.6

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Table 3: Acadian typology for *Acadie* as per region, age and gender

	historical	genealogical	operational	prospective	other
NE /24	1	12	6	7	2
%	4.2	50	25	29.2	8.3
SE /23	1	7	12	4	3
%	4.3	17.4	52.2	17.4	13
NW /19	3	2	8	9	2
%	15.8	10.5	42.1	47.4	10.5
A 1 /33	2	9	18	9	5
%	6.1	27.3	54.5	27.3	15.2
A 2 /33	3	12	8	11	2
%	9.1	36.4	24.2	33.3	6.1
F /33	3	10	13	11	6
%	9.1	30.3	39.4	33.3	18.2
M /33	2	11	13	9	1
%	6.1	33.3	39.4	27.3	3
Total (/66)	5	21	26	20	7
%	7.6	31.8	39.4	30.3	10.6

Table 4: Definitions of *Acadien* as per region, age and gender

	French speaker	ancestry	regional resident	member	proud person	other
NE /21	4	10	2	7	3	3
%	19	47.6	9.5	33.3	14.3	14.3
SE /21	8	8	4	6	4	1
%	38	38.1	19	28.6	19	4.8
NW /17	9	10	11	2	3	2
%	52.9	58.8	64.7	11.8	17.6	11.8
A 1 /29	9	9	9	9	6	4
%	31	31	31	31	20.7	13.8
A 2 /30	12	19	7	5	4	2
%	40	63.3	23.3	16.7	13.3	6.7
F /29	11	12	10	5	5	6
%	37.9	41.4	34.5	17.2	17.2	20.7
M /30	10	16	7	10	6	-
%	33.3	53.3	23.3	33.3	20	-
Total (/59)	21	28	17	15	10	6
%	35.6	47.5	28.8	25.4	16.9	10.2

Table 5: Acadian typology for *Acadien* as per region, age and gender

	genealogical	operational	prospective
NE /21	14	8	8
%	66.7	38.1	38.1
SE /21	11	10	6
%	52.4	47.6	28.6
NW /17	10	6	11
%	58.8	35.3	64.7
A 1 /29	15	14	12
%	51.7	48.3	41.4
A 2 /30	20	10	13
%	66.7	33.3	43.3
F /29	15	11	14
%	51.7	37.9	48.3
M /30	20	13	11
%	66.7	43.3	36.7
Total (/59)	35	24	25
%	59.3	40.7	42.3

Table 6: single ideology versus multiple ideologies for initial definitions of *Acadie* and *Acadien*

Acadia	Unique Ideology	Multiple Ideologies	Acadian	Unique Ideology	Multiple Ideologies
NE /24	20	4	**NE /21**	13	8
%	83.3	16.7	**%**	61.9	38.1
SE /23	21	2	**SE /21**	15	6
%	91.3	8.7	**%**	71.4	28.6
NW / 19	15	4	**NW / 17**	8	9
%	78.9	21.1	**%**	47.1	52.9
A 1 / 33	27	6	**L1 / 29**	18	11
%	81.8	18.2	**%**	62.1	37.9
A 2 /33	29	4	**L2 /30**	18	12
%	87.8	12.1	**%**	60	40
F /33	27	6	**F /29**	20	9
%	81.8	18.2	**%**	69	31
M / 33	29	4	**M / 30**	16	14
%	87.9	12.1	**%**	53.3	46.7
Total /66	56	10	**Total /59**	36	23
%	84.5	15.2	**%**	61.0	39

Table 7: Elements of the genealogical ideology in the definitions of *Acadie*

Genealogical ideology	Total genealogical responses and percentage	Single ideology responses		Multiple ideology responses	
		total gen. responses	total single	total gen. responses	total multiple
1. ancestry	11/21	6/21	6/16	5/21	5/5
%	52.4	28.6	37.5	23.8	100
2. no borders	9/21	9/21	9/16	0/21	0/5
%	42.9	42.9	56.3	0	0
3. *patrie intérieure*	10/21	10/21	10/16	0/21	0/5
%	47.6	47.6	62.5	0	0

Table 8: Elements of the operational ideology in the definitions of *Acadie*

Operational ideology	Total operational responses and percentage	Single ideology responses		Multiple ideology responses	
		total op. responses	total single definitions	total op. responses	total multiple definitions
1. Maritimes	21/26	15/26	15/20	6/26	6/6
%	80.8	57.7	75	23.1	100
2. speakers of French	4/26	4/26	4/20	0/26	0/6
%	15.4	15.4	20	0	0
3. *cause commune*	9/26	9/26	9/20	0/26	0/6
%	34.6	34.6	45	0	0

Table 9: Elements of the prospective operational ideology in the definitions of *Acadie*

Prospective ideology	Total prospective responses and percentage	Single ideology responses		Multiple ideology responses	
		total op. responses	total single definitions	total op. responses	total multiple definitions
1. New Brunswick	14/20	11/20	11/13	3/20	3/7
%	70	55	84.6	15	42.9
2. Francophone	12/20	6/20	6/13	6/20	6/7
%	60	30	46.2	30	85.7

Table 10: Elements of the genealogical ideology in the definitions of *Acadien*

Genealogical ideology	Total genealogical responses and percentage	Single ideology responses		Multiple ideology responses	
		total gen. responses	total single definitions	total gen. responses	total multiple definitions
1. ancestry	33/35	14/35	14/15	19/35	19/20
%	94.3	40	93.3	54.3	95
2. no borders	0/35	0/35	0/15	0/35	0/20
%	0	0	0	0	0
3. *patrie intérieure*	5/35	3/35	3/15	2/35	2/20
%	14.8	8.6	20	5.7	10

Table 11: Elements of the operational ideology in the definitions of *Acadien*

Operational ideology	Total operational responses and percentage	Single ideology responses		Multiple ideology responses	
		total op. responses	total single definitions	total op. responses	total multiple definitions
1. Maritimes	7/24	1/24	1/9	6/24	6/15
%	29.2	4.2	11.1	25	40
2. speakers of French	11/24	5/24	5/9	6/24	6/15
%	45.8	20.8	55.6	25	40
3. *cause commune*	16/24	7/24	7/9	9/24	9/15
%	66.7	29.2	77.8	37.5	60

Table 12: Elements of the prospective operational ideology in the definitions of *Acadien*

Prospective ideology	Total prospective responses and percentage	Single ideology responses		Multiple ieology responses	
		total op. responses	total single definitions	total op. responses	total multiple definitions
1. New Brunswick	8/25	6/25	6/14	2/25	2/11
%	32	24	42.9	8	18.2
2. Francophone	23/25	13/25	13/14	10/25	10/11
%	92	52	92.9	40	90.1

Table 13: Geographical reference for *Acadie* and *Acadien*

	le Nouveau-Brunswick		les provinces maritimes		les provinces de l'atlantique		la Louisiane		le nord / le bord de la mer		un endroit / une place (etc)		· other	
	/28	%	/28	%	/28	%	/28	%	/28	%	/28	%	/28	%
Acadie	5	17.9	8	28.6	5	17.9	4	14.3	4	14.3	7	25	4	14.3
Acadien	/17	%	/17	%	/17	%	/17	%	/17	%	/17	%	/17	%
	3	17.6	4	23.5	2	11.7	1	5.9	3	17.6	2	11.7	4	23.5

Table 14: Geographical reference for *Acadie* and *Acadien*, as per region

		le Nouveau-Brunswick	les provinces maritimes	les provinces de l'atlantique	la Louisiane	le nord / le bord de la mer	un endroit / une place (etc)	other
A	NE (/9)	2	2	1	1	2	3	1
c	%	22.2	22.2	11.1	11.1	22.2	33.3	11.1
a	SE(/10)	2	4	2	2	-	2	1
d	%	20	40	20	20	-	20	10
i	NW (/9)	1	2	2	1	2	2	2
e	%	11.1	22.2	22.2	11.1	22.2	22.2	22.2
A	NE (/2)	1	1	-	-	1	-	-
c	%	50	50	-	-	50	-	-
a	SE(/4)	1	1	1	1	-	-	1
d	%	25	25	25	25	-	-	25
i	NW (11)	1	2	1	-	2	2	3
e n	%	9	18	9	-	18	18	27

Table15: Geographical reference for *Acadie* and *Acadien*, as per age

		le Nouveau-Brunswick	les provinces maritimes	les provinces de l'atlantique	la Louisiane	le nord / le bord de la mer	un endroit / une place (etc)	other
Acadie	A1 (/15)	2	3	2	4	1	6	2
	%	13.3	20	13.3	26.7	6.7	40	13.3
	A2 (/13)	3	5	3	-	3	1	2
	%	23	38.5	23	-	23	7.7	15.4
Acadien	A1 (/9)	1	2	1	-	3	2	1
	%	11	22	11	-	33	22	11
	A2 (/8)	2	2	1	1	-	-	3
	%	25	25	12.5	12.5	-	-	37.5

Table 16: Geographical reference for *Acadie* and *Acadien*, as per gender

		le Nouveau-Brunswick	les provinces maritimes	les provinces de l'atlantique	la Louisiane	le nord / le bord de la mer	un endroit / une place (etc)	other
Acadie	F (/12)	1	1	1	3	3	6	2
	%	8.3	8.3	8.3	25	25	50	2
	M (/16)	4	7	4	1	1	1	2
	%	25	43.8	25	6.3	6.3	6.3	12.5
Acadien	F (/10)	1	4	-	1	3	1	2
	%	10	40	-	10	30	10	20
	M (/7)	2	-	2	-	-	1	2
	%	28.5	-	28.5	-	-	14.3	28.5

Table 17: Belief in an Acadian capital as per region, age and gender

	No	Yes	unsure
NE /22	10	9	2
%	45.5	40.9	9.1
SE /23	7	13	3
%	30.4	56.5	13.0
NW /18	9	3	6
%	50	16.7	33.3
A1 /30	11	12	6
%	36.7	40	20
A2 /33	15	13	5
%	45.5	39.4	15.2
F /33	12	12	8
%	36.4	36.4	24.2
M /30	14	13	3
%	46.7	43.3	10
Total (/63)	26	25	11
%	41.3	39.7	17.5

Table 18: Acadian capital; Caraquet vs Moncton as per region, age and gender

C	NE		SE		NW		A1		A2		F		M		Total	
a	/9	%	/13	%	/3	%	/13	%	/12	%	/12	%	/13	%	/25	%
r a q u e t	6	66.7	2	15.4	3	100	4	30.8	7	58.3	5	41.7	6	46.2	11	44
M	NE		SE		NW		A 1		A 2		F		M		Total	
o	/9	%	/13	%	/3	%	/13	%	/12	%	/12	%	/13	%	/25	%
n c t o n	-	-	8	61.5	-	-	7	53.8	1	8.3	4	33.3	4	30.8	8	32

Table 19: Wanting an Acadian capital as per region, age and gender

	no	yes	not sure	no definite answer
NE (/9)	6	1	1	1
%	66.7	11.1	11.1	11.1
SE (/6)	3	3	-	-
%	50	50	-	-
NW (/12)	4	6	1	1
%	33.3	50	8.3	8.3
A 1 (/14)	6	5	2	-
%	42.9	35.7	14.3	-
A 2 (/13)	7	5	-	2
%	52.8	38.5	-	15.4
F (/19)	10	7	1	1
%	52.6	36.8	5.3	5.3
M (/8)	3	3	1	1
%	37.5	37.5	12.5	12.5
Total /27	13	10	2	2
%	48.1	37.0	7.4	7.4

Table 20: Wanting an Acadian territory as per region, age and gender

Variable	Yes	No	Other
NE /22	5	14	3
%	23	64	13
SE /21	5	14	2
%	24	67	9
NW /18	5	12	1
%	28	67	5
A 1 /29	10	18	1
%	34	62	4
A 2 /32	5	22	5
%	16	69	15
F /33	12	17	4
%	36	52	12
M /28	3	23	2
%	11	82	7
Total (/ 61)	21	34	6
%	34	56	10

Table 21: A geographical Acadia as per region, age and gender

	Geographical answer	No borders
NE /19	11	8
%	58	42
SE /22	10	12
%	45	55
NW /18	13	5
%	72	28
A1 /31	19	12
%	61	39
A2 /28	15	13
%	54	46
F /32	17	15
%	53	47
M /27	17	10
%	63	37
Total (/59)	34	25
%	58	42

Table 22: New Brunswick as Acadia, sub categories as per region, age and gender

	Exclusively NB	NB within Maritimes	NB within N. Am.
NE /11	8	1	2
%	72.7	9.1	18.2
SE /10	6	4	-
%	60	40	-
NW /12	10	1	1
%	83.3	8.3	8.3
A1 (/19)	10	6	3
%	52.6	31.6	15.8
A2 (/14)	14	-	-
%	100	-	-
F (/16)	9	5	2
%	56.3	31.3	12.5
M (/17)	15	1	1
%	88.2	5.9	5.9
Total (/33)	24	6	3
%	72.3	18.2	9.1

Table 23: regions as part of Acadia as per region, age and gender

	Include NW	Include NE	Include SE	Include SE, exclude Moncton
NE /11	9	11	10	2/10
%	81.8	100	90.9	20
SE /10	8	10	8	1/8
%	80	100	80	12.5
NW /12	8	12	11	3/11
%	66.7	100	91.7	27.3
A1 (/19)	13	19	18	3/18
%	68.4	100	94.7	16.7
A2 (/14)	12	14	11	3/11
%	85.7	100	78.6	27.3
F (/16)	11	16	15	1/15
%	68.8	100	93.8	6.7
M (/17)	14	17	11	5/11
%	82.4	100	64.7	45.5
Total /33	25	33	29	6/29
%	75.8	100	87.9	20.7

Table 24: Differences between Acadians as per region, age and gender

	Yes	No	Unsure
NE /23	13	7	2
%	56	30	9
SE /22	13	3	4
%	59	14	18
NW /18	11	4	1
%	61	22	6
A1 /31	18	6	6
%	58	19	19
A2 /32	19	9	1
%	59	28	3
F /33	18	8	4
%	60	27	13
M /30	19	6	3
%	58	18	9
Total (/63)	37	14	7
%	59	22	11

Table 25: Differences between New Brunswick Acadians as per region, age and gender

	Yes	No	Other
NE /19	13	5	1
%	68.4	26.3	5.3
SE /20	15	4	1
%	75	20	5
NW /14	10	3	1
%	71.4	21.4	7.1
A1 /28	21	6	1
%	75	21.4	3.6
A2 /25	17	6	2
%	68	24	8
F /27	19	5	2
%	70.4	18.5	7.4
M /26	19	7	1
%	73.1	26.9	3.8
Total Q4	38	12	3
%	71.7	22.6	5.7

Table 26: French as primary element in *acadianité* as per region, age and gender

NE /20	14
%	70
SE /12	4
%	33.3
NW /17	12
%	71
A1 /23	13
%	56.5
A2 /26	17
%	65.4
F /25	15
%	60
M /24	15
%	62.5
Total Q5 (/49)	30
%	61.2

Table 27: Comprehension difficulties among New Brunswick Acadians as per region, age and gender

	Yes	No
NE /21	11	10
%	52	48
SE /22	11	11
%	50	50
NW /18	9	9
%	50	50
A 1 /31	19	12
%	61	39
A 2 /30	12	18
%	40	60
F /33	20	13
%	61	39
M /28	11	17
%	39	61
Total (/61)	32	29
%	52	48

Table 28: Assimilation fears in French New Brunswick as per region, age and gender

	Yes	No	Other
NE / 21	7	6	8
%	33.3	28.6	38.1
SE /21	9	5	7
%	42.9	23.8	33.3
NW /17	8	3	6
%	47.1	17.6	35.3
A1 /28	9	10	9
%	32.1	35.7	32.1
A2 /31	15	4	12
%	48.4	12.9	38.7
F /33	12	12	9
%	36.4	36.4	27.3
M /26	12	2	12
%	46.2	7.7	46.2
Total (/59)	24	14	21
%	40.7	23.7	35.6

Table 29: Assimilation consequences – loss of *acadianité* as per region, age and gender

	still *Acadien*	no longer *Acadien*	other
NE / 20	14	3	3
%	70	15	15
SE /19	14	2	3
%	73.7	10.5	15.8
NW /15	10	2	3
%	66.7	13.3	20
A1 /26	21	2	3
%	80.8	7.7	11.5
A2 /28	17	5	6
%	60.7	17.9	21.4
F /30	23	3	4
%	76.7	10	13.3
M /24	15	4	5
%	62.5	16.7	20.8
Total (/54)	38	7	9
%	70.4	12.9	16.7