Québec French in Florida: North American Francophone Language Practices on the Road

HÉLÈNE BLONDEAU

Introduction

Most of the sociolinguistic research on French in North America has focused on stable speech communities and long-established francophone groups in Canada or in the US, including Franco-Americans, Cajuns, Québécois and Acadians.[1] However, since mobility has become an integral part of an increasingly globalized society, research on the language practices of transient groups of speakers is crucial for a better understanding of twenty-first-century francophone North America. The current article sheds light on the language practices of a group of speakers who experience a high degree of mobility and regular back-and-forth contact between francophone Canada and the US: francophone peoples of Québécois origin who move in and out of South Florida.

For years, Florida has been a destination for many Canadians, some of whom have French as their mother tongue. A significant number of these people are part of the so-called "snowbird" population, a group that regularly travels south in an attempt to escape the rigorous northern winter. Snowbirds stay in the Sunshine State only temporarily. Others have established themselves in the US permanently, forming the first generation of Canado-Floridians, and another segment of the population is comprised of second-generation immigrants. By studying the language practices of such speakers, we can document the status of a mobile francophone group that has been largely under-examined in the body of research on French in North America. In this case, the mobility involves the crossing of national borders, and members of this community come in contact with English through their interactions with the American population in Florida. Therefore, we can expect linguistic consequences linked to mobility and contact.

To shed light on this interesting twist on a language-contact situation, we adopt a case study approach documenting seasonally migratory—or at least cyclically traveling—North American francophone speakers. Adopting a transamerican focus, our analysis explores how the language practices of the speakers are shaped by the mobility and the constant interaction between two cultures—one that speaks English and one that speaks French.

The Sociolinguistics of Mobility: Moving In and Out of Florida

While the traditional sociolinguistic approach anchored in the Labovian notion of speech communities has been invaluable in documenting language practices and their relationship with identity issues, it has unfortunately left aside a number of relevant situations from a sociolinguistic point of view.[2] Such situations include speakers who do not fit within the traditional view of a speech community; for example, those who experience a high degree of mobility.[3] However, in a sociolinguistic field that for many years has mainly favored the examination of language-in-place in a static horizontal space, the sociolinguistics of mobility is emerging as a new trend in research.[4] Such a perspective is associated with the more general "mobility turn" in social sciences.[5] The adoption of a new mobilities paradigm for the exploration of language practices provides a counterbalance to the traditional language in place approach.

In the context of francophone scholarship in North America, numerous studies have analyzed relatively stable sociolinguistic situations, attempting to understand the community language practices in terms of language use or language representations and how such practices connect with identity issues. However, very little has been done regarding francophone speakers who experience mobility, since they are often regarded as lacking the representativeness of the core community or diverging from the authentic vernacular practices which have been a central point of interest in dialectology and sociolinguistics. For these reasons, mobile speakers are often marginalized and excluded from sociolinguistic studies.

Recent studies on francophones in North America have begun to fill this gap. Daveluy examines Canadian military families who relocate at regular intervals and transient workers who travel back and forth from their workplaces.[6] Forget analyzes RVers as North American nomads.[7] These studies not only fill a gap in the knowledge of francophone America by drawing attention to a neglected population of francophones, but also shed new light on how identity constructs itself in relation to the fluidity implied by the mobility of the speakers.

As highlighted by Mimi Sheller and John Urry in their paper "The New Mobilities Paradigm" (2006), commuters, asylum seekers, international students, terrorists, RVers, members of diasporas, the early retired, business people, sports stars, refugees, backpackers and young mobile professionals have one thing in common: their mobility. This mobility is not only visible in international airports and

trains, but also on United States highways when one travels by car on I-95 or I-75 across North America. It is even more visible in Florida when we look at RVers or at snowbirds' license plates. Florida is highly affected by mobility; its population has changed considerably over the years. Nearly 900,000 temporary residents call the Sunshine State home during the peak winter months.[8] This number is certainly still growing, as Florida recently surpassed New York to become the third most populous state.[9]

From an economic point of view, it has been well documented that one of Florida's main economic strengths is tourism. In recent years, research interests have developed concerning the situation of the so-called snowbirds in the US. This population of temporary Florida residents attracted by the mild winter in the state is constantly growing, and a good portion of them are Canadians.[10] According to a previous study on tourism that examined the presence of Québécois in Florida, between 500,000 and 700,000 visitors from Québec came to Florida each year in the mid-eighties.[11] Rémy Tremblay (2006) estimates that another 100,000 French Canadians have established themselves as residents of the state, though many have not acquired US citizenship.[12] Contrary to the stereotype, not all of them are over fifty-five; a large number of young people come to Florida for different reasons, many remaining in the state for more than six months.[13] It is also known that a good number of these francophone speakers live in more integrated communities in the Southeast, near the Miami area.[14]

The handful of researchers who have examined the situation from a diachronic point of view have noted an evolution in the community pattern, a change that began with a sporadic mobility, continued with a larger numbers of visitors coming in and out of Florida, and eventually evolved to what it is today. The situation is currently described as a context in which temporary residents interact with an already-established population of speakers declaring a French Canadian or Québécois origin.[15]

Dupont (1982) identifies two waves of migration/mobility. The first wave of immigration took place in the 1930s. Prior to that decade, mobility from Québec or Canada to Florida was only sporadic.[16] Dupuis (2010) mentions that then prime minister Wilfrid Laurier, one of the few well-known tourists who traveled to the region in the early years, visited Florida in 1902.[17] In addition, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the orchards and the forest industry in the Gulf of Mexico attracted some workers of Québécois, Acadian or Franco-American origins, but these temporary migrations were far from being comparable to the large Québécois diaspora who settled in New England during the same period. According to Dupont (1982), in the wake of the effort by the United States government to resolve the 1929 economic crisis, the government undertook major infrastructure work in Florida, such as the construction of a network of canals through the marshland in southeast Florida and the opening of the Intercoastal Waterway.[18] During the same period

there were also attempts to develop the tourism industry. Such major initiatives attracted thousands of Americans, and among them were Franco-Americans from New England, some accompanied by their French Canadian cousins. Rather than going back home after the construction work was completed, many of the French Canadian workers took up permanent residence in the southeast region near Miami.

After the Second World War there were 67,000 French Canadian and Franco-American families living in Florida.[19] Many of the new permanent residents found work in the growing tourist industry. This first wave was then followed by another large movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Other historians who examined the situation documented the development of communities of francophones in Florida mainly after the post-war years.[20] In his historical account of the foundation of a French Canadian immigrant community in the region of Palm Beach, Florida (1945-1997), Dupuis documented how the migration and the development of the community was shaped not only by economic imperatives, but also by the "fear" of winter, which he identified as an important motive for mobility and an element of continuity.[21] Desrosiers-Lauzon traced a similar diachronic development, examining how the Florida snowbird population evolved during the twentieth century from a group of largely room renters to mobile home buyers, and finally to condo dwellers for whom the escape from winter was a clear motivation.[22] In sum, apart from economic considerations, it seems that, from a socio-symbolic point of view, many francophones from the North were looking for some sort of "paradise" under the sun.

Looking at the phenomenon from the perspective of social geography, Tremblay (2006) examined an area of southwest Florida often identified by the locals as the "Floribec" community, its name a combination of Florida and Québec; the region has a reputation of welcoming the Québécois.[23] Tremblay's synchronic analysis described the various patterns of residency and social networks. For example, his analysis of social networks documented how the members of the community often relied on services that target francophones, such as hair salons, travel agencies, restaurants and even banks. According to his study, these resources were available to such an extent that a community member could spend several weeks or months in Florida and speak minimal English—if any at all. Aside from the physical indications of the community patterns of residency, Tremblay also pointed toward cultural practices attached to a more abstract notion of social identity, where French constituted a marker of identity. While Tremblay was not necessarily focusing on the language practices of the community, he noted that those who were living in the center of the community felt tied to their heritage, while those on the periphery were more likely to distance themselves from the Québécois image due to the negative connotation toward tourists. Nonetheless, the majority expressed a contentment to be in Florida with other members of the community, sharing French as a common language.

Although this mobile population has been examined from economic, historical and geographical standpoints, less attention has been paid to the language practices of the community. In some of the previous analyses, it has been noted that the French language constitutes a central identification factor**,** as is shown by the usage of francophone mass media and other communication tools by the members of the community.[24] To our knowledge, no extensive study of the sociolinguistic aspects of this phenomenon has been performed, and this article aims to fill that gap.

Before detailing the methodology for the present study, it is important to briefly summarize the language practices of the Québécois diaspora across North America over time. While during the seventeenth century, French colonization in New France was mainly limited to the St. Lawrence Valley, large networks of trade posts and fortifications were later established in other regions in North America. This period was followed, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, by the development of the Detroit French Colony in the Great Lakes region. Even if the numbers were modest, we can consider these events benchmarks of the development of the first North American francophone diaspora. During the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the economic development of the US led to the arrival of many Québécois looking for work that was not available in their native province of Québec. This large movement of population is associated with the development of many francophone communities across North America, namely in the western provinces of Canada and in many areas of New England.[25] The francophone diaspora in New England has involved the contribution of francophones of Quebecer and Acadian descents, and language practices have evolved over time in relation to the intensity of the contact, whether it be the contact between each other or the contact due to the constant back and forth between Canada and the US. In the context of the development of a new sociolinguistic corpus, Salmon and Dubois (2014) have illustrated the changes in the language practices of Franco-Americans over time in relation to the intensity of the contact with the province of Québec.[26]

If we examine the language practices of the Québécois diaspora today, it is obvious that it can vary depending on the social context. From a linguistic point of view, the varieties of French spoken across the diaspora share numerous usages with Québec French. However, the research has demonstrated that where francophones are in a minority setting and when intergenerational transmission no longer takes place within the family, the French shows, on one hand, signs of Anglicization and of language loss, and on the other hand, signs of standardization.[27] The first tendency is documented from a linguistic point of view by the use of expressions reflecting the influence of English or incomplete mastery of complex or irregular elements of French, and by the fact that French is no longer the language of communication and English is preferred in many social contexts. On the other hand, the effect of standardization is associated with the fact that in some cases, the transmission is mainly done through the school medium (especially in Canada, but also to a lesser

extent in Louisiana). Consequently, since in school students are exposed to the standard variety of many vernacular features, some of the markers of local identity are lost in the process. Where the ethnolinguistic vitality of a community is stronger, the population generally maintains the usage of informal Québec French (QF). One of our research questions is to investigate how the language practices of francophones in Florida reflects tendencies observed in other segments of the Québécois diaspora across North America.

Methodological Approach

The present analysis takes the form of a case study documenting the language practices of mobile Québécois for whom French is their mother tongue and of Americans of Québécois or French Canadian descent living in South Florida who have French in their linguistic repertoire or as a heritage language. At the crossroads of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, we approach the language practices from the perspective of usage and representations. The analysis provided is based on fieldwork conducted in South Florida as reported in Blondeau (2012).[28]

The data that constitutes the basis of the study comes from sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Florida. We tracked the Florida community in the southeast of the state and interviewed people from Hollywood and Dana. We solicited participants of Québec or French Canadian origin for whom French was their native language. The first participants were recruited through a classified ad in *Le Soleil de la Floride,* a well-known local newspaper in print since the early 1980s. Once the first contacts were established, the participants provided us with information about their social networks so we could recruit other participants. We were able to achieve diversity in terms of profession, age, and sex, and both first-generation and mobile snowbirds were represented. However, the participants were a homogeneous group in terms of ethnicity. Most of the participants declared a personal stake in the local community and expressed their affiliation with the francophone community.

The semi-directed interviews were conducted mainly in French. Following a classical sociolinguistic model, the interviews themselves were open in nature and allowed each participant to speak spontaneously. The interviewer—a native speaker of Québec French living and working in Florida—used various freely organized thematic modules regarding various aspects of the life of the participant, and some of the interview content focused on the participant's language practices, mobility experience, and lifestyle in Florida. The interviews were transcribed according to the norms in the sociolinguistic field using a similar protocol as the one used for the sociolinguistic corpora of Montreal French.[29] Such transcription protocol allows for both linguistic and content analysis and provides a good base for comparison.

In addition, the author's access to the former large body of data collected in Montreal though the interrelated sociolinguistic corpora collected in 1971, 1984 and 1995 benefits our analysis for comparative purposes.[30] It is important to note that

various sets of interviews are parallel in terms of their purpose, structure and style, and they also take on linguistic themes. Having access to such data provides us with a useful benchmark for comparison.[31]

From the initial corpus, a total of 12 interviews were transcribed and are analyzed. For our analysis we also provide four sociolinguistic profiles of participants to better illustrate some of the speakers' strategies. The four participants are all women, identified by a pseudonym, from different age groups. They were chosen for illustrative purposes because they play different roles in the community and have contact with English in differing ways. Two of the participants, Jacynthe and Therese, are snowbirds who spend half of the year in Florida. The two others (Nadine and Diane) are first-generation immigrants who permanently reside and work in Florida.

Jacynthe (1935)

Jacynthe is the oldest of the participants, born in 1935. She spends half the year at her home in Longueuil, Québec, and the other half in Hollywood since her retirement in 1991. In Florida, she lives in a condominium complex where the population is comprised almost entirely of anglophone residents, and where she serves on the council of administration.

Therese (1938)

Therese spends half the year at her home in Québec and the other half in Florida since her retirement. In the past she frequently traveled to Florida on vacation. She lives in a mobile home complex and is highly involved in social activities in her neighborhood and in the community.

Diane (1954)

Diane, born in 1954, has lived in Florida for twenty-three years with her husband. She works as the manager of a local travel agency targeting Québécois tourists, and she estimates that 90 percent of her clients speak French. She speaks French at work nearly always, but also has friends in the area who are anglophones.

Nadine (1968)

Nadine is the youngest participant, born in 1968, and like all the others, she was born in Québec. She lives in Ft. Lauderdale, where she works principally as a nurse at a hospital, and frequently has the opportunity to speak French while at work. Having moved to Florida to further her possibilities for employment, she has lived there for twelve years and has two children who attend school in English.

The two following sections are devoted to the description of the language practices detailed here both in terms of language use and language representation. We first examine language use by exploring how the participants include English-language borrowings in their speech. The following section sheds light on their language representation based on an analysis of the verbatim interviews.

Borrowings in a Cultural Context

Before analyzing the representations of language practices, we examine how English-language borrowings are integrated into the French of our participants in comparison to what is known of spoken French in the Québec province. This is relevant for our analysis because borrowing is a linguistic phenomenon involved in most situations of language contact.

Two types of social processes result in language contact situations: conquest and immigration.[32] It has been demonstrated that in a sociohistorical context associated with immigration, contact is often more rapid and can result in linguistic assimilation, while in a context associated with conquest, contact can imply a long period of bilingualism lasting generations or even centuries. In both cases, borrowings are part of the linguistic outcomes of language contact, as they often are one of its first manifestations. However, in the case under study we are looking at a migration situation involving an important degree of mobility which could have a potential effect on the linguistic outcomes. This is why we want to examine how the frequent Florida-Québec back-and-forth movements of population influence the usage of borrowings. In other words, this case study explores how mobility in the context of a more interconnected, globalized society effects the linguistic outcomes of language contact.

For the purpose of our analysis, we concentrate on borrowings and put aside code-switching practices. We adopt Poplack's definition (1988), which identifies a borrowing as a lexical item of a donor language, introduced in the lexicon of a recipient language.[33] Such a lexical item—in our study a lexical item from the donor language English—could belong to any grammatical category. However, previous research has shown how nouns and verbs, which correspond to an open class category, are more likely to be borrowed than words belonging to a closed class category, such as prepositions. In terms of pronunciation, the literature has shown that there is a large range of variability in the way borrowed words are produced. While some borrowed words are pronounced according to the recipient language sound system, others keep some of the features of the donor language.[34]

A first look at our data pointed to a series of borrowings reflecting the specificity of the region and/or the cultural needs of the community.[35] For example, one of the participants, Nadine, uses the terms *junior high* and *high school* when she refers to the level of her school-going children in Florida. She could have used the Québécois version, *école secondaire,* but because in many areas of Québec the

sequence of the school years is not organized in the same way, she prefers to use the recipient language categorization which better reflects the cultural reality in Florida.

In the same vein, other speakers create neologisms based on borrowed words describing their experiences in a new environment. This is the case with Diane, who uses the compound word *green carte*. From a linguistic perspective, the speaker creates a hybrid compound form, including the English adjective *green* while retaining for the second element of the compound noun the French form *carte*, the equivalent of English noun *card*. Such a neologism, based on a borrowed form, is culturally relevant for participants of Canadian origin who want to acquire legal immigration status in the United States. In the case of Denise, who works in the tourist industry, permanent residency and ultimately United States citizenship are integrative components of her Floridian story. Where she could have used *carte de resident*, she instead uses a neologism based on the "green card" compound term used to refer to permanent resident status in the United States.

The participants living in Florida borrow lexical items to reflect their cultural reality. However, their borrowing patterns resemble those attested to in Québec, where the origins of borrowings are connected to geographic and cultural factors. In North America, Québec is a francophone island in an anglophone ocean, embedded in a cultural situation in which English is in constant contact with French. Such a situation has resulted in borrowings all across the lexicon, most importantly among nouns and verbs, especially in certain semantic domains associated with sociocultural phenomena. Julie Auger (2005) notes, for example, the emergence of new technology as well as the former dominance of anglophones in Québec factories.[36] While the Québec government's Office de la Langue Française constantly develops proposals to minimize the power of English in Québec and provides the French equivalent to English terms—the most recent being *cuisinomane* for *foodies* (Office Québécois de la langue française, 2015)—many borrowings are implicitly accepted by the speech community and eventually are integrated into the lexicon. Therefore, despite the official stance of the government, the Québécois continue to borrow from English and from other languages, depending on the sociocultural situation.

In sum, the borrowing patterns observed in our corpus of francophones in Florida retain the characteristics of the ones observed in Québec French used in other corpora of spoken French. In other words, the Québécois diaspora in Florida maintains a relatively stable French, similar to the language its members spoke in Québec. Such findings are in line with what has been observed by Mougeon (2016) for other segments of the diaspora community across North America.[37]

Language Representations in a Mobile Context

This section explores the representations of the language practices based on the analysis of the verbatim sociolinguistic interviews. One of the main questions is how the experience of mobility shapes the language representations of the participants.

The analysis demonstrates that the participants' history of mobility, place and roles within the larger community and the various social networks or community of practices in which they are involved plays a role in their language representations.

Half of the participants interviewed define themselves as snowbirds. Most of them consider mobility as a central aspect of their experience. In their case, large segments of the interview are devoted to the explanation of the constant back-and-forth travel between Québec and Florida and how they organize their life in both contexts. Two of the participants, Jacynthe and Therese, illustrate two cases in point with regard to language practices of this segment of the community.

Ever since her retirement, Therese, who was born in the late 1930s, has lived half of the year in Québec and the other half in Florida. She generally arrives in Florida at the end of November and stays until April. She lives by herself in a mobile home complex inhabited mainly by other people from Québec, the majority of whom are snowbirds. While she considers herself bilingual, she declares using French almost exclusively in her daily life, even when she is in Florida. She explains that when she needs some services, such as a haircut, or some help for maintenance, she can always rely on other people from the neighborhood or from the community. Many restaurants, some banks and some medical facilities in the area offer services in French. Consequently, her linguistic interactions are mainly in French, except when she goes shopping. She is also involved in many social activities in various social clubs in the area, and again declares that most of her social life is in French.

When asked about how English is used in her immediate environment, she mentions that many of her neighbors speak little or no English. In such situations, she explains that neighbors often rely on one or two members of the community who are fluent in English, like herself. Therese is often solicited by others from the community to act as an interpreter in their interactions with English speakers. She provides many examples of neighbors who rely on her for interactions with utility companies such as cable and Internet providers. For Therese and many others who live in this close-knit environment, the community language is French, and communication outside of the community is the responsibility of the few members who have English-speaking skills and feel confident interacting in English. In this context English is considered the "external" language. The situation described by Therese parallels what has been observed in another fieldwork about RVers in Florida.[38] In this study, participants who spend a large part of the year in Florida try to reproduce a *microcosm* of the Québec society in the Sunshine State. Forget also mentions that some of her participants even complain about the lack of French service in Florida, having reactions similar to those they might have if they were in Québec. Some of our participants have expressed similar ideas and therefore provide an illustration of the reproduction of language ideology in another social context.

The situation of Jacynthe, born in 1935, illustrates another case in point. Since 1991, she has spent half the year at her home in one of the Montreal suburbs, and the other half in Florida. Her pattern of residency is different from Therese's pattern, as

Jacynthe lives with her husband in a condominium complex inhabited almost entirely by anglophone residents. When in Florida, she speaks French with her husband at home, but declares frequent use of English in other contexts. Jacynthe mentions her involvement in the neighborhood association and is proud to say that she has contact with English in many other social contexts. In her interview, she distances herself from other Québécois snowbirds who, according to her assessment, are not involved enough in the larger community.

While the case of Jacynthe is in line with a pattern of migration where the speaker tends to integrate into the new society without maintaining strong ties with the community, Therese's case represents a different pattern illustrated by the notion of microcosm. When this micro-society emerges, participants tend to actively reproduce a familiar social environment. On one hand, by maintaining an environment mimicking as closely as possible the one they are accustomed to in Québec, such patterns resemble the case of New England Petit Canadas at the beginning of the twentieth century, which created the Québécois diaspora in North America.[39] On the other hand, it is also possible to argue that such social practices correspond to the new globalized environment, where mobility is the new normal. In modern times, it is easily feasible to reproduce the local while participating in the global, a phenomenon labeled as glocalization.

The experience of mobility is different for first-generation immigrants. While for the snowbird participants, large segments of the interviews were devoted to the actual mobility that takes places every year, almost like a ritual, the interviews with participants belonging to the first generation of immigration offer testimonies of the migration in a binary way, using the moment of migration as a pivotal point between their pre- and postmigration situations. In addition, their journey is different because most of them moved to Florida for work purposes, while the snowbirds have a more hedonistic way of experiencing their mobility. Therefore, if we explore the representations of the language practices from the point of view of first-generation immigrants of Québécois origin, a different perspective emerges as the storylines of mobility develop.

Although this is not necessarily the case for all, most of the participants interviewed who have permanently established themselves in Florida have some connections with the snowbird population in one way or another. This is the case for Diane, who has lived in Florida for twenty-three years. She met her husband, who is also from Québec, in Florida, and they raised a boy who is now back in Québec to complete his education at the post-secondary level. Diane works as a manager for a small company in the tourist industry, and most of her clients are tourists from Québec. She estimates that ninety percent of her clients speak French. While she declares using French at work with her clients and co-workers and also at home, she reports using English in her daily life. Some of her work duties involve using English. In addition, living in a diverse neighborhood, she maintains friendships outside of the

francophone community, and as a parent, she explains how she was involved in extracurricular activities in English schools and high schools when her son was in Florida. Although Diane frequently uses French, she is far from living in a microcosm of the Québec society to the same extent as reported by some of the speakers belonging to a snowbird population. In her case, the various networks and community of practices in which she is involved clearly influence how she makes use of her linguistic repertoire on a daily basis.

Nadine, who is younger, has lived in Florida for twelve years. Working as a nurse in a hospital, she frequently has the opportunity to speak French with francophone patients. Nadine also explains the language situation at home. She has two children who attend school in English. While she declares speaking both French and English at home, she notes that her two sons prefer to interact in English at home. First-generation immigrants who have children in the US often reflect in their interviews on how their children have developed different language practices due to intense contact with native speakers of English. In her social life Nadine declares using both languages. Therefore, as was the case for Diane, Nadine uses her multilingual repertoire to navigate in various social networks and in the community of practices in her social environment rather than evolving in a monolingual or unidimensional speech community.

Conclusion

This article has explored a unique confluence of cultures represented by a segment of francophone North America that has been neglected in sociolinguistics. From a sociohistorical perspective, the francophone community in South Florida formed far more recently than the other communities generally included under the umbrella of the Québécois diaspora. Our aim was to demonstrate how this population of Québécois descent was shaped and is still influenced by the constant mobility in which some members of the population are involved. Such movement affects not only the snowbirds—who experience constant back-and-forth travel between Québec and Florida—but also the first generation of immigrants who have permanently settled in Florida, but who for the most part maintain close ties with Québécois in Florida and with the Québec province. Using a case study approach, we have based our interpretation on the analysis of semi-directed interviews collected during fieldwork in South Florida. Although the analysis is based on a limited sample, it has provided information on the language practices of the community from the point of view of both language use and language representations.

The analysis of the use of borrowings, generally one of the first consequences of language contact, has revealed that the French spoken by the participants is relatively similar to the one spoken in Québec; they both rely on borrowings to express cultural elements of the social environment. The French spoken in Florida by speakers of Québécois descent displays borrowings to express the reality in which

the participants are evolving. This is the case for both snowbirds and participants who are first-generation immigrants.

The qualitative analysis of the interviews was fruitful for the identification of differences in terms of the representations of language practices. On one hand, we have identified a tendency to reproduce language practices that correspond to a microcosm of Québec society. This was true for many members of the community who consider themselves snowbirds. Such a tendency to create a microcosm is not necessarily unique and emerges in other parts of the world in the context of transnational trends, which are an integral part of globalization.[40] On the other hand, for the participants who permanently live in Florida and for some snowbirds living on the periphery of the close-knit community of snowbirds, the situation is more complex. Instead of relying on a microcosm of Québec society where speakers share the commonality of speaking French, such speakers describe multilingual language practices that better correspond to multilingual speech communities. Our analysis has highlighted how for such speakers the representations of their language practices are shaped and influenced by their position in the social network and community of practices in which they are involved.

The sociolinguistic situation of this community is complex and much more research is needed. Further exploration of the francophones who live at the periphery of the community, as well as an investigation of the language practices of the second generation of immigrants, would help us to better comprehend the linguistic consequences of language contact in Florida. Future research should also shed light on the language ideology involved in situations with a high degree of mobility. The transamerican perspective adopted here could also apply to other segments of the mobile francophone population such as Franco-Americans.[41] Finally, a closer exploration of the deployment of multilingual repertoires and translanguaging practices would be interesting to further shed light on language practices on the move.

Notes

[1] See Albert Valdman, Julie Auger, and Deborah Piston-Hatlen, eds. *Le français en Amérique du Nord: état présent* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005); and Robert Papen and Gisèle Chevalier, "Les variétés de français en Amérique du Nord," in *Revue canadienne de linguistique appliquée* 9, no. 2 (2006): 5–8.

[2] On the notion of Labovian speech communities, see William Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972); for a critique, see Naomi Nagy and Miriam Meyerhoff, "Introduction," in *Social Lives in Language: Sociolinguistics and Multilingual Speech Communities*, ed. Miriam Meyerhoff and Naomi Nagy (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2008), 1–16.

[3] See Peter Patrick, "Speech Community," in *Handbook of Language Variation and Change,* ed. Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 573–97.

[4] See Jan Bloomaert, *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Alastair Pennycook, *Language and Mobility: Unexpected Places* (Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 2012); and Adam Jaworski, "Mobile Language in Mobile Places," *International Journal of Bilingualism* 18, no. 5 (2014): 524–33.

[5] See Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "The New Mobilities Paradigm," in *Environment and Planning* 38 (2006): 207–26.

[6] See Michelle Daveluy's two articles, **"**Les langues étendards: allégeances langagières en français parlé à Montréal," in *Collection Langue et pratiques discursives* (Québec: Nota Bene, 2005); and "Language, Mobility, and (In)security: A Journey through Francophone Canada," in *Social Lives in Language: Sociolinguistics and Multilingual Speech Communities*, ed. Miriam Meyerhoff and Naomi Nagy (Pennsylvania: John Benjamins, 2008), 27–42.

[7] See Célia Forget, *Vivre sur la route: Les nouveaux nomades nords-américains* (Carrefours anthropologiques) Ethnologie française (Montreal: Liber, 2012).

[8] See Stanley Smith and Mark House, *Temporary Migration: A Case Study of Florida* (Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida; Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2006).

[9] United Census Bureau, "Florida Passes New York in State Population," Population Estimates, Decennial Censuses, 2014. http://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2014/cb14-232.html.

[10] See Janet Galvez. *The Florida Elusive Snowbirds* (Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida; Gainesville: University of Florida, 1997).

[11] See Patrick Cluzeau, *Le Québec touristique: indicateurs sur les marchés et sur les secteurs touristiques de 1980 à 1990* (Québec: Publications du Québec, 1991).

[12] Rémy Tremblay, *Floribec: Espace et communauté* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2006).

[13] See Smith and House, *Temporary Migration*.

[14] See Louis Dupont, "Le déplacement et l'implantation de Québécois en Floride." *Vie française* 36, no. 10–12 (1991): 22–33; and Rémy Tremblay, *Floribec*.

[15] See Dupont, "Le déplacement"; Serge Dupuis, "L'émergence de la Floride canadienne-française. L'exemple de la communauté de Palm Beach, 1910–2010." Master's Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2009; Serge Dupuis, "Pas de trace, pas d'histoire? L'oralité et le Canadien français en Floride au XXe siècle," in *Strata* 1, no. 1 (2009): 23–34; Serge Dupuis, "'Plus peur de l'hiver que du diable': Des immigrants aux hivernants canadiens-français à

Palm Beach (Floride), 1945–1997," in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 63, no. 4 (2010): 465–84; Serge Dupuis, *Plus peur de l'hiver que du diable: Une histoire des Canadiens français en Floride* (Sudbury: Éditions prise de parole, 2016); and Godefroy Desrosiers-Lauzon, *Florida's Snowbirds: Spectacle, Mobility, and Community since 1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011).

[16] See Dupont, "Le déplacement."

[17] See Dupuis, "'Plus peur de l'hiver que du diable': Des immigrants aux hivernants canadiens-français."

[18] See Dupont, "Le déplacement."

[19] See Dupont, "Le déplacement."

[20] See Dupuis, "'Plus peur de l'hiver que du diable': Des immigrants aux hivernants canadiens-français"; and Desrosiers-Lauzon, *Florida's Snowbirds.*

[21] See Dupuis, "'Plus peur de l'hiver que du diable': Des immigrants aux hivernants canadiens-français."

[22] See Desrosiers-Lauzon, *Florida's Snowbirds.*

[23] See Tremblay, *Floribec.*

[24] See Tremblay, *Floribec*; and Forget, *Vivre sur la route*.

[25] See Mary Elizabeth Aubé and Yves Frenette, "Francophonies canadiennes: identités culturelles." 2006. http://sites.ustboniface.ca/francoidentitaire/.

[26] See Carol Salmon and Sylvie Dubois, "À la recherche du français en Nouvelle-Angleterre: une enquête de terrain à travers six États," *Journal of French Language Studies* 24, no. 3 (2014): 377–401.

[27] See Raymond Mougeon, "Maintien et évolution du français dans les provinces du Canada Anglophone," in *Colonisation, globalisation et vitalité du français,* eds. Salikoko Mufwene and Cécile Vigouroux, 211–76 (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2014).

[28] See Hélène Blondeau and Jenna Nichols, "L'extrémité méridionale du français québécois en Amérique du Nord: Pratiques langagières des Québécois en Floride du Sud," *Quebec Studies* 33, no. 53 (2012): 147-58.

[29] See Pierette Thibault and Diane Vincent, *Un corpus de français parlé. Montréal 84: historique, méthodes et perspectives de recherche* (Québec: Département de langues et linguistique, Université Laval, 1990).

[30] See David Sankoff, Gillian Sankoff, Suzanne Laberge, and Marjorie Topham, "Méthodes d'échantillonnage et utilisation de l'ordinateur dans l'étude de la variation grammaticale" in *Cahiers de linguistique de l'Université du Québec* 6 (1976): 85–125; Pierette Thibault and

Diane Vincent, *Un corpus de français parlé*; Diane Vincent, Marty Laforest, and Guylaine Martel, "Le corpus de Montréal 1995: adaptation de la méthode d'enquête sociolinguistique pour l'analyse conversationnelle" in *Dialangue* 6 (1995): 29–46.

[31] See Blondeau and Nichols, "L'extrémité méridionale du français."

[32] See Gillian Sankoff, "The Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact," in *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

[33] See Shana Poplack, "Conséquences linguistiques du contact de langues: un modèle d'analyse variationniste," *Langage et société* 43 (1988): 23–48.

[34] For the former, see Winford, *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003); for the latter see Shana Poplack and Marjory Meechan, eds., "Instant Loans, Easy Conditions: The Productivity of Bilingual Borrowing," Special issue of *International Journal of Bilingualism* 2, no. 2 (1999): 127–234.

[35] See Blondeau and Nichols, "L'extrémité méridionale du français québécois en Amérique du Nord."

[36] See Julie Auger, "Un bastion francophone en Amérique du Nord," in *Le français en Amérique du Nord: état présent,* ed. Albert Valdman, Julie Auger, and Deborah Piston-Hatlen (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005).

[37] See Mougeon, 2016.

[38] See Célia Forget, "'Floribec': le patrimoine culturel québécois en Floride," *Ethnologie française* 40, no. 3 (2010): 459–68.

[39] See Forget, "'Floribec': le patrimoine culturel québécois en Floride," 459–68.

[40] See Michelle Daveluy, "Language, Mobility, and (In)security," 27–42; Bloomaert, *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*; Forget, "'Floribec': le patrimoine culturel québécois en Floride," 459–68; and Pennycook, *Language and Mobility*.

[41] See Salmon and Dubois, "À la recherche du français en Nouvelle-Angleterre," 377–401.

Selected Bibliography

Aubé, Mary Elizabeth and Yves Frenette. "Francophonies canadiennes: identités culturelles." 2006. http://sites.ustboniface.ca/francoidentitaire/.

Auger, Julie. "Un bastion français en Amérique du Nord : le Québec." In *Le français en Amérique du Nord; État présent,* edited by Albert Valdman, Julie Auger, and Deborah Piston-Hatlen, 39–79. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005.

Blondeau, Hélène, and Jenna Nichols. "L'extrémité méridionale du français québécois en Amérique du Nord. Pratiques langagières des Québécois en Floride du Sud." *Quebec Studies* 33, no. 53 (2012): 147–58.

Bloomaert, Jan. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Clifford, James. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Cluzeau, Patrick. *Le Québec touristique: indicateurs sur les marchés et sur les secteurs touristiques de 1980 à 1990*. Québec: Publications du Québec, 1991.

Daveluy, Michelle. *Les langues étendards: allégeances langagières en français parlé à Montréal.* Québec: Nota Bene, 2005.

———. "Language, Mobility, and (In)security: A Journey through Francophone Canada." In *Social Lives in Language: Sociolinguistics and Multilingual Speech Communities*, edited by Miriam Meyerhoff and Naomi Nagy, 27–42. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2008.

Desrosiers-Lauzon, Godefroy. *Florida's Snowbirds: Spectacle, Mobility, and Community since 1945.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.

Dupont, Louis. "Le déplacement et l'implantation de Québécois en Floride." *Vie française* 36, no. 10–12 (1991): 22-33.

Dupuis, Serge. "L'émergence de la Floride canadienne-française. L'exemple de la communauté de Palm Beach, 1910–2010." Master's thesis, University of Ottawa, 2009.

———. "Pas de trace, pas d'histoire? L'oralité et le Canadien français en Floride au XXe siècle." *Strata* 1, no. 1 (2009): 23–34.

———. "'Plus peur de l'hiver que du diable': Des immigrants aux hivernants canadiens-français à Palm Beach (Floride), 1945–1997." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 63, no. 4 (2010): 465–84.

———. "'Plus peur de l'hiver que du diable': Une histoire des Canadiens français en Floride." Sudbury: Éditions prise de parole, 2016.

Forget, Célia. "'Floribec': le patrimoine culturel québécois en Floride." *Ethnologie française* 40, no. 3 (2010): 459–68.

———. *Vivre sur la route: Les nouveaux nomades nords-américains.* (Carrefours anthropologiques) Ethnologie française. Montreal: Liber, 2012.

Galvez, Janet. *The Florida Elusive Snowbirds*. Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida. Gainesville: University of Florida, 1997.

Jaworski, Adam. "Mobile Language in Mobile Places." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 18, no. 5 (2014): 524–33.

Labov, William. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

Mougeon, Raymond. "Maintien et évolution du français dans les provinces du Canada anglophone." In *Colonisation, globalisation et vitalité du français,* edited by Salikoko Mufwene and Cécile Vigouroux, 211–76. Paris: Odile Jacob, 2014.

———. "Convergence et divergence sociolinguistique en français laurentien: l'alternance rien que/juste/seulement/seulement que/ne... que." *Journal of French Language Studies* 26, no.2 (2016): 115–54.

Office de la langue française. Fiche terminologique *Cuisinomane*. Office québécois de la langue française, Québec. 2015. http://gdt.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/ficheOqlf.aspx?Id_Fiche=8354670. Accessed September 1, 2015.

Nagy, Naomi, and Miriam Meyerhoff. "Introduction." In *Social Lives in Language: Sociolinguistics and Multilingual Speech Communities*, edited by Miriam Meyerhoff and Naomi Nagy, 1–16. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2008.

Papen, Robert, and Gisèle Chevalier. "Les variétés de français en Amérique du Nord." *Revue canadienne de linguistique appliquée* 9, no. 2 (2006): 5–8.

Patrick, Peter. "Speech Community." In *Handbook of Language Variation and Change,* edited by Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes, 573–97. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.

Pennycook, Alastair. *Language and Mobility: Unexpected Places.* Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 2012.

Poplack, Shana. "Conséquences linguistiques du contact de langues: un modèle d'analyse variationniste." *Langage et société* 43 (1988): 23–48.

Poplack, Shana, and Marjory Meechan, eds. "Instant Loans, Easy Conditions: The Productivity of Bilingual Borrowing." Special Issue. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 2, no. 2 (1999): 127–234.

Salmon, Carol, and Sylvie Dubois. "À la recherche du français en Nouvelle-Angleterre: une enquête de terrain à travers six États." *Journal of French Language Studies* 24, no. 3 (2014): 377–401.

Sankoff, David, Gillian Sankoff, Suzanne Laberge and Marjorie Topham. "Méthodes d'échantillonnage et utilisation de l'ordinateur dans l'étude de la variation grammaticale." *Cahiers de linguistique de l'Université du Québec* 6 (1976): 85–125.

Sankoff, Gillian. "The Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact." In *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, edited by Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes, 638–68. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.

Sheller, Mimi, and John Urry. "The New Mobilities Paradigm." *Environment and Planning* 38 (2006): 207–26.

Smith, Stanley, and Mark House. *Temporary Migration: A Case Study of Florida.* Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2006.

Thibault, Pierette, and Diane Vincent. *Un corpus de français parlé. Montréal 84: historique, méthodes et perspectives de recherche.* Québec: Département de langues et linguistique, Université Laval, 1990.

Tremblay, Rémy. *Floribec: Espace et communauté.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2006.

Valdman, Albert, Julie Auger and Deborah Piston-Hatlen, eds. *Le français en Amérique du Nord: état présent.* Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005.

United Census Bureau. Florida Passes New York in State Population. Population Estimates, Decennial Censuses. 2014. http://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2014/cb14-232.html.

Vincent, Diane, Marty Laforest et Guylaine Martel. "Le corpus de Montréal 1995: adaptation de la méthode d'enquête sociolinguistique pour l'analyse conversationnelle." *Dialangue* 6 (1995): 29–46.

Winford, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003.