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Paper

“La langue vient de la musique”: Acadian Song, Language Transmission, and Cultural Sustainability on Prince Edward Island

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Abstract: The year 2020 marked the tricentennial of Acadian and French presence on Prince Edward Island, Canada’s smallest province, located in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence on the Atlantic coast. Despite historical traumas and the pressures exerted by a majority Anglophone environment, the small Island Acadian population has persisted and thrived. Nevertheless, the process of anglicization that began in earnest in the 1860s continues to the present day. This article examines the goals, production, and reception of a mini web-documentary series about living in French on Prince Edward Island that aims to encourage the intergenerational transmission of the French language and foster a sense of legitimization and cultural pride. Complementing a long history of community activism around the Island’s French language and Acadian culture, the documentary project uses music, storytelling, and technology to promote cultural and linguistic sustainability. This article explores the role of music in the contemporary dynamics of sustaining, celebrating, and advocating for the French language and Francophone Acadian culture in this small island community.

Keywords: Acadian, music, intergenerational, language, Prince Edward Island, sonic activism, sustainability

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Introduction

The year 2020 marked the tricentennial of Acadian and French presence on Prince Edward Island (PEI, *the Island*), Canada’s smallest province, located in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, on the Atlantic coast. Historical traumas and ongoing processes of anglicization and assimilation in the dominant English-speaking society have impacted the Island’s Francophone community for several decades. Yet despite its turbulent history and ongoing challenges to sustaining the local Acadian French variety and culture, the Island’s small, French-speaking Acadian population has persisted and thrived.

PEI is situated between the other two Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and connected to the mainland by the thirteen-kilometre-long Confederation Bridge. The Island, known to Mi’kmaq[1] people as *Epekwitk* (lying on the water), is the ancestral and unceded territory of several Mi’kmaq First Nations who have lived in Mi’kma’ki (traditional Mi’kmaq territory) for at least 12,000 years (Jeffery 2007). According to the most recent national population census, the province’s population is 154,331, most of whom are of British ancestry. While nearly twenty-three percent of Islanders listed their origins as French or Acadian, French is the mother tongue and first official language of just under three percent of the population, or 4,560 people (Statistics Canada 2021). Of this small Francophone population, roughly 2,250 people reside in *la Région Évangéline* (the Evangeline Region), in the western part of the province. Tucked along the Northumberland Strait between Bedeque Bay and Egmont Bay, la Région Évangéline is the only area of PEI where Francophone Acadian culture predominates, although, as one resident told me when I first began research in the community in the mid-2000s, many people are surprised to hear that Acadians speak French on the Island. The Island’s Acadian and Francophone community is divided geographically into six regions, which are connected through the Société Acadienne et Francophone de l’Île-du-Prince-Édouard[2]: Prince-Ouest (West Prince), la Région Évangéline, Summerside-Miscouche, Grand Rustico (Rustico region), Charlottetown, and Kings-Est (Eastern Kings) (fig. 1). Each region is culturally distinct, with its history, traditions, challenges, and long record of cultural and linguistic activism. The Acadian French linguistic varieties spoken throughout the Maritimes are different from those of other French-speaking groups in Canada, such as Québec and Manitoba, and continental France, with respect to linguistic features such as phonology, palatalisation (sound change), first- and third-person pronouns, lexicon (including numerous archaisms), and the semantic extension of nautical vocabulary into everyday speech (King 2017, 328–9); there is also a great deal of variety in the French spoken throughout the Maritime region (Comeau, King, and LeBlanc 2016).

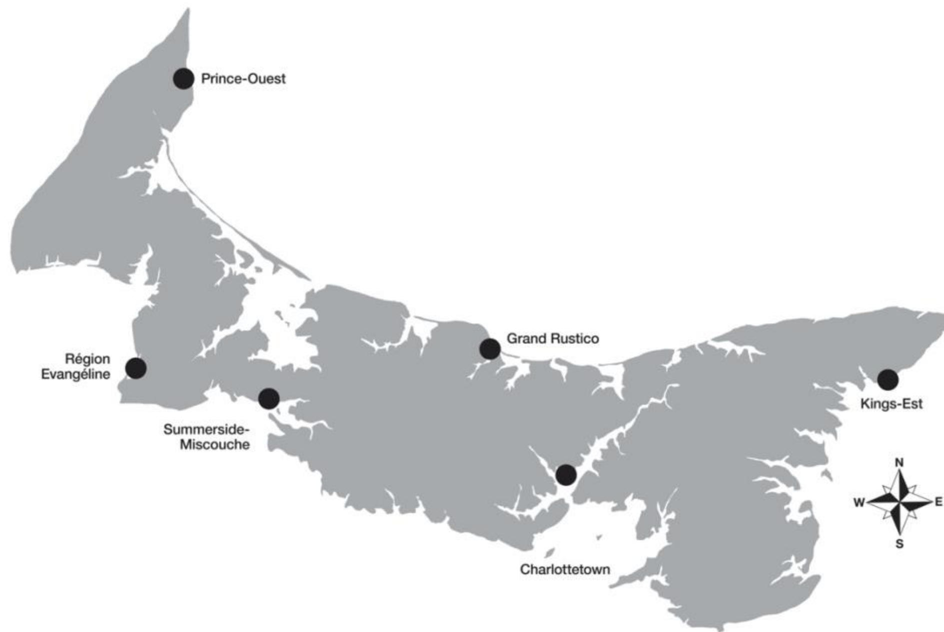

FIGURE 1. Map of Acadian and Francophone regions of PEI.

This article explores connections between linguistic activism, musical traditions, and the sustainability of Acadian French vernaculars and cultures in this small "Island Acadian" community. In particular, it examines the goals, production, and reception of a mini web-documentary series produced in 2021 titled *Apprendre, vivre et chanter en français à l'Île* ("Learning, Living and Singing in French on the Island") (Ouellette 2021a-f), which endeavours to promote *francisation*—a process of developing both language proficiency in French and constructing a Francophone identity and a sense of belonging in the Francophone community. Through music and storytelling, the project aims to encourage the intergenerational transmission of the French language and foster a sense of cultural pride and legitimacy among Acadians and other Francophones on PEI.

Following a brief introduction to the Island Acadian community, the first part of this article examines how perceived hierarchies and historic relationships between Acadie, Quebec, and continental France have influenced perceptions of Acadian French linguistic varieties and a sense of cultural legitimacy. Drawing on archival and ethnographic research conducted on PEI between 2006 and 2010 and further interviews conducted in 2022, the second part of this article examines the role of Acadian musicians, among other actors, in advocating for local language and culture through the lens of sonic activism and considers this contemporary advocacy in the broader historical context of community activism to sustain the Island's French-speaking community and Acadian culture. Finally, it offers an analysis of how the web documentary project continues this legacy by using music and technology to reinforce and celebrate cultural and linguistic sustainability in this small island community.

The Acadians of PEI

Acadians are a French-speaking minority living predominantly in the Canadian Maritime Provinces, whose language has been at the centre of their discourses of nation-building and recognition. Acadians are descendants of the French settlers in North America who established a colony on the shores of what is now the Canadian province of Nova Scotia in the first years of the seventeenth century, which they eventually called *Acadie*. As new families continued to arrive in the colony over the following decades, the settlement territory expanded, and Acadians developed novel agricultural ventures and an autonomous position that promoted philosophies of social organization and self-governance; these early initiatives profoundly shaped Acadian culture and social life and set the stage for the early twentieth-century cooperative movement (Griffiths 1992; Daigle 1995).

Although the territory they settled changed hands several times between Great Britain and France over the next century (1613–1713), the Acadians emphasized their political neutrality and were largely ignored by the two Imperial rivals. Nevertheless, decades of conflict and increasing hostilities over land rights between the English and French colonial powers came to a head in 1755, when Britain ordered all Acadians who would not declare allegiance to the British crown to leave Nova Scotia. The resulting *Grand Dérangement* (the Great Upheaval) was a series of deportations between 1755 and 1763 that resulted in the exile of approximately 10,000 Acadians from what is known today as Canada's Maritimes Provinces. Over the next several decades following the deportations, many Acadians made their way back to the Maritimes and settled in new locations, predominantly in the province of New Brunswick.[3] Others migrated to new regions, where they eventually found themselves living in proximity to majority Anglophone populations, such as those who settled in Louisiana and eventually adopted the name *Cadiens* or *Cadjins*.[4] This tumultuous history of exile, migration, and (in some cases) return, as well as the resulting challenges of cultural and linguistic retention in the face of increasing anglicization of Acadian communities, has been a cornerstone of identity for many Acadians.[5]

The history of the Island Acadians on PEI is comparable to and yet distinct from that of neighbouring mainland Acadians, although it has received considerably less attention.[6] The French regime on the Island constitutes a brief chapter in PEI's history, lasting only thirty-eight years. The story of the PEI Acadians began in 1720, over a century after the first French settlers arrived in present-day Nova Scotia, when the first permanent European settlements were established on the Island, then known by settlers as Île Saint-Jean. Although Acadian migration to the Island was slow at first, with only a few families per year, the population quadrupled to 4,250 between 1748 and 1755 as the threat of deportation loomed over mainland Acadians (Lockerby 2010). In 1758, three years after the deportation of mainland Acadians began, over 3,000 out of an estimated 4,700 Acadians on PEI were exiled to continental France. However, in many instances, they stayed in these places for only a short period before relocating (Lockerby 2010). Although some 1,250 of the Island's population escaped to the mainland or went into temporary hiding on the Island, due to sickness and shipwrecks, an estimated sixty percent of deported Islanders did not survive, and at least twenty-four families became extinct (Arsenault 2003; White 1999).

When the Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War between Great Britain and France in 1763, many Acadians began to resettle PEI, by then an official British colony, although only two of the families who had been deported to France returned to settle permanently on the Island (Arsenault 1996). The Island Acadians experienced severe economic hardship in the following years, and many were forced to seek employment off-island. A process of anglicization that began in earnest in the 1860s as a result of increased interaction between the Island's Anglophone and Francophone communities, as well as the anglicization of school curricula, has persisted to the present day—an enduring result of this process was the anglicization of numerous family names to fit into mainstream society.

While it is the largest documented human tragedy in the Island's history, the 1758 deportation of the PEI Acadians has received little attention in scholarly literature and popular accounts.[7] Nevertheless, the Island and its inhabitants figure prominently in the history of Acadie as a French colony and a place of refuge for mainland Acadians during the mid-eighteenth-century deportations; as a site of resettlement in the late eighteenth century; as a scene of political assembly during the nineteenth century; and the home of several pioneering activist ventures in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that have had lasting influence throughout Canada, such as the first peoples' bank of Canada, the Farmer's Bank of Rustico (a precursor to contemporary *caisses populaires* or cooperative financial institutions, such as the Credit Union), and the first provincial Acadian teachers' association. Moreover, since the late nineteenth century, Islanders have been increasingly at the forefront of issues related to preserving the French language and Francophone culture in Canada.

Perceived Linguistic Hierarchies and Linguistic Activism

Writing predominantly about the Acadian French varieties spoken in New Brunswick, sociolinguist Ruth King notes that by the mid-twentieth century, a stereotype of Acadian French had emerged that portrayed the variety as being "*moitié anglais, moitié français* ("half English, half French") (2017, 334). Although quantitative sociolinguistic studies by Flikeid and Péronnet in Nova Scotia (1989) and King on PEI (2000) demonstrate that the influence of English on Acadian varieties tends to be exaggerated (King 2017, 335), a historical perception—both within and outside of the Acadian community—of Acadian French as inferior or illegitimate in relation to the French spoken in Quebec and continental France has persisted (King 2017; Boudreau 2016; McElgunn 2017). Similarly, LeBlanc and Boudreau argue that minority French-speaking communities outside of Quebec define their *francité*, or "Frenchness," through their various relationships to the Anglophone-dominant society, Québécois, and other Canadian Francophone minority communities (LeBlanc and Boudreau 2016; Irvine and Gal 2000).

Since the early twentieth century, significant linguistic activism by numerous cultural organizations, writers, and artists across Acadie has dispelled these perceived hierarchies. LeBlanc and Boudreau (2016) illustrate how Acadians have transformed a discourse of stigmatization as victims and traitors linked to the Deportations into one of differentiation by rejecting the dominant Franco-Canadian language ideologies that position Quebec as the definer of Francophone artistic

and cultural norms in Canada and, by extension, the standard form of Canadian French (Leclerc 2016). Much of this discourse, published as early as 1868 in the French newspaper *le Moniteur acadien*, published in New Brunswick, highlighted similarities between Acadian French varieties and those spoken in France and helped to dispel some of the stereotypes (LeBlanc and Boudreau 2016). Contemporary Acadian writers also took up these commonalities between Acadian French and continental French varieties, including Antoine Maillet, whose many novels and plays champion the distinctiveness of Acadian French through its use of archaic words and phrases from sixteenth-century France.[8] The legitimization of Acadian French varieties has been a way to counter the forces of anglicization and has ascribed renewed value to language-identity markers that were historically devalued.[9]

Sonic Activism and Language Revitalization

"La langue vient de la musique" ("Language comes from the music").
Pastelle LeBlanc, *Apprendre,* episode 1 (Ouellette 2021a)

Sonic activism is a form of political activism that uses sound and music to promote social and political change. It involves the use of music and sound in various forms, such as live performances, recordings, installations, and public events, to raise awareness about social issues, challenge dominant narratives, and inspire collective action. Sonic activism can take many forms, from protest songs and chants to experimental sound art and community-based music projects. Its aims can also be diverse, from fighting racism, inequality, and violence to promoting environmental sustainability and advocating for other forms of social action on local and global levels.[10]

Music, and particularly song, has long been recognized by scholars, teachers, and practitioners as playing a key role in motivating language acquisition (Bennett 2019; Dembling 2010; Engh 2013; MacIntyre, Baker, and Sparling 2017; Sparling, MacIntyre, and Baker 2022), legitimizing minority or Heritage languages (Grondin 2021; Johnson 2011; 2012), promoting intergenerational interactions and social relationships (Vallejo 2019; Treloyn 2022), and revitalizing and sustaining language and culture (Andoutsopoulous 2007; Auzanneau 2002; Cooley 2019; Feintuch 2019; Grant 2010; 2011; 2012; 2014; Moriarty 2011; Samuels 2015). These studies illustrate the unique capacity of song to showcase particular sounds and ideas and its role as a vehicle to mobilize both formal and informal communities of practice. In her study on the interdependence of language and music in the learning of *Kanien'ke:ha* (Mohawk language) in Canada and the United States, for example, Jessie Vallejo argues that music is "a linchpin pedagogical tool that promotes intergenerational interactions, builds social relationships, and facilitates the daily use of language in and outside the classroom" (2019, 89). She suggests that by incorporating music into language teaching, educators can make language learning more engaging and accessible and can help to foster a sense of cultural pride and connection among language learners. Moreover, she argues that by promoting the use of the Mohawk language in music, musicians can help preserve and promote the language and create new opportunities for language

learners to practice and use the language in meaningful ways. Examining language revitalization on the island of Guernsey, Henry Johnson came to similar conclusions, noting that "song can act as a powerful medium in language revitalization," offering islanders "distinct ways of expressing individual and collective island identity" (2011, 103). Indeed, in addition to its ability to evoke a wide range of emotions and enhance the experience of a particular setting or event, the affective power of music, as sound and as practice, enables "the emergence of new subjectivities, social collectives, and political imaginaries" (Desai-Stephens and Reisnour 2020, 99).

Sonic activism through song has been critical in (re-)framing longstanding narratives about Acadian French that positioned it as a less legitimate form of the French language. Acadian musicians across the Canadian Maritimes have played critical roles in building a sense of legitimacy and pride in local French varieties. The category of "Acadian music" covers a broad range of genres, performance styles, and musical sensibilities, including traditional, fiddle- and/accordion-based music that combines (to varied extents) Irish, Scottish, and Cape Breton instrumental styles and repertoire with locally-composed and French-Canadian repertoire and percussive foot-tapping, to pop- and country-influenced singer-songwriters and bands, traditional songs (often performed a cappella or with guitar), and hip hop groups, among others. Notably, the Nova Scotia Acadian electro hip hop duo Radio Radio made media headlines in 2008 with the release of their first album, *Cliché Hot*, rapping over electronically-produced backing music in the Acadian French varieties of Acadjonne and Chiac from their respective home regions of Clare, Nova Scotia, and Moncton, New Brunswick.[11] Moreover, they celebrate Acadian identity in their music by drawing on local imagery and experiences, referencing local geography (such as the New Brunswick area code, 506), traditions, and Acadian French varieties, and giving meta-commentaries on Acadian language and culture. The duo continues to inspire younger generations of Acadians by legitimizing their language and heritage and has been instrumental in changing the narrative of the Acadians from one of victimhood to one where speaking these minority French dialects is both an act of rebellion against mainstream Francophone and Anglophone societies and an expression of pride in Acadian culture.

On PEI, Acadian groups Barachois and Vishtèn have received regional and international acclaim for their respective work foregrounding the distinct culture and traditions of the Island Acadian community in their music, stage talk, and (in the case of Vishtèn) online presence over the last three decades. From 1995 until they disbanded in 2003, Barachois was known for their lively and humorous performances and repertoire of older French and Acadian instrumental music and songs accompanied by rhythmic foot-tapping, guitar, harmonium, piano, homemade percussion instruments, and, sometimes, tuba, as well as choreographed seated (*danse assise*) and traditional step dancing.[12] Likewise, the trio Vishtèn probed private and institutional archives for Acadian song and instrumental repertoire, setting these older traditions to new arrangements that one of the group's members described as "essentially Celtic, but with a difference" (Pastelle LeBlanc, interview with author, July 22, 2008). In addition to three-part harmonies and seated foot percussion, the group's main instruments are fiddle, piano, and guitar, and its members incorporate conventionally "Celtic" instruments that are not generally associated with traditional Francophone

Acadian music, such as accordion, pennywhistle, bodhrán, jaw harp, and mandolin.[13] Like Radio Radio, the international success of Barachois and Vishtèn fostered significant pride in local Acadian culture and led to a broader acknowledgement of the Island Acadians regionally and nationally as well as within the wider Francophone world and folk music scenes (Forsyth 2012; 2020a; 2020b).

In the 2010s, Acadian music generated a surge of interest that transcended language barriers, exemplified by mainland Acadian artists Lisa LeBlanc (singer-songwriter and banjoist) and Radio Radio being shortlisted for the Polaris Music Prize, an award given annually to the best full-length Canadian album of the year across all genres.[14] Natalie Robichaud, president of *La Fédération culturelle acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse* (Acadian Cultural Federation of Nova Scotia), suggests that one major factor that has pushed Acadian music forward is linguistic security. In an interview with CBC Music, Robichaud described the impact of being told that her Acadian French was not "correct" French:

> We've been told our whole life that our French is not good French, *c'est pas le bon français, le bon français c'est celui du Québec, ou de la France,* right? . . . So, when you were a kid, I remember hearing this like, "*Oh, parle le bon français*," which automatically makes your French not *bon*, not good, right? So there's been a lot of work in the last ten years in the cultural sector networks to say, "You know what? Just speak the way you speak or sing the way you sing." (Gordon 2022)

New Brunswick Acadian musician Julie Aubé of the band Les Hay Babies echoes this point when she describes being told by French teachers that what she was speaking was not French. Aubé reflects that such comments created an insecurity that made her and others of her generation feel stupid and invalid and created a stigma that took decades to lift. However, she emphasizes that the work of other Acadian musicians to change the narrative around Acadian French, as well as mentorship through school and community programming in French, helped her accept her language and history (Gordon 2022).

Acadian Linguistic and Cultural Activism on PEI

> "Mon chez nous c'est l'Acadie" ("My home is Acadie").
> Paul D. Gallant, *Apprendre*, episode 3 (Ouellette 2021c)

PEI has a long history of community activism related to the safeguarding of Acadian French language and culture. During the first half of the twentieth century, small French Acadian schools (with a curriculum mainly in English, except French and catechism) existed across the Island. At its peak, there were approximately sixty Acadian schools. However, urbanization, exogamous marriages, and increased interaction between the Island's Anglophone and Francophone communities that began in the 1860s led to increased anglicization; by 1875, there was already a noticeable use of English in the French communities across the province. Amendments to the

province's School Act in the 1860s and 1870s amplified the situation, forcing Acadian schools to anglicize their curriculum. In addition, issues of general interest to the Acadian population, such as nation-building, equality, and recognition, were primary concerns discussed at the *Conventions nationales des Acadiens* (Acadian National Conventions)—large gatherings held in the last decades of the 1800s that brought together several thousand Acadians (LeBlanc and Boudreau 2016). At the convention held in Miscouche, PEI, in 1884, linguistic and cultural retention and French education were highlighted as significant issues requiring urgent remedial action (Arsenault 1984). Discussions at the convention led to several important ventures on the Island within the next decade aimed at promoting French language and defending Acadian interests, including the launch of the Island's first French-language newspaper, *L'Impartial*, and an Acadian Teachers' Association, established to promote the teaching of French in the Island's public schools.

From the 1950s through the 1970s, a consolidation of the public school system led to a decrease in the number of French schools across the Island.[15] The only French schools that initially survived this reform were located in the Région Évangéline, but by the end of the 1970s, all those small schools—some of them one-room schools—had been consolidated into one school for the region. The curriculum in those small schools was mostly in English, although the teachers were often Acadians who spoke French to their students, most of whom spoke French at home.[16]

Advocacy for fully French schools and the amendment of the School Act to permit the opening of French schools on the Island gained momentum beginning in 1980—the same year a French school opened in the capital of Charlottetown. These schools' openings came with some significant gains for French language education on the Island, such as some French textbooks and French language curriculum in some regions. In 1982, Article 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms established linguistic rights for Francophone minorities across Canada. However, this did not manifest in French school opportunities, particularly in rural communities. In 1990, the *Commission scolaire de langue français* (French language school board) was given the responsibility to oversee French language education on PEI. There was significant advocacy over the next decade on behalf of parents and other community members to establish language and education rights in French in communities across PEI.

In 1995, two parents, Noëlla Arsenault and Madeleine Costa, filed a lawsuit against the provincial government, demanding access to French-language schools for children in their community of Summerside.[17] In 2000, in what Germain describes as "one of the most important cases for French-language education in Canada's recent history" (2012), the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in their favour. This decision had broad-reaching implications, ensuring that children could access French-language education in their communities, not only on PEI but across the country. Shortly after that, *centres scolaire-communautaires francophones* (Francophone schools combined with community centres) opened in three Acadian communities on PEI (Summerside, Tignish, and Rustico), and a sixth French school opened in Souris in 2003; in the community of Tignish, it was the first opportunity to have a French curriculum and instruction in thirty-five years. Although a revival of Acadian identity has been brewing for some time, establishing the sixth

school in Souris, on the easternmost tip of the Island, was a significant proponent of French retention in the predominantly Anglophone region. Moreover, these victories in education and the resulting changes in community life have contributed to redefining the region's identity.

Apprendre, vivre et chanter en français à l'Île: A Web Documentary

"It takes more than going to school to develop a Francophone identity; it requires to live, work, play, sing in French. Families have this responsibility to transmit experiences that already exist in the community."

Geneviève Ouellette (interview with author, June 16, 2022)

The six-part web documentary series, *Apprendre, vivre et chanter en français à l'Île* (Ouellette 2021a, 2021b, 2021c, 2021d, 2021e, 2021f), brings together the Island Acadians' long history of linguistic activism and the ongoing work of Island artists to promote local French Acadian varieties and culture. The series is directed and co-produced by Geneviève Ouellette, a teacher from Summerside who now lives in Souris, with Souris-born musician and media producer Brent Chaisson. In 2021, while working as project manager with *La Fédération des parents de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard,*[18] Ouellette facilitated *francisation* workshops for early learning educators and created other learning resources to develop French language capacity and positive experiences in French for children. She explains that the primary goal of the web series is to educate parents—whether they are Francophone or Anglophone or live in mixed-linguistic households—about how they could transmit language and culture at home. In a media interview with Radio-Canada about the series, Ouellette describes the project's goals:

> Notre grand objectif c'est de faire comprendre aux familles qu'elles ont un rôle à jouer dans la transmission de la langue. C'est plus que d'aller à l'école pour construire une identité Francophone. Il suffit de vivre, travailler, jouer, chanter en français. [Les familles] ont ce pouvoir-là, ce n'est pas une grande recette pour transmettre la langue puis la culture, c'est à travers des expériences qui existent déjà dans la communauté. (Geneviève Ouellette, interview on *Le réveil / Île-du-Prince Édouard*, Radio-Canada, February 24, 2022)
> (Our main goal is to help families understand that they have a role to play in language transmission. It takes more than going to school to create a Francophone identity. It requires living, working, playing, and singing in French. Families have this responsibility. It doesn't take a lot to transmit language and culture—it happens through experiences that already exist in the community.)

Each of the six episodes features one of the six Acadian regions of the Island and is structured in three parts. The first section presents a historical overview of the French language in the specific region, such as the closure of small schools and repercussions for families and the reopening of French schools over time. Ouellette points out that sharing this history is significant because, due to the anglicization of most regions of the Island, there is little public knowledge of the histories

of assimilation and distinct struggles and successes of Acadian communities, including some of the landmark moments, such as the aforementioned 2000 Supreme Court decision. Moreover, attention to the sustainability of Acadian identities and traditions has focused predominantly on Francophone communities, such as those in western PEI, at the expense of overlooking a younger generation of Anglophone Acadians who are reclaiming their French heritage, both across the Island and in the context of large-scale Acadian national events. For example, in an interview in 2009 that I conducted with Souris-based musician Kevin Chaisson, he explained that although anglicized Acadians in his region of eastern PEI had either denied or not known about their roots, "there are a few people who are picking up on it again. . . . [E]ven people of my generation are realizing that their roots are Acadian" (interview with author, July 14, 2009). Another musician told me in an interview that she had been "astonished" to hear a member of the Chaisson family introduced at a music concert with the French-inflected "Chai*sson*," the last syllable pronounced as in the name "Ch*ia*sson" (Marie Livingstone, interview with author, June 27, 2008). The series begins in la Région Évangéline and recounts the closure of small rural schools and important milestones, culminating with an account of the current state of French language education in the region.

The second part of each episode introduces different generations of a family from the region, who speak about their personal experiences of living in French as well as their challenges and successes of linguistic and cultural transmission and retention across generations. For example, in la Région Évangéline (episode 1), we meet the band Vishtèn at their family's music shed[19] in Mont-Carmel. Band member Pastelle LeBlanc talks about the importance of, and the band's role in, the intergenerational transmission of music through oral tradition and how, in the past, families had the instinct to transfer cultural knowledge across generations. She explains,

> La langue vient de la musique. La manière qu'on apprend la musique traditionelle c'est vraiment passé ça de génération à génération. Il y a de l'énergie dans la transmission. Moi, j'ai appris la musique de quelqu'un d'autre, quelqu'un m'a appris un pièce, après ça je peux l'a léguer à quelqu'un d'autre. Je pense que les jeunes commencent à comprendre ce genre de concept-là de comment important que c'est de transmettre aux autres ce que tu sais.
>
> [Vishtèn] a commencer a faire des cours de musique, puis l'enseignment, quelque chose qu'on n'était pas vraiment connaissant trop trop, mais au fils des années, on en a fait de plus en plus, et on sentait de plus en plus confortable à justement offrir ça aux gens, puis a transmettre ces enseignments là, par ce qu'on réalise comment spéciale que c'est comme culture. (Ouellette 2021a)
>
> (Language comes from music. The way we learn traditional music is really through intergenerational transmission. There's energy in the transmission. I learned music from someone, someone taught me a song, after that I can pass it on to someone else. I think young

people are starting to understand this concept—of how important it is to transmit what you know to others.

[Vishtèn] started to give workshops, and then teach, something we weren't very familiar with, but over the years, we did that more and more and felt more and more comfortable to offer that to people, to offer this teaching because we realize how special our culture is.)

LeBlanc describes how, in her experience, a seemingly small moment or single person can impact one's sense of cultural identity and how Vishtèn aims to create those moments for their audiences.

Je pense qu'on [*gestures to the other band members*] peut probablement tous se souvenir d'un moment quand on était jeune puis qu'un experience nous a touchée—un atelier, un spectacle . . . une personne, un chanson. C'est pas nécessairement immense. Des fois c'est juste quelque chose de petit que tu vas garder dans ton coeur et qui va te faire faire d'autre choses dans le futur. (Pastelle LeBlanc, in Ouellette 2021a)

(I think we [the band members] can probably all remember a moment when we were young, when an experience touched us—a workshop, a show . . . a person, a song. It's not necessarily a big thing. Sometimes it's just something small that you will hold in your heart that will make you do other things in the future.)

Ouellette emphasizes how this point connects with the project's mission to reinforce how such moments are also possible with language transmission, especially through the medium of music and building positive experiences in French from an early age.

À travers des générations à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard c'était très facile de transmettre une toune de violon, une chanson, comment les familles ont eux cet instinct là de le transmettre à leurs enfants. Et je voulais faire le parallèle avec cela et comment c'est facile de le faire avec la langue aussi. Et que s'ils ne pensent pas que c'est facile de le faire avec la langue, qu'ils peuvent utiliser une chanson comme analogie. Tu chantes en français, ton enfant l'a appris. C'est la même chose. . . . La musique c'est tellement enracinée dans les Acadiens. (Geneviève Ouellette, interview with author, June 16, 2022)

(Over the generations on Prince Edward Island, it was very easy to transmit a fiddle tune, a song. Families had an instinct to transmit those things to their children. And I wanted to make the comparison between that and how it is easy to do with the language as well. And if they don't think it is easy to do with the language, well start with a song as an analogy.

You sing in French, your child learns it. It's the same thing. . . . The music is so deeply rooted in the Acadians.)

In Tignish (episode 2), we are introduced to Eileen Chiasson-Pendergast, an Acadian from the Prince-Ouest region who was raised in a French household. She describes how Acadians in her region were frequently stigmatized, even into the late twentieth century, resulting in generations of people assimilating to the Anglophone culture. Nevertheless, these experiences inspired her to devote much of her life to showcasing her region's Acadian French language and culture through community music and theatre projects, several of which are featured in the episode. She explains:

> On a été élevé en français. À l'école on a presque toujous eu des professeurs qui parlait français mais avait reçu les livres, les textes était en anglais. Le professeur enseignait en français quand même. Ça fait qu'on a toujours parlait en français. L'anglais on l'a appris, c'était là, j'imagine. Et puis au cours des années, j'ai trouvé qu'il y avait plein de fois, les gens ont essayer de nous abaisser à cause qu'on était acadien et français. Peut-être c'est ça, une des raisons que j'ai pris si tant d'intérêt et j'ai dépensé si tant d'énergie pour faire sûr que le monde vienne à comprendre qu'on a notre place, et qu'on a une belle langue et une belle culture, et pis il n'y a pas de gens qui va se débarasser de nous autres. (Eileen Chiasson-Pendergast, in Ouellette 2021b)
>
> (We were raised in French. At school we almost always had teachers who spoke French but used texts that were in English. Nevertheless, the professor taught in French. We always spoke French. We learned English, it was just there, I guess. Over the years, I found that there were lots of times that people discriminated against us because we were Acadian and Francophone. Maybe that's one of the reasons I had so much interest and invested so much energy in making sure that people understood that we have our place and a beautiful language and culture, and that no one is going to get rid of us.)

The episode culminates with Chiasson-Pendergast's extended family performing her original song "Ma langue acadienne" ("My Acadian Language"), which showcases different words and phrases used in the Acadian French variety in her region, and compares them to standard French:

> On est Acadiens et c'est ça notre vie
> J'avons nos coutumes et notre langage aussi
> Nos mots sont 'tcherieux mais j'nous comprennons bien
> J'sons des Français pis j'parlons acadien
>
> Pour votre manteau nous on dit un capot
> Pour votre tablier nous on dit un vanteau
> Pour beaucoup de choses nous on dit une tapée

Pour votre armoire nous on dit un dorsoué

(We are Acadians and that's our life
We have our customs and our language, too
Our words are curious, but we understand ourselves well
We're French and we speak Acadian

For your coat we say "un capot"
For your apron we say "un d'vanteau"
For "many things" we say "une tapée"
For your wardrobe we say "un dorsoué" (Ouellette 2021b)

A recurring theme across the narratives is the importance of not only speaking the language but living, socializing, and building community in French. Episode 6 introduces Isabelle Gallant, an Anglophone married to a French Acadian, whose grandparents (from the region of Rustico) could not maintain the language when they moved to Souris. However, three generations later, her daughter is now proud to attend a French school back in Rustico. For Ouellette, Gallant's narrative emphasizes the importance of persevering so that future generations will benefit from a vibrant Francophone culture and opportunities to live in the language of their choice (Ouellette 2021f). Moroccan-born Khadija Aarab (episode 4) describes her new life after immigrating to the Island, where she is studying to be an early childhood educator, and how she discovered many opportunities to live in French on the Island (Ouellette 2021d). In Summerside, Dr. Nadine Arsenault-Samson and her family describe in episode 3 their efforts to live and work in French; Arsenault-Samson is a bilingual family doctor, and she describes how she and her husband chose to have their children attend a French school (Ouellette 2021c).

The third part of each episode celebrates the transmission of the language across generations through music and song and hearing artists singing in French. Ouellette notes that she strategically included the lyrics in subtitles in order to make it easier for viewers to follow or sing along. As Marie-Christine Grondin demonstrates in her study of the intergenerational transmission of Spanish as a Heritage Language, in addition to serving as tools for language development, songs can create an emotional connection to and transmit and maintain language, culture, and identity (2021, ii). Ouellette reflects that when she worked with young students in schools, she taught French through music—students learn a language faster and have more fun in the learning process when that learning is facilitated through music. Moreover, she notes that if people have positive experiences learning the language and living their everyday lives in French, they will continue to use the language.

In each episode of the six-part series, singers from multiple generations perform traditional Acadian or contemporary songs that speak to experiences of life in French on the Island, local Acadian culture, and themes of language and identity loss and revival.

> Music is so prominent in Acadian communities and beyond—universal—and we have so many songwriters that have taken the time to write about their love for Acadie, the struggles they experienced, and so many people talk about how they left but returned because there was something missing for them. It's great to speak French, but music adds another cultural dimension that can't be replaced. (Geneviève Ouellette, interview with author, June 16, 2022)

In episode 3, Paul D. Gallant and his daughter, Adrienne, reminisce about the Acadian performing group Panou and other musical theatre projects curated by Gallant since the 1970s. Adrienne describes the challenges and benefits of living in French after graduating from the French high school. As Ouellette describes, "Adrienne a non seulement fait le choix conscient de continuer à parler français, elle à également fait le choix de chanter en français!" ("Adrienne didn't only choose to continue to speak French, she also chose to sing in French!") (Ouellette 2021c). The episode includes archival footage of Adrienne performing her father's song "Je te reviens, mon Acadie" at an Acadian festival in 2017, a song inspired by Longfellow's epic poem "Evangeline."

The intergenerational emphasis of the series, both in terms of its intended audience of parents and grandparents and its featured guests, resonates with the "whole family approach" to language revitalization that has been well documented in New Zealand and Hawai'i. Building on the success of the Maori *Te Kohanga Reo* (language nest) movement in New Zealand, in which language and cultural learning are fostered and supported by all members of the extended family (Johnston 1994; May 1998), Hawaiian language educators Wilson and Kamana adopted the concept of language nests to establish *Pūnana Leo*, non-profit immersive Hawaiian language preschools, in Hawai'i. They emphasize the importance of involving children, parents, grandparents, and other family members to preserve and promote the Hawaiian language (Wilson and Kamana 2001; Kamana and Wilson 2007) and argue that language revitalization efforts must be grounded in the cultural context and needs of the community in question. Moreover, they highlight the importance of traditional practices and cultural values in language revitalization and advocate integrating them into language instruction and curriculum. A similar belief in the value of the whole family approach guides several initiatives of the *Fédération des parents de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard* that connect to their mission of *francisation*. In addition to the short documentary series described above and the creation of digital learning resources, these initiatives include free, social evenings called *Voir grand*, the aim of which is to facilitate socializing and positive experiences in French for children and youth while also imparting valuable tools for parents and a sense belonging to the Francophone community more broadly. These evenings have taken place both in-person and on virtual meeting platforms and feature activities such as cooking and (indoor) camping, arts and crafts, short, bilingual parent talks about how to support learning in French at home, and seasonal "story times" and literacy activities, as well as take-away gifts (such as a French book) for families.

Digital Mediation and Language Revitalization

Since the early 2000s, language activists, teachers, and scholars have turned to digital technologies in projects to revitalize the practice of minority, endangered, or lesser-used languages with increased urgency (Eisenlohr 2004; Lysloff 2003; McClure 2001). Anthropologist Paul Eisenlohr argues that this increased use of electronic mediation raises questions about how such practices are "situated within sociocultural processes of language obsolescence, maintenance, and revitalization" (2004, 21), noting a disjuncture between expert discourses that seek to raise Western public awareness of widespread language loss around the world and the concerns of local language activists. These differences, Eisenlohr argues, have consequences for how these new technologies are critically evaluated and used in situations of language revitalization (2004). On the one hand, some scholars have observed the impact of electronic mediation of discourse on situations of language shift and the potential for media to interfere with mother-tongue transmission in revitalization contexts (Cormack 2003, 1, in Moriarty 2011, 449–50). On the other hand, scholars and local advocates identify the potential benefits of electronic mediation in transmission and literacy techniques and amplify local voices and priorities. It is rarely a clear-cut situation of benefits *or* harms, as Huilcán Herrera observes, noting that Indigenous communities are using digital technologies to support language revitalization efforts, and they can positively impact individual and group identity. However, they caution that this positive impact can only occur when communities "are active agents in the design and production of their language materials" (2022, 10).

Gannon-Leary and Fontainha's research on virtual learning illustrates how electronic media can connect communities of practice around minority and endangered languages (2007). The concept of communities of practice, defined as a type of informal learning organization in which members "feel connected . . . and have invaluable insights they can learn from each other" (Wenger, McDermott, and Snyder 2002, 71), resonates with Gannon-Leary and Fontainha's findings that electronic media can support the development of communities of practice by enabling communication and collaboration among practitioners who are geographically dispersed, such as the sharing of knowledge, ideas, and best practices through discussion forums, wikis, and blogs. According to the authors, these tools can help bridge physical distances and enable practitioners with shared interests to learn from one another, even when they are not co-located (2007). Similarly, Moriarty argues that new media can play a crucial role in connecting speakers of endangered languages and providing them with new opportunities to learn, use, and share their languages, especially among younger generations. She writes,

> New media environments offer the possibility for evolution of new identities, which challenge the way in which speakers of endangered languages have understood themselves and been understood in majority-language media. However, it must be highlighted that the processes by which, and the extent to which, media and popular culture can positively affect perceptions, usage and viability of endangered languages is a complex one and never more so than today. (2011, 446)

This potential of new media to support language revitalization efforts and identity construction through communities of practice speaks to the power of technology and digital communication to help users connect, build community and pride, and help raise awareness around the importance of preserving endangered languages. Significantly, drawing on Leonard's (2017) work on Indigenous language documentation, Huilcán Herrera emphasizes that participating in these revitalization initiatives may represent an act of decolonization, "a concrete action in which communities are exercising their self-determination by reclaiming their voice" (2022, 3).

In the case of the web series, digital technologies provide a platform for sharing powerful messages about the importance and accessibility of intergenerational transmission of language and culture and the role music can play in language learning and creating thriving French communities. The digital format also reflects how the current generation of young parents uses online content and social media. Moreover, in addition to connecting to parents, Ouellette notes that the videos expressed feelings that would have been difficult, if not impossible, to convey otherwise. Further, the episodes address issues of concern for linguistic minorities beyond the island community. Seeing and hearing what is happening in homes and communities has resonated locally on PEI and with Francophone viewers in minority French communities across Canada. As she explains,

> Comme francophones ou francophiles ou Acadiens, nous avons tous ce 'a-ha' moment, que nous sommes tous . . . que tu sois née francophone ou tu ailles à l'école francophone, ou que tu ne parles pas français mais que tu as une arrière-grandmère qui était francophone, ça fait partie de ton identité, et tu es en train de construire cette identité. (Geneviève Ouellette, interview with author, June 16, 2022)
>
> (As Francophones or Francophiles[20] or Acadians, we all have that "a-ha" moment, whether you are born Francophone or you go to a French school, or you don't speak French but you have a great-grandmother who was Francophone. It's part of your identity and we are all in the process of constructing that identity.)

She continues,

> La première chose, je pense, numéro un, j'aimerais simplement que le message touche les émotions des personnes. Que ces émotions nous motivent à prendre action. Pis c'est pour ça qu'à travers les vidéos on voit les personnes parler, on voit les familles. Juste voir ce qu'ils vivent va nous inspiré a continuer a prendre les choix de tous jours pour faire un impact sur le present et le futur. Donc, numéro un, livrer un message mais toucher les émotions forts. Il faut *carer* pour faire que le français devienne une valeur ou il faut avoir l'information et les faits pour comprendre par exemple que 'Ah, c'est ça qui c'est arrivé à mes grand-parents, ok, il n'est pas trop tard pour moi de le reprendre—ma langue, mon heritage, ma culture.' Donc, c'est ça. Dans un documentaire de cinq minutes tu peux offrir beaucoup d'information

> et faire vivre beaucoup d'émotions dans le but de changer la façon que les gens vivent tous les jours. (Geneviève Ouellette, interview with author, June 16, 2022)
>
> (First, I hope that the message touches people's emotions. That those emotions motivate us to take action. That's why in the videos we see people talking, we see families. Just seeing what they are living will inspire us to continue making choices every day to have an impact on the present and the future. So, number one, send a message but touch strong emotions. You need to care in order for French to hold value or to find information or facts to understand, for example, that "Ah, that's what happened to my grandparents, OK, it's not too late for me to retake my language, my heritage, my culture." So, that's it. In a five-minute documentary, you can offer a lot of information and send a powerful message with the goal of changing the way in which people live.)

Ouellette says that following the online publication of the videos, she was contacted by many Francophones in New Brunswick as well as people from different backgrounds in other provinces, who expressed a feeling of connection to the stories told in the series and the overall goal of sustaining and supporting life in French. She recalls, for example, that people told her that "on vit la même chose, on a les mêmes défis et c'est beau de voir ce qui ce passe à l'Île" ("we live the same things, we have the same struggles, and it is beautiful to see what is happening on the Island") (Geneviève Ouellette, interview with author, June 16, 2022).

Concluding Thoughts

The web documentary project complements and extends the Island Acadian community's long history of activism to sustain, celebrate, and advocate for the French language and Francophone Acadian culture on PEI. While modest in scope, it provides an intriguing model for cross-sector and intergenerational advocacy around language and culture sustainability through digital media, storytelling, and song.

The historical aspiration for political and cultural autonomy is a pillar of the broader Acadian story. Despite a tumultuous history that dispossessed the Acadians of their territory and systems of self-governance, Acadians have constructed and maintained a "borderless sense of nation" in Atlantic Canada (Gallant 2011). Language plays an important role in facilitating this nation-building and articulating a sense of identity, belonging, and visibility for contemporary Acadians, many of whom share a common language (French) yet recognize linguistic and cultural diversity among Acadian communities. While Francophone Acadians on PEI have secured significant gains since the 1980s around linguistic rights and the safeguarding of French Acadian culture, the dominance of the English language on PEI, as in much of the rest of Canada, and the proximity of Francophone Acadian communities to mainstream Anglophone society mean that French-speaking Islanders continue to experience challenges living and learning in French. They are, to borrow Valérie Vézina's phrase, "*une île sur une île*" (an "island on an island") (Vézina 2021), a position exacerbated by the rural settings of many of the Island's Acadian communities, their relative

distance from mainland Francophones and other island Acadian communities (such as larger Acadian communities in neighbouring New Brunswick, and majority French-speaking Magdalen Islands (Quebec), a five-hour ferry trip from the eastern tip of PEI), and the literal and figurative encroachment of mainstream Anglophone society. The importance of language in building community and sustaining Francophone and Acadian culture is a recurring theme in the web documentary series. The narratives of Isabelle Gallant, Khadija Aarab, and Dr. Nadine Arsenault-Samson illustrate the value of persevering to keep the French language alive, as it enables future generations to benefit from a vibrant Francophone culture and the opportunity to live in the language of their choice.

The use of music and songs in language learning, cultural preservation, and social identity formation is central to that mission, particularly concerning motivating language acquisition, promoting intergenerational interactions, legitimizing minority languages, and fostering connection among language learners. Acadian musicians have played a key role in cultivating a sense of pride in French Acadian varieties and nurturing social connections by foregrounding Acadian culture and traditions. The web documentary series builds on the established work of several Acadian artists, highlighting the role of music and song in transmitting language, culture, and identity across generations.

Digital media plays an increasingly prominent role in efforts to revitalize minority, endangered, or lesser-used languages. Beyond language documentation and transmission, such technologies can connect communities of practice around minority and endangered languages, support identity construction, and help communities find their voices. While it is only one of several ongoing efforts to support the everyday use of French in Acadian communities across PEI, the web documentary series uses the digital platform, stories, and songs to engage its audiences and communicate its messages of urgency, perseverance, and accessibility around the intergenerational transmission of Acadian language and culture, as well as to emphasize the role that music can play in creating thriving communities. The stories of Island Acadians presented in the documentary, while specific to their place, historical and contemporary challenges, and successes, resonate with the experiences of other minority or heritage language groups and offer tangible connections for navigating the present and building the future *en français* for their communities.

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Notes

[1] The Mi'kmaq are one of more than fifty First Nations in Canada. The Canadian Constitution recognizes three groups of Indigenous peoples: First Nations, Inuit, and Métis.

[2] Created in 1919 under the name Société Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin, the Acadian and Francophone Society of Prince Edward Island (SAF'Île) acts as the spokesperson association for Acadians and Francophones on the Island.

[3] The province of New Brunswick is Canada's only officially bilingual province. According to the 2021 national census, the percentage of people in the province who speak predominantly French at home is 26.4 percent, and the overall rate of bilingualism in the province is 34 percent (Statistics Canada 2021).

[4] Anglophones pronounce the name "Cajuns."

[5] This dark chapter of Acadian history was immortalized in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's epic, fictionalized poem, "Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie" (1847), which has brought the 1755 exile to the attention of Acadians and non-Acadians alike for many generations. The poem tells the tragic tale through the fictional characters Evangeline and Gabriel, two lovers separated by *le Grand Dérangement*. "Evangeline" imparts a romanticized quality to the 1755 exile that has endured, and it is the basis for many erroneous depictions of Acadian life and politics of this period. The poem has been the subject of numerous critical studies, including those by Griffiths (1982) and LeBlanc (2003).

[6] See Arsenault (1989; 1996; 2002; 2003), among others; Lockerby (2008; 2010); and Forsyth (2011; 2012; 2013; 2020a).

[7] Historian Earle Lockerby suggests that the lack of attention given to that event is due in part to the fact that the majority of Maritime Acadians trace their ancestry to the first deportations in Nova Scotia rather than the later ones on PEI; moreover, the later deportations were less controversial, though not less traumatic, as they involved fewer people and occurred while France and Britain were officially at war (Lockerby 2008).

[8] For example, Maillet's publications *La Sagouine* ([1971] 1973) and *Pélagie-la-Charrette* (1979).

[9] French-speaking Cajuns in Louisiana experienced a parallel history of language decline due to intense stigmatization and assimilation into the dominant Anglophone culture. Consequently, revival efforts from the 1960s onward have focused on reintroducing French language and culture in Louisiana, mainly through French immersion and other community language programs supported by the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) (see Le Menestrel 2015; Degrave 2013; Natsis 1999).

[10] See, for example, Back (2000), Orejuela and Shonekan (2018), McDonald (2020), and Tamirisa et al. (2021) on the role of music and sound in fighting racism, inequality, and violence; Galloway (2014), Ingram (2010), Pedelty (2016), and Polli (2012) on environmental activism through music and sound; Peddie (2012) on music and human rights; and Tan (2008) on the use of performance to revitalize traditions and bridge cultural barriers.

[11] Acadjonne and Chiac are two of numerous French Acadian language varieties spoken in the Maritime Provinces and the province of Quebec. Papen (1998) describes how the separate and independent development of two French-speaking colonies in Nova Scotia and Quebec—which became Acadie and New France, respectively—gave rise to the two principal French dialect areas in Canada: Acadian French and Quebec French.

[12] For a discussion of Barachois' repertoire, performance style, and legacy, see Forsyth (2011; 2020a).

[13] Two of Vishtèn's members, Emmanuelle LeBlanc and Pastelle LeBlanc (1980–2022), are from the Région Évangéline of PEI while fiddler Pascal Miousse is from the neighbouring Îles-de-la-Madeleine (Magdalen Islands) of Quebec. The distinct Acadian fiddle style of the Magdalen Island (see Forsyth 2020b) contributes to the group's distinct sound. For a discussion of the group's music and pan-island identity, see Forsyth 2012.

[14] LeBlanc was nominated in 2017 and 2022 for her albums *Why You Wanna Leave, Runaway Queen?* (2016) and *Chiac Disco* (2021), respectively; Radio Radio's album *Belmundo Regal* (2009) was nominated in 2010.

[15] At the time, the expression "French schools" denoted rural schools located in villages across PEI, where the majority of the families were French-speaking Catholic Acadians. Most of the teachers at such schools who were Acadian (mainly young women) had been trained in English at the Provincial Normal School, and they often spoke French to their students, most of whom spoke French at home. The students in the first few grades learned to read and write in both French and English, but from the fourth grade up, most of the textbooks (e.g., geography, health, mathematics) were in English; grammar was often taught in both French and English—*if* the teacher could teach French grammar. Acadian historian Georges Arsenault notes that the bilingual convents in the villages of Miscouche, Rustico, North Rustico, and Tignish had better-trained teachers (nuns), but they followed the provincial curriculum since they had become public schools; therefore, French did not have priority in those schools (Georges Arsenault, communication with author, February 10, 2023).

[16] Many thanks to Georges Arsenault for providing details of this historical context.

[17] While the gender division of labour is beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth noting that traditionally, women's roles were oriented primarily toward domestic and community work (Prince Edward Island, n.d.). At the same time, men were responsible for work outside of the home, such as in agriculture, politics, and various professions, and held leadership roles in the public sphere. Women played essential roles in the economic, cultural, and social life of their communities and were often involved in agricultural work, such as planting and harvesting of crops. Therefore, it is not surprising that women also played a role in promoting French education in their home district and parish. However, it was not until the 1970s that women became involved in a very public way. For more information on the roles and contributions of Acadian women, see *Acadian Women of Prince Edward Island: Three Centuries of Action* by Jacinthe Laforest and Georges Arsenault (2016).

[18] The Federation of Parents of Prince Edward Island is a non-profit organization that seeks to support families learning and living in French across PEI.

[19] A medium-sized structure on the property that is primarily used to host musical parties.

[20] Someone who has a strong affinity toward the French language, history, and culture.

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