

# Classifier variation and change in Toronto Heritage Cantonese

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WICL 2012

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# Looking for contact-induced change in Heritage Languages



HERITAGE LANGUAGE VARIATION AND CHANGE IN TORONTO

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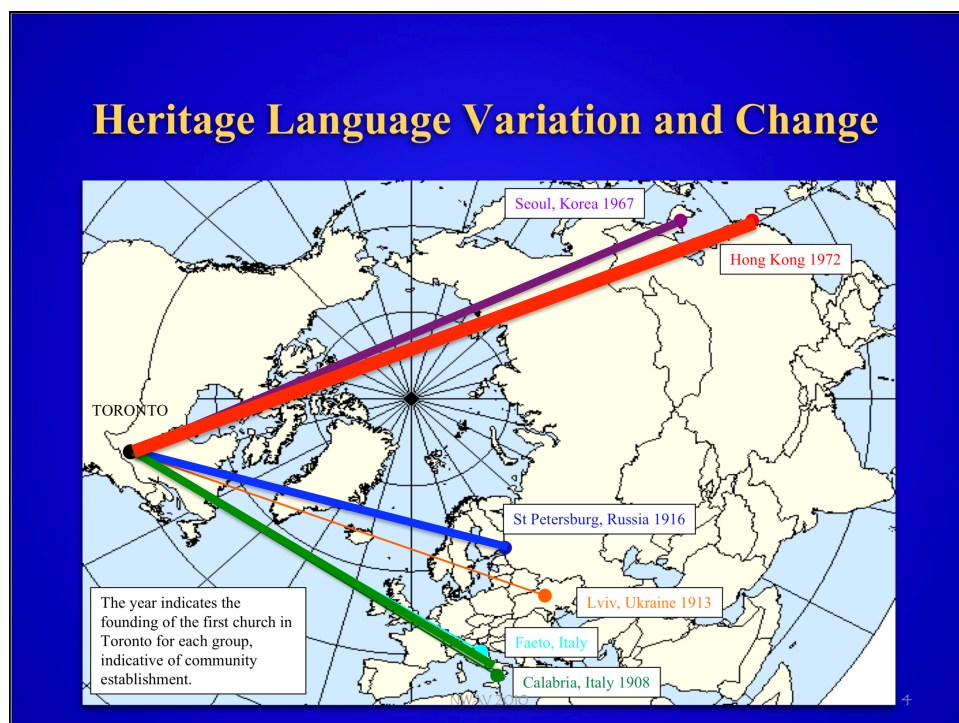
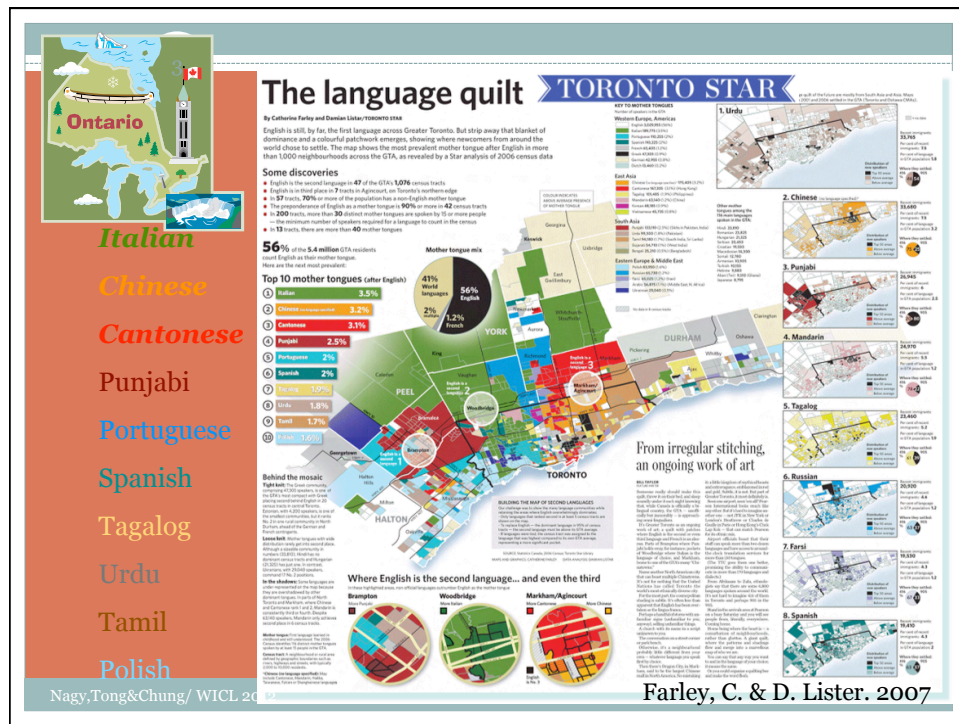
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Social Sciences and Humanities  
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## Community demographics

|           | MT speakers<br>(2006 Census) | Ethnic Origin<br>(2006 Census) | Est.<br>in TO | Targeted city/<br>region of origin |
|-----------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| Italian   | 194,000                      | 466,000                        | 1908          | Calabria                           |
| Ukrainian | 27,000                       | 122,000                        | 1913          | Lviv                               |
| Russian   | 66,000                       | 58,505                         | 1916          | St. Petersburg,<br>Moscow          |
| Faetar    | <100?                        | <500?                          | 1950          | Faeto, Celle St. Vito              |
| Cantonese | 170,000                      | 537,000                        | 1951          | Hong Kong                          |
| Korean    | 49,000                       | 55,000                         | 1967          | Seoul                              |

Mother tongue: <http://www40.statcan.ca/lo1/cst01/demo12c-eng.htm>

Ethnic origin: <http://www40.statcan.ca/lo1/cst01/demo27g-eng.htm>

5

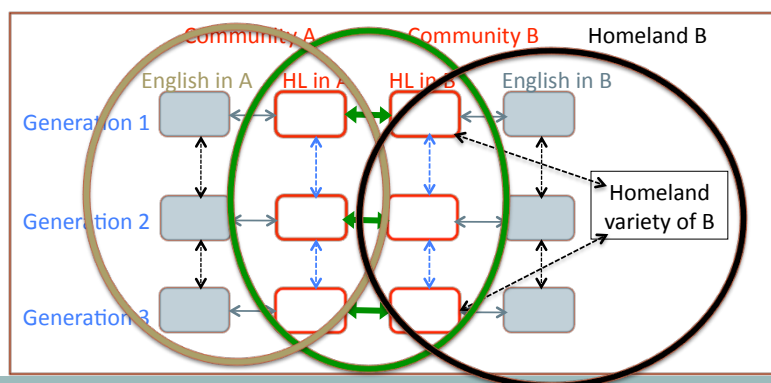
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## Types of (linguistic and sociolinguistic) comparisons

### KEY

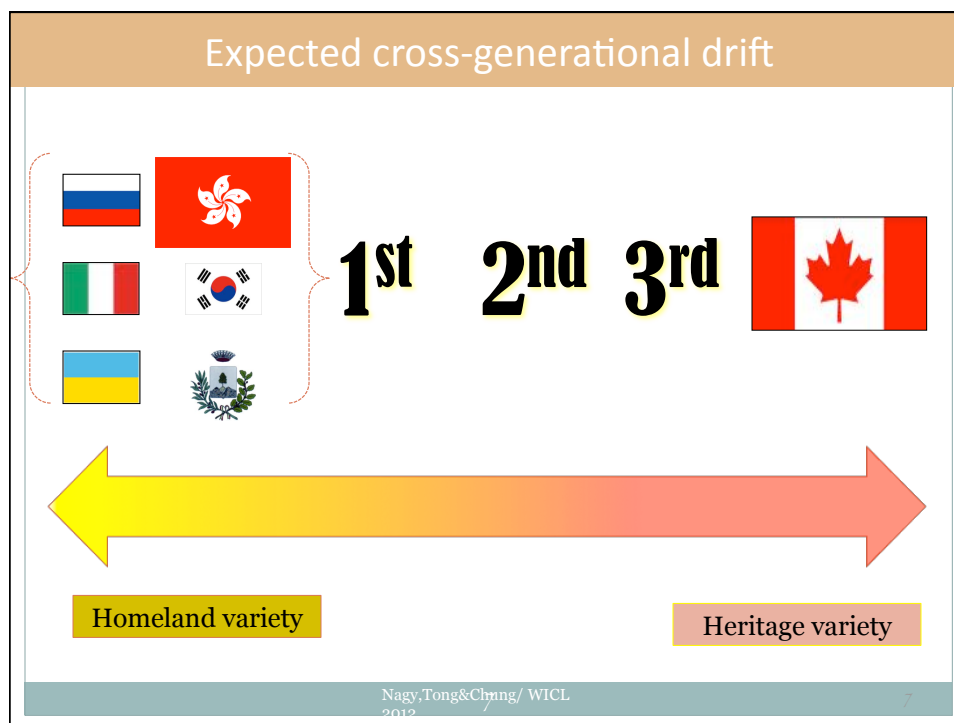
- HLVC data
- English data

- ↕ Stage 1: inter-generational comparison
- ↔ Stage 2: cross-community comparison
- ↔ Stage 3: diatopic comparison
- ↔ Stage 4: comparison between HL and English



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6



## What are classifiers?

8

In (homeland) **Cantonese**, classifiers are required in certain NPs (Yip & Matthews: 39-40)

|      |           |      |                  |
|------|-----------|------|------------------|
| A    | school of | fish |                  |
| yat1 | kwang3    | yu2  |                  |
| —    | 群         | 魚    | (Wei & Lee 2001) |

They are used much more often than English partitives:

Bei2      go3      sin1saang1      laau4  
比      個      先生      鬧  
got      CLAS      teacher    yell  
*I got yelled at by a teacher.*

|                           |         |      |      |
|---------------------------|---------|------|------|
| sin1 saang1               | fong3   | go3  | paj2 |
| 先生                        | 放       | 個    | 屁    |
| teacher                   | release | CLAS | fart |
| <i>The teacher farts.</i> |         |      |      |

### This study focuses on variation in classifier use.

9

- Is there change going on in Cantonese in Toronto?
  - ✓ Speakers think so, and they are right.
- Specifically, is the classifier system changing?
  - ✓ Yes.
- How?
  - ✓ Classifiers are being used less.
  - ✓ And classifiers are being used in new contexts.



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9

## PARTICIPANT CRITERIA: LANGUAGE

### (Self-defined) fluent speaker of...

#### **Cantonese**

Faetar

Korean

Italian

Russian

Ukrainian

Polish

Hungarian

Everyone agreed that they could participate in a recorded conversation for about an hour, in the heritage language.

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10

| Generation       |   |
|------------------|---|
| Speaker of...    | Generation  |
| <b>Cantonese</b> | <b>1<sup>st</sup>:</b><br>•born in/near <b>Hong Kong</b> ;<br>•moved to Toronto after age 18;<br>in Toronto 20+ years   |
|                  | <b>2<sup>nd</sup>:</b><br>born in Toronto<br>(or came from homeland before age 6);<br>parents qualify as 1st generation |
|                  | <b>3<sup>rd</sup>:</b><br>born in Toronto;<br>parents qualify as 2nd generation   |

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11

11


| Age group   |       |
|---|-------|
| Generation  | Age   |
| <b>1<sup>st</sup>:</b> born in homeland;<br>moved to Toronto after<br>age 18;<br>in Toronto 20+ years                 | 60+   |
|   | 39-59 |
| <b>2<sup>nd</sup>:</b> born in Toronto<br>(or came from homeland<br>< age 6);<br>parents qualify as 1st<br>generation | 60+   |
|   | 40-59 |
|   | 21-39 |
|   | <21   |
| <b>3<sup>rd</sup>:</b> born in Toronto;<br>parents qualify as 2nd<br>generation                                       | 60+   |
|   | 40-59 |
|   | 21-39 |
|   | <21   |

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12

12

**SEX**



| Languages        | Generation  | Age   | Sex       |
|------------------|---|-------|-----------|
| <b>Cantonese</b> | <b>1<sup>st</sup>:</b><br>born in homeland;<br>moved to Toronto<br>after age 18 | 60+   | 2 females |
|                  |   |       | 2 males   |
|                  |   | 39-59 | 2 females |
|                  |   |       | 2 males   |



**= 4 speakers per generation**

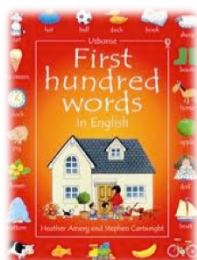
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**Speakers in this study (N = 12)**

| Gen.            | Age   | Male <sup>14</sup>                                | Female   |
|-----------------|---|---|--|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> | > 60  | C1M61A, C1M62A, C1M87A                            | C1F74A, C1F78A, C1F82A                                       |
|                 | 39-60   | C1M46A, C1M52A, C1M52B,<br>C1M58A, C1M59A         | C1F50A, C1F50B, C1F54A,<br>C1F54B, C1F58A                    |
|                 | NO 1 <sup>ST</sup> Gen speakers < 38, by definition |   |  |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | > 60  |   |  |
|                 | 39-60   | C2M44A, C2M51C                                    | C2F41A   |
|                 | 19-38   | C2M21B, C2M21C, C2M21D,<br>C2M22A, C2M27A         | C2F20A, C2F20B, C2F21B,<br>C2F21C, C2F22A, C2F24A,<br>C2F27A |
|                 | 12-18   | C2M13A, C2M14A, C2M14B,<br>C2M16A, C2M17A, C2M17B | C2F16B, C2F16C   |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | > 60  |   |  |
|                 | 39-60   | C3M44A, C3M53A                                    |  |
|                 | 19-38   |   |  |
|                 | 12-18   |   | C3F12A, C3F18A   |

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## Data collection methods



1. Sociolinguistic Interview
2. Ethnic Orientation Questionnaire
3. Picture Description Task

All conducted and recorded by a native speaker in the heritage language



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15

## ELAN Transcription

16

2) Tokens automatically found, then checked by hand

1) Classifier tier created in ELAN file of sociolinguistic interview

3) 25 tokens for each speaker were marked: C or N

4) Each token was coded for 2 independent linguistic variables

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## Data and Analysis

17

- 12 speakers
- 369 tokens (~25 tokens/speaker) taken from conversational speech
  - Dependent variable: presence or absence of classifier
  - Independent linguistic variables:
    - Noun types
    - Countability of noun (context-dependent)

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17

## Classifier Present

18

Sap6 ji6                  lin4      zung6 jau5  
 Twelve                  CLAS high school

*Twelve years of high school* (Speaker C1M46A)



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## Missing Classifier

19

### Without Classifier

Gei2 do1 Ø gai1 tung4 tou3  
 How many chicken and rabbit



### With classifier

Gei2 do1 zak3 gai1 tung4 tou3  
 How many CLAS chicken and rabbit

*How many chickens and rabbits? (Speaker C1F50B)*

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## Optional Classifiers

20

### Without Classifier

yam5 dak1 taa3 do1 Ø cha6  
 drink partitive too much tea

*Sometimes I drink too much tea. (Speaker C2F27A)*

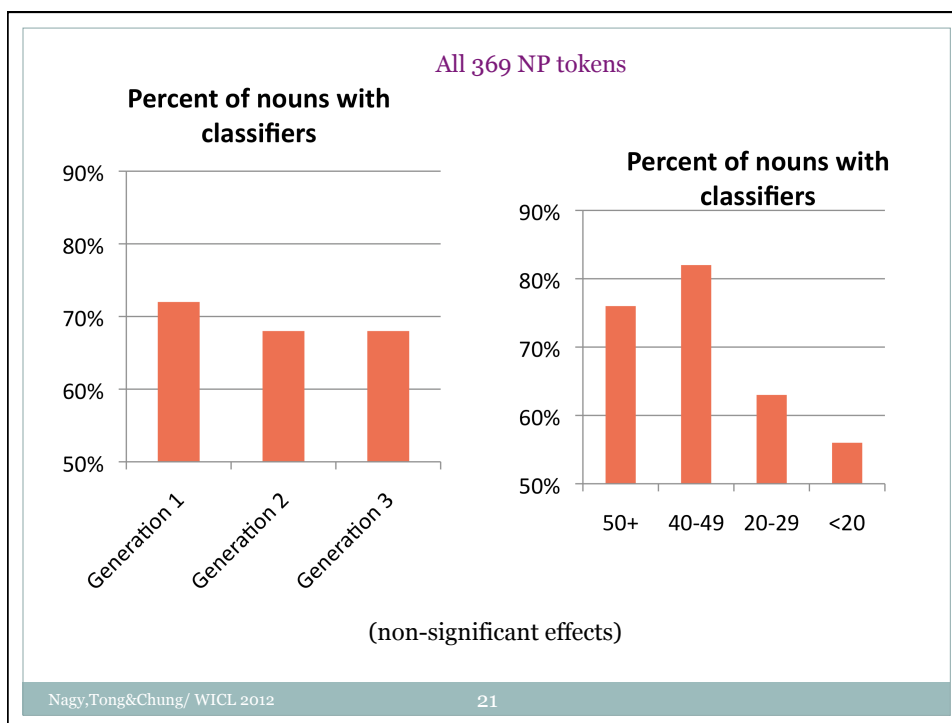


### With classifier

yam5 dak1 taa3 do1 bui2 cha6  
 drink partitive too many CLAS tea

*Sometimes I drink too many cups of tea.*

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| Noun Type: Non-bare nouns |                                      |                   |                  |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 22                        |                                      |                   |                  |
| Possessive + noun         | ngo3<br>我<br>my<br><i>my fish</i>    | tiu4<br>條<br>CLAS | yu2<br>魚<br>fish |
| Number + noun             | yat1<br>一<br>one<br><i>one fish</i>  | tiu4<br>條<br>CLAS | yu2<br>魚<br>fish |
| Demonstrative + noun      | ni1<br>呢<br>this<br><i>this fish</i> | tiu4<br>條<br>CLAS | yu2<br>魚<br>fish |

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## Noun Type: Bare nouns

23

### Indefinite

ngo3

I

我

*I saw a fish.*

geen6 dou2

saw

見到

tiu4

CLAS

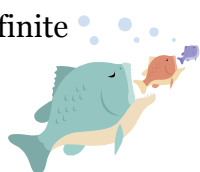
條

yu2

fish

魚

### Definite



tiu4

CLAS

條

*The fish was very big.*

yu2

fish

魚

ho2

very

好

daai6

big

大

### Non-specific (generic)

tiu4

CLAS

條

*Fish are slimy.*

yu2

fish

魚

ho2

very

好

waat6

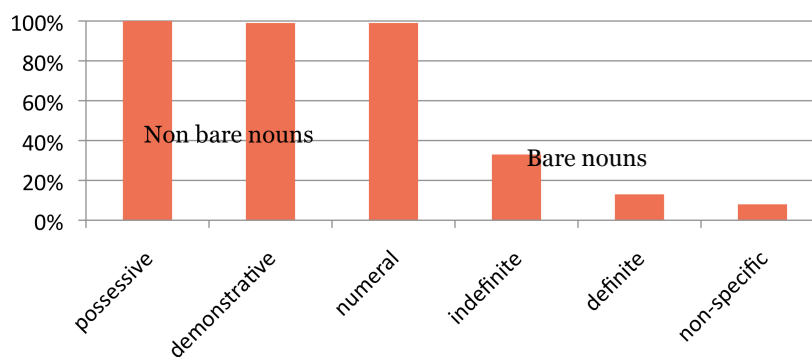
slimy

滑

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All 369 NP tokens

### Percent of NPs with classifier



Significant effect: non-bare vs. bare

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24

## Countable vs. Non-countable nouns

### Countable



di1  
CLAS

deng3  
chair

hai2  
on

dei3 haa2  
floor

D

凳

係

地下

*The chairs are on the floor.*

### Non-countable

di1  
CLAS

tsa3  
tea

hai2  
on

dei3 haa2  
floor

D

茶

係

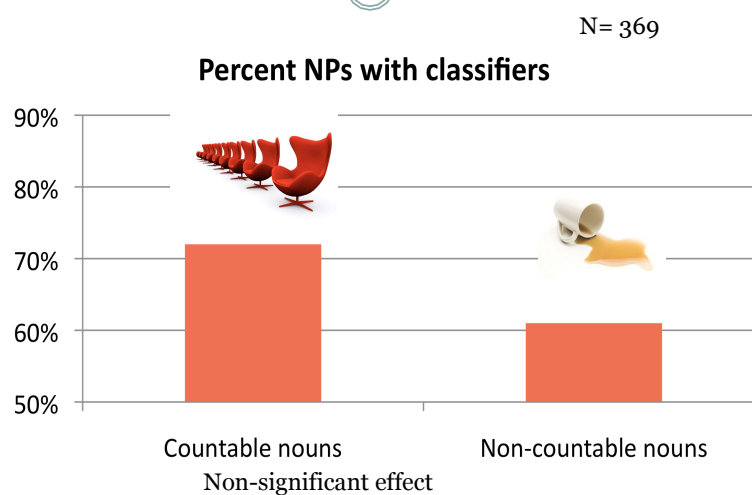
地下

*The tea is on the floor.*



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## Countability Effect



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## Example of bare countable noun

27

### Without classifier

Bei2  $\emptyset$  lai2 mat4 yan6 dei6.  
Give gifts others

### With classifier

Bei2 di1 lai2 mat4 yan6 dei6.  
Give CLAS presents others

*Giving others some gifts. (Speaker C3F12A)*



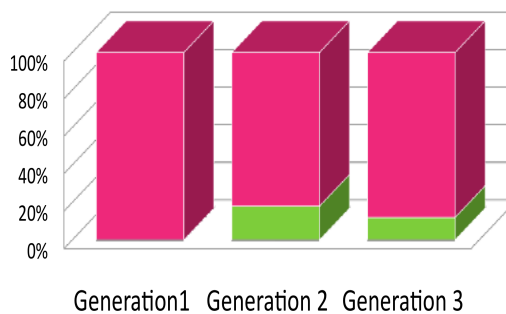
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## An emergent pattern: Use of classifiers to mark bare countable contexts

28

### Bare countable nouns, by generation

*Significant effects, by  
one-tailed Fischer's  
Exact Test:*  
✓ 1<sup>st</sup> vs. 2<sup>nd</sup> generation  
p = .026  
✓ 1<sup>st</sup> vs. 2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>rd</sup> gens.  
p = .029  
( 2<sup>nd</sup> vs. 3<sup>rd</sup> gen.  
p = .40)

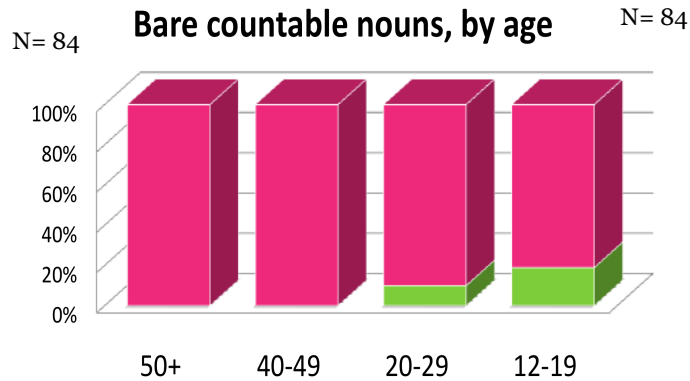


N = 84

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**An emergent pattern:  
Use of classifiers to mark bare countable contexts**

29



*Significant effects, by one-tailed Fischer's Exact Test:*  
 $\sqrt{>40 \text{ vs. } <40: p = .024}$

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**Innovation in younger speakers**

N = 369

| Age  | Noun type                  | CLAS. present? | Bare nouns |     |         |     |        |     | Non-bare nouns |     |        |     |            |     |
|------|----------------------------|----------------|------------|-----|---------|-----|--------|-----|----------------|-----|--------|-----|------------|-----|
|      |                            |                | Definite   |     | Generic |     | Indef. |     | Demonstrative  |     | Number |     | Possessive |     |
|      |                            |                | N          | %   | N       | %   | N      | %   | N              | %   | N      | %   | N          | %   |
| > 40 | <u>Countable nouns</u>     | YES            | 0          | 0   | 0       | 0   | 0      | 0   | 27             | 96  | 79     | 100 | 14         | 100 |
|      |                            | NO             | 15         | 100 | 10      | 100 | 2      | 100 | 1              | 4   | 0      | 0   | 0          | 0   |
|      |                            | Total          | 15         |     | 10      |     | 2      |     | 28             |     | 79     |     | 14         | 0   |
| < 40 | <u>Countable nouns</u>     | YES            | 5          | 11  | 3       | 33  | 1      | 100 | 23             | 100 | 40     | 100 | 7          | 100 |
|      |                            | NO             | 42         | 89  | 6       | 67  | 0      | 0   | 0              | 0   | 0      | 0   | 0          | 0   |
|      |                            | Total          | 47         |     | 9       |     | 1      |     | 23             |     | 40     |     | 7          |     |
| > 40 | <u>Non-countable nouns</u> | YES            | 2          | 40  | 0       | 0   | 1      | 100 | 11             | 100 | 10     | 100 | 3          | 100 |
|      |                            | NO             | 3          | 60  | 14      | 100 | 0      | 0   | 0              | 0   | 0      | 0   | 0          |     |
|      |                            | Total          | 5          |     | 14      |     | 1      |     | 11             |     | 10     |     | 3          |     |
| < 40 | <u>Non-countable nouns</u> | YES            | 3          | 23  | 0       | 0   | 0      | 0   | 21             | 100 | 6      | 86  | n.d.       |     |
|      |                            | NO             | 10         | 77  | 7       | 100 | 2      | 100 | 0              | 0   | 1      | 14  |            |     |
|      |                            | Total          | 13         |     | 7       |     | 2      |     | 21             |     | 7      |     |            |     |

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30

| Innovation in later generations |   |                  |            |     |         |     |        |     |                |     |        | N = 369 |                 |     |
|---------------------------------|---|------------------|------------|-----|---------|-----|--------|-----|----------------|-----|--------|---------|-----------------|-----|
| Gen.                            | Noun type                                 | Class-<br>ifier? | Bare nouns |     |         |     |        |     | Non-bare nouns |     |        |         |                 |     |
|                                 |   |                  | Definite   |     | Generic |     | Indef. |     | Demons.        |     | Number |         | Pos-<br>sessive |     |
|                                 |   |                  | N          | %   | N       | %   | N      | %   | N              | %   | N      | %       | N               | %   |
| 1st                             |   | YES              | 0          | 0   | 0       | 0   | 0      | 0   | 17             | 94  | 61     | 100     | 13              | 100 |
|                                 |   | NO               | 15         | 100 | 10      | 100 | 1      | 100 | 1              | 6   | 0      | 0       | 0               | 0   |
|                                 |   | Total            | 15         |     | 10      |     | 1      |     | 18             |     | 61     |         | 13              | 0   |
| 2nd                             | <u>Count-<br/>able<br/>nouns</u>          | YES              | 3          | 12  | 2       | 29  | 1      | 50  | 26             | 100 | 37     | 100     | 5               | 100 |
|                                 |   | NO               | 22         | 88  | 5       | 71  | 1      | 50  | 0              | 0   | 0      | 0       | 0               | 0   |
|                                 |   | Total            | 25         |     | 7       |     | 2      |     | 26             |     | 37     |         | 5               |     |
| 3rd                             |   | YES              | 2          | 9   | 1       | 50  | n.d.   |     | 7              | 100 | 21     | 100     | 3               | 100 |
|                                 |   | NO               | 20         | 91  | 1       | 50  |        |     | 0              | 0   | 0      | 0       | 0               | 0   |
|                                 |   | Total            | 22         |     | 2       |     |        |     | 7              |     | 21     |         | 3               |     |
| 1st                             | <u>Non-<br/>count-<br/>able<br/>nouns</u> | YES              | 2          | 50  | 0       | 0   | 1      | 100 | 8              | 100 | 6      | 100     | n.d.            |     |
|                                 |   | NO               | 2          | 50  | 14      | 100 | 0      | 0   | 0              | 0   | 0      | 0       |                 |     |
|                                 |   | Total            | 4          |     | 14      |     | 1      |     | 8              |     | 6      |         |                 |     |
| 2nd                             |   | YES              | 3          | 23  | 0       | 0   | 0      | 0   | 14             | 100 | 9      | 90      | 1               | 100 |
|                                 |   | NO               | 10         | 77  | 7       | 100 | 2      | 100 | 0              | 0   | 1      | 10      | 0               | 0   |
|                                 |   | Total            | 13         |     | 7       |     | 2      |     | 14             |     | 10     |         | 1               |     |
| 3rd                             |   | YES              | 0          | 0   | n.d.    |     | n.d.   |     | 10             | 100 | 1      | 100     | 2               | 100 |
|                                 |   | NO               | 1          | 100 |         |     |        |     | 0              | 0   | 0      | 0       | 0               | 0   |
|                                 |   | Total            | 1          |     |         |     |        |     | 10             |     | 1      |         | 2               |     |
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31

## Conclusion or rather, suggestion...

32

- We propose that a change is taking place in a subset of the classifier system in Toronto Heritage Cantonese:
  - ✦ Later generation (and younger) speakers are using classifiers to mark countability in bare noun contexts.
  - ✦ First generation immigrants (and older speakers) never use classifiers in this context.



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## 多謝

33

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|              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
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| Grace Lui    | Mario So Gao |
| Sarah Truong | Ka-man Wong  |
| Olivia Yu    |              |

All RAs and project collaborators are listed at:  
[http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/research/HLVC\\_personnel.htm](http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/research/HLVC_personnel.htm)

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