Studying more and less endangered heritage languages



HTTP://PROJECTS.CHASS.UTORONTO.CA/NGN/HLVC
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Motivation for session/talk

- (Childs et al. 2014:1) recommend "a greater emphasis on conversational data and the documentation of naturally occurring conversation ... collecting sociolinguistic data which can inform language planning and policy; and creating opportunities for training in sociolinguistic documentation.
 - → This is variationist sociolinguistics.
- Consideration of sociolinguistic language documentation [...]
 questions the ways in which Western language ideologies [...]
 may be unduly influencing documentary practice in other
 parts of the world."
 - → What are the differences that matter? (cf. Labov 2015)

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Labovian Sociolinguistics 101

- Expectations of social patterns (of factors like age, sex, status, ethnicity, network) as indicative of:
 - Social structure
 - stable variation vs. changes in progress
 - changes from below vs. changes from above
 - Status of different forms (variants)
- Linguistic factors (G. Guy 2015 Köln workshop)
 - Phonological variation influenced by:
 - Markedness
 - Saliency
 - syllable structure (preference for CV)
 - OCP, etc.
 - Syntactic and discourse variation influenced by:
 - · information structure
 - ambiguity/disambiguation
 - focus

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So what's the big deal when you want to work with endangered languages? (or can we just accept this as we move out into other varieties?)

- "Classical" sociolinguistic training:
 - Large, well-documented languages
 - Grammar well-described, including variable under study
 - Investigator/fieldworker as native speaker
 - Plenty of speakers to work with (or not)
 - · Well-understood social structures
 - Speakers treated as monolingual
- Working with endangered languages:
 - Usually not any of these things
 - + Not all ages/categories of speakers are available
 - + Different degrees of fluency

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Differences with *minority* languages

- Herder's equation (language = culture = nation-state) may not hold up (Foley 2005:157-8) — How does this influence attitudinal factors?
- Bilingual speakers have their very choice of language as a resource for constructing identity – they needn't rely solely on languageinternal variation for this work (Kang & Nagy submitted).
- Stanford & Preston (2009:8): social factors may behave differently in minority languages.
- e.g., counterexamples to women leading change
- Blainey (2013): social variables "like sex, socio-economic class, literacy, ethnic identity, speech register, and home town" lose influence in contracting languages.
- Blainey (2013): education (not necessarily in language being studied) mediates role of other social factors.
- Age may operate differently
 - E.g. the "age 17" effect in TO English might relate to moving out of the home and mixing with people from other places at university
 - At age ~12, everyone starts talking Faetar in Faeto the mixing with others for school happens at that age

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...And more differences when they are endangered

- Heritage/diaspora varieties may not mimic homeland varieties because of "quantitatively deficient input" to learners
 - expect diminishing effect sizes & different conditioning effects, as proposed in Labov (2007) for the diffusion of variables when multiple dialects are in contact.
- Frequent claims of conservatism in small and/or heritage and/or endangered languages (since Dorian, at least, cf. K. Thepboriruk's NWAV44 panel)
- Increased importance of multiple speakers (and transcribers, translators, coders) (Rice 2014, Julien Carrier, p.c., Dec. 21, 2015)
- Greater likelihood of negative attitudes toward own variety

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A typical published description of emigré Italian – representing many speakers' view

È evidente la semplificazione non solo del sistema verbale, ma più in generale la semplificazione delle strutture linguistiche, ... la perdita di alcuni tratti (sopratutto a livello morfologico) (Palumbo 2014:31).

Simplification is evident in the verbal system and more generally in linguistic structure, **losing** certain features, especially morphological.

L'italiano di emigrazione si presenta come ... una varietà molto simile all'italiano poplare, ...soggetta all'influenza della lingua di adstrato (*ibid*:23).

The Italian of immigration is very similar to Italiano Popolare, subject to adstrate influence.

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What is the HLVC Project?

- Large-scale project investigating variation and change in Toronto's heritage languages.
- · Goals:
 - · Document and describe heritage languages
 - To compare to a Homeland "baseline" & local English (also variable)
 - · to understand changes in progress
 - Create a corpus available for research on a variety of topics
 - Push variationist research beyond its monolingually-oriented core (and its majority language focus) (Nagy & Meyerhoff 2008)
 - See **connections** between variation in different parts of the languages.
 - Provide resources to speakers and communities

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How do students fit into the HLVC picture?

- Approaches, tools, and courses have benefitted from the involvement of students who are members of each heritage language community, allowing a more ethnographically-informed approach – I wouldn't have been able to "get into" so many communities appropriately.
- Student community members:
 - · recruit and record speakers
 - · Transcribe and proofread recordings
 - · Do meta-data mark-up
 - Code linguistic patterns in files used by a succession of student researchers involved in different phases of the project
 - propose variables observed in their communities
 - create heritage language resource webpages/wiki entries
- We develop, with student input, assignments and class activities related to heritage language study (see website for TBB 199, LIN 251, LIN 456, LIN 1256) using a student-oriented data server:
 - http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/teaching.htm
 - http://corpora.chass.utoronto.ca/

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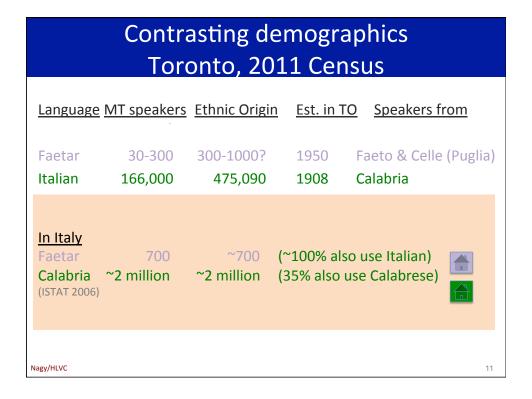
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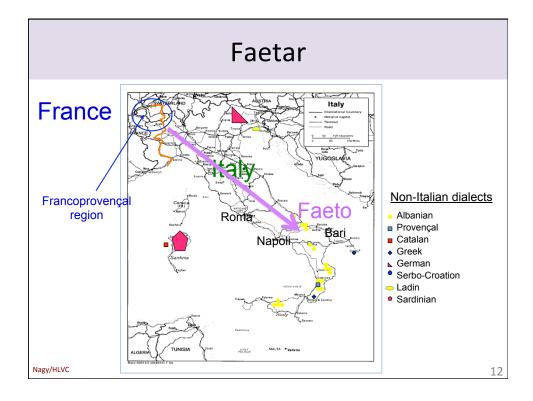
How do students fit into the HLVC picture?

 Except Faetar: there is no overlap between "students" and "community members" so we work with non-students or non-speakers trying to keep "calibrated" with the other languages in the project

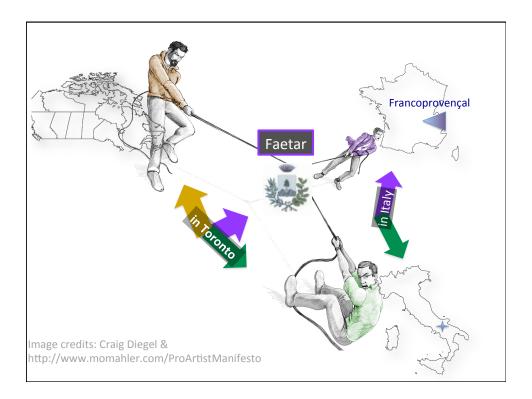
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Participant criteria

(Self-defined) fluent speaker of...

Italian

Faetar



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3 generations of HL speakers

Speaker of	Generation			
	1st: born in Calabria or Faeto; moved to Toronto after age 18; in Toronto 20+ years			
Italian/ Faetar	2 nd : born in Toronto (or came from homeland before age 6); parents qualify as 1st generation			
	3 ^{rd:} born in Toronto; parents qualify as 2nd generation For Italian, but not for Faetar			

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4 age groups x generation			
Languages	Generation	Age	
	1 st: born in homeland;	60+	
Italian/ Faetar	moved to Toronto after age 18; in Toronto 20+ years	39-59	
		60+	
	2nd : born in Toronto (or came from homeland < age 6); parents qualify as 1st generation	40-59	
		21-39	
	parente quanty ac rengeneration	<21	
		60+	
	3rd: born in Toronto; parents qualify as 2nd generation	40-59	
		21-39	
		<21	

Sex

Languages	Generation	Age	Sex
		60.1	2 females
Italian/	1st: born in homeland; moved to Toronto after age 18	60+	2 males
Faetar		39-59	2 females
			2 males

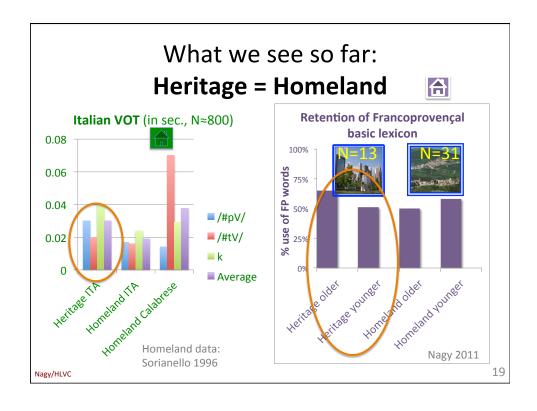
= 40 speakers per language; 320 Heritage Speakers

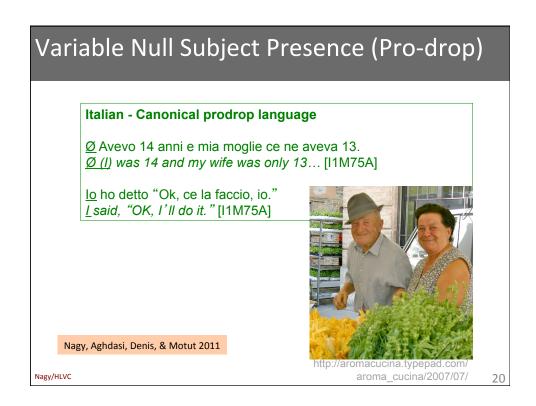
+ ~50 assorted Homeland recordings

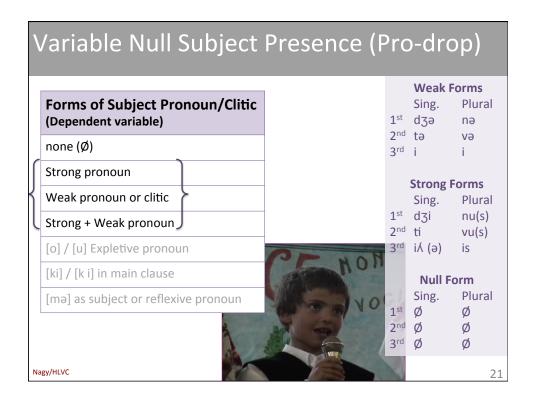


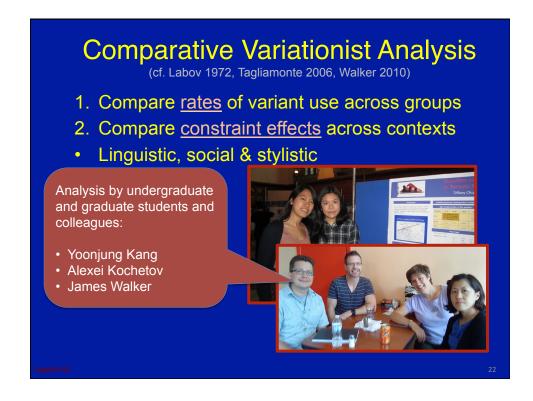
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Establish change, and its cause

Once contact has occurred, it may not be easy to access the pre-contact variety, yet contrasting these is crucial.

(Thomason & Kaufman 1998:111)

•The variationist approach

- o with its accumulated knowledge of synchronic patterns that often indicate change,
- \circ augmented by contrasting speakers with greater and lesser contact with English,
 - provides a fast-track view of language change.
- •Rather than contrasting elusive "pure" contact and non-contact varieties, we seek **gradually increasing effects on HLs correlating to gradually increasing contact with English**, to address these questions:
 - 1. Is there variation?
 - 2. How does it vary by community?
 - 3.Is there change (from Homeland)? (Thomason 2001, Nichols 2008)
 - 4. Is it contact-induced change? (CHECK EMPIRICALLY: Poplack & Levey 2010)

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Data collection methods

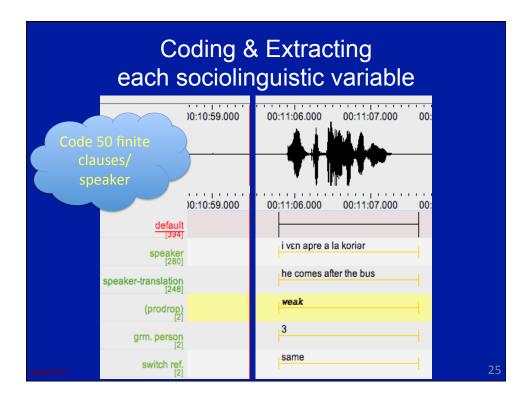
- 1. Sociolinguistic interview/conversation (~1 hour)
- 2. Picture Description Task
- 3. Ethnic Orientation Questionnaire (EOQ)



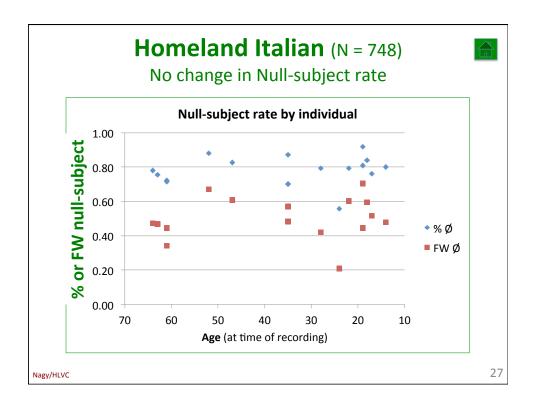
All conversations guided and recorded by native speakers in the heritage language.

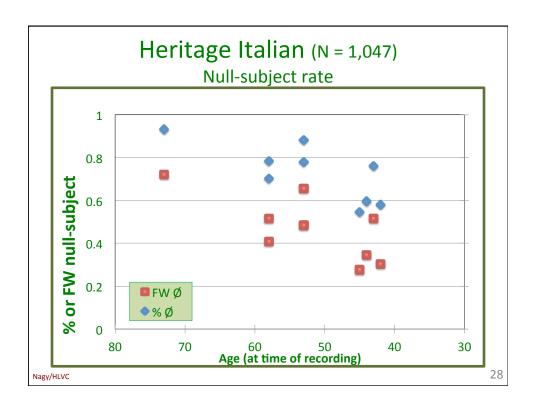
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Italian Pro-drop			Heritage Italian		What about th	
Factor (Applicat	ion = Ø)	P	rob. Ø	n	Prob. Ø	n
Subject	Same		.63	519	0.61	402
continuity	Switch		.37	528	0.39	346
Subject	Plural		.63	351	0.65	265
Number	Singular		.37	696	0.35	483
Preceding Dir. Object	D.O.		.65	43	n.s.	180
	None		.35	1004		568
Tense	Past perfect		.60	261	n.s.	193
	Present		.46	547		432
	Past imperfect		.43	239		123
(Heritage data from Nagy & Denis, NWAV 2013)		Input = .895 N = 1,047		Input = .833 N = 748	3	

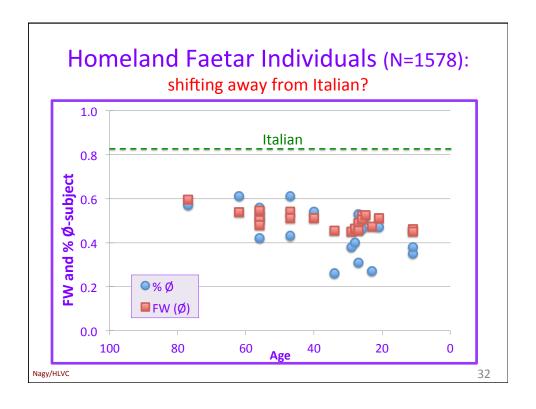


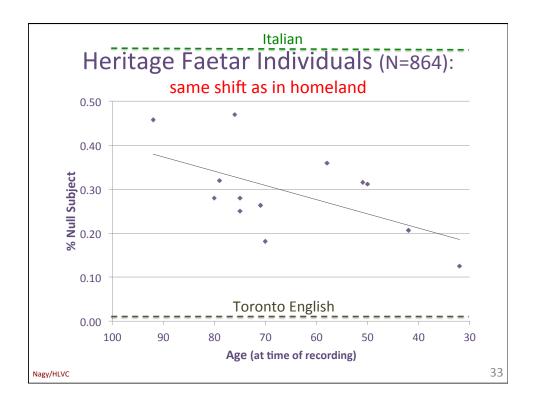




Homeland Faetar 1,578 tokens; Input = .118 Non-significant factors: sex, tense						
Facto	ors	Probability of Ø-subject	# tokens			
Person/ <u>Number</u>	3 rd	.91	1457			
	2 nd	.42	12			
	1 st	.12	109			
Preceding	D.O.	.74	212			
direct object	None	.26	1366			
Subject referent	Switch	.80	935			
continuity	Same	.40	361			
Age (by decade)	60+	.65	494			
	41-60	.56	594			
	21-40	.46	440			
	11-20	.33	50			
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Heritag	Heritage Faetar Non-significant factors: Subj. tense, sex, negation, generation.				
Factors		Probability of Ø subject	# tokens		
<u>Person</u> /Number	3 rd	.85	485		
	1 st	.31	258		
	2 nd	.29	121		
Preceding	D.O.	.72	145		
direct object	None	.28	719		
Age (by decade)	80+	.63	174		
	50-79	.55	573		
	30-49	.33	117		
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Summary ^ Homela Effects that favour null subjects					
Effects	FP Val d'Aosta	Homeland Faetar	Heritage Faetar	Heritage ITA	English
Age	older > younger	older > younger	(older > younger)		×
Generation			NOT generation	NOT generation	
Grammatical Person (1,2,3)	3>1>2	3 > (2 >)1	3 > 1 > 2	1 > 3 (3 > 1)	n.s.
Grammatical Person (sg, pl)	pl > sg	n.s.	n.s.	pl > sg	n.s.
Subject continuity	x	switch > same	n.s.	same > switch	same > switch
Preceding object/reflx pronoun	mostly no	object > nothing	object > nothing	object > nothing	х
Tense	х	n.s.	n.s.	perfect > present > imperfect	perfect > imperfect ≈ present
Overall % Ø	24-85%	52%	39%	75% 79%	2%
Nagy/HLV [\]	~3,500	1,578	943	1,047	2,188 ³⁴



Summary: in both ITALY and CANADA the tiny Faetar communities are expected to be under intense contact pressure from ENG and/or ITA; however, this does not appear to be the case.

- FAE is resisting the pulls in all directions from its FP roots, from the ITA in its homeland, and from its current contact with ENG in TORONTO (for CONSTRAINTS, if not RATE).
- Heritage FAE is very similar to Homeland: both have a slight trend toward *more overt* subjects, and similar constraint effects, suggesting a pull away from ITA. However this is not indicative of a pull *toward* ENG, because it is also occurring on a mountainside in rural Puglia (where ENG isn't used).
- Heritage ITA is more complex than Homeland, though with same Ø-subject rate.

Image credits: Craig Diegel &

http://www.momahler.com/ProArtistManifesto

Type of claims we <u>can't</u> support with this data

- "The loss of previously existing distinctions seems to occur more easily in social situations where speakers of different languages or dialects colonize new territories, bringing their varieties into contact...
- Simply put, dialect contact usually implies altered replication, since the structural constraints are not wholly acquired in contact between adults."

(Fernández-Ordóñez 2012:73-4)

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