

Major Research Project (MRP)

Language and Identity: Perceptions and Ideologies of Calabrese in Toronto

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1. Introduction

The Calabrese community of Toronto is one of the most robustly represented regional groups within the Italian diasporic community in Toronto and the GTA from its origins in the early to mid-20th century (Hagan & Rando 2007; Sinopoli 2003). Despite the size of the community, the Calabrese variety has been falling out of usage as the community shifts from multilingualism to English monolingualism across generations. It is crucial to study such speech communities as language loss becomes a potential reality (Nagy 2017). This paper is concerned with the relationship between language and identity as it pertains to the language attitudes of Italian-Canadians. Throughout this paper, I will address questions centralizing the linguistic features which index a Calabrese identity, the ways in which these markers serve to differentiate regional groups of Italians, and the interaction between language ideologies and attitudes towards regional groups. By addressing such questions, I aim to develop a deeper understanding of the community and their perception of regional language variation. In doing so, I will be contributing to ongoing documentation of regional varieties of Italian that are falling out of usage in the diasporic setting.

Determining the language ideologies of a diasporic community requires an in-depth investigation of linguistic features and the social context in which they are used and interpreted. The most effective method across varying speech communities is the matched guise test: a perception test wherein respondents identify and assess several voices representing different languages, dialects, or varieties (Garrett 2010; Lambert 1967). In its most basic design, a matched guise test is expected to reveal covert biases and notions of prestige that lead to stereotypes and sweeping generalizations about a particular community (Garrett 2010; Lambert 1967). This type of experiment has been modified and applied to numerous contexts to uncover

the ways in which perceptions of a group manifest. For instance, John Baugh (2005; 2016) has remodelled the traditional matched guise test in the legal context to examine the relationship between linguistic profiling and racial discrimination. The methodology is therefore an adequate measure of language attitudes surrounding one or more languages and/or dialects.

The particular methodology requires a considerable understanding of language variation and change as the matched guise test seeks to differentiate voices based on a subset of locally identifying information (Garrett 2010; Lambert 1967). This suggests that a matched guise test is most appropriate for languages with an extensive history of language variation, as the methodology helps to depict which linguistic features serve to differentiate varieties. It is not surprising, then, that matched guise tests have been utilized for studies looking at languages with considerable internal diversity which resulted in an extensive history of language variation. A set of languages that have been frequently analyzed using this methodology are regional vernaculars of Italian situated in the north or on an island of Italy (Baroni 1983). Several other matched guise experiments have been conducted with Italian varieties in under-studied regions (Marsano 2021; De Pascale et al 2017; Biliotti & Calamai 2012), but none of these studies have utilized the methodology in relation to an Italian language or dialect spoken in a heritage setting. In fact, matched guise tests are hardly utilized outside of the homeland setting, as Italian languages have been gradually falling out of usage within the heritage community.

This paper presents an analysis of the social evaluations associated with Calabrese speakers in Toronto and surrounding areas (GTA). While Italian-Canadians have dispersed across the GTA, regional groups of Italians have generally settled together in enclaves of other members of the particular regional group (Qadeer, Agrawal & Lovell 2010) – *pisano* is the term used by many Italian-Canadians to describe individuals living in the same neighbourhood in the

diasporic setting whom originate from the same region in the homeland. The Calabrese community had initially settled together in neighbourhoods such as West Hill in Scarborough or St. Clair West in Toronto (Sinopoli 2003). This suggests that regional dialects remained relatively isolated from other regional vernaculars due to the nature of Italian-Canadian diasporic settlements. Exploring the language attitudes of this community is urgent since regional vernaculars are actively being lost due to the dominance of English in the diasporic setting. To explore attitudes toward Calabrese and features associated with it, I designed a basic matched guise test wherein respondents identify and evaluate stimuli exhibiting standard Italian and the Calabrese regional variety.

Traditionally, matched guise tests instruct respondents to categorize voices based on a set of social attributes commonly attached to speakers of the variety being studied. Social attributes differ across experiments, as the researcher carefully constructs the test to elicit varying opinions associated with speakers of a particular language or dialect (Garrett 2010). In order to determine social attributes relevant to the Calabrese community in the GTA, I also conducted semi-structured qualitative interviews with members of the Calabrese community of Toronto. In Section 2, I provide a general overview of the sociohistorical and political background of Italy and the region of Calabria. This is followed by an outline of the methodological approach, including participant selection, experiment design, and preliminary limitations. Section 4 presents the results and discussion of the three separate tasks: two specifically addressing the ability to identify varieties and features associated with them and seeking social evaluations associated with these judgements, and the final task directly addressing the classification of Italian vernaculars. Limitations and future directions are further discussed in the conclusion.

2. Background

2.1. Sociohistorical and political background of Italy

The variety now considered to be mainstream Italian is Tuscan, the regional dialect of Tuscany, a region in the centre of the Italian Peninsula. Like other dialects in the Peninsula, it was a local variety of Vulgar, or spoken, Latin (Guerini 2011: 109; Winters 2020), evolving independently alongside other Latin vernaculars to become Romance varieties (Kristeller 1946: 50; Lüdtke 2015). The Tuscan standard became dominant in developing metropolitan hubs in which scholars and the upper class could engage with one another (Molho 1990), while local regional varieties were the primary means of oral communication in remote and more rural communities consisting of farmlands and small villages which were quite isolated from these metropolitan regions (Viglianisi 2014). Although the exact time in which a shift from Latin to Romance occurred is difficult to ascertain, it is clear that the Florentine dialect was gaining popularity amongst the upper class by the 13th and 14th centuries (Tosi 2004: 250; Guerini 2011). By default, other varieties were positioned in opposition to Florentine with labels such as *uneducated* and *poor* (Tosi 2004: 252) throughout the Renaissance period. Over time, this forged an environment in which the Italian upper class could adequately diminish and disparage the value of local vernaculars to ultimately frame multilingualism as a departure from ethnonational unity (Tosi 2004: 259). This is reinforced by the labels attached to Italian varieties as the Florentine dialect, which eventually became the standard, is labelled ‘Italian’, whereas all other varieties are categorized as ‘dialects’. For the purposes of this paper, ‘Italian/standard Italian’ will refer to the Florentine dialect herein.

Following the popularization of Italian in the 14th century, the consecutive centuries witnessed the language becoming formally recognized by policy in numerous official domains (Tosi 2004: 259-260), leading to the present-day situation wherein varieties are only mutually

intelligible if frequently used between adjacent or bidialectal speech communities (Lepschy & Lepschy 1998). This was mainly due to domestic migration, the Italian Diaspora, geographical isolation, and an extensive sociopolitical history (Robustelli 2018). Considering Unification was not official until the 19th century, the Italian governments and elites sought to control linguistic autonomy by fostering an environment in which only one language was accessible. For instance, the vast majority of literature printed in Italy through the 15th and 16th century was strictly in the standard language (Tosi 2004: 250-251); thus giving credence to the monolingual ideologies prescribed by the Italian upper class. Technological advancements were also evidently used to reduce local language variation to so-called ‘dialects’ and legitimize the standard as the main mode of communication throughout the nation.

In 1861, during Italian Unification and the formation of the Kingdom of Italy, a de facto policy was maintained by prescribing the Florentine dialect across the entire Kingdom. Some regions resisted the pressures to conform, but those regions were neglected both linguistically and politically until they conformed (Tosi 2004). The earliest mention of an explicit language policy for Italy was found in what is known as the *Albertine Statute*. Although not initially intended as such, la Statuto Albertino became the constitution of the Kingdom of Italy. Article 62 referred directly to language:

Art. 62. La lingua italiana è la lingua ufficiale delle Camere. E però facoltativo di servirsi della francese ai membri, che appartengono ai paesi, in cui questa è in uso, od in risposta ai medesimi.

Translation: The Italian language is the official language of the Chambers. However, it is optional to use French to the members, who belong to countries, in which it is in use, or in response to the same. (Statuto Albertino, art. 62; §5)

Originally written for the Kingdom of Sardinia during the unification period (Cassese 2012: 3), the policy indicated that Italian was the official language, but French was permitted in the

regions where it was spoken, likely due to the military support France provided during Italian unification. La Statuto Albertino served as the Kingdom of Italy's constitution post-Unification until 1948's post-Fascist period of reform (Smith 1997). The constitution received a number of amendments over time, but none of these explicitly addressed standard language policy. Rather, the government employed covert, indirect approaches by either enforcing standard Italian within formal domains or limiting the contexts in which other dialects and/or Romance varieties were accessible (Guerini 2011). The objective of such policies was to strengthen nationalism and to promote unification through linguistic unity as a part of a larger nation-building project (Tosi 2004).

With the dissolution of the Fascist regime and post-WWII shift to republican Italy, the political need for a national language waned. The 1948 constitution of the Italian Republic did not explicitly specify an official language for the nation (Guerini 2011), but rather included Article 6 to safeguard minority languages:

Art. 6.: La Repubblica tutela le minoranze linguistiche con opportuni provvedimenti le misure.

Translation: The Republic safeguards linguistic minorities by means of appropriate measures.

(Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana 1948, art. 6, §1)

An ambiguous clause, it nonetheless acknowledges the reality of a majority language and linguistic minorities (Guerini 2011). While a few amendments to that clause have been proposed – for example, the 2006 bipartisan proposal to amend Article 12¹ by adding a clause to identify Italian as the official language of the Republic – they have been ultimately rejected (Guerini 2011: 113-115). Considering past constitutional amendments have mainly addressed issues such as regional political autonomy, the regulation of federal and regional funding, and parliamentary

¹ **Article 12:** La bandiera della Repubblica è il tricolore italiano: verde, bianco e rosso, in tre bande verticali di uguali dimensioni. (Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana 1948, art. 12, §1)

Translation: The flag of the Republic is the Italian tricolour: green, white and red, in three vertical bands of equal size.

procedures, it is unlikely that an amendment will be made to grant explicit official status to Italian.

Since the Republic's first Constitution, politicians have speculated as to why the document did not mention a national language (Guerini 2011: 113-114). Those supporting Italian as the national language have found other ways to promote their goals. Without the prospect of a constitutional amendment, politicians exploited other levels of government to include a formal policy in which Italian is specified as the official regional or institutional language. This is exemplified by Article 109 of the Codice di Procedura Penale [Code for Criminal Procedures]², Article 122 of the Codice di Procedura Civile [Code for Civil Procedures]³, which names Italian as the sole language to be utilized, as well as several federal and regional laws which name Italian as the official language of the institutions or regions (Tosi 2004; Guerini 2011; Robustelli 2018). Such a political situation is evocative of Shohamy's (2006) argument that the most

² **Art. 109 (Lingua degli atti)**

1. Gli atti del procedimento penale sono compiuti in lingua italiana.
2. Davanti all'autorità giudiziaria avente competenza di primo grado o di appello su un territorio dove è insediata una minoranza linguistica riconosciuta, il cittadino italiano che appartiene a questa minoranza è, a sua richiesta, interrogato o esaminato nella madrelingua e il relativo verbale è redatto anche in tale lingua. Nella stessa lingua sono tradotti gli atti del procedimento a lui indirizzati successivamente alla sua richiesta. Restano salvi gli altri diritti stabiliti da leggi speciali e da convenzioni internazionali.
3. Le disposizioni di questo articolo si osservano a pena di nullità.

Translation: **Art. 109 (The language of the documents)**

1. The acts of the criminal proceeding are carried out in Italian.
2. Before the judicial authority having jurisdiction of first instance or of appeal in a territory where a recognized linguistic minority is established, the Italian citizen who belongs to this minority is, at his request, interrogated or examined in his mother tongue and the relevant report is also drafted in that language. The procedural documents sent to him following his request are translated into the same language. The other rights established by special laws and international conventions remain unaffected.
3. The provisions of this article are observed under penalty of nullity.

³ **Art. 122. (Uso della lingua italiana - Nomina dell'interprete).**

1. In tutto il processo e' prescritto l'uso della lingua italiana.
2. Quando deve essere sentito chi non conosce la lingua italiana, il giudice puo' nominare un interprete.
3. Questi, prima di esercitare le sue funzioni, presta giuramento davanti al giudice di adempiere fedelmente il suo ufficio.

Translation: **Art. 122 (Use of the Italian language - Appointment of the interpreter).**

1. The use of the Italian language is prescribed throughout the process.
2. When someone who does not know the Italian language has to be heard, the judge can appoint an interpreter.
3. The latter, before exercising his functions, takes an oath before the judge to faithfully fulfill his office.

effective modes of linguistic control arise as covert forms of language policy. While the recognition of an official language is, at most, inferred at the constitutional level, the Italian language prevails because of its ubiquity across Italian legal, administrative, educational, and cultural institutions.

2.2. Calabria, the Italian Diaspora, and the sociopolitical situation in the heritage setting

Residents of small villages predominantly speak a regional variety close to Italian *or* another Romance variety (Tosi 2004). Villages in the south tend to be more geographically distant or positioned within enclaves of adjacent villages a few kilometers apart; this is more prevalent in the south as more discernible differences exist between language and culture amongst adjacent villages (Viglianisi 2014). In Calabria, for example, many villages are located atop steep hills with adjacent villages at the bottom of that same hill. For example, San Vito sullo Ionio, the hometown of several of the participants in this paper, is one small village that is situated in this way. (Sinopoli 2003). In most rural areas, several villages are situated closer together in enclaves. There are other small villages or areas of farmland nearby, allowing for relative isolation of these rural and/or remote communities in Southern Italy from metropolitan areas. As a result, the language(s) of these smaller communities have been positioned in contexts allowing for differentiation from other varieties and the maintenance of those varieties (Sinopoli 2003; Gallante et al 2011). What is considered the Calabrese language(s) today teeters the boundary between dialect and language for its speakers and surrounding communities because most Calabrese are bidialectal and seemingly categorize both varieties they speak as ‘Italian’ (Sinopoli 2003), but for the purposes of this paper it is referred to as a Romance variety with marked features differing from standard Italian.

The region of Calabria is located at the very south of mainland Italy and is divided into five provinces: Cosenza in the north, Crotona, Catanzaro, Vibo Valentia, and Reggio in the south (Ledgeway 2010; Sinopoli 2003). The language, Calabrese, is overgeneralized as a dialect which developed *after* the standard Italian and was hence used by non-speakers of the standard, despite its coexistence with many other Italian vernaculars, including the standard, for a relatively long period of time. It is presumed a dialect of the standard vernacular by its speakers, but most research recognizes its markedness and thus refer to Calabrese as its own Romance variety with two general subvarieties. In the north – predominantly in Cosenza and Crotona – is the variety known as *Cosentino* (Ledgeway 2010), and people from the south – in Catanzaro, Vibo Valentia, and Reggio – speak a variety known as *Calabro* (Sinopoli 2003).⁴

‘Calabrese’ varieties must be distinguished from minority languages spoken in Calabria (Guerini 2014). As previously introduced, Article 6 safeguards the 12 recognized minority languages of Italy. These include Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovene, Croatian, French, Franco-Provençal, Friulian, Ladin, Occitan and Sardinian (Coluzzi 2006: 457). The main minority languages of Calabria are Albanian and Greek.⁵ Languages like Calabrese are not considered minority languages because of their perceived similarity to the standard (Sinopoli 2003), and are therefore not protected in any official or formal capacity at any level of government.

The process of implementing Italian as the dominant language throughout Calabria was gradual and entailed enacting policy in a piecemeal fashion (Sinopoli 2003) since Unification in the late 19th century. This meant that regions like Calabria were slowly adopting the linguistic

⁴ Cosentino and Calabro are further sub-categorized into ‘dialects’ as some communities in Calabria live in remote locations which are relatively inaccessible to other communities. For example, the Chjana dialect spoken by a community living in the mountainous region in Reggio called the Aspromonte. There is also an apparent dialect in Locride, a coastal city in Reggio.

⁵ Documentation simply states the dominant language, but it should be noted these are *varieties* of the languages. In Calabria, for example, Greko/Griko (a variety of Greek) is spoken in a village in south Reggio.

norms of the north in their regional institutions. This contributed to the socioeconomic conditions of southern Italy which led many Italians to leave the homeland for opportunity elsewhere. Through the late 19th and early 20th century, a number of Italians were settling in North America, but the largest wave of immigrants was prompted post-WWII.

Beginning in the late 19th century, large groups of Italians immigrated to several countries leading to a large Italian Diaspora. A significant number of Italians immigrated to other parts of Europe, North America, Australia, and South America (Hagan & Rando 2007). The first wave of the Italian Diaspora was triggered by Unification as the political policies of the subsequent decades led to the monopolization of resources by the upper class (Hagan & Rando 2007). Under the Kingdom of Italy, farmland could be purchased by the upper class despite the communities already inhabiting that land. While some of these communities had the means to migrate north, others were exploited for their land. Under the sharecropping laws of the time, poorer communities were allowed to continue living on the land they once owned in exchange for the crops they would cultivate (Ledgeway 2010; Rando 2007). Along with the socioeconomic conditions of the south pre-Unification, poorer communities were exploited by the upper class. This worsened the socioeconomic conditions for poorer communities in the south and northeast of Italy, (Tosi 2004), thus triggering the first wave of large-scale emigration. This wave is said to have ended at some point in Italy's Fascist leadership, while the largest wave of Italian immigrants occurred following World War II.

The end of the war meant several outcomes for Italy: (1) the fall of Mussolini and the nation's Fascist era; (2) transition to republican Italy; and (3) economic recovery. Considering the nation was in an unstable sociopolitical and economic situation, many Italians sought work in countries like Switzerland, Belgium, France, and other European countries Hagan & Rando

2007). Italians who emigrated to other European countries believed these were temporary homes to foster financial growth, though many families ended up staying in these countries after recognizing the opportunities available (Hagan & Rando 2007; Sinopoli 2003). Other Italians immigrated to Canada and Australia throughout the second wave of the Italian Diaspora. The vast majority of Italian immigrants to Canada settled in cities like Toronto and Montreal, and Italians comprise one of the largest ethnic groups in these two cities and their surrounding areas (Statistics Canada 2016). These Italians were mainly from Sicily, Calabria, Puglia, and Abruzzo (Ramirez 1989) and today there are many third or fourth generation Italian-Canadians descended from immigrants from these regions.

In the diaspora setting, communities once differentiated by region are mostly categorized and labeled by outsiders as one overarching ethnic group of 'Italians'. Over time, markers of regional ethnic identity may dissolve into a larger pool of markers of Italian identity, leading to fewer discernible differences amongst sub-ethnic/regional groups. In the diaspora, such indicators are more relevant to differentiating Italians from other southern Europeans that are presumed to be similar than from community members from different regions in Italy (Sinopoli 2003). Linguistic features associated with one sub-ethnic group in the homeland setting may become associated with the broader Italian community in the diasporic setting. This suggests that differences between Italian languages may be less salient in the diaspora compared to the homeland. Language is one potential marker of difference between Italian-Canadians from different regions. To explore this further, it is necessary to understand the ways in which Italian-Canadians categorize speakers of standard versus non-standard varieties. Investigating both the salience of Italian varieties and the social meaning associated with these varieties and therefore of the speakers would contribute to our knowledge of the role of language and identity

in the Italian-Canadian diasporic community. This would also increase our understanding of how social attributes are implicitly linked to ethnolinguistic identities, as well as the extent to which speakers of an Italian language can differentiate speakers based on minimal information.

The current study is interested in the language attitudes of Italian-Canadians in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) with a focus on the Calabrese community. This study is informed by my previous research on the speech community, alongside scholarship examining the language and its properties in both homeland and diaspora settings (Baird, Cristiano & Nagy 2021; Casini et al 2019; Nodari, Celata & Nagy 2019; Nagy 2017; Huszthy 2016; Harney 2002). I have chosen to study the Calabrese community of Toronto mainly due to my in-group membership with the community, as well as the lack of linguistic research into the Calabrese variety. In the diaspora setting, the variety is recognized as a heritage language and its locus of research stems from a language documentation perspective (Celata & Nagy 2022; Nagy 2017). In the homeland, wherein languages are explicitly categorized as majority, minority, or ‘other’, smaller dialects are often neglected from linguistic research. This presents a complex situation for speakers of non-standard, non-minority varieties of Italian: in one setting, there is an emphasis on documentation, and in the other setting, there is a devalorization of the vernacular. While researchers and the speech community navigate these complexities, the language itself gradually falls out of usage as speakers adopt the norms associated with the broader society in either setting (Nagy 2017).

This research is largely informed by preceding scholarship on language and identity with speakers of heritage languages. In the heritage setting, Italian identity is formed and mediated through various resources including language, architecture, athletics, religion, and social gatherings (Harney 2002). By importing significant pieces of culture and tradition through the

various Italian social groups situated throughout the GTA – such as Villa Charities, the Friuli Centre, and the San Vito Social Club – Italians have fostered an ethnolinguistic identity that draws on their (sub)ethnic cultural histories and activities in the diaspora setting (Sinopoli 2003; Harney 2002). These social settings serve as environments in which intergenerational transmission of language and culture occurs. Casini et al (2019), for instance, studied the role of culture, language education, and the media in the formation of an ethnolinguistic Italian identity to understand how the Italian language is positioned in the broader, multilingual Canadian society. Similarly, Harney (2002) reviews the ways in which Italian-Canadians navigate the diaspora setting by mediating between Italian-Canadian and regional Italian identities. This discussion can be extended outside of Canada and to other heritage contexts, such as the Calabrese community of Adelaide, South Australia, who maintain a regional identity in the diaspora through religious practices and ascribing importance to traditional social/moral values (Chiro & Marino 2012). Such research is indicative of the diversity of the Italian community in its multiple diaspora settings. Despite adopting a broader identity as ‘Italians’, the community makes use of numerous resources to establish and demarcate regional identity (Casini et al 2019; Harney 2002). In this context, Italians seemingly evade conforming to a uniform identity by emphasizing regional culture.

Although extensive work has been done on the formation of Italian identity in the diaspora, the relationship between standard and vernacular remains relatively unexplored in the heritage context. Other heritage communities in Canada associate standard and regional varieties with the respective settings those varieties have been and/or are dominant. For the Chinese-Canadian community, regional variety – referred to as ‘topolects’ – is associated with the homeland and childhood education, whereas standard Mandarin is linked to mobility and the

heritage context (Ward et al 2022). Ward, Ni & Chow (2022) use language autobiographies of 12 Chinese-Canadians in British Columbia to explore said shift from homeland to heritage context. The authors argue that the observed temporal associations emerge from a devalorization of the topolect in the heritage context (Ward et al 2022: 446). Rather, Chinese-Canadians in the diaspora teach their children standard Mandarin for increased potential of interaction with other Chinese-Canadians who may not speak the same topolect (Ward et al 2022: 444-445). This suggests that meanings associated with local variety shift over time and context.

3. Methods

The design of the present study resembles prior matched guise tests and listening perception tasks deriving from Lambert's (1967) pioneering work in language perception. There has been a large body of research using versions of these methods. Fridland and Kendall (2018), for instance, look at the formation of a regional identity through different linguistic resources. Fridland and Kendall (2018: 132) were interested in the ways in which speakers are perceived when listeners are provided with regionally contextualizing information, since previous studies tend to provide little to no information on the speaker's background (Fridland & Kendall 2012; Fridland & Kendall 2012). The addition of speaker information suggested the same pattern as their earlier research: listeners' perceptions are primed by their own dialect experience (Fridland & Kendall 2018: 145-146). However, typical matched guise tests tend to elicit more variable stereotypes and biases (Lambert 1967: 93).

Matched guise tests, whether referred to as such or as the 'speaker evaluation paradigm' (Giles & Billings 2004), are particularly successful at gauging implicit biases for a number of reasons. Primarily, the method is an indirect approach at collecting information of language attitudes which may be concealed to avoid passing judgement (De Pascale et al 2017; Garrett

2010), providing researchers with a refined authenticity of opinions than could otherwise be gleaned from community members (Lambert 1967). By having listeners react to several identical stimuli from a subset of multilingual speakers, sociolinguists can gather evidence on the speaker outside of supplementary speaker information (Garrett 2010). Though it has proven to be a rather powerful source of data on language attitudes, matched guise tests are nonetheless constrained by recording conditions and the duration of the test (Marsano 2021, Diaz-Campos & Killam 2012; Garrett 2010; Labov 1972). Matched guise tests are also relatively lengthy as respondents are required to listen to identical passages in multiple voices, and attention to the stimuli wavers throughout the test (Garrett 2010: 57). Despite its drawbacks, the matched guise test serves as the most effective indirect method at collecting attitudes towards features and varieties.

To explore the attitudes Italian-Canadians have towards Calabrese and other vernaculars of Italian, including the standard dialect, I have created stimuli emphasizing several documented features of the Calabrese variety. While this provides insight regarding the underlying attitudes evoked from listening to Calabrese speakers, it also exhibits the extent to which the features are associated with the Calabrese variety and its speakers.

The initial study design sought to explore four phonological features documented in heritage Calabrese: apocope (Baird, Cristiano & Nagy 2021), the aspiration of voiceless stops (Nodari, Celata & Nagy 2019; Huszthy 2016), initial consonant deletion, and word-initial /f/ > [h]:

- (1) Apocope: The deletion or reduction of word-final vowels; examples include nouns like [bambin Λ] – *bambina*, ‘child (f.)’ or [Λ mike] – *amiche* ‘friends (f.)’ (Baird, Cristiano & Nagy 2021).

- (2) Aspiration of voiceless stops: In Calabrese, aspiration occurs on voiceless stops in unstressed syllables; for example [stænk^ho] – *stanco* ‘tired’ (Nodari, Celata & Nagy 2019).
- (3) Initial consonant deletion: Speakers of this variety tend to drop the initial consonant in words such as [randə] – *granda* ‘big (f)’.
- (4) /f/>[h]: Similar to several varieties of Spanish, the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ changes to glottal [h] word-initially in words like [houkous] – *fuoco* ‘fire’.

The latter two have been minimally and informally documented as features of the variety, whereas apocope and voiceless stop aspiration are common features of many heritage Italian varieties (Baird, Cristiano & Nagy 2021; Nodari, Celata & Nagy 2019; Huszthy 2016). To confirm the salience of these features in the Calabrese heritage variety, I will utilize both qualitative and quantitative methods. The study can therefore be divided into two phases: (1) qualitative methodology: interviews about the Calabrese and Italian languages and communities with Calabrese descent Torontonians from three different generations; and (2) quantitative methodology: a digital survey administered via Qualtrics, using both matched guise tests and additional questions about attitudes toward and perceptions of varieties of Italian, distributed to varying groups of Italian residents of the GTA.

I began by conducting semi-structured interviews with five members of the Torontonians Calabrese speech community from three different generations: (1) born in Italy/first generation Italian-Canadians fluent in Italian, Calabrese, and English; (2) born in Canada/second generation Italian-Canadians fluent in Calabrese and English; (3) born in Canada/third generation Italian-Canadians, but monolingual English speakers. Participants were from my extended social network. As an in-group member, the participant recruitment process entailed informal

conversations via text message and/or phone call. Interviews with first and second generation Italian-Canadians were conducted in both English and Calabrese/Italian to accommodate varying levels of proficiency amongst the participants. For these interviews, I was accompanied by another member of the community who is fluent in both English and Calabrese. Interviews with the third generation Italian-Canadians were conducted solely in English as the interviewees are monolingual. Due to scheduling conflicts, the interviews with the third generation participants were conducted and recorded via Zoom, but all other interviews were conducted in-person with a personal audio recording device. All recorded participants were provided with consent forms prior to being recorded and were debriefed on the nature of the questions posed. For the purposes of this research, participants were provided with ID numbers. Within this paper, excerpts from interviews will use ID numbers for participants, ‘T’ is used to refer to the translator, and ‘I’ is used to refer to myself in the role of interviewer.

The intended goal of the interviews differed between generations: for 1st and 2nd gen participants, the interviews sought to confirm or identify documented features of Calabrese, as well as to discuss several ideologies associated with different regional groups of Italians. Of the four features mentioned above, initial consonant deletion and /f/ > [h] were the only features confirmed as salient features of the Calabrese variety, whereas apocope and aspiration of voiceless stops were identified as features of all or multiple Italian languages. Interviews with *all* three generations aimed to address whether regional variety/dialect was important to Italian-Canadian identities in the diaspora setting. Considering languages in the diaspora or immigration contexts generally follow a three generation decline (Andriani et al 2022; Borland 2005), and the decrease of linguistic stratification in bidialectal homes across generations (Rubino 2022), it was anticipated that the older generations would express a stronger linkage

between regional variety and identity. Interview questions were related to language ideologies and linguistic features associated with different varieties of Italian: e.g, how to differentiate Italians based on language, experiences with Italian-Torontonians from other regions, if there is a ‘best’ or ‘better’ way to speak Italian, and general opinions regarding other regional communities and generations of Italian-Torontonians (see Appendix A for all questions, etc.).

The results were intended to inform the quantitative methods including which features to emphasize in the speaker stimuli. Since initial consonant deletion and /f/ > [h] were identified as the salient markers of the Calabrese variety, several neutral, identical passages were recorded by two other members of the speech community from my extended social network. The participants – one man and one woman – are both bidialectal speakers of Calabrese and standard Italian, and are also fluent in English. Initially, participants were both 2nd gen Italian-Canadians, but due to timing conflicts, the male bidialectal speaker was an available 1st gen Italian-Canadian. Recorded passages were taken from various sources: Italian newspapers, textbooks, children’s books, etc. The following passages were selected and adjusted for the survey stimuli:

- (1) Quando Lucia arriva, vestita di bianco, i suoi amici non sono lì ad aspettarla. Completamente sorpresa, Lucia guarda l'orologio e pensa che, dopo tutto, non è arrivata troppo tardi.
‘When Lucia arrives, dressed in white, her friends are not there waiting for her. Completely surprised, Lucia looks at her watch and thinks that she hasn't arrived too late after all.’
- (2) Nel suo giorno speciale, Lucia ha indossato un grande vestito bianco con perle dappertutto. Quando la sua famiglia la guardò, iniziarono a piangere.
‘On her special day, Lucia wore a big white dress with pearls all over it. When her family looked at her, they started crying.’
- (3) La femmina ei suoi figli mangiavano fichi e bevevano caffè dopo cena. Finiti tutti i fichi, ne chiesero altri alla mamma.

'The woman/female and her children ate figs and drank coffee after dinner. When all the figs were finished, they asked their mother for more.'

- (4) La femmina stava stirando i suoi vestiti quando ha notato che il ferro stava prendendo fuoco. La femmina ha cercato di spegnere il fuoco con il suo caffè, ma questo ha peggiorato le cose.

'The woman/female was ironing her clothes when she noticed the iron was catching fire. The woman/female tried to put out the fire with her coffee but that made it worse.'

Each of these passages was read twice by each speaker: in Italian, exactly as written above, and in Calabrese as follows: the first two passages emphasized initial consonant deletion, with words such as: /gwarda/ > [warda] – *guarda(re)* 'to see'; /grandə/ > [randə] – *granda* 'big'; /biyankoo/ > [(i)yankoo] – *bianco*, 'white'.⁶ The last two passages highlight /f/>[h] with items such as: /femma/ > [himina] – *femmina* 'female'; /fwookoo/ > [hookoo] – *fuoco* 'fire'. Passages were subsequently configured as listening stimuli for survey respondents. Lexical variation should also be noted here: in standard Italian, the word for 'woman' is *donna* and 'female' is *femmina*; in Calabrese, *femmina* is utilized for both 'woman' and 'female'. Some Calabrese speakers are aware of this lexical variation, as it was mentioned by several of the survey respondents. Responses to stimuli exhibiting /f/>[h] are limited by speakers' awareness of this lexical variation since the use of *femmina* instead of *donna* may assist in marking a Calabrese guise.

The digital survey was aimed at gauging participants' ability to identify speakers of Calabrese and standard Italian and to seek social associations with both varieties. Participants listened to the recordings and answered a series of questions about the voices included as stimuli. The specific questions in the survey related to the ideologies discussed in the interviews. A sample survey is included in Appendix A, and was divided into three separate tasks: (1) an identification task whereby respondents were instructed to identify the dialect and region of

⁶ For some interview participants, /i/ is still present in the Calabrese variant.

origin of the speaker; (2) Likert scale rankings in which respondents were asked to evaluate each voice according to social attributes, occupation, education level, and exposure to the variety; and (3) a direct question in which respondents were asked for their preferences for various Italian languages. The online survey was randomized so that each respondent engaged with 8 stimuli/voices. Randomization seemingly limited results as technical errors led to an uneven distribution of voices across respondents: for example, while some respondents listened to 4 Calabrese voices and 4 Italian voices, others were provided with 5 or 6 voices presenting one variety/guise. Participants were also asked to provide demographic information such as age and gender, along with information about their own language practices, the composition of their social network and their family's region of origin in Italy. Each of the respondents encountered 8 voices/stimuli within the survey.

Table 1. Respondent Demographics

Demographic Variable	# of Respondents
Gender	
F	14
M	8
Generation	
1st	3
2nd	9
3rd	10
Background	
A. Calabrese	9
B. Half Calabrese, half (other) Italian	4
C. Half Calabrese, half non-Italian	4
D. Non-Calabrese Italians	5

Respondent recruitment occurred through an anonymous link sent via email, text message, and published to social media platforms like Facebook and Instagram. The proposed

survey wanted to collect 50+ survey responses in order to adequately analyze a representative sample of the broader population. However, timing constraints leading to survey distribution delays resulted in a total of 22 respondents. Table 1 shows the demographic information collected from the 22 respondents who completed the survey. As the table above suggests, the respondents are not necessarily a stratified sample of the community with individuals varying in age, gender, sex, occupation, background, etc. Of the 22 respondents, the female and Calabrese population were overrepresented, whereas the 1st generation population is significantly underrepresented with only 3 respondents. Due to the small sample size and uneven distribution of respondents, results are only suggestive of patterns which may emerge from the larger population. Since the data could not be manipulated with a multivariate logistic regression analysis, the results are not to be taken as statistically significant claims about the behaviour of the broader speech community. Each of the 22 respondents encountered 8 voices/stimuli within the survey, resulting in a total of 176 judgements.

Respondents were presented with a list of ten Italian regions/dialects and were instructed to select one region and one dialect for each voice. The list of regions/dialects were selected based on those which Calabrese are likely to have encountered in the diaspora, but fewer options may have resulted in more consistency across the data. Responses were then coded as 0 or 1 where '0' corresponds with incorrect identification of the voice, and '1' corresponds with correct identification. The relative frequency of correct responses of each voice, guise, and variety – referred to here as 'success rate' – was calculated and compared across respondent demographics, specifically in relation to gender, generation, and ethnic background.

As noted above, many matched guise tests have made use of Likert scales to reveal covert biases and notions of prestige (Marsano 2021; Garrett 2010). I based the social attributes for the

Likert scales on previous work and on attributes raised in the qualitative interviews (Marsano 2021) divided into 4 categories. The social evaluations category included attributes like friendliness, politeness, and preference (Marsano 2021), whereas the exposure category dealt with aspects of the language: fluency, ability to converse, and similarity to the respondent and/or their family's vernacular (Garrett 2010). Respondents were then asked to specify the type of occupation held by the speaker, as well as the highest level of education the speaker had likely completed. Following data collection, Likert responses were coded from 1 through 4 where '1' corresponds with 'Strongly Disagree/Very Unlikely' and '4' corresponds with 'Strongly Agree/Very Likely.' From here, mean Likert scores were calculated and compared across guises, features, and question type. Considering the small sample of survey respondents, I use mean Likert scores to suggest potential patterns as opposed to representing statistically significant patterns regarding the language attitudes of the broader population.

Finally, respondents were instructed to identify the Italian variety they/their family speaks, whether they believe this variety sounds better than others they may have encountered, and to categorize which variety they consider the 'best' and 'worst'. The labels 'best' and 'worst' were deliberately selected for this task because an ambiguous label was expected to elicit more variable responses than asking respondents what their favourite versus least favourite varieties are. Respondents had the opportunity to explain their selections, which is further examined in §4.2.3.

4. Results & Discussion

The following sections report the results of all aspects of research: §4.1 details the qualitative methodology, while §4.2 presents the results of the quantitative analysis. After the collection and analysis of the survey data, I conducted a follow-up interview with another

member of the Calabrese community of Toronto to address the results, limitations, and potential future research directions; the results of the follow-up interview are discussed in the conclusion in §5.

4.1. Qualitative interviews

The interviews originally sought to confirm 4 documented features of the Calabrese variety as salient markers of the dialect, as well as to potentially identify other features which may differentiate the Calabrese variety from other regional vernaculars in the heritage context. Participants from the 1st and 2nd generation confirmed the two informally documented features, yet did not mention or link the two formally documented features – apocope and aspiration of voiceless plosives (Baird, Cristiano & Nagy 2021; Nodari, Celata & Nagy 2019; Huszthy 2016) – with Calabrese as they are not unique to the Calabrese variety. Instead, apocope and aspiration of voiceless stops were reported to index multiple Italian identities, including Italian Americanness. Participant 1, a 1st gen Italian-Canadian who immigrated to Toronto from a small town in Catanzaro, Calabria, believes apocope is associated with Italians elsewhere in the diaspora:

P1: Yeah. But in Italy they would call it prosciutto. In Canada, we stayed more- that generation [1st gen Italian-Canadians] stayed more true to their dialect or proper Italian than America.

Here, Participant 1 rejects apocope as a feature of Calabrese *and* standard Italian, but instead attributes the feature to heritage Italian varieties situated in the United States. In the U.S., apocope appears in words like ‘prosciutto’ where the final vowel is dropped, but the participant here believes Italian-Canadians did not adopt that feature into their regional vernacular in the diaspora. Participants 2 and 3 – both 2nd gen Italian-Canadians whose families are originally

from a small village in Calabria – conferred with the first participant by identifying apocope as a feature of heritage Italian in the U.S.

When provided with examples of initial consonant deletion and /f/>[h], participants confirmed both features as markers of the Calabrese variety:

I: The second thing is, we talked about this a little with, uh, like words where you get rid of the first letter. So like in, uh, in granda you'd say randa in Calabrese.

P1: Randa, yeah.

I: Or giorno. You'd say iorno.

P1: Iorno, yeah.

—

I: And then the other, the other thing is, um, words [that] start with f. You guys sometimes change to h so instead of an f. [...] Um, one, one example was fig [...].

P3: No, we say hica.

I: Okay. Okay. So you guys don't say fico.

P3: Yeah.

—

I: -you said guarda is [pronounced] 'warda' and grande is 'randa'. Those words are dialect?

P2: Yeah, that would be dialect. Yeah. So all those- so another dialect may even say something completely different. They may change a letter at the end of the word or something.

P3: Yeah. It's just different everywhere.

—

I: [...] Oh yeah, famiglia isn't famiglia.

P2: We say 'hamigia'. Also 'himmina' instead of, instead of 'femmina'.

I: You also changed the vowel there too.

P2: Yeah. Yeah.

—

In these excerpts, the three Calabrese speakers verify initial consonant deletion and /f/>[h] as phonological processes found within their vernacular. In the second excerpt, Participant 2 offers another lexical item exhibiting the same sound change with the noun 'himmina', meaning 'female'. This suggests that speakers are aware of the linguistic processes which serve to differentiate their vernacular from other languages and/or regional dialects. Survey stimuli were

subsequently chosen and constructed to emphasize the two features as three established speakers of the variety recognize both features as marking Calabrese identity.

Another purpose of the generational interviews was to determine the varying language attitudes and ideologies which pervade the relationship between regional vernacular and ethnolinguistic identity. For Participant 1, the most prevalent ideology was associated with the dominance of *proper* Italian:

I: Yeah. So I guess I'm trying to ask more like, what is it about Italian that makes it better than all of these dialects?

T: Chi tu pensi che quando parlo Italiano, proprio Italiano, che esta differenze que buono di Calabrese?

P1: Yeah, it's much better. Yeah.

T: But per chi? Per chi?

P1: Because a lot of people, a lot of people- the dialect is not easy to understand [for] everybody, but the Italian is more-

I: It's universal?

P1: Yeah.

—

It should be noted that the translator utilizes *proprio*, here meaning ‘proper’, to refer to standard Italian. This is an inherent value judgement which may have influenced the participant’s response to the questions posed. However, for the 1st gen interviewee, *proper* Italian is deemed ‘better’ than regional varieties because of its universality amongst Italian-Canadians. This sentiment is similar to that expressed by many of the Chinese-Canadian participants in Ward, Ni & Chow’s (2022) article on the status of topolects versus standard Mandarin in the heritage context. For the Chinese-Canadians interviewed, the standard language is connected to mobility, and the topolect to their pasts (Ward, Ni & Chow 2022). This ideology appears to be shared by Participant 1, and is further supported by his belief that 3rd gen Italian-Canadians would only benefit from learning standard Italian in the heritage setting. This is seemingly informed by the

dominance of English in Canada as 1st gen Italian-Canadians adopted roles as both learners and teachers of English.

Multilingualism in the heritage context was problematized since the societal norm was English monolingualism, leading many multilingual families to make a conscious choice to reduce to bilingualism for the next generation (Lising 2022; Nagy 2021). 1st gen Italian-Canadians – who typically speak multiple Italian varieties alongside English – were thus pressured to conform to English dominance in the diaspora and had to develop and maintain a family language policy prioritizing one or two Italian varieties (Cavallaro 2010; Sinopoli 2003). Participants 2 and 3, both 2nd gen Italian-Canadians, note how the emphasis placed upon mainstream Italian throughout their upbringing in the diaspora setting resulted in a shift in ethnolinguistic identity:

I: So by the time you guys were all in school, it was like, [...] you were Italian.

P3: You were Italian. It's not necessarily, oh, he's from here, he's Calabrese, or he's whatever.

P2: No, maybe in that generation. Yeah. Yeah.

I: Okay. Yeah. So, okay, so then there's not so much of like the stereotypes from his [P1's] generation, [they] kind of just like dissipated by your generation.

P2: Yeah. Like nobody really cared. No, I don't think so. No.

—

The two 2nd gen participants believe their identity in the heritage setting was simply that of ‘Italian’, but the older generation ascribed more importance to regional identity and made efforts to maintain their local vernacular outside of the homeland. Participant 2 believes ‘nobody really cared’ about one’s region of origin; rather, it appears Italians in the diaspora adopted an overarching identity comprising multiple regional Italian identities. As the distance between language and identity expands across generations, the discussion becomes concerned with what, then, serves to differentiate (sub)ethnic groups of Italians from one another:

I: Okay. [...] Like, do you really see a lot of, outside of language, like cultural differences between Calabrese and other Italians? Like are there things that you do or like-

P2: Not really. No. No, no. All the cultures I'd say it's more or less the same. It's just more of a language.

P3: Yeah. Uh, language difference.

For Italians raised in the heritage setting, internal cultural differences amongst groups of Italians became less observable. In the excerpt above, both 2nd gen participants believe regional diversity does not extend past linguistic differences, suggesting that markers of regional identity gradually dissolved into a broader subset of socioindexes of Italianness. Similar to the Chinese-Canadians discussed in Ward, Ni & Chow (2022), 1st gen Italian-Canadians viewed the standard variety as one of two target languages in their children's language acquisition alongside English.

Interviews revealed that these 2nd gen Calabrese Canadians are bilingual in English and, at the least, one Italian language. However, the children of these individuals, 3rd gen Calabrese Canadians, are typically monolingual due to the dominance of English in Canada. The third generation is rather divided on the relationship between language and identity:

I: [...] Um, does speaking a language impact one's identity as an Italian?

P5: Yeah, I think, I think it definitely does. Um, I had some friends who were also Italian Canadians and they could speak Italian, and I always saw that as, like, they're like more Italian than me. Like, they're like-, they're like truly Italian. [...]

P4: I disagree. I don't think that like speaking the language- [...] Um, to me, being Italian, 'cause I grew up that way, is like family values your traditions, like the food you eat. It's the places you go. Like all of those things. And so like for that reason, even though I don't speak the language like I still feel like my Italian identity is strong.

Participant 4 and 5 are both 3rd gen Italian-Canadians with one Calabrese parent. For Participant 4, identity is not so heavily connected to language, but through other cultural practices. This is likely informed by the participant's particular ethnic background as a 3rd gen

Italian-/Irish-Canadian. It is possible that the language practices of Participant 4's family prioritized English, suggesting that ethnolinguistic identity is defined by non-linguistic features. For Participant 5, who comes from a half Calabrese, half Abruzzese background, speaking Italian constitutes a stronger Italian identity. Upon consideration of other 3rd gen Italian-Canadians in his social network, Participant 5 views 'true' Italians as those who are proficient in an Italian variety. Such an ideology is evocative of the purist attitudes upheld by the older generations for whom speakers of the most authentic version of a language are described as the most authentic representation of the entire community (Scetti 2021; Annamalai 1989). With the previous excerpts in mind, it is apparent that 1st and 2nd gen Italian-Canadians inflicted such an ideology upon the third generation, as the eldest members of the community continually stressed the importance of mainstream Italian (Scetti 2021; Sinopoli 2003). Over time Italian-Canadians rely on non-linguistic resources to identify them as ingroup members of the community. Underlying this is a sentiment shared by all interview participants: regret for not learning and/or teaching an Italian or regional variety to future generations.

Results of the generational interviews imply that purist and/or monolingual language ideologies became the norm within the Italian-Canadian community by virtue of language standardization and English dominance in the diaspora. Examining the ways in which each generation differentiates between Italian vernaculars would provide insight into the intergenerational ideologies discussed in the interviews. The online survey was conceived to investigate Italian linguistic diversity by collecting information on the various attitudes which arise in reaction to heritage varieties of Italian.

4.2. Online survey

Following the generational interviews, which explored which features were salient markers of the Calabrese variety, I created the survey discussed above using Qualtrics survey platform. The survey was distributed through my extended social network via anonymous link to respondents expressing interest in participating.

4.2.1. Identification task

Respondents were instructed to listen to each voice and answer questions about that voice. Recall that the first two questions asked respondents to identify the region of origin and the dialect spoken by the voice; this was followed by a section in which respondents could delineate why they selected that region/dialect. Table 2 summarizes the results of the identification task for each voice. As the table shows, the number of judgements for each voice ranged from 8 to 14, suggesting that certain voices, such as Voice 1 and 8, were overrepresented in the randomized data set. A tentative, overarching pattern emerged: certain voices were identified with more ease in comparison to others. Voices 8, 13, 14, and 16 all have a success rate equal to or above 50.0%. Three of these four voices with a success rate at or above 50.0% are from the female bidialectal speaker under the Calabrese guise. More careful analysis considering speaker/guise and dialect features, alongside the demographic information of the respondents — in particular, respondents' gender, age group/generation, and ethnic background — follows. Voice 3 stands out as the sole voice that was not correctly identified by any respondents. This is likely due to the slow speech pace for that guise. One respondent believed the speaker did not sound confident reading the passage.

Table 2: Identification task relative success rate by voice.

Voice	Guise/Feature	Number of Judgements	Number of Correct Responses	Success Rate
1	Standard Italian	14	4	28.571%

2		9	2	22.222%
3	Standard Italian	9	0	0%
4		10	2	20.0%
5	Calabrese - initial C deletion	12	5	41.667%
6		12	5	41.667%
7	Calabrese - /f/ > [h]	12	3	25.0%
8		14	8	50.0%
9	Standard Italian	11	3	27.273%
10		10	3	30.0%
11	Standard Italian	11	2	18.182%
12		12	5	41.667%
13	Calabrese - initial C deletion	9	6	66.667%
14		11	6	54.545%
15	Calabrese - /f/ > [h]	8	3	37.5%
16		12	6	50.0%

Table 3 represents the success rate of each guise/feature, combining all voices. The Italian guises for both speakers were combined since there were few discrepancies between the success rates of the two speakers in this guise. It is evident that the Italian guises are less identifiable as such for most respondents with a success rate of 24.186%. This suggests that respondents may have had minimal exposure to mainstream Italian. Many respondents selected regional varieties like Calabrese, Milanese, or Venetian when asked to listen to standard Italian. Evaluations of the voice as Calabrese were most common amongst Calabrese identifying respondents, which will be discussed further in relation to respondents' regional ethnic background. While a few of the

selections of Milanese and Venetian were made by Calabrese respondents, several of these were also made by those with a mixed regional background or non-Calabrese respondents. Considering northern dialects like Milanese and Venetian more closely resemble the standard, this suggests that these respondents have had some exposure to the standard vernacular, but not enough to specifically ascertain the variety being spoken. Rather, respondents selected dialects close to the standard, suggesting they potentially perceived small deviations from the standard as indicators of Milanese or Venetian. Besides the few commonalities amongst respondents, there are no other observable patterns across respondents' incorrect identification of Italian guises. This suggests that most respondents have had minimal exposure to Italian in the diaspora, and potentially select guises as belonging to a particular dialect randomly.

Regardless of the speaker, respondents were more successful at identifying a Calabrese voice when the emphasized feature was initial consonant deletion as opposed to /f/>[h], with success rates of 50.0% and 43.478% respectively. Several respondents explicitly referenced both phonological processes as their motivation for selecting Calabrese as the voice exhibited. For Voices 5, 6, 13, and 14, multiple respondents stated words such as 'bianco' and 'giorno' as markers of the Calabrese variety. Only one respondent directly refers to /f/>[h] in their rationale for selecting Calabrese specifying that they recognized it as a common feature in both homeland and heritage Calabrese varieties. These results are likely due to the exposure respondents have had to Italian varieties, and prompts a deeper analysis of the social profiles of respondents who successfully identify Calabrese.

Table 3: Identification task success rate by guise.

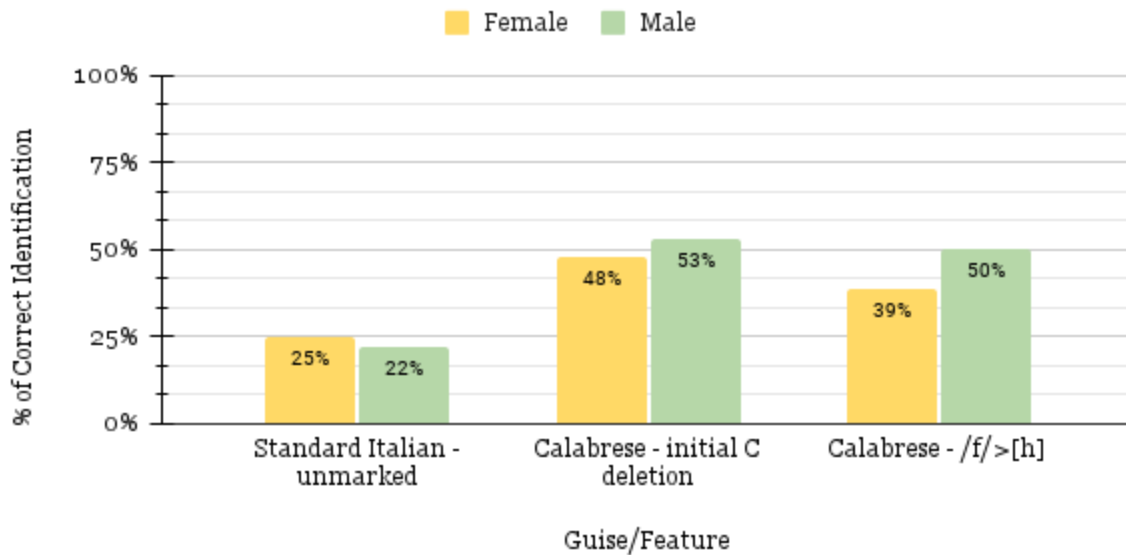
Guise/Feature	Number of Judgements	Number of Correct Responses	Success Rate
Standard Italian	86	21	24.186%

Calabrese - <i>initial C deletion</i>	44	22	50.0%
Calabrese - <i>/f/ > [h]</i>	46	20	43.478%

It is also necessary to analyze the data in relation to respondent demographics to determine which of the two Calabrese features are more marked; that is, which feature is a more significant index of Calabrese amongst listeners.

Figure 2 presents the percentage of correct identification by the gender of the respondent in relation to the guise and feature emphasized in the stimuli. Female respondents correctly identified the guises 34% of the time overall, and male respondents correctly identified guises 39% of the time overall. This minor discrepancy cannot reliably confirm whether male or female Italian-Canadians perform better, but it does indicate that ability to differentiate between voices overall is relatively low. This data, along with the qualitative interviews outlined in the previous section, may suggest that ability to differentiate vernaculars of Italian resides in the way in which one distinguishes between and categorizes dialects. For some interviewees, standard Italian and the Calabrese variety are very similar. With this in mind, it may be possible that regional groups of Italian-Canadians do not demarcate a clear boundary between standard and non-standard varieties, and consequently exhibit a rather low rate in differentiating between guises.

Figure 1. Percentage of Correct Identification by Respondent Gender



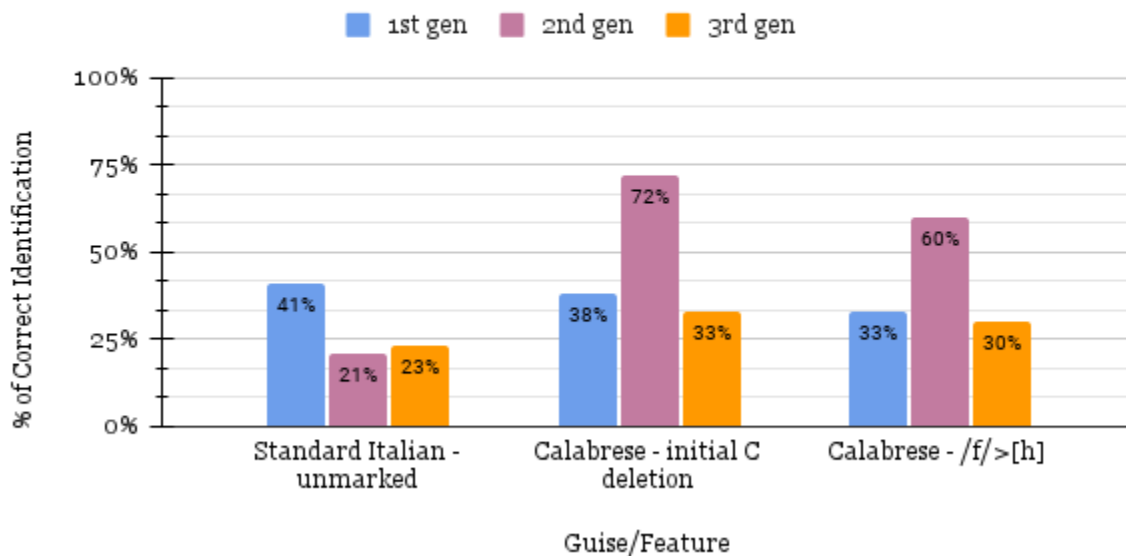
For the standard Italian guise, female respondents correctly identified 15 voices from a total of 59 judgements, and the male respondents correctly identified 6 voices from 27 judgements. This small margin of difference across respondent gender suggests that male and female Italian-Canadians have equally encountered standard Italian speakers in the diasporic setting. Considering the target language of many Italian-Canadians was the standard variety, this result is somewhat surprising as respondents were expected to have greater success identifying standard guises. Instead, many of these respondents exhibited an array of responses for the Italian guises. For instance, several female Calabrese respondents selected northern regional dialects in reference to the standard, whereas male Calabrese respondents did not display any pattern within their incorrect identification of standard guises. However, this may be due to the regional ethnic background of the respondents which will be discussed later in this section. A small margin of difference is exhibited for the Calabrese guises emphasizing initial consonant deletion. Female respondents correctly identified such guises 12 of 25 total judgements, and

male respondents for 10 of 19 total judgements. A somewhat larger margin is witnessed for the data exhibiting /f/ > [h], which may indicate that /f/ > [h] is a more salient marker of a Calabrese speaker. To explore this further, again it would be necessary to look at the regional background of the respondents. Similar to the standard Italian guises, this result suggests male and female respondents have had equal exposure to different Italian vernaculars in the diasporic context. This result may be informed by the fact that Italian-Canadians vary in terms of how they categorize standard and non-standard varieties of Italian. While male and female respondents exhibit minor differences in their ability to successfully distinguish between Italian guises, this data does contradict several historical accounts of the traditional roles of men and women in Italian-Canadian families. In a traditional family, it would be more expected for men to use the standard vernacular as they frequently worked in occupations with other Italians (Sinopoli 2003). Upon consideration of the role of women as language teachers in the traditional family, it may be possible that their experience constructing and designing the language for intergenerational transmission resulted in their equal exposure to the variety.

Figure 2 presents the percentage of correct identification by the generation of the respondent in relation to the guise and feature emphasized in the stimuli. 1st gen respondents correctly identified the guises 39% of the time, 2nd gen respondents 44% of the time, and 3rd gen respondents 27% of the time overall. The data for 1st gen respondents is based upon speculation as this group was composed of only three respondents. 1st gen respondents were anticipated to outperform all other generations for both guises as they have the most experience with the varieties in homeland and heritage settings (Sinopoli 2003). The overall percentages would suggest that 1st gen respondents were relatively unsuccessful, but this contradicts historical findings delineating the groups most frequently utilizing both vernaculars in either

setting (Sinopoli 2003). As expected, 3rd gen respondents had the lowest overall success rates as their exposure to any Italian variety was minimal. To explore the potential ways in which Italian-Canadians perceive and categorize standard and non-standard varieties of Italian, I will consider the results in relation to the particular guise and feature elicited.

Figure 2. Percentage of Correct Identification by Respondent Generation



2nd gen respondents exhibited the lowest performance with the standard Italian guises. This result was surprising as the qualitative interviews revealed that 1st gen Italian-Canadians wanted to teach their children the standard vernacular opposed to their regional variety. What is of utmost interest here is the 2nd gen respondents' performance for the Calabrese guises as they significantly outperformed the other groups of respondents. This result was anticipated as this group serves as the terminal speakers of the Calabrese variety as 3rd gen Italian-Canadians are largely monolingual English speakers. It is not surprising for 2nd gen respondents to exhibit more success than 3rd gen respondents for this reason. This may indicate that 2nd gen Italian-Canadian parents tend to decrease their use of languages outside of English in the home

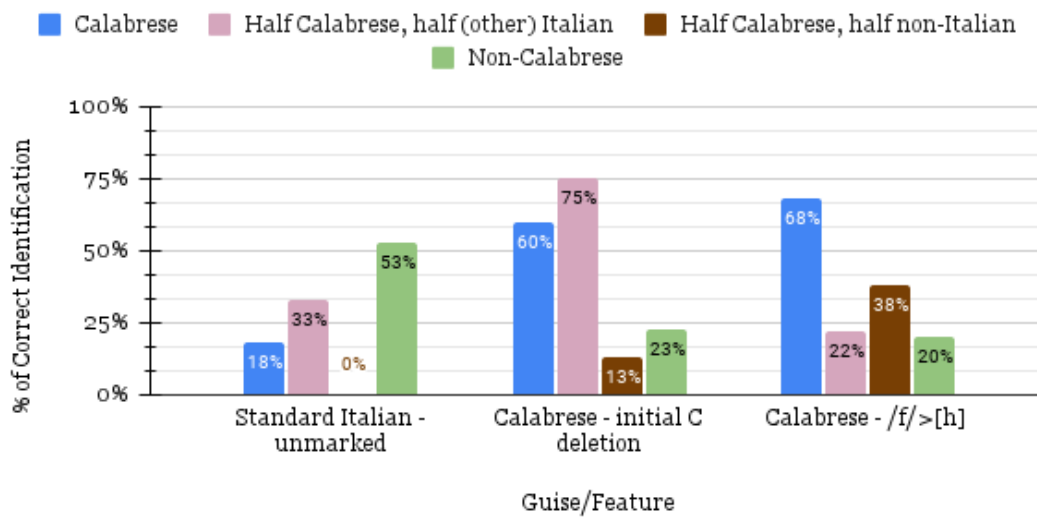
as their children do not speak any Italian variety. Rather, use of languages other than English is constrained to environments composed of other speakers.

Across all guises and emphasized features, 3rd gen respondents were generally unsuccessful at identifying speakers. There appears to be only a slight increase in the 3rd gen respondents' ability to identify Calabrese guises, but this may be due to the regional ethnic background of these individuals. This contradicts the anticipated results as many 3rd gen Italian-Canadians have had varying contexts in which they have encountered standard and non-standard varieties. Many 3rd gen children in diasporic settings engage in extracurricular heritage language classes; this is especially true in diverse cities like Toronto where several heritage communities are situated (Aravossitas 2016). This suggests that many 3rd gen children have encountered standard Italian in a formal, educational domain, whereas their family's regional variety may only be encountered within the home. For this reason, this generation was expected to perform slightly better at identifying Italian guises than Calabrese ones. However, the above result may suggest that the heritage language classes for Italian-Canadians were merely an inconsequential formality.

Figure 3 displays the percentage of correct identification by the regional ethnic background of the respondent in relation to the guise and feature emphasized in the stimuli. Overall, Calabrese respondents successfully identified the voice 41% of the time, half Calabrese/half (other) Italian respondents for 36% of judgements, half Calabrese/half non-Italian respondents for 12% of judgements, and non-Calabrese respondents for 35% of the time. Calabrese respondents were the most successful at differentiating between guises, which is likely due to their frequent use of a marked regional variety like Calabrese. Half Calabrese/half non-Italian respondents were the least successful of the four groups. This is potentially due to the

fact that many of these respondents have encountered an Italian language from only one side of their family. The overall percentages of correct identification generally depict the ways in which different regional groups differentiate between Italian speakers, but further insight would be provided upon consideration of the success rate for each guise.

Figure 3. Percentage of Correct Identification by Respondent Ethnic Background



Calabrese respondents were rather unsuccessful at identifying standard Italian voices. The Calabrese respondents from the 1st and 2nd generations were either bidialectal in standard Italian and Calabrese, or self-identified as speakers of the Calabrese variety only. For this reason, it was expected that this group would be generally unsuccessful at identifying the standard guises. This group was successful as it pertains to the Calabrese guises, but were more successful at identifying /f/>[h]. This may indicate that ethnically Calabrese individuals perceive /f/>[h] as a more salient marker of Calabrese than initial consonant deletion.

Half Calabrese/half (other) Italian respondents were more successful than Calabrese respondents for the Italian guises and the Calabrese guises emphasizing initial consonant deletion. These results may suggest that this group is more accustomed to hearing standard

Italian due to having two parents from different regions of Italy. For instance, many 1st gen Italian-Canadians are bidialectal in their regional variety and the standard Italian; when a 2nd gen Italian-Canadian has parents who originate from different regions of Italy, the standard variety may prevail since both parents are likely going to be speakers of that language (Sinopoli 2003). This may be the underlying reason for this groups' increased success compared to the Calabrese respondents. The most surprising result for this group is their success at identifying the Calabrese guises emphasizing initial consonant deletion. Due to the nature of a bidialectal family, it may be possible that this group has refined abilities at differentiating between dialects and is thus more successful than those who predominantly speak the Calabrese variety.

The half Calabrese/half non-Italian respondents were expected to perform significantly lower than the other groups due to the nature of a bilingual family in a diasporic setting. That is, in a diasporic context like Canada, wherein most people are monolingual speakers of English, a bilingual family may choose to shift to English monolingualism in the home. Interestingly, this group was *more* successful at identifying guises in Calabrese with /f/>[h] as the emphasized feature. This further supports the postulation above that /f/>[h] is a more marked feature of Calabrese than initial consonant deletion.

Non-Calabrese respondents were hypothesized to correctly identify standard Italian as they may also be bidialectal in their regional variety and the standard language. This result was encountered in the data, suggesting that non-Calabrese Italian-Canadians may have increased exposure to the standard variety either in their ethnic enclave in Toronto/the GTA *or* in the homeland within their particular region. This group was also anticipated to incorrectly identify Calabrese guises as such as they are least likely to have had exposure to that variety in either homeland or heritage context.

The results of the identification task, albeit limited by the small sample size and absence of a sound statistical argument, indicate that exposure to any variety in the heritage setting plays the biggest role in one's ability to differentiate between guises. With a larger sample, and fewer selections as to which dialect could be selected in relation to a guise, it is possible that a quantitative analysis could also be conducted for incorrect identification. That is, it would be interesting to reveal which dialects are more commonly associated with a guise and/or particular features of Italian vernaculars when a listener has not frequently encountered that dialect. With multiple options for each guise, respondents are potentially primed to perceive standard Italian as another dialect. Such an issue could be mitigated with fewer options and the use of 'filler guises' which represent the guises not being particularly studied. Here, for instance, a filler guise could be Milanese or Venetian in order to reliably confirm listeners' abilities at differentiating between the standard variety, non-standard vernaculars which resemble the standard, and the Calabrese variety being studied. (Marsano 2021).

Previous matched guise tests have underscored the importance of exposure in correctly identifying a guise (Marsano 2021; Garrett 2010), which is further supported by the same results arising with the addition of information regarding the speaker's background (Fridland & Kendall 2018). In the Italian-Canadian context, regional identity dissolves into a broader, all-encompassing 'Italian' identity whereby features like /f/ > [h] serve as the most significant marker of regional ethnic diversity. As multilingualism shifts to monolingualism across generations, Italian-Canadians are subject to adopting an Italian identity which conflates sub-ethnic cultures and histories. To elicit language attitudes which may have arisen during this shift in ethnolinguistic identity, Likert scale rankings were recorded and analyzed.

4.2.2. Likert scale rankings

To adequately gauge the consistency of ideologies described in the generational interviews, respondents were instructed to evaluate each of the voices according to the fourteen statements posed (see Appendix A for a sample survey showing the specific questions). The scales were situated on a four point Likert scale, choosing between Strongly Disagree/Very Unlikely, Disagree/Unlikely, Agree/Likely and Strongly Agree/Very Likely. From here, responses were coded from 1 through 4, and mean scores were calculated for each of the voices. Table 4 presents the mean Likert scores for each of the voices. Since all statements were framed positively, – that is, instructing respondents to evaluate the voice in terms of attributes it exhibits as opposed to attributes the voices do *not* display – all questions were combined in Table 4. All statements were combined to potentially show the range of mean scores, but the low range of 0.496 – where the highest average is 2.966 and the lowest average at 2.470 – suggests that respondents were either hesitant to provide their honest attitudes towards the voices or maintain a neutral attitude towards Italian varieties. With a considerably low range in mean Likert scores, it is necessary to decipher any patterns as it relates to guise, feature, and category of the statement.

Table 4: Mean Likert score for each voice, combining all questions.

Voice	Guise/Feature	Number of Judgements	Average
1	Standard Italian	14	2.923
2		9	2.548
3	Standard Italian	9	2.587
4		10	2.849
5	Calabrese - initial C deletion	12	2.470
6		12	2.768
7	Calabrese - /f/ > [h]	12	2.595
8		14	2.604

9	Standard Italian	11	2.966
10		10	2.893
11	Standard Italian	11	2.883
12		12	2.952
13	Calabrese - initial C deletion	9	2.825
14		11	2.909
15	Calabrese - /f/ > [h]	8	2.704
16		12	2.685

Questions were combined into categories based on the underlying similarity between the questions. For example, statements 2, 3, 7, and 8 are combined (see Table 5 below or refer to Appendix A) as they all deal with general social evaluations of the speaker.

Statements 1, 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10 are combined as they are all informed by a respondent's particular exposure to the variety. While combining statements as such may suggest that respondents perceive a highly educated person with one who is polite, and so on, the categories were chosen based on the *type* of attitude it elicits. A high combined average of mean scores in the Evaluation category would suggest that a respondent perceives one dialect as more socially acceptable, a high average in the Exposure category would only indicate the respondent perceives the speaker as one who is fluent and frequently encountered by the particular respondent. With a larger sample of respondents, a box plot analysis could have been conducted to represent the range of evaluations associated with each guise. However, due to the small sample size, average scores sufficiently depict the neutral attitudes towards Italian varieties in the diaspora.

Table 5: Combined mean Likert score for each guise by question category.

Category	Italian guise	Calabrese guise - <i>initial C deletion</i>	Calabrese guise - <i>/f/ > [h]</i>
<i>Evaluation</i> S2. This speaker is highly educated. S3. I prefer listening to this type of Italian over others. S7. This speaker is very polite. S8. I would be friends with this	2.910	2.766	2.660

speaker.			
<p><i>Exposure</i> S1. This speaker is fluent in Italian. S4. I would be able to converse with this speaker. S5. I have heard this type of Italian before. S6. This individual speaks Italian well. S9. This speaker's Italian sounds close to my/my family's Italian. S10. I could understand a conversation with this speaker.</p>	2.862	2.792	2.574

Despite the small discrepancies between combined averages, the Italian guises are generally evaluated positively as it pertains to social evaluation and exposure with mean scores of 2.910 and 2.862 respectively. This is somewhat contradictory to the findings from the identification task as the Calabrese voices were more successfully identified compared to the Italian guises.

Language ideologies associated with standard versus regional vernacular were expected to greatly impact the Evaluation category as southern Italians are often perceived negatively in relation to other groups of Italians (Federico, Nuvolari & Vasta 2019; Harney 2002). The data here suggests that respondents are more accustomed to hearing standard Italian in the diaspora, which contrasts with the identification task results wherein Italian has a lower rate of identification than Calabrese. This could indicate that respondents may not be able to identify a particular variety as such, but they recognize the social meaning attached to different Italian dialects due to notions of prestige which underlie common language attitudes towards non-standard Italian varieties. Comparing this with the results from the identification task suggests that respondents are more exposed to Calabrese, but view standard Italian as a more socially acceptable dialect.

When evaluating a Calabrese guise, the combined averages for the Evaluation category are slightly lower than the corresponding Italian guise. This could stem from a stereotype of southern Italians as less educated and polite than those from northern regions where there is greater access to formal education (Federico, Nuvolari & Vasta 2019; Tosi 2004; Sinopoli 2003). Respondents confirmed this somewhat negative characterization of southerners by describing Calabrese voices as ‘harsh’ or ‘unpleasant’. One of the respondents that provided the most detail regarding such a perception was a 2nd gen non-Calabrese Italian-Canadian. This respondent stated that the variety sounded like the voice was speaking too fast and sounded ‘sloppy’. The majority of the attitudes eliciting such labels came from 1st or 2nd gen respondents. 3rd gen respondents did not utilize such labels, suggesting that negative perceptions of southern Italians are not shared by the younger generation. Such labels are direct and explicit expressions of the negative social associations that have been historically attributed to southerners in both homeland and heritage contexts (Federico, Nuvolari & Vasta 2019; Tosi 2004). This can be contrasted by labels describing the Italian guises such as ‘educated’, ‘formal’, and ‘proper’. While interview participants believe such pervasive ideologies are dissipating with generations, semblances of a regional divide arise when respondents are instructed to evaluate guises without any regionally contextualizing speaker information.

The Exposure category, – which entails factors like fluency, comprehension, and experience with the dialect – relies on self reported exposure to varieties, but it does provide preliminary evidence regarding the markedness of the two Calabrese features being analyzed. In the Exposure category, the combined mean score for the Calabrese guise emphasizing initial consonant deletion is 2.792, and the combined mean in the same category for /f/>[h] is 2.574. Although such a discrepancy does not necessarily indicate which feature is more salient for

listeners of the Calabrese variety, it does help to illustrate which features are more commonly encountered in the diaspora and consequently identified as belonging to the Calabrese vernacular. The data here supports the findings from the identification task regarding the markedness of /f/ > [h].

Respondents were then instructed to specify how likely it was for a voice to work in customer service or trades within two more statements (see Appendix A). More reliable data would be collected had a third option been included for occupations which require extensive postsecondary schooling like an engineer or doctor. However, the preliminary evidence shows that Speaker 1 is more commonly associated with customer service and Speaker 2 is associated with trades. This contradicts the traditional occupations associated with Italian-Canadian families as men often work in trades positions (Sinopoli 2003). It is also important to note that the stimulus language has no evident effect on the associations made between guise and potential occupation.

Table 6 displays the combined mean Likert scores for education level of each guise/speaker as respondents were instructed to specify whether the voice was likely to have completed high school and post-secondary education. In all instances, it is more likely that speakers completed high school than post-secondary school. This is underscored by a common belief tied to the education of heritage communities that devalorizes their schooling in the homeland considering the education and/or degrees obtained by many heritage community members are not necessarily or entirely transferable in the heritage context (Sinopoli 2003). This would suggest higher, formal education is associated with the diaspora setting.

Comparing the two speakers by guise reveals some insight regarding the disparities in education background of men and women in the heritage context. For the Italian guises, Speaker

2 is evaluated as more likely to have completed both high school and secondary school than Speaker 1. Speaker 2 has a combined average of 2.988 in the post-secondary education category for the Italian guise, whereas Speaker 1 has a combined average of 2.678 within the same category. This same pattern is exhibited for the Calabrese guises with a smaller margin of difference. The data here suggests that women in the diaspora are more frequently connected to higher levels of education than men are. This could be confirmed in future work by including a question asking participants to specify *why* they believe the speaker has completed the chosen education level. These results are indicative of a general trend in several other minority heritage language communities (Moscati & Rostan 2000). This restricts the type of education deemed socially acceptable for both genders.

Table 6: Combined mean Likert score for each guise by education level

Category	Speaker 1, Italian guise	Speaker 2, Italian guise	Speaker 1, Calabrese guise	Speaker 2, Calabrese guise
<i>Completed high school</i> S13. This speaker completed high school education.	2.907	3.162	2.862	2.802
<i>Completed post-secondary education</i> S14. This speaker completed post secondary education.	2.678	2.988	2.473	2.475

The most discernible pattern from the data here is that the Italian guises from the younger, female speaker are rated higher overall. This may suggest that Italian-Canadians uphold notions of prestige which are connected to the standard variety, and thus perceive it as more socially acceptable in several differing contexts. If standard Italian is linked to prestige, this would further indicate that women are more closely associated with sophistication in the

traditional sense (i.e., education, fluency, communicative abilities) than men are. However, when it pertains to the Calabrese guises, men and women are rated more similarly. This finding is compelling considering the larger discrepancies between the rankings in the standard Italian guise. This would suggest that Calabrese voices are generally evaluated negatively because of the lack of prestige commonly associated with southern Italians, but would also potentially exhibit that a gender divide is stronger for standard Italian than regional vernacular.

4.2.3. *Direct questions on language bias*

The survey included a section wherein respondents were asked directly which Italian variety they considered the ‘best’ and the ‘worst’. Respondents were also instructed to indicate the dialect they/their family speaks and to state whether or not they perceive that language to be ‘better’ than other varieties they have heard. Labels such as ‘best’ and ‘better’ were purposefully ambiguous so that respondents could interpret the question as they see fit. For some respondents, a dialect was deemed better if it more closely resembled the standard Italian language, whereas other respondents perceived a dialect in a more positive frame if it was a variety they have been heavily exposed to.

Categorization of Italian varieties is generally informed by social attitudes as opposed to one’s knowledge or familiarity with the variety itself. Several respondents evaluated Calabrese as the ‘best’ dialect, which aligns with their own Calabrese background. In some cases, respondents identified a northern variety and/or the standard language as the ‘best’ due to its status as the *true* and *authentic* Italian language. When asked to specify the ‘worst’ dialect, the majority of respondents selected Sicilian. Stated reasons for this selection included unfamiliarity with the dialect, evaluations of the variety as being ‘too harsh’ and ‘too fast paced’, and a lack of similarity to the standard language. Evaluations of Sicilian may come about due to the influence

it has from other languages like Arabic. For one 2nd gen Calabrese respondent, Sicilian was, in her words, 'not the worst, but the least familiar' because of the extent of language contact encountered in Sicily due to the numerous ethnic groups which have lived there. For several respondents, Sicilian was the 'worst' dialect because it was 'very different from the standard', suggesting respondents' evaluations of the 'best' and the 'worst' dialects may be due to the similarity between a dialect and the standard language. Furthermore, respondents may also categorize dialects based on the social contexts in which they arise. For instance, several respondents stated that standard Italian was the 'best' dialect because it is linked to literacy and education. This may indicate that respondents do not necessarily perceive dialects in opposition to one another, but view dialects as belonging to different environments or contexts.

To develop an understanding of how Italian-Canadians, or specifically Calabrese, categorize different Italian languages, it is crucial to examine the biases which underlie these categorizations. 15 of the 22 respondents identified Calabrese as the variety they/their family speaks, along with 2 respondents whose families are bidialectal in Calabrese and another Italian vernacular. The 5 non-Calabrese respondents are speakers of dialects which are markedly different from Calabrese, such as a local variety of Central-Northern Latian, suggesting their exposure to the Calabrese dialect is rather minimal. Many of these respondents also reported that they did not frequently associate with Calabrese within their personal networks.

In the form of a yes-no question, respondents indicated whether they perceived their dialect to be better than others. The majority of the respondents display an evident bias towards the language they speak as 13 of the 22 total respondents perceive their dialect to be better than others, with 5 respondents stating they were uncertain. This provides some preliminary insight regarding the biases which pervade the language ideologies of Calabrese-Canadians. It is

possible that a respondent's bias towards their dialect is informed by the lack of exposure they have had to different dialects in the diasporic setting. As previously discussed, many Italian-Canadians live in enclaves composed of *pisano*, and may only encounter the dialect their family speaks amongst other Italian-Canadians.

Table 13: Responses to bias question by language of respondent/respondent's family: "I consider my/my family's dialect to be better than other dialects."

Language of Respondent / Respondent's Family	# of Respondents	Y	N	Unsure
Calabrese	15	9	3	3
Bidialectal	2	1	1	0
Other	5	3	1	1
Total	22	13	5	4

The results here ultimately show that evaluations and ability to identify regional Italian vernaculars is predominantly influenced by one's exposure to and/or experience with a particular variety. This is directly exhibited by contrasting perceptions 1st and 3rd gen Italian-Canadians have towards the standard variety. For one 1st gen respondent, the standard Italian is evaluated highly because it is the 'true' language that comprehensively represents Italians. For one 3rd gen respondent who learned the Italian language in second language classes throughout secondary and post-secondary education, the standard was associated with formality and attention to detail. This aligns with previous work on regional identity and perceptions of local vernacular: Fridland & Kendall (2012) repeatedly stress the role of exposure in successful identification of a guise within a matched guise test. This builds upon Fridland & Kendall's (2018) analysis which depicts only a slight increase in listeners' ability to differentiate guises when the stimulus is

accompanied by regionally contextualizing information. The present study exhibits a similar result whereby the most successful respondents in the identification task are those who evaluated the Calabrese guises higher in the Likert scale rankings. While there were several respondents from non-Calabrese backgrounds who also conform to this pattern, – which is quite interesting as the majority of these respondents stated they did not frequently associate with Calabrese – exposure and positive evaluation seem to coincide. A larger sample of the population, accompanied by an in-depth statistical analysis, would accurately depict whether this correlation was statistically significant. However, the current results suggest a strong relationship between exposure and positive social evaluations since the voices which were more frequently identified as the correct language were seen as more polite, friendly, and educated. Negative social association for several of the guises is seemingly related to an overarching pattern wherein most respondents are hesitant to evaluate any voice negatively. This is exhibited by the fact that most respondents made minimal use of the Strongly Disagree/Very Unlikely and Strongly Agree/Very Likely poles in the Likert scale questions. This is a common trend in matched guise tests as participants avoid attaching negative labels to groups they have not frequently encountered (Garrett 2010). Although the results may suggest that exposure to a variety is the driving force in social evaluations and ability to differentiate between multiple guises, the results cannot reliably confirm whether or not exposure is the primary factor in social evaluations of multiple Italian guises. To amend this issue, researchers may need to refine the design of a matched guise test and/or develop another methodological approach which wholly represents the varying attitudes listeners have towards particular guises and the extent to which exposure to a dialect informs one's perception of that dialect. With the current design, researchers can only make inferences

based on Likert data, and consequently utilize anecdotal evidence from listener's to further support any claim regarding the language attitudes of a group.

5. Conclusion

The results represent an overarching pattern of correlation between exposure and social evaluations. For most respondents, the social attitudes which emerged from the generational interviews were only verified if that respondent had been reasonably and/or consistently exposed to the variety they were instructed to evaluate. However, the results also show a pattern in which Calabrese overextend their vernacular to all Italian varieties. Calabrese respondents who identified Calabrese as the variety of the guise tended to identify the subsequent guises as Calabrese also. A potential argument for this pattern is that boundaries between multiple dialects, or between dialect and mainstream Italian, are not explicitly drawn for bidialectal or multilingual Italian-Canadians.

Following the matched guise test, a short follow-up interview was conducted with another 2nd gen Italian-Canadian with a Calabrese background. The objective of this interview was to glean more insights from the survey results and to provide future directions for research within the same speech community. It appears Calabrese overextend their vernacular to all contexts in which they encounter an Italian variety as many Calabrese who identified the first stimuli as Calabrese did so for the rest of the stimuli they listened to. With this finding in mind, I asked the interviewee whether Italian-Canadians with whom she engages seem to identify and distinguish clear boundaries between dialects including the standard:

I: So what I'm trying to say to you is, do you think people see their variety, whatever they speak, however they categorize it, they see that as Italian, as the Italian language? [...]

P6: They do because when you, when you are raised by two people from different regions of Italy, you'll hear your father speaking one way. You'll hear your mother. So you mix the language together. Certain words will be maybe your mom's dialect and certain words will be your father's dialect.

Participant 6 believes that some Italian-Canadians may perceive their variety as a hybrid dialect which adopts features of multiple varieties. For 2nd gen Italian-Canadians like Participant 6, bidialectal parents will utilize both languages within the home. Future research should further explore the extent to which bidialectalism is understood by 2nd gen Italian-Canadians whose parents speak distinct vernaculars. As the participant above indicates, “[c]ertain words will be maybe your mom’s dialect, and certain word will be your father’s dialect.” However, this begs a question regarding the ability to differentiate between multiple dialects when a speaker does not outline a clear boundary separating dialects from one another. A future matched guise test and/or perception test could examine these boundaries by including stimuli from multiple Italian varieties. For instance, one of the respondents in the current study comes from a bidialectal background whereby one parent is Calabrese and one is Sicilian. With the above statement in mind, this respondent may struggle to differentiate between a Calabrese and Sicilian guise as opposed to a Calabrese and standard Italian guise as they encountered in the present study. By designing a perception test with multiple vernaculars would delineate the boundaries which exist amongst bidialectal and/or multilingual Italian-Canadian families. Several matched guise tests have used filler voices to ensure respondents were not provided with surveys saturated by one vernacular or one speaker (Marsano 2021).

As discussed throughout the paper, several limitations hindered the reliability of the results. Limitations primarily arose from the lack of a representative sample and low number of respondents. The original study design expected to collect data from 50+ respondents stratified by age, gender, ethnic background, and other demographic factors. However, without the necessary number of respondents, an in-depth statistical analysis could not be applied to the data.

Without this limitation, the data would have been analyzed via multivariate logistic regression analyses, but the relative frequency analysis above nonetheless helps to illustrate the potential results of such a statistical analysis. Furthermore, the study was limited by technical issues from Qualtrics which led to an inadequate randomization of guises. That is, respondents would have evaluated one of two passages exhibiting the same feature. Effective randomization would have meant respondents evaluated 4 Calabrese voices and 4 Italian voices whereby 2 of the Calabrese voices exhibited initial consonant deletion and 2 emphasized /f/>[h].

While the findings throughout this study provide preliminary results as it pertains to social evaluations and differentiability of varying Italian vernaculars, they still suggest several notable patterns and attitudes which are not easily observable to those outside the community and are expressed passively within the (Calabrese) Italian-Canadian community. The results of this study explicitly represent frequently encountered ideologies amongst Italians in the diaspora. The ethnolinguistic minority context triggers several ideologies which are largely unexplored as Italian language variation is most often studied in the homeland. This context offers an opportunity to document and study the language and attitudes of heritage communities to effectively characterize the relationship between language and identity outside of the homeland.

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7. Appendix A: Sample Survey

Page 1: Debriefing & Consent

Primary Researcher: Liam McGunnigle, liammcg@yorku.ca, Department of Languages, Literatures & Linguistics, York University

Supervisor: Michol Hoffman, mhoffman@yorku.ca, Department of Languages, Literatures & Linguistics, Associate Professor, York University

The following survey is for the Major Research Project of the primary researcher, Liam McGunnigle, in completion of his Master of Arts in Linguistics from York University.

In this survey, you will be instructed to listen to a series of voices. Each individual is a speaker of an Italian language. You will then be asked to answer a set of questions related to each voice.

Participation is voluntary. You can withdraw from participating by closing your browser at any point before the completion of the survey. All participants will remain anonymous throughout the study. For the purposes of this study, we encourage you to provide your honest opinions as responses will remain anonymous.

Participation in this survey should take ~20-30 minutes including the time allotted to listening to the respective voices.

- I acknowledge that I have read the above debriefing and give consent to participate in the following survey.

Page 2-15: Voice #1-16

Please click on the arrow below to listen to the voice and answer the questions that follow. You may listen to the audio clip as many times as you like.

► Voice 1

1. What region is this speaker from? (Drop-down menu: Abruzzo, Apulia, Calabria, Campania, Friuli-Venezia, Lazio, Lombardia, Piemonte, Sicilia, Toscana)
2. What dialect is this person speaking? (Drop-down menu: Abruzzese, Pugliese, Calabrese, Neapolitano, Friulian, Milanese, Venetian, Baresi, Sicilian, No dialect/Italian)

3. How can you tell someone is speaking the dialect you selected above? Be as specific as possible (e.g, accent, different pronunciation of a word, different words entirely, etc.)
-
4. Have you encountered many people speaking this dialect? YES/NO/I DON'T KNOW

Please select the most appropriate response to the statements below.

1. This person is fluent in Italian.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Disagree Uncertain

2. This person is highly educated.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Disagree Uncertain

3. I prefer listening to this type of Italian over others.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Disagree Uncertain

4. I would be able to converse with this person.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Disagree Uncertain

5. I have heard this type of Italian before.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Disagree Uncertain

6. This person speaks Italian well.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Disagree Uncertain

7. This person is very polite.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Disagree Uncertain

8. I would be friends with this person.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Disagree Uncertain

9. This person's Italian sounds close to my/my family's Italian.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Disagree Uncertain

1. I could understand a conversation with this person.

Very Unlike Unlikely Like Very Likely Uncertain

2. This person works in the service industry (e.g, cashier, server, retailer, etc.).

Very Unlike Unlikely Like Very Likely Uncertain

3. This person works in trades (e.g, plumbing, automotive mechanic, etc.).

Very Unlike Unlikely Like Very Likely Uncertain

4. This person completed high school education.

Very Unlikely Unlikely Likely Very Likely Uncertain

5. This person completed post-secondary education.

Very Unlikely Unlikely Likely Very Likely Uncertain

Page 16: General Questions

1. What do you consider to be the best Italian dialect of those listed? (Drop-down menu: Abruzzese, Pugliese, Calabrese, Neapolitano, Friulian, Milanese, Venetian, Baresi, Sardinian, Sicilian)

i. Why? _____

2. What do you consider to be the worst Italian dialect of those listed? (Drop-down menu: Abruzzese, Pugliese, Calabrese, Neapolitano, Friulian, Milanese, Venetian, Baresi, Sardinian, Sicilian)

i. Why? _____

3. Do you believe your/your family's dialect sounds better than other dialects you've encountered? YES/NO/I don't know

i. Why? _____

Page 17: Demographic Questions

1. Gender _____

2. Age/Year of Birth _____

3. Background:

a. Place of Birth: _____

b. Currently living in _____

4. Parental Background:

Parent #1

Place of Birth: _____

Living/lived in: _____

Parent #2

Place of Birth: _____

Living/lived in: _____

5. Grandparents Background:

Grandparent #1

Place of Birth: _____

Grandparent #2

Place of Birth: _____

Living/lived in: _____

Grandparent #3

Place of Birth: _____

Living/lived in: _____

Living/lived in: _____

Grandparent #4

Place of Birth: _____

Living/lived in: _____

6. Occupation: _____
7. Highest level of education completed: (Drop-down menu: Elementary school, high school, post-secondary: degree, post-secondary: certificate/diploma)
8. Please list all the languages you speak: _____

Page 18: Calabrese-specific Questions

1. Do you know people from Calabria?
YES/NO/I DON'T KNOW
2. Do you frequently associate with people from Calabria?
YES/NO/I DON'T KNOW
3. Have you ever heard the Calabrese dialect?
YES/NO/I DON'T KNOW

8. Appendix B: Interview Transcripts**Transcript 1**

P1: Tony

Interviewer: Liam

I: Okay, so, um, I obviously know this, but can you just say your name, where you were born, how old you are, and just like your, a little bit of your life?

P1: Yeah. My name is Antonio Froio. I'm 86 years old, you know.

I: I know.

P1: I retired right now. I'm home all day. And, uh -

I: Where are you from?

P1: From Italy. From Calabria.

I: Mm-hmm.

The little town is called San Vito sullo Ionio. Province of Catanzaro. That's it. Yeah. So, I go away from my town at, uh, 17 years old. I went to Florence for work. I spent a couple- couple years there and then I come back home. Then I met my, my, my wife. We get engaged in 19- in 1957. And she had to- she left there Italy to come to Canada.

I: Mm-hmm. And she was also from San Vito?

P1: Yeah. From San, yeah. Yeah. From same town. Yeah. San Vito. And then, and then af- after two years, I re-, I came in Canada too in 1959. And we got married in 1960 in Toronto.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: And then we have her [pointing at his daughter who accompanied me during the interview], then we had her. Then we, we, we, you know, we work both. We work mm-hmm. After we get married, we, we rent a room in a kitchen.

I: Oh really?

P1: Yeah.

I: I didn't know that.

P1: Yeah. And uh, I used to play soccer. After work that, uh, that time. And then after two, two years we have, uh, our first child, my daughter Lisa, and uh, and, uh, what else I have to say

I: That, that's okay. You don't need to say more.

P1: Yeah. Then, then, um, in the beginning. I come here, I, I work in a factory.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: And then I go outside with- for, uh, carpentry. Then my brothers come back, come here, in Canada in 1956 and we start the company together. They call, the Froio Bros.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: Trim Carpentry.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: We do this for Since 19- since 19-. Together, we are together 1977 and then we split, and then he's got his own company and then I have mine.

I: Both in carpentry?

P1: Carpentry, yeah. Finish, finish carpentry. And uh, I do this in 19. When did we start Stellar home? 2000? 2000. Around 2000, I think so, around 2000. With my- my cousin Vito Froio, we opened a, uh, build a, a company to build house.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: Together. And we do this for- For about to, to 20 years. No, that's-, about 15.

I: When did you-

P1: About- about 15. 15 years. And then my cousin take over the company and then I worked for him, like uh, a foreman. A supervisor on the job for a couple years. Yeah. Yeah.

I: Then you retired?

P1: [motions he cannot hear]

I: Then you retired?

P1: Yeah. Yeah. And then I retired and that's it. Yeah. So, but, but I have to tell you, in, in 19, in 1966, I, uh, 60, yeah. 1966. Yeah. Uh, we have another child, her name Daniela.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: And in 1969, we have a boy, Joseph. So, Joseph, mm-hmm. And that's it. Yeah.

I: And then, you know, so, um, you obviously spoke Calabrese back at home- back in San Vito, back home.

P1: We, we speak Calabrese.

I: Mm-hmm. Yeah. Yeah. Um, when you came here, yeah. Were there a lot of other Calabrese?

P1: Well, a lot of Italian, a lot of Calabrese. I don't, I, I don't have a problem with speaking, with Italian or-

I: So you speak both?

P1: Both, yeah. Calabrese and Italian.

I: Mm-hmm. When you moved to Florence for those couple years, to work in Prato?

P1: Yeah.

I: Did you speak Calabrese or Firenze?

P1: Over there I speak Italian. Yeah. Which is- No, no [?]. Italian. Italian.

I: Okay.

P1: Over there, the two years in, in Florence, I speak Italian. Yeah. That's it.

I: And so before that, yeah, you mainly spoke Calabrese -

P1: Calabrese -

I: - because everybody around you spoke Calabrese.

P1: Yeah. But sometime with the people they speak Italian. I have to speak Italian, so.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: No. Yeah. Like, uh, Over here. We have a lot, lot, uh, you know, from Calabria, from south, from north, other, like other south, even Sicily, you know?

I: Mm-hmm. Um, when you went to school, you spoke Calabrese? That's how you were taught at -

P1: No, no, no, no. You school in Italian. Italian, no Calabrese.

I: Okay. All right. [speaking to Tony's daughter] That was 'cause when he was a kid, that was just after the government changed everything. Yeah. So then it became mandatory in school for him to, to learn it. Okay. Um, in Calabria - so you're from Catanzaro, right?

P1: Yeah. Province.

I: Do you think you sound very different from people from Cosenza or Reggio, or pretty similar?

P1: No, we are very similar between Cosenza. The dialect is similar across the province. Yeah. But more or more or less. Uh, yeah. From the people from Cosenza, from this, or more or less the same. Same. Yeah. [?] Yeah. A few, few words are different. Like, uh, when we call something. Like, uh, they say one name, but the people from Reggio will have a different name for- different name.

I: Yeah. Okay. Um, so then here in Canada, were you speaking both Calabrese and Italian?

P1: Yeah, yeah, both, but when I'm with the Calabrese people, I speak Calabrese.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: When with the people from North, I speak Italian.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: You know, They know the people. They have a dialect, too. Yeah. But everywhere is different.

I: Yeah, I know. Um, so then when you're like, um, when you are, say at Longo's, if you heard somebody on the phone, speaking Calabrese, you would be able to tell: that's Calabrese, right?

P1: Yeah, sometimes. Yeah. Yeah. Most of the time, yes. Yeah. Yeah.

I: But if you heard somebody on the phone at Longos speaking, like Abruzzese-

P1: Yeah, different different from, uh, from the, yeah.

I: So, but would you know that that is-

P1: Yeah. Sometimes I know it's Calabrese or not. Yeah.

I: Yeah. I'm asking more if he knows other regions, like if he heard somebody speaking a dialect from like, okay.

T: So, yeah. *In Calabrese*: Ido vuola sappa, no che tu usi- tu senti chi non esta Calabrese, ma si ancuno esta alla telefono chi parla Abruzzese -

I: Yeah

T: *In Calabrese*: Tu- tu conosci chi esta Abruzzese?

P1: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.

I: So you- Wait, do you, would you know that they would be from Abruzzo or you would just think they're from somewhere else?

P1: Somewhere else, not really from Abruzzo. I can, I can tell you a guy from North, like uh

I: Yeah.

P1: You know, uh, north Italy, that's, I can, I can tell you so -

I: But it's not so specific?

P1: No, no, no.

I: Okay. Okay. Um, do you know a lot of people from other parts of Italy?

P1: Yeah. Yeah. A lot of, lot, yeah. A lot of people.

I: Um, when you first came here more or more now? More people you knew from the north?

P1: I think I, I knew more people when first I came, now they dead.

I: Yeah. Oh my God. Don't say that. Okay. Um, and with those people you would speak Italian?

P1: Yeah.

I: Because they would also know Italian. Yeah. Italian. Yeah. So then if somebody were to say to you, what languages do you speak? You would say English-

P1: I say some English, yeah, and Italian.

I: You wouldn't say Calabrese?

P1: No, I don't say Calabrese.

I: Okay. So you would say Italian, right?

P1: Italian, yeah.

I: Um, do you think there's a better way to speak Italian? Like do you think one way of speaking is better than another?

P1: Well, to, to- Italian is much better.

I: Mm-hmm. Why?

P1: Yeah. Well, because with Calabrese, especially, especially, you have so many dialect.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: In Calabria, you know?

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: Sometimes it's like, uh, people from Bari, Pugliese, that's, that's difference from Calabria.

I: That's like where, um, Zia Gloria's family is from, right?

P1: Who?

I: Zia Gloria?

P1: Yeah. Yeah, yeah. They're, they're from- No. Gloria? No. Gloria?

I: Oh, not Zia Gloria.

P1: Oh. Uh, uh, Rose's family.

I: Oh, they're- okay.

P1: They're okay. They are, they are from, okay.

I: Um, yeah. So could you understand them or no?

P1: No, no. Very difficult, yes. No, no. I don't understand the words.

I: Do you think Calabrese is more closer to Italian than Baresi?

P1: Uh, some, uh, not really. But some, some close to Italian.

I: Yeah. So I guess I'm trying to ask more like, what is it about Italian that makes it better than all of these dialects?

T: Chi tu pensi che quando parla Italiano, proprio Italiano, che esta differenze que buono di Calabrese?

P1: Yeah, it's much better. Yeah.

T: But per chi? Per chi?

P1: Because a lot of people, a lot of people- the dialect is not easy to understand everybody, but the Italian is more-

I: It's universal?

P1: Yeah.

I: Okay. Um, so I- I don't know, it might be difficult for him. Like what are like some words that you know that are different? Like some examples? So Zia said, Zia said, um, you know, in Italian you would say guarda, to see, guarda. You guys say warda. You don't say guarda. You say warda.

P1: No. In Italian, Italian say guarda, guardare. Yeah.

I: Yeah. That's the verb.

P1: Yeah.

I: So yeah, he can take his time. It's okay. You have time. You can think about it.

P1: Okay. That's he, that's not belong. Yeah. Yeah. Okay. Um, how about like a room you would, you, you guys say camera, camera, camera, camera. So that's the same. That's the same, yeah. How about like a table, A chair, anything?

I: Bed to the, yeah, so think in Calabrese. You would say letto and proper Italian?

P1: It's letto as well.

I: Oh, okay. So it's the same. Okay. So Zia was saying there's also some words that you add in a letter, like in Italian you'd say uovo for egg.

P1: Mm-hmm.

I: But she said in Calabrese you'd say wuovo.

P1: L'uovo.

I: So sometimes in Calabrese-

T: *In Calabrese*: So ido dice chi, sometimes, nuoi mentimo na littera piu-

P1: Yeah. Yeah, I know.

T: So ido dicio in Italiano tu dici uovo, ma nuoi dicimo wuovo.

P1: Yeah. Yeah.

I: Okay. Okay. Um, so then do you, I guess I don't know what to ask here. Okay. I guess I can just move on to something else. Um, did you, have you ever, at any point in your life, like talking to other Italians, did anyone ever tell you, you're saying something wrong that you can remember if somebody was like, you should say this?

P1: No. Not really. No, no, no. When I talk with people, I know who's Calabrese and, and people from North, they, they don't, they don't speak it.

I: So, you know which word to use, use with, right, With the right person.

P1: Yeah.

I: Okay. Um, have, has anyone ever said like, Calabrese just sounds bad to you? Has anyone ever-

P1: No. No, no.

I: - been mean about your dialect or said like-

P1: Well, it's, you know, every- everybody think uh, their dialect is the best. Yeah.

I: Yeah. Okay. So then, so do you think your dialect is the best? Do you think Calabrese is better than other dialetti?

P1: No.

I: No?

P1: No.

I: You think it's the same?

P1: The same? No. They're all on the same level. Yeah. Yeah.

I: Okay. It's just that Italian, Italian is more useful.

P1: Yeah.

I: Mm-hmm. Okay. Um, do you think the younger generation speaks worse Italian, like, I'm not saying even her.

P1: Yeah.

I: Like in Calabria, her generation, do they speak worse Italian than you?

P1: Well, in, in Calabria even you Calabrese, you, when you go to school-

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: You speak Italian.

I: Italian, yeah. A lot, lot, lot, lot, uh, the younger generation speak Italian.

P1: Mm-hmm.

I: You know?

P1: Mm-hmm.

I: So they, yeah, cuz they learn it in school. They, and they move elsewhere for work.

P1: You know, they move out to the country, you know, when they come back, speak Italian, you know.

T: But I also believe that because *in Calabrese*: i higli vanno alla scuola insimpatino, idej non parluno Calabrese.

P1: No. Italiano alla scuola.

T: I genitori mai demandano in Calabrese ma idej rispondono in Italiano.

P1: Yeah, Italiano, yeah.

I: So really his generation is the only one really that. So you, so you think your generation speaks the best Calabrese, right?

P1: Correct. Yeah.

I: Okay. And then it's just gone progressively worse.

T: Tu pensi chi, cuando tu [?] a scuola, even though you were instructed in Italiano, alla casa tu pensi chi [?]

P1: They change. They change.

I: Okay. Yeah. Um-

P1: So listen, in Italiano, or in Calabrese, when you go to school, you learn Italian.

I: Yeah.

P1: But at home, most, most of, most of the kids, kids speak- they speak Calabrese too at home.

I: They use both?

P1: Hmm?

I: Like they use both.

P1: Both, yeah. Probably using, yeah. Yeah. But today the gener young generation, everything's changing now.

I: So when you, so when you are in San Vito, let's say-

P1: Yeah.

I: And you go to like uh, a restaurant or something?

P1: Yeah.

I: And the waiter is my age.

P1: Yeah.

I: Is the waiter going to speak Italian to you or Calabrese to you?

P1: Depends. Depends, depends.

I: Mm.

P1: If they waiter is from, from another- from another-

I: -and just came there.

P1: Yeah. Say the waiter is coming from Rome.

I: Yeah.

P1: They don't speak Calabrese.

I: Yeah. No, no, no. Of course they speak Roman, you know?

P1: Yeah, Italian. They speak Italian. Yeah, Italian. Yeah. If they don't know. Yeah. Like with Pino, if we go to a restaurant, he don't speak Calabrese.

T: No, he speak Italian.

P1: Italian, yeah.

I: Okay. Yeah. So, okay. So then, um, so then, yeah, with generations it's gotten less used.

P1: Mm-hmm.

I: And then my generation here in Canada, we don't speak it at all. Like my- do you understand? My generation, we don't speak it.

P1: No. No. Depends. Depends on what they grew up. Depends. Depends where they grew up, you know. If, if they, i genitori are north Italian, speak in Italian, they have to speak, speak in Italian too. If, if the parents from Calabria, they speak, they speak Calabrese, you know?

I: Mm-hmm. So, uh, do you, do you wish we learned Italian, like me and my sisters? Do you wish we learned Italian?

P1: Yeah, I'm, yeah. Yeah.

I: But do you, if we were to have learned it, would you have wanted us to learn Italian or Calabrese?

P1: But Italian is better.

I: So you would've wanted her to teach me Italian.

P1: Italian. Yeah. Yeah.

I: Why is it better to learn it now here?

P1: Yeah, because if you go, if you go away or someplace you speak Italian, no Calabrese.

I: Yeah. No one would understand me in Calabrese.

T: Wherever you go, in Italy, that's [Italian] the spoken language.

I: So yeah. So it's just easier if I learned Italian-

P1: Italian, no Calabrese-

I: because if I met another Italian person,

P1: Yeah.

I: They would maybe be able to speak with me.

P1: Even if, if you learn Italian and, and, and you find a Calabrese, they understand you.

I: Mm-hmm.

P1: But if you Calabrese, talk Calabrese to someone in the home from the north, they no understand.

I: Yeah. Okay. Um. So then, so then there's really, there would, do you, how do I word this hat would make sense to him? Or maybe you can ask?

T: Just say it.

I: Like, do you think like, it would've been pointless for my generation to learn Calabrese, like it would be, there'd be no reason.

P1: Your generation, I told you, that's depends the, the, the parents.

I: In Canada?

P1: Yeah, it's better Italian than Calabrese. Yeah.

So then there would've been- because told everybody understand it, it would've been pointless, you know?

I: Okay. Well that's good to know because if there's nothing positive about learning it, that's important to know.

P1: If you talk Calabrese with another guy, he from north, you're not gonna understand. He don't understand. He's not gonna understand.

I: Yeah. Okay. Proper Italian.

P1: That's, that's why it's better to learn Italian and no Calabrese. But some, some generation, they learn both.

I: They learn both. Yeah. Like your generation knows both, you know?

P1: Yeah.

I: Okay. So then that's really all, but then I had other questions about specific things in the language that he could maybe give more examples. So the first thing is, um, this is more like American Italians do it, but it's also been in Canada. Um, deleting like the last vowel in a word. If that's the thing.

P1: Yeah, they, they have a different, so over here in Canada, It's more European.

I: Yeah. It's closer to the Italian in Italy.

P1: Yeah.

I: Okay. So then nobody in Italy would say like *mozzarell*, like nobody would say that, right?

P1: In Italy?

I: Yeah.

P1: Yeah.

I: Okay. Same with like prosciutto. They would say *prosciutt*.

P1: Yeah. Like in the US some people say prosciutto, too.

I: Yeah, I know.

P1: Yeah. But in Italy they would call it prosciutto. In Canada, we stayed more- that generation stayed more true to their dialect or proper Italian than America.

T: They Americanized the language.

Okay. Um, the second thing is, we talked about this a little with, uh, like words where you get rid of the first letter. So like in, uh, in Granda you'd say randa in Calabrese.

P1: Randa, yeah.

I: Or giorno. You'd say iorno.

P1: Iorno, yeah.

I: Or, um, yeah. What was the other one that Zia said, it's- sorry. It was, it was like, um, it started with a g also, I forget. Um, Are there any words that don't start with G, or is that just with the letter G? Because all the examples you guys have given me are with the letter G, so.

P1: Yeah. In some words. In some words in, yeah.

I: Is that only with G or is that just, or you can't think of.

P1: No. Sometime. Yeah, you change it. You change it.

I: Are there other words, you know though, like, like where you don't say the first letter.

P1: Mm-hmm.

I: Oh, okay. So you say it differently, you say the C differently.

P1: Yeah. Yeah.

I: Okay. So it depends.

P1: It's not necessarily that. There's specific-

I: No, I know, but they're just different features?

P1: Mm-hmm. And they're all separate things, so.

I: Okay. That is something different.

T: So what he's saying is something completely different.

I: Mm-hmm. I'm just trying to figure out if there's certain words.

P1: Certain words?

I: 'Cause that's what I need to figure out here is if this only happens with the letter G or if it happens with other letters-

T: -other letter.

I: Yeah, but I, I can't, yeah. The thing is, I can't just say that; I need to give an example.

T: Yeah.

I: It's- and what I have noticed is also when there's another consonant after it, like granda, it's cuz there's two consonants.

P1: Mm-hmm.

I: Gr

P1: Yeah.

I: Okay. So it's changing the word a little, which is normal?

P1: Yeah. No, yeah. I don't know any other-

I: There's nothing you can think of?

P1: No, I don't think so, can you?

I: Um, how do you say, oh, wait, no, no, no, no. I know one. Bianco. You say 'yanco'?

P1: Yeah. Yeah. Bianco.

I: You say yanco?

P1: Yeah.

I: Okay, so that's another one. One that's as the different. // Um, okay. Like if you can't think of anything else, that's okay. He'll tell me when he remembers.

T: Yeah.

P1: That's, but I think that's, yeah. Yeah, yeah. Yeah. Um, Okay.

I: And then the other, the other thing is, um, words start with f, yeah. You guys sometimes change to h so instead of an f. Instead of, um, clock the word for clock, it starts with an, or maybe, or maybe it's watch or maybe it's time. No, no, no, no, no, no. Um, one, one example was fig, which I think you guys say with an F still.

P1: No, we say hica.

I: Okay. Okay. So you guys don't say fico.

P1: Yeah.

I: Okay. Interesting. So, okay.

P1: So that changes a little bit, but not too much. Okay. You know?

I: Mm-hmm. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah, that's what I was trying to say. Yeah. But then, what was that word?

P1: Oh, maybe, I don't know.

I: Then I guess different dialects. From elsewhere maybe.

P1: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. Okay.

I: Um, wait. There was an example I had here. Gimme a sec. Oh, um, I don't know. Okay, so um. What does fava mean? That's standard Italian and it says here in my notes that you guys say hava.

P1: I don't know what that means.

I: Iron? How would you say Iron?

P1: Iron?

I: Iron. Like an iron.

P1: Okay. We say hirro. Yeah. Yeah.

I: So you, okay, so this change does happen a lot.

P1: Yeah.

I: Mm-hmm. So do you know any other words like that at this moment?

P1: No. No. Not now.

I: Okay. Well then that's good. You gave me a lot. And if you remember, then you can tell me.

P1: Yeah. Okay.

I: So thank you.

P1: That's it?

I: That's it.

Transcript 2

P2: Daniela

P3: Vince

I: Interviewer, Liam

P2: Do you want me to close that window?

I: No, that's okay. Um, so obviously I know all this already, but take turns and just describe like how you were raised, what language you spoke, where you were raised, the people that you were usually in contact with and their background and stuff like that. So let me start with Zia. Just your name, your age, just general information of your upbringing.

P2: Oh, my upbringing. Not okay.

I: And now too. Yeah.

P2: Yeah. Daniella Filiberto. Um, my age is 56 at the moment.

//

Um, I live in Stouffville. I was born and raised in Scarborough. Um, I was born at, uh, Scarborough General Hospital and lived on Bellamy Road till I was, uh, till we were, well, my age was 13 and then we moved to, uh, um, west Hill. I. um did a lot of sports.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: I, uh, like track and field, I was over, uh, volleyball, basketball, not so much cause I'm short, but did all that, uh, the stuff at, uh, all the school type of sports.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: Um-

I: What did you do? Like socially, like your friends, what did you guys do?

P2: Well, we used, well, I used to have my friends at school, but when, you know, obviously in grade school, uh, up until grade seven, you don't really hang out that much with your friends at school.

I: Just the kids on your street?

P2: Yeah, at school. Kids. It's just basically the kids on the street next door.

I: And what were they all like the, were kids on your street?

P2: They were, um, they were older than I, well, one, but we used to, they were from the same hometown as, um, My parents were, so, we were *pisanis* and, uh, we used to always at, at, you know, during the daytime, um, whatever, do play games or whatever. We were always out at nighttime together too, until we were, well till the street lights came on.

I: Um, obviously I know, but can you just describe what a pisano is?

P2: Pisano is someone who's, um, They come from the same hometown in Italy that, uh, my parents were from. So we were from San Vito. And these, there was, uh, two, three houses next to me, um, that all that were from San Vito. And then, uh, The other side of the house. There was, uh, after, maybe when I was in grade six, they moved in and they were more, well, they had a girl rose, the rosa that was my age. And, uh, so we used to go to school together and, uh, and, and play together after school.

I: So is that is a paisano only somebody that like you wouldn't use that term? In Italy or you would like, you would say-

P2: Hey, pisan, like-

I: -or is that more of a like diaspora, like immigration thing?

P2: Um, I'd say more of an immigration thing. I don't think in the hometown that-

I: No, it's not really like a concept. Like they, it's kind of more of like a thing here?

P2: Yeah. Because there, you're all from the same town, so you don't wanna call yourself, you're just like-

I: Locals?

P2: You're just locals. Exactly. You're locals. But from here it was more from, uh, here. Um, my dad used to play on the, on the San Vito soccer, uh, team that they had here. So on the weekends in Toronto we used to all, um, yeah, in Toronto and we used to all hang out, so it would all be the same pisanos. And, and you know, the, their kids we would go, they had a club called San Vito Club and, um, We used to go after the games, we'd go to the club and you know, the parents obviously would be inside and we'd be all outside and, and the kids and, and we'd play so, or go to someone's take turns or going to somebody's house and doing that. So we spent a lot of time

with our pisanos when we were kids. Not so much now cuz everybody gets older and has moves away and has their own family and uh, and that's it.

I: Hmm. And how about you Uncle Vince? I, you know, you were born in Italy, so you can start there.

P3: No, I wasn't born in Italy.

I: I thought you were.

P2: He was made in Italy.

I: Oh, that's what it is. Okay. And then, okay.

P3: They had just come here like, and then had, okay.

I: Yeah

P2: I think, I think your mom was. Around seven months pregnant when she got on the boat coming here with- with Vince. Yeah.

P3: But she didn't get seasick at all. I know.

I: I would think so. I'd think she'd be like more sick than everybody else.

P3: No.

P2: Your dad I think got- got seasick. Your mom did it.

I: Yeah. I didn't know that. I thought you were born there like really young, but then okay, so was wrong.

P3: No, I was born in Toronto.

I: So then you grew up with like pisanos and everything around you too, or no?

P3: Oh yeah. Yeah. We grew up in Scarborough and all my aunts and uncles and cousins. That's where we'd hang out. I remember every weekend we would go to somebody's- Somebody's house.

I: Yeah. It wasn't like family. It was like your family friends, basically. Right. Or were the cousins too?

P3: Cousins. Yeah. Yeah.

I: And not for you though, you, the only cousins you would've had, would've been.

P2: Well, I had my cousin Joe and Liz, yeah. That lived down the street. Um, well not down the street, but, and I had Marina and Frank that lived across the street from us on Bellamy.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: Um, but they were older. Well, not Joe, me and Joe and I were close or whatever, but we were always together on the weekends too, then majority of the time out at, um, at our house. Cuz then we had everybody and we'd all played together. Right?

I: So, and did you guys do stuff with the San Vito club more then? Like-

P2: No-

I: I thought-

P2: No-

P3: No.

I: You guys didn't really-

P3: No,

P2: We didn't. No, no, not with the club. No, they, they were more part of the church, the church of San Vito.

I: Oh, okay. Yeah. Okay.

P2: Um, but not with-

P3: Uh, that's- my uncle did stuff at the club.

I: Mm-hmm.

P3: My uncle, um, he did, he would, uh, I don't know what would, like, organize, like

I: Events and stuff?

P3: Yeah. Events and stuff. They do the barbecue, they make the pasta.

I: Mm-hmm. And the picnic.

P2: And the- Oh, and the picnic! Yeah. Yeah. And that's where we met.

I: Yeah. That's where you guys met.

P3: Yeah.

I: Mm-hmm. But you would go every year?

P3: Yeah.

P2: Right? Majority of the time.

P3: Majority of the time. Yeah.

P2: We, I think we would go too, but not as, as much, especially as we got older, we didn't go much.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: When I met, uh, Vince, I maybe hadn't been in a while.

I: Was that like the last time you went too?

P2: I, no, we went the next year.

P3: I didn't take you there?

I: I never went. You took, I think my sisters and maybe my cousins. I don't know where I was. No, maybe when we were little. If we were little, I wouldn't remember maybe then, but I know you went a couple years ago. Yeah.

P2: Vince took them-

I: when I was, I don't know where I was, but I wasn't here.

P2: Yeah. Vince had taken them.

P3: You weren't there?

I: No, I don't, I don't think I, I don't remember ever going, so the only time I must have gone when I was like a baby, like a toddler-

P3: Hmm.

P2: Unless he was, was soccer or something that you weren't, uh, there. But we went the first year after we met, we went back. But then after that, no, he just went once with the kids.

I: Um, okay. Uh, so that's good. Then I'll move more into like the language questions. So you guys, do you consider yourselves, like if somebody were to ask you what language do you speak and you don't know if they're Italian or anything, like they, if you wouldn't think that they're Italian, would you say I speak Italian or would you say I speak-

P2: I speak English. I'd say that.

I: No. I mean if, like, like someone asked, what languages do you speak in general?

P2: Oh, what do I, In general. Okay, yeah. I'd say in a bit of Italian. More like a dialect.

I: Mm-hmm. You would tell somebody a dialect?

P2: I would tell them that. The dialect. I understand more than I can speak.

I: Mm-hmm. Um, and what about you? You would say English and...

P3: English and a little bit of, I understand. Italian. Yeah.

I: Yeah. So you would, so even though you guys like personally, know that you speak mostly dialect-

P3: Yes.

I: To other people that aren't Italian. You'd say, I just speak Italian because they wouldn't know what Calabrese is? Or do you find that like *mangiacakes* would know when you say the region?

P3: Uh, no English people wouldn't know Other Italians.

P2: Yeah, but English. Yeah. No, I, they wouldn't just, I would just say, exactly, a little bit of Italian.

I: So then can you guys always understand another Calabrese person when they're speaking?

P3: Oh yeah.

P2: Yeah, yeah.

I: So if you were to hear somebody like at Longo's or something and they were speaking Calabrese on the phone, you could identify that that's Calabrese?

P3: Yeah.

P2: Most likely. Yeah.

I: What would be like something specific that would give you like a clue that they're Calabrese? Is it accent? Is it words?

P2: It's, it's the way they say the words. So maybe the accent.

I: The accent.

P2: Yeah, I guess. Yeah.

I: But like the way they say it.

P2: Yeah. Yeah.

P3: The way they say the words.

I: What's like an example you can think of? Um, like what's one very obvious example you'd be like, oh, they're Calabrese, they're not like from the north.

P2: Uh, an example-

I: You can take your time. You don't have to think right on the spot.

P2: An example, like someone in a grocery store, maybe they say, [in Calabrese] "iamo chetamo chistu" like, "we're gonna go buy this", like [in Calabrese] "iamo, chistu" or like certain words like that.

I: And how would you say that in normal Italian?

P2: In normal Italian, I'm not sure.

I: You don't know.

P2: I don't know. I, I'm not sure exactly. I don't really know the proper Italian.

P3: It's small things like, tutto giorno.

I: Yeah. Mm-hmm.

P3: Is tutto iorno [in Calabrese].

I: Oh, Okay. So you guys would say iorno.

P2: iorno, yeah.

P3: Okay. All day, it's tutto iorno.

P2: And so exactly.

I: So there's a lot of words like that? There's a lot of things where you don't say like the first sound, but it's usually it starts with a vowel. Like, um, when you say, uh, like the verb to see, 'warda (guarda without the /g/), you guys will say that, you guys won't say guarda.

P2: No, we won't say guarda. No. We would say warda.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: Yeah.

P3: Yeah. warda.

I: Warda, okay.

P3: Yeah.

I: Okay. Um, so then obviously there's very clear distinctions that separate Calabrese from Italian, but what about Calabrese from other dialects? Is it harder for you to tell the difference? Like if... say there was a Calabrese person and a Sicilian person, would you be able to tell that they're speaking Sicilian, the other person, or would you just say that's a different dialect? Like a different Italian?

P2: Yeah, I wouldn't understand.

P3: Yeah nothing because I wouldn't understand.

P2: I would maybe say that's, uh, a different Italian.

I: Mm-hmm.

P3: I would say that's way different.

I: Mm-hmm. Maybe if too, right, if you heard like a Roman speaking, you would not really understand them?

P3: I would understand it, but I wouldn't, um, know enough to respond.

I: Yeah not to engage really in a conversation.

P3: Yeah, exactly.

P2: No, unless we engage, then there's not very, so as there are, like with Calabrese, certain clues that you hear.

I: With other Italian groups, you would say there aren't the same clues for you?

P2: For me, no, for us-

P3: Personally, no.

P2: Yeah, yeah, yeah. No.

I: Okay. Well do you know, a lot of people from other areas?

P3: Um, not really, or you know, mostly Calabrese.

I: Mostly Calabrese.

P2: Yeah.

I: Mm-hmm. Even in school, you never met people that were like their parents were from somewhere else, maybe.

P2: Not necessarily, not that many. But in, um, in grade school, like I said, there was three or four of us plus my cousin across the street. Or wherever they were. Yeah. There were some other Italians that weren't, but you weren't that close with them. I wasn't close with them to know. I don't know in your school, out where you guys were.

P3: Were there a lot of Italians? No, no, no. It was like white people like the Canadians. Yeah.

I: Interesting. So then really Calabrese people that came here stuck together for the most part. Like you guys all lived in similar areas?

P2: Yeah.

P3: Yeah.

Okay. So then do you think like- Okay. Like, do you really see a lot of, outside of language, like cultural differences between Calabrese and other Italians? Like are there things that you do or like-

P2: Not really. No. No, no. All the cultures I'd say it's more or less the same. It's just more of a language.

P3: Yeah. Uh, language difference.

I: So like the things that you guys would do, like the the picnic and stuff-

P3: Yeah.

I: -other communities had similar things?

P3: Oh yeah, definitely.

I: Like who? Like which, do you know, any group of Italians that would have it?

P2: The Friulian people did.

I: Do they also have a social or did they have a social club too?

P3: Yeah, yeah, definitely.

P2: Definitely. I know there's also things like that are going on today downtown. I know like there's the Italian Society there in Woodland.

P3: There's all different, yeah, there's all different, uh, ones.

I: So it just, it depends on where it is really.

P2: Exactly.

I: So you guys were like-. Or wherever you were in Scarborough.

P2: Wherever we were. Yeah. But then you have us, we were in Scarborough and the ones that we would play, uh, that my dad would play soccer with were more in the city.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: So, but everybody would congregate. You know? At the soccer game, and then from there, go to either to the club, which was in the city, or to someone's house. Yeah. And it was basically

every weekend in the summer. Right. Because they'd play their soccer games. But even like today, they're doing the, um, down on St.Clair. The Italian.

P3: Yeah, the Italian festival. There's a lot of different, a lot more people from

P2: Yeah. Different,

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: Different, different areas. Yeah. It's not all-

I: So then you guys really only encountered people that also spoke Calabrese?

P2: More or less. Yeah.

I: But did they also speak like standard Italian, like maybe like the older people more?

P2: I would assume the older generation would. Mm-hmm. Yeah, like more so like the people that immigrated from Italy.

I: Right. So your mom, for example, would she speak, like, could she like interchange between both like standard Italian and Calabrese, or she mainly uses Calabrese?

P3: No. Calabrese. Yeah.

I: Okay. So then it's not like, um, like Uncle Benny for example, like he can switch between them.

P2: Yeah. And he'll speak Italian when he doesn't know if they're Italian. Exactly.

P3: Yeah. Yeah.

P2: Oh, definitely.

I: So then, do you think there's a better way to speak Italian? Do you think like one way is more useful than the other?

P2: No, it's not useful. It's just, it's, it's just how, whatever, how we were raised words.

I: But, you know, the gen, the general gist of everything is more or less the same.

P2: Mm-hmm. There might be some words that are just totally off that you don't know what they're even saying, but I'd say, yeah, I'd say no.

I: Same for you?

P3: Yeah. Yeah.

I: So do you think other people have that idea though, like within the broader Italian community? Um, do you think some people think poorly of certain groups because of-

P2: No, I don't think so. No. No. I don't think like it's on the people like does Calabrese compare. I mean, some people say Calabrese have a hard head. Other people say about the Abruzzi people, they, I don't know what, what they say certain things, but in general, no. Like I even met the lady down the street over here walking the dog one day with Benji and she at the end says to me, are you Italian? I said, yes. And she goes, Bravo, Daniella. Right? But I understood that cuz it's just a standard form of saying- Yeah. Whatever. Bravo, right?

I: Mm-hmm. So then, um, so then I guess then it's more so like you guys, like every group kind of like minds their business. Nobody really thinks poorly of other people because I know, Nonno know, for example, used to say growing up here, the Northerners would be mean to the Southerners when they immigrated here. Because some of the northerners were here first. Right? Whereas Southerners, if they were poor, they didn't get here at the same time right. As the other

Italians did. Right. So Nonno described it like when he was first here, he thought that a lot of people didn't think he could work. He wasn't like educated, whatever. He could only do construction. And then all these northerners would kind of, he'd say that they'd judge Southerners for not being as well off as they were.

P3: Oh, yeah, I can see that.

P2: Yeah. Not in our generation. Not in our generation. No. No.

I: So by the time you guys were all in school, it was like, yeah, they were more or less, yeah, it was more normal. Like how people, they would just, you were Italian.

P3: You were Italian. It's not necessarily, oh, he's from here, he's Calabrese, or he's whatever.

P2: No, maybe in that generation. Yeah. Yeah.

I: Okay. Yeah. So, okay, so then there's not so much of like the stereotypes from his generation, kind of just like dissipated by your generation.

P2: Yeah. Like nobody really cared. Yeah. No, I don't think so. No.

Okay. So then is there anything, is there anything you don't like about how your dialect sounds? Do you think there's something that like you hate when people say it or people say something wrong and it just irks you?

P2: No. Cause I don't really speak it enough to know or to, to have that, that type of feeling.

I: And you?

P3: No. No.

I: And when you were younger, did you find that, like, were there things that you were corrected on a lot more when you were speaking Italian? Like things like-

P2: No. No.

I: Or anybody would just be like, maybe you know, you don't find, your dad never corrected you when you were little, like when you would go to Italy and talk.

P2: They wouldn't know. No, no. You were, he, because he just basically, he grew, his mom still doesn't to this day speak English. His dad spoke a little bit of English.

I: Um, but so basically he's, so in the home you spoke Calabrese a lot more, more than she did.

P3: Yeah.

P2: We spoke English all the time.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: From when we, from when we were little.

P3: Yeah. I didn't have that.

I: Um, so then when you went back to Italy, Nonno would tell you to say something, Or even here, if I say something, they would just as a joke say, no, you don't say it like this.

You say like, can think of anything, whatever. I don't know. Back then, that was when we were younger, well, even till today, but I can't even think, um, what word I would say

P2: No. Oh, you'd have to ask him if there's something he remembers correcting me on.

I: Um, that's okay. Um, so then there is like a very clear divide in generations, like the older generation speaks it a lot more. And like growing up used it a lot more. Whereas you, like in school, were using English, and then at home you'd speak Italian and then like with like your

sisters, English maybe and Italian, like both. So was that like a, like friends that you knew that like pisano, was that a similar thing for them or were they speaking more English at home like she was.

P3: I do think they spoke more English. Yeah.

I: So you guys just like spoke a lot more Calabrese than other people you knew?

P3: Yeah.

P2: Well, well, your cousins Franca would be the same as Italian because of your dad.

P3: Okay. He's, yeah. But they, they'd speak English, not that much- They wouldn't understand as much.

P2: Yeah. Maybe, I guess. They speak better than your mom?

P3: Yeah, yeah.

P2: Than your parents. So

P3: And Gino and Rosa and those guys like that.

I: And your aunts and uncles, their kids, they all spoke English.

P3: Oh yeah. Yeah.

I: So you had a hard time too with school because you're, you know, confused with Italian.

P3: Yeah.

P2: Especially when you were younger too.

P3: Probably.

I: 'Cause you were only, you were probably like my mom. Like how she only spoke Italian really when she started, like grade one and stuff, she said, and she was held back.

P3: She was held back?

I: No, no. Like after school, not held back in grade one, but she'd say after school then. She had Vito, there too.

P2: Yeah. Vito, who lived down the street, was definitely-, was he held back in grade?

P3: He was, uh, I think he was held back a grade. Um, or he, he insisted on waiting for your mom to go to start school.

I: Oh, right. So he had somebody, and he could've started a year earlier. Mm-hmm.

P2: But he insisted that no, he didn't wanna go to school until Lisa went to school. So he'd have somebody. Right? So, but by the time, exactly, I don't recall if Lisa was really, maybe she's exaggerating. Maybe. I don't know. I'm not sure though. It could be. I just don't remember.

I: You didn't know that, that she stayed after school?

P2: No, she like, I think she was like in SK or grade one.

I: She said grade one to me.

P2: Maybe she might have. Say it could be because she was the first kid.

I: Yeah. So she said her English wasn't at the level of everybody else.

P2: Everybody, yeah.

I: They probably didn't speak English.

P2: Yeah. Yeah. Cause-

P3: No, no. I must have been learning it at the same time as my mom was.

P2: Yeah, true.

P3: At that time. Yeah. We were learning together. Yeah. Cuz I had no one.

I: Back then, were your parents' generation speaking English in Italy?

P3: No, back then especially, no one spoke. No. Nowadays people in Italy, they speak it. Yeah, they speak English.

I: Yeah. Like in Calabria, like now, are there a lot of people that speak English? Like when Nonno goes back to like San Vito?

P2: Mm-hmm.

I: Are there people that speak English there even, or do they still really speak Italian?

P2: I'd say maybe our generation. Yeah. In the sense that they've gone to school, like they've, whatever. Those people might a little bit, not much. But his generation, no, no, no. I think they would all speak Italian,

I: So then no English.

P2: Yes, but my generation.

I: For my generation, do you know anybody who really speaks it? Not even just Italian, like Calabrese, very specifically, in my generation. Is there anyone you know that speaks it to the same level that you guys do?

P3: Here?

P2: Here?

I: Yeah. Here.

P2: Um, no.

P3: No. Um, well, your age, not really.

I: No. How about like in between my age, like maybe more like Melissa and Michael's age.

P2: Yeah, them maybe. Mm-hmm. Yeah. That a little bit older. Might be but not, not your age. That I can think of. No.

I: But even so like somebody like in their forties for example, they wouldn't speak it to the same ability that you guys?

P2: No. Like here, they've been here. Yeah. No, no.

I: So that was something that was more lost when immigrating here, like teaching, like passing the language on through generations.

P2: Yeah, I'd say like our generation maybe. Yes, they would still have that type of, uh, language thing, but then the generation after, like you and Alessia, whatever, Gianluca you know,

I: So that's lost, obviously, I know, but like what are reasons you didn't teach it. Because that, cause both of you speak Italian, it's not like, it was like a situation like my mom. Yeah. Like you both speak the same language. So what made you not want to, even if it was just like implicit, it wasn't like a conversation.

P3: Oh.

P2: I guess just 'cause we spoke English, we just didn't-

P3: Yeah.

P2: -think to, I mean, and even the thought of teaching our kids. Which I should have maybe back if I think about it now, but it would be more of a dialect that I would, I'd be able to teach them. I wouldn't be able to speak or teach them proper Italian.

I: So, but why is that a problem? You use that. Why is it a problem that they couldn't, that they couldn't just learn Calabrese?

P2: Yeah. No, I don't see it necessarily a problem. Cause that's the thing, I think that would've helped them a little bit, you know, would've helped them.

I: Sure. That's what I've heard a lot: is that it's 'cause even when I did my interviews in my undergrad one thing that was very common was a lot of people saying, oh, if I was going to teach it to them, I would've wanted to teach them Italian anyways. Proper Italian. I wouldn't have want-, but like, what I don't understand is why, why would you care more that they learn one dialect over another versus the not learning the language altogether. Or, uh -

P2: Yeah, I regret, I guess it would've been good for them to, because even with myself, at least I understand a little bit.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: And I can speak a little bit. If I had to converse with someone, we probably could in standard Italian, in, in a standard Italian. Um, but I guess we figured, you know what? They're really not, uh, we don't really hang out with a lot of people from our hometown. We don't, we haven't gone back to our hometown and whatever, to have to think that, you know what, they'll need to speak it. Whereas they're here and they speak English, they don't really need to learn the Italian, the dialect, the dialect. Looking back, it would've been good to to, to teach them to have some form of understanding of Italian.

I: So it's kind of like, it didn't really matter whether it was the dialect or standard, you just think in some capacity they should have.

P2: They should have, yeah. Learned it. Yeah, definitely. Yeah.

I: You think the same, uh, it would've helped them-

P3: Yeah, but then where would they use it?

I: So that's the other question.

P3: Yeah, that's what I'm saying cuz it's not as if we were, we're the type that we go back to Italy or that we deal with a lot of Italian people that, especially now with their friends too.

P2: Like none of them, she has a couple Italian friends, but it's not as if they speak Italian, they speak, or their parents even- There's parents don't even speak Italian. Yeah.

I: None of Alessia's friend's parents? Do any of them?

P2: No. Emma's, Emma's parents, I mean, I'm sure they talk to some extent because the, uh, Emma's grandfather, um, but. I can't see them speaking Italian to each other or to the kids. Cuz I'm sure the grandfather too, I get that he probably speaks English too. So. Yeah. And that's the thing is once, once our, um, our parents learn the English and really, why did we need to speak the Italian?

I: Yeah. So it's more like, it's more like with like passing the language on, it was more so like, that you regret that they didn't learn a second language, not necessarily what the language was.

P2: Right. Yeah. But Italian would've been best. Exactly.

I: Well it would've been the only one you could have 'cause you don't know any other language.

P2: Exactly, exactly.

I: Yeah. Because in French we just, in school, we just took the French as we had to, or was it something that we were interested in learning or anything.

P2: So, um, yeah, it would've been nice to them to have a, a second language.

I: And do you regret them not learning it either?

P3: Yeah. Especially to talk to my mom. They really don't. They, because yeah, that's the different thing is they can't have conversation. Yeah. Like Nonno knows more English than my mom does, for example, also. Yeah. Cause even the kids, they speak to Nonno in English. Right.

P2: Whereas with, with, uh, Vince's mom, they don't really have a conversation, you know, that type of thing. They, they know how to say or they understand, but they can't really sit down and have-. If we weren't around to explain what they're, what, uh, she's saying, they would have no idea what she's saying and that so.

P3: Yeah. I wish they would've, they would've learned, but-

I: So do you then mediate a lot of conversations between your mom and like Gianluca and Alessia, like you will translate it for them?

P3: Yeah.

I: Is that difficult or how do you find it?

P3: No. No.

I: Okay. That's good. So then my last thing is sort of about identity. And how people identify as Italians. So do you think that there are a lot of differences between Italians here and Italians? Like back in like Calabria, like and what are those differences?

P2: What do you mean?

I: Like culturally, the way they live their life, how family is, like anything.

P3: Oh, that's living. Definitely an easier life.

P2: Yeah.

I: In what, in what ways? Like what are some things that are easier there?

P2: They're not killing, killing themselves. Working.

P3: Working. Yeah.

I: Yeah.

P3: Yeah. It's a different lifestyle there. It's a different pace.

P2: Yeah. Yeah. And, and you don't need all the expenses that you need here. Your kids going away to school. Your, your kids want this, your kids want that. Whereas in Italy, a lot of, you know, and especially in those little small towns, like, San Vito, it's not like that, no. They're really not having to work-

P3: No.

P2: -really difficult jobs.

P3: Exactly.

P2: And stuff. Yeah. You aren't at any difficult jobs. Right? So that's why a lot of the, uh, our generation or even your generation, when they're in, they obviously go away to Milano or whatever.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: And, and they, they go away there. Those, that generation, maybe the ones that work in the, in the big cities and stuff like that.

P3: Oh yeah. They have to work too.

P2: Right.

P3: All my cousins, they all go to the city. They go to the city.

I: So where would that be? Like in Calabria? Are they going to like Reggio?

P3: No, they go, they go north, north through Milano.

I: So they go far. Yeah. Wow.

P3: So it's really like all that is even remotely comparable to a city here is like a big northern city like Rome or Milan or something like that. But there is no, there's no *city* in Calabria.

I: Yeah. That's interesting. So then do you find that a lot of, well, I guess you guys don't live there, so I can't really ask that. Um, I guess then, like, do you think there's differences in terms of community with you guys and like, say Italians that don't have such a big group, like obviously as you guys said earlier, there's a big group of Calabrese here. Do you find that, maybe this was when you were younger, if other Italians had different values or culture or things like, did they? Or was it more like- were other Italians more in Canadian culture than you guys were like, you guys didn't assimilate as much.

P2: No, I'd say, or all about the same time. I'd say all about, all about the same. You know, there with- with Italians a big thing was family. And whether you were Calabrese or whether, whatever you are, it was across the board. Yeah. Yeah. It was across the board. You were always with your family and, and that's, you know, family more than friends type of thing. Right. That's how it was back then. It was, you know, yes, we had friends in school, but when, like I said, when we used to be kids and whatever on the weekends, we'd get together more with, with the other Calabrese. But because family meant a lot, whereas we see with, with, um, the differences that, uh, not to say that they don't, there are some, but a lot of Canadians or whatever, yes. Family to some extent, but not as close as I think the Italians are with, with family

I: Uncle Vince?

P3: Yeah, it was mostly about family. So there was the culture. The family, the food, cooking. So there was more cooking-

I: There were more obvious differences between you guys as Italians compared to Canadians than say other Italian Canadians?

P2: Yeah, exactly. There was, there was more external differences than internal differences.

P3: Exactly. Exactly.

I: Okay.

P2: Yeah. Internal was, you know, the family, um, cooking, the food, the, you know, Just doing all stuff that we would do. I, I would find that all cultures, all Italians, whether they're Calabrese or whatever in comparison to other cultures. Okay. I think they would do the same. Right?

P3: Like an English family?

P2: Yeah. Yeah. Their way.

I: Mm-hmm.

P2: Yeah. Just like, like there's different ways of making, like when we make the Easter cookies, Calabrese make it one way. Sicilians will make it a different way. And even with language. Yeah. You know, we still make it, you're still making that Easter bread.

P3: Exactly.

P2: And even with language, within English, same thing. They call something different in one family versus another family versus another.

P3: Yep. Yep. There's just dialects.

P2: Exactly. Exactly.

I: Um, so then I just. As the very, very last thing I am gonna ask if you've heard certain, I dunno, what word is best to use, um like elements of the Calabrese language, and if these are things that you have heard of. So the first one, these are the things that I'm gonna be studying. Uh, like in the next part of my research. So the first thing is the deletion of like, a vowel at the end of a word. So like, uh, it's something that is common to a lot of Italian communities, but when a word ends in a vowel, not saying the last vowel. Have you heard of that before? Have you heard Italians do that?

P3: No.

P2: No. Like it's an American Italian thing for sure. How they will, yeah, probably. Yeah. When they say mozzarella, they will say Mozzarell-

I: Mozzarell. Or they say, they say prosciutt.

P2: Yeah. Things like that.

I: Yeah.

P2: No, I think that that's probably just an American thing.

P3: It's just an American, yeah. I wouldn't see it over here.

I: Mm-hmm. Okay. Um, we already talked about, um, With, uh, you said guarda is 'warda' and grande is 'randa'. Those words are dialect?

P2: Yeah, that would be dialect. Yeah. So all those, so another dialect may even say something completely different. They may change a letter at the end of the word or something.

P3: Yeah. It's just different everywhere.

I: But are there other examples.

P2: Okay.

I: Are there other words like that or is that just with g? Because I've heard it with Granda becoming rande.

P2: Yeah say we say grande or randa, but randa. Yeah. Yeah. So, but all the examples I've heard start with G. So what I'm trying to figure out in this is if there's- if this is just with a letter G or if it's like with other letters too. Cause every example was-

P3: Like uovo, egg, is a proper way. We say luovo like with an L

I: But isn't that just. Egg on its own and l'uovo, that is 'the egg'?

P3: No. Luovo is egg on its own just as uovo is egg on its own. It's egg on its own, but a standard Italian would say l'uovo, they would say the egg.

I: So there would be apostrophe?

P3: No, no. And standard Italians. Standard Italian maybe you would say the egg with an apostrophe. Yeah. And that's just lovo. And we would say that's just the regular one.

I: So that's more- that's adding in- That's adding in a letter, yeah?

P3: Yeah.

I: So are there any examples of taking out the first letter that don't start with G, that you know of maybe

P2: Um, I'm looking if nouns, that starts with letter B.

I: Um, how about, uh, the word for white bianco?

P3: Bianco? That's 'yanco'.

I: 'Yanco'? Like that?

P2: Yeah.

I: So You guys drop that letter. So that's similar to guarda. Taking out the-, taking out a letter, but it's not G.

I: Yeah. Okay.

P2: Uh, exactly. Bianca. And we say 'yanca', Yeah.

I: So there, there are, so there are more examples than just the G. Okay. So that's what I need to confirm. Yeah, yeah, yeah. And the last thing I need to confirm is, I already talked about this with you guys, but I need to know if it's like, like what environment it's specific to. Um, when words in standard Italian that start with an F, you guys change it to an H. So, um, what, what was one of the ones that- Oh yeah, famiglia isn't famiglia.

P2: We say 'hamigia'. Also 'himmina' instead of, instead of 'femmina'.

I: You also changed the vowel there too.

P2: Yeah. Yeah.

I: Because in standard, 'femmina' is with the vowel like fe-. So you changed the first vowel too?

P2: Yeah. Yeah.

I: Um, is that just F and h or have you noticed that with something else too?

P2: I, I would notice, like I said, if I knew there was a word in Italian. What starts with an F? How do you say it? I would be able to put, try and give that to you, but, uh, the top of my head, no-

I: I'm trying to think. 'Cause also what I've heard it mostly with is nouns. So like things, but like an action verb that starts with the letter F. Let me see if I can just give you an example. I, I feel

like I've never heard you guys switch a verb that starts with the letter F, like to H. So like, um, why aren't these telling me in English. // Um, how about 'forte'.

P3: Strong. Okay. And we say Horta.

I: Forta. So that's an adjective. So it happens with adjectives too. Um, like I, I guess you wouldn't say fa you would conjugate it.

P2: Um, 'farina', flour, we say harina. So yeah, that's a noun.

I: That's right.

P2: Farina is dialect. Yeah, it's harina. Um, um, what else? With an f?

I: Yeah. So, yeah. Oh, well you say the G too instead of B. Yeah. Making it silent. Yeah. Okay. Interesting. Um, I'm sorry, I'm just trying to find verbs.

P3: : I remember my aunt used to have me, I used to say motante.

P2: Motante.

I: What does that mean?

P3: Underwear. It's underwear. Motante is underwear.

P2: Yeah. Motante. But I'm not sure what the proper Italian is. We, but we call it, we say mutante too. Yeah.

I: Sorry, so what's the word in proper Italian for underwear?

P2: I don't know. I, I think it's motante.

I: Interesting. Okay.

P2: Not Mutante.

I: Okay. So with verbs, it doesn't seem to be consistent with verbs. It's a completely different word. Entirely. Okay. Yeah, yeah. But with nouns, you keep it pretty much the same. Same with adjectives, but the F to H is just more consistent?

P2: Mm-hmm.

I: And a lot of adjectives will start with F that you guys change and maybe change a vowel here and there.

P2: Exactly.

I: But then these verbs are completely different words altogether.

P2: Altogether. Yeah.

I: Okay. So, okay. So that's good to know. I need to note that. // Okay. Well, any final thoughts?

P3: No.

I: Anything?

P2: No.

I: Okay.

Transcript 3

P4: Sam

P5: Josh

I: Interviewer, Liam

P4: Okay. My name is Sam. I come from a single parent household, um, and my mom is Italian. Her family is originally from Calabria, and my dad was Irish and Scottish. Um, I think my relationship with like identity in that sense is closer to the Calabrese side because. We were with my mom's family a lot and so I was around a lot of like caliber's traditions and language. What about you?

P5: So my name's Josh. Um, my mom is from a central part of Italy. I'm known as Abruzzo and my dad is from Calabria as well. And honestly growing up I don't remember identifying with one of them or really even knowing the difference. I knew that they were like different in the way they spoke and a little bit in their, like mannerisms, but I thought that was just like differences between any two families. Not necessarily like a, a region or like part, like part of Italy that you're from. Kind of, sort of difference. Um, I just thought it was difference, difference between our families. Um, so yeah, I wouldn't say growing up I necessarily identified with one of them, but, um, I think now I associate more with the Abruzzo side just because I'm closer with that part side of my family.

I: Okay. Um, do you speak or understand Calabrese dialect?

P5: Um, I would say that I understand maybe like half of the Calabrese dialect when it comes to just like standard Italian or the, the type of Italian my Abruzzo family side speaks, I would say I understand maybe more like 70, 80% of what they say. Mm-hmm. But, um, yeah, I find Calabrese more hard to understand.

P4: Okay. Yeah. Um, I do not speak the Calabrese dialect, but I think I understand it maybe a little more. Um, just 'cause that's what I hear, like my Nonno speaking and my mom speaks that way to my Nonno. Um, So there's like words and sentences I can understand, but like I definitely couldn't have like a full conversation.

P5: Yeah, me too.

I: Um, do you speak or understand standard Italian?

P5: Yeah, I think that's more, my Abruzzo side is standard Italian, not so much Calabrese. Um, my mom's side, which is from Abruzzo. With my Nonno and Nonna, I would speak to them in English and they would understand me in English, and then they would reply in Italian and I would understand their Italian. So that's, mm-hmm. I think that's why I understand that more because we had that little communication system. Right. Um, but with my dad's side from Calabria, my Nonno didn't really speak or understand English very well. And I didn't understand their Italian super well.

I: Mm-hmm.

P5: So there was a much larger language barrier we would usually have when my parents translate.

P4: Right. Um, I think I can understand standard Italian, maybe not as much as I understand Calabrese. I find standard Italian a little bit easier to understand 'cause the words seem more literal.

I: Yeah.

P4: Than the dialect.

P5: I always viewed it as Standard Italian sounds more proper.

I: Yeah.

P5: Just because the annunciations are more like, you can tell, what they're saying. I just, it sounds like when you're, when someone, you hear someone on the news speaking English. Yeah. It sounds like they're speaking like clearly and enunciating every syllable properly.

P4: Yeah. And like that's as Calabrese sometimes. It kind of like mushes together words. Yeah. Mushy words, like very choppy words.

P5: Yeah. And like they even change some sounds of words.

I: I guess you kind of just answered my next question, but what are some differences you can identify between standard Italian and other dialects?

P4: So I guess what we were saying before, like cALABRESE is kind of all, sometimes it just sounds like they're mumbling. Yeah. Whereas like with standard Italian, it's very clear what they're saying. Like when your mom tells me to do something. Yeah. I can understand her more literally than I can understand my Nonno. Yeah. Who I only understand because like I've heard those sentences Yeah. Before.

P5: Yeah. I, I, well we also has like different words. Yeah. Entirely. Or maybe it's just our family differences. Yeah. But like your family will say like, A hand towel and Italian, and I won't understand the word. Yeah. If my family uses a different word. Right. And I feel like there's a lot of like individual nouns. Yeah. That are just completely different words.

P5: Yeah. I agree.

I: Um, have you heard anyone speak a dialect other than yours and what did you think of it?

P5: Um, I haven't like seen someone live. I've seen like videos of different dialects and, um, I think like some of them don't even sound Italian. They don't even sound-, they sound like a different language. Right. Um, and I don't understand a single word of what they're saying. Um, I almost see it as like slang English where it's like, like the other dialects. Yeah. Like if you taught No, like, like yeah, like other Italian dialects is like slang English. If you were to bring like, oh, okay, an ESL person and. I speak slang to them. Slang English, I feel like they wouldn't understand a single word. That's how I feel about people who speak other dialects is like you're speaking something that is not like proper Italian.

P4: I don't think I've ever heard a dialect other than Calabrese. I think only Calabrese and standard really. Um, minus like, I guess a video. Where it does sound, it sounds more rushed. Yeah. Some of the other dialects that they're just like working really hard to get a sentence out sort of thing. Yeah, true.

I: Um, do some Italians sound more educated or upper class than others? Why or why not? Yeah.

P5: I would definitely say that if you speak standard Italian, that is like the most, that is like the top of the hierarchy of um, dialects. Because it's like, I don't know. I just see it as the most proper, just like, like, like if you hear like the England, the Eng, the Queen of England. Yeah. Speak English. It sounds more proper than, yeah. Yeah. Like any other accent. Right. No, that's true. So that's how I see the standard Italian. And I just keep going back to like thinking like

someone, like a news anchor. Yeah. And Italian news anchor speaks proper Italian. Like that just sounds like more professional, like you're more educated that. I don't know. You just make all the, like these different assumptions about the person, right? 'cause of the type of time, the speak.

P4: Um, I really think, I don't have an opinion on that. I guess because like the dialect, like the Calabrese dialect does sound like, it sounds fairly close. Like it can sound fairly close to standard minus like, I guess like you can compare it to like Toronto Mans. Yeah. Like. I guess that's kind of like cre. Yeah. So I guess standard does sound a little more like proper, like you said. Yeah. I don't know about like more educated, if that's the question. I don't know. Well-

P5: I mean like if you hear like a Toronto Man's talk, you'd think like, okay. Yeah, I guess so you make assumptions about them-

P4: But just based on how they speak. Yeah. No, that's fair. That's a fair point. Right. So I think like, I guess then standard Italian kind of like gets that. Yeah.

I: Um, did your parents teach you any Italian? Did you attend any type of language learning program?

P5: Um, I went to Italian school on Saturday or Sundays as a kid. I don't remember how long. A few years I did it. Um, I learned some and my parents would go through different spells of trying to speak only to us in Italian, but that would like die off pretty quickly. Um, I wish I learned more, but, uh, no, I wouldn't say that I. I learned like a, a significant amount. How about you?

P4: Um, I also went to that same Oh, wow. Italian school, believe it or not. My goodness. That's Miss Gulo, uh,. Oh, yes. That was my teacher. Um, that's where I was like more so exposed to like really learning the language because like I don't have that same experience at home that you did. My dad was English. Mm-hmm. So my mom couldn't really speak to us in Italian. We'd only just hear it right from like her conversations and everything. Um, but I particularly enjoyed Italian school. I do too. 'cause I feel like a lot of it, like I still sing the songs. Yeah. I still like, I loved it.

I: Mm-hmm.

P4: I think it's great. It was a great learning experience. I wish I just kind of continued it so that like, yeah. I could speak more fluently.

P5: Yeah. For me, I feel like it was a bit of a waste because I didn't go follow through. It's like going to five guitar lessons. No, exactly. Yeah. You know what I mean? You're not really gonna benefit at all from there. Going to five guitar lessons. Yeah. You have to like practice it and go on for, for like a long period of time to actually like get anything out of it. Yeah.

P4: So I feel like I didn't really get anything out of it that was the same as me. I think my sister went for a little bit longer. She's three years older than me. Mm-hmm. So I think she got more out of it. Yeah. Um, I just got some songs and some like typical words and sentences. But anyway-

I: What does it mean to you to be Italian? Does speaking the language impact one's identity as Italian?

P5: Um, I definitely take pride in being Italian, um, especially like an Italian Canadian. Um, can you repeat the second part of the question?

I: Oh, second part. Um, does speaking a language impact one's identity as an Italian?

P5: Yeah, I think, I think it definitely does. Um, I had some friends who were also Italian Canadians and they could speak Italian, and I always saw that as like, they're like more Italian than me. Like, they're like, they're like truly Italian. Um, And even people who speak other languages like we meet, like at school, the people who speak like multiple languages. Yeah. Or you know, they're super cultural. Yeah. They're super cultural or like they're, they're much deeper in their culture. Right. You know what I mean? Or they have stronger ties to their homeland than other people who don't speak the language. So I think speaking definitely plays a factor in how strong your identity is with that, with that country, with that ethnicity.

P4: I disagree. I don't think that like speaking the language, let me answer the first part of the question.

P5: Go ahead.

P4: Um, to me being Italian, 'cause I grew up that way, is like family values your traditions, like the food you eat. Yeah. It's the places you go. Like all of those things. And so like for that reason, even though I don't speak the language like I still feel like my Italian identity is strong. Yeah. 'cause like I'll, like, I've always upheld those family traditions, like we're super family oriented. I plan to also uphold those traditions. I love Italian food. Um, no. Yeah, you're right. I definitely agree. But, um, yeah, I don't see that like. Speaking it like makes you more Italian and like, to be honest, like I don't ever really, like, if people ask me like, what's your background? I say Italian. I don't really say like Irish and Scottish. Right. Because, and people only know it because of my last name. Right.

I: Um, if you could learn Italian now, would you, why or why not?

P5: I mean, yeah, I think I would love to speak it.

I: Mm-hmm.

P5: I don't think I would want to go through like the hassle of having to learn it, but if I could just like instantly acquire Italian, yeah, I would definitely take that. Just a little shortcut.

P4: Yeah. I would love to learn Italian now, one, because I would like to have like conversations with my family who like do speak broken English. Like I feel like we could have more intellectual – you know?

I: Mm-hmm.

P4: You'd have more intellectual conversations and like I could relate to them more. Even my mom, like, I also like it so that like when we're in public, like if I need to say something, I can say. That was the best part of it to mom.

P5: My mom would do that to me too.

P4: Yeah. Um, also like, I think it would be a good thing for like my kids to know too, because I know that learning another language, um, opens up more pathways in your brain. Yeah, there's definitely like a neurological factor. You benefit intellectually for sure. From, and I could, I could benefit from that. So yeah.

I: Okay. Many elders in the Calabrese community in Toronto believe it would be- would have been futile for their grandchildren to learn the dialect, rather, they believe the only other

language which would be useful to learn as a standard Italian. What do you think about this? Do you think it could have been pointless to learn?

P4: Calabrese? I can take this one first. I already have an answer. If you don't mind.

P5: Um, take it away, sister.

P4: I think, I don't think it's futile to learn the dialect. I don't think it's unnecessary or anything because like if your family speaks dialect, like you're gonna speak to them like that. Yeah. However, I think. If you had to make a choice between the two speaking standard Italian, because it can sort of flow into all the different dialects may be more useful. Because then like you could meet someone from like, I don't know, a small town. That speaks like a random dialect, but you can still communicate with 'em. Right?

P5: Like you, almost like you can assume everyone can understand standard Italian.

P4: Yeah, exactly. Sort of thing. So not everyone can understand.

P5: The dialect, the dialects. Right, exactly. Or even speak the dialects.

P4: Yeah, that's what I think. So yeah, I agree. I agree with that. So like, I don't think it would be pointless to learn-

P5: But I think it's for what the purpose is. Like if, if it's just for like our small family here, then I think it's more necessary to speak the dialect because that's what you're gonna be using.

P4: No, I know. That's fair. I just, that's, I don't think it would be pointless. Yeah, no, I agree. You know, I think like standard Italian would be, yeah. More useful.

P5: If I were to teach my kids, I would want them to learn standard Italian because I feel like that would be the most beneficial to them. Right. On a broader scale.

P4: Right. Not just however. Yeah. If our family, if we spoke the Calabrese dialect and we were teaching it to a kid, like, I don't think it would be useless in that sense. Do you know what I mean?

P5: Yeah, for sure. Yeah. I agree.