

CHINESE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN WINNIPEG

by

Hong Xiao

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is concerned with the maintenance of Chinese as an ethnic community language in Winnipeg, Canada. Both a language use survey, carried out with 122 individuals, and participant-observation in the Chinese community in Winnipeg were used as means of data collection. It was found that Chinese, in its various dialectal forms, is still widely used among the Chinese in Winnipeg, especially in the family domain, with the grandparent generation, and where the Chinese culture is prevalent.

Overt behaviour toward Chinese, reflected in language maintenance efforts and language consciousness, and the bilingual and bidialectal phenomena of code-switching in this community were also studied. The findings show that overt behaviour toward Chinese influences the maintenance of the ethnic culture and ethnic group continuity, but the differences in the community network structures and ethnocultural boundaries had an even greater effect on the maintenance of Chinese within different groups in the community at different times. Moreover, the bilingual and bidialectal phenomena of code-switching were shown to reflect the network-specific norms of language use within the community.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the stability or change in language use and related psychological, social, and cultural processes in situations where languages are in contact (Fishman, 1966b, p. 424). When there is language maintenance, a community has collectively decided to continue the use of a language or languages that it has traditionally used, whereas where there is language shift, a community has collectively decided to give up its traditional language or languages in favour of a new one (Fasold, 1984, p. 213).

It is generally acknowledged that, in North America, an immigrant population loses its ethnic mother tongue in three generations (e.g., Driedger and Hengstenberg, 1986; Fishman, 1966b; O'Bryan et al., 1976). Some researchers have referred to such a phenomenon as the "levelling effect of

the third generation" (de Vries and Vallee, 1980).

Exceptions are always found. Some groups, for example the large number of third generation Germans in the United States still reported as German speakers in the 1940s (Kloss, 1966, p. 213) and the large number of American-born Norwegians in the 1940s who still claimed Norwegian as their childhood language (Haugen, 1969, p. 30), are able to maintain their own ethnic languages for centuries even though they have been part of an environment in which the dominant language has been other than their own. Others, such as the Chicano youths in the United States, deliberately returned to their traditional language just in order to find identification with their own cultural group and to be identified with the Chicano movement (Ramirez, 1974). It has also been noted that even though the original native language is lost or being lost, ethnic groups may still rely on linguistic symbols and establish new discourse patterns based on long established discourse conventions (Gumperz, 1982a, p. 6). These new discourse patterns persist and may be taken over by the minorities in their use of the majority language. Thus, one observes the "juxtaposition of two sets of forms which symbolize not only group membership but adherence to a set of values" (p. 6).

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the extent to which Chinese is currently maintained and to account for the persistence of Chinese in the Chinese

community in Winnipeg¹. A multicultural city on the Canadian prairies, Winnipeg has attracted a sizable Chinese population, estimated to number well over 10,000. These Chinese came to Winnipeg in three major waves. The first wave of Chinese immigration started toward the end of the last century but was brought to a standstill in the 1920s by the federal government's Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923. The early Chinese community in Winnipeg was quite homogeneous, consisting mostly of labourers from the same rural district of Siyi in the province of Guangdong in south China and speaking some closely related Siyi dialects². The second wave of Chinese immigration started in the 1960s, when the Canadian government began to adopt a more liberal immigration policy, no longer with regional or ethnic biases. These Chinese were of linguistic, regional, and educational backgrounds very different from those who had come before them. The independent Chinese immigrants³ who came in the 1960s and thereafter were for the most part highly educated and sophisticated professionals from urban areas such as Hong Kong and Singapore. Most of them spoke Cantonese. The third wave of Chinese immigration began in 1979 and continued through the following decade. This group was made up of refugees of Chinese origin from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, who spoke a variety of southern Chinese dialects, such as Cantonese, Chaozhou Min, and Hakka, as well as Mandarin. As a result of these three separate waves

of Chinese immigration, the Chinese community in Winnipeg today is no longer as homogenous as it used to be, either socially, culturally or linguistically.

As with many other immigrant groups in Canada, the Chinese in Winnipeg are experiencing language loss. While Chinese is still widely used among the immigrants and is the mother tongue of second generation Canadians born to Chinese immigrant parents, the peer-group language for the Canadian born and even for young immigrants is English. The shift to English is taking place within the immigrant families as well, as Chinese, although still the most important language to be used with parent and grandparent generations, is being replaced by English as the language used among siblings of the younger generation. Nevertheless, Chinese is still very much alive and viable in the Chinese community in Winnipeg today. It is the language that one hears most often in Chinatown stores and restaurants, the language most often used for daily communication among the immigrant adults and the elderly, and the language of most group activities.

New Chinese immigrants provide the source for Chinese speakers in the Chinese community in Winnipeg. However, the facts that Chinese is still being maintained in the Canadian-born generation and that it is especially well maintained among many Canadian-born Chinese of the early immigrant families suggest that the causes of Chinese language maintenance in Winnipeg are more than just the new

Chinese immigration alone. In this dissertation, I will first examine the extent to which Chinese has been maintained in a selected group of 122 ethnic Chinese in Winnipeg and then search for the social determinants to the maintenance and the shift of Chinese in the ethnic Chinese community in Winnipeg.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

Sociological studies of language maintenance and shift were first carried out by Fishman et al. (1966a). Fishman suggests three major topics for the study of language maintenance and language shift: habitual language use at more than one point in time and space under conditions of language contact; the psychological, social, and cultural processes related to change or stability in habitual language use; and the attitudinal and affective behaviour toward language in the contact situation, such as overt language maintenance or shift efforts (Fishman, 1966b, p. 424). Sociologically oriented studies on these topics are characterized by research techniques of modern social sciences, such as self-reports, surveys, and statistical analyses, carried out with large populations.

Central to the sociological approach of Fishman's study on language maintenance and language shift is the concept of domains of language behaviour. According to Fishman (1966b), domains refer to "institutional contexts", or "socio-ecological co-occurrences" of situational factors, such as the setting, the topic, and the participant (p. 429). Appropriate domain designation may differ from one situation to another depending on the particular cases being studied as well as the specific purposes of researchers. Some frequently used domains in studies of language use include family, school, work place, religion, government administration, etc. Depending on the problem of study, some domains are more relevant than others. Thus, if a study involves only children, the government administration and the work place domains will be less useful than the family or the school domains. Quantitative measures of language choice across individuals and domains of language behaviour will determine the degree of language maintenance or language shift in a designated population.

Domain analysis is related to the study of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959). The original definition of diglossia by Ferguson refers to societies where "two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play" (p. 325). The most important feature of diglossia is the functional or the domain separation of coexisting linguistic varieties.

Examples of the classical definition of diglossia include Arabic, Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole vs. standard French diglossia. In all these cases, a superimposed High variety, which is either a classical, a literary, or a standard language, exists side by side with a Low local vernacular, each serving separate but complementary functions and having different levels of prestige.

Since it was first advanced, the definition of diglossia has been extended by sociolinguists to include situations in which the coexisting linguistic varieties are not necessarily vernaculars and classical languages but may include "separate dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind" (Fishman, 1972b, p. 92). A further extension to the definition of diglossia has been made by Fishman (1972b) for the study of societal bilingualism. According to Fishman, bilingual societies can be categorized into those with diglossia and those without it (pp. 91-106). While bilingualism with diglossia characterizes stable bilingualism, bilingualism without diglossia is an indication of social change and dislocation of values and norms. In bilingual societies where diglossia prevails, language varieties are compartmentalized each for a separate and yet complementary set of domains and functions of use, but where there is bilingualism without diglossia, the linguistic repertoire is decompartmentalized and domains of

language behaviour are confused.

To explain stable and unstable bilingualism with the concept of domain and the feature of diglossia is, however, not without problems. This is so because, on the one hand, societies which are stable will not necessarily remain so (Gal, 1979), and on the other hand, even communities undergoing social change may remain bilingual and continue to use both languages for generations (Gumperz, 1982a, pp. 38-58).

An important concern of sociologically oriented studies on language maintenance and language shift is to locate the macrosociological processes that are causal to language maintenance or shift. A number of such processes have been identified, which include migration, industrialization, urbanization, nationalism, and religious revitalization, among others (Fishman, 1966b, p. 446). However, while these extralinguistic processes are shown to have resulted in language maintenance or shift in many instances, none of them can be used as a reliable predictor as to whether a specific language will be maintained or a language shift will occur. Similar macrosociological processes may have different outcomes with respect to language maintenance or shift. For example, often the same process, such as urbanization, may result in shift from the traditional language in some cases; in other cases, language revival; and in still others, language maintenance (p. 446).

Moreover, it is noticed that while modernization undoubtedly has brought about significant changes in the indices of regional languages and social dialects (Gumperz, 1982a, p. 38), many minority languages and local vernaculars are shown to have continued to survive in spite of the pressure to conform and assimilate under modernization (Ryan, 1979).

While the generalization of macrosociological processes as causes of language maintenance or shift does not prove to be satisfactory, the sociology of language has sought to explain language maintenance and shift in terms of boundary maintenance. In his recent work *Reversing language shift* (1991), Fishman points out that "boundary maintenance and control, both *between ethnocultures* as well as between domains *within ethnocultures*" (p. 356) are essential for intergenerational mother tongue continuity. According to Fishman, boundaries, whether political or ethnocultural, separate populations into insiders and outsiders (p. 356). Where such boundaries are in place, even small minorities can attain intergenerational mother tongue continuity, but where such boundaries are lacking, even large ethnocultural groups cannot do so. Both intercultural boundaries, i.e., the boundaries between ethnocultures, and intracultural boundaries, i.e., the boundaries within ethnocultures, are necessary for the intergenerational mother tongue continuity. However, while the maintenance of intracultural boundaries cannot be achieved without the maintenance of

intercultural boundaries, it is the intracultural boundaries per se that are essential for intergenerational mother tongue continuity, because they regulate the extent to which the outside language is utilized for inside purposes (p. 358).

Moreover, ethnographically oriented researchers have also begun to emphasize and focus instead on the very process by which language maintenance or shift occurs (Gal, 1979), and to study "communication processes as such" but not to "treat communication as merely reflecting other presumably more basic forces" (Gumperz, 1982a, p. 40). According to Gumperz, language maintenance and language shift should be seen as a result of stability or change "in the structure of interpersonal relations rather than mere macro-alterations in the extralinguistic environment" (Gumperz, 1982b, p. 57).

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING

The ethnographic study of speaking starts with a speech community (Hymes, 1972). In his study *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966), Labov defines New York City as a single speech community, because all New York speakers are united by their common evaluations of certain sociolinguistic variables, such as the post-

vocalic [r], as prestigious among a number of other linguistic elements. A common evaluation of linguistic variables thus defines the speech community of Labov's New York study. Most community studies, however, are based on a very different notion of community. According to Hymes, a community would conform to "a local unit, characterized for its members by common locality and primary interaction" (Hymes, 1974, p. 51). Labov's study (1972b) of linguistic variation on the island of Martha's Vineyard and the study of verbal interaction of bilingual speakers by Blom and Gumperz (1972) in the Norwegian town of Hemnesberget are both based on such communities.

Both "a common locality" and "primary interaction" define a community in Hymes terms, since traditionally interactional norms have often been linked with defined territories. However, not both criteria are necessarily for a definition of a community in modern times. A study of a variety of types of communities in Britain in the 1960s by Frankenberg (cf. Milroy, 1980, p. 16) showed that socially and geographically mobile individuals lack local loyalties or dense patterns of interaction within a limited area and that, especially in middle class developments, people may never speak to their neighbours but may interact instead a great deal outside the neighbourhood. Like many urban ethnic groups, the Chinese community in Winnipeg today is not based on a common locality in the traditional sense of

the term. The Chinese have settled in all parts of the city of Winnipeg amongst people of other ethnic groups, although they tend to be concentrated in certain neighbourhoods more than in others. The Chinese community is joined rather by ethnic and interactional ties.

Alternatives to community-based studies are studies of networks of social relationships (Gumperz, 1982a, pp. 38-58; Milroy, 1980). According to Gumperz, networks of social relationship are formed by individuals who share interactional experiences, or social ties (Gumperz, 1982a, p. 41). Some social ties of an individual are also linked among themselves, while others do not have any connection with each other but are only directly linked to the individual. The former type of ties corresponds to what has been referred to as closed networks and the latter, open (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Milroy, 1980, p. 20). The two types of ties are also synonymous with in-group and out-group ties.

The structural and the content characteristics of social networks can be measured in terms of density and multiplexity, respectively (Milroy, 1980, p. 21). Density refers to the ratio of total possible ties to total actual ties in a network (p. 50). Multiplexity measures the ratio of multiplex ties, i.e., ties with more than one content, to total relevant ties in a social network (p. 51). In the closed networks, ties are relatively dense and multiplex,

but in the open networks, ties are of less density and are uniplex. Not only the individuals in the closed networks are all linked to each other, but also they are linked to each other often in more than one capacity. In the open networks, however, the links between individuals are focused on single tasks only. Depending on the population, the content of networks may reflect categories of social structures such as kinship, profession, trade, recreation, religion, ethnicity, etc.

Networks of social relationship have proven to be especially important in the spread of linguistic innovations and the maintenance of interactional conventions. The spread of the change from a tongue tip trill to a uvular fricative involving a large part of Europe is a typical example of linguistic diffusion through trade routes (Gumperz, 1982a, p. 42). Many of the special argots, trade languages, caste dialects, and other special parlance survive the pressures for linguistic conformity and assimilation just because they are part of interactional conventions in the performance of network-specific routine tasks (p. 42).

Several researchers have demonstrated that those minority languages and social dialects that have survived in spite of the pressure for assimilation have survived along with the interactional structures that have sustained their use. In the inner city area of New York, Harlem, Labov

(1972a) found that while the factors of socio-economic class, age, and ethnic group remained constant, features of speech distinguished members of adolescent hang-out groups, such as the Thunderbirds and the Jets, from isolated individuals, or lames, living in the same area. Labov noted that these adolescent groups exert their control and supervision over members "so close that a single slip may be condemned and remembered for years" (p. 83).

In the Gail valley of the province of Kärnten in southern Austria, Slovene, a minority language, and German have been in contact for almost a thousand years. Gumperz (1982a, p. 46) found that the villagers would continue to use Slovene among themselves as long as the social forces that have brought about the disappearance of Slovene everywhere else in Kärnten have not destroyed the local structure of interpersonal relations in the Gail valley. However, with changes that have occurred in the localized network structure, the residents of the Gail valley are rapidly becoming monolingual German speakers.

A parallel situation is found in the town of Oberwart in the easternmost province of Austria, where Hungarian-German bilingualism has persisted over the last 400 years. There, Gal (1979) showed that as the social networks of the Oberwarters changed from those of peasants to those of workers and as the previous constraints to claim peasant identity in speech became weakened, the Oberwarters,

especially the young people, began to give up Hungarian, the language associated with the peasant status, and shift to German, the language associated with the worker status.

In her Belfast study of the vernaculars of three working class communities, Ballymacarrett, the Hammer, and the Clonard, Milroy (1980) showed that in Belfast, "the closer an individual's network ties are with his local community, the closer his language approximates to localized vernacular norms" (p. 175).

To explain the learning experience of the immigrants, Gumperz suggests that the question whether the learning of a new language is effective for the immigrants depends not on mere exposure alone but, more importantly, on the network of associations the immigrants form in the new environment in which the new language is spoken (Gumperz, 1982a, p. 57). The implication is that whether language maintenance or language shift will take place among immigrants depends on the social network structure of the immigrant population.

The application of the social network concept to the explanation of the maintenance of Chinese in the Chinese community in Winnipeg will mean that because the social network structures of the Chinese community in Winnipeg show different characteristics at different times and in different groups, their differences will have different effects on the maintenance of Chinese. When the social networks of the Chinese in Winnipeg are closed, as it was in

the early days and still is within certain sectors of the Chinese community, there is more maintenance of Chinese and less shift to English than when the social network is more open, as it is for many members in the present day Chinese community.

A SYNTHESIS

The two research approaches, sociological and ethnographic, to the same problem of language maintenance and language shift are marked by methodological differences. While the sociologically oriented approach often employs techniques, such as large-scale surveys for data collection and statistical means of data analysis, which are typical of social science research, these are seldom used by ethnographers, whose core data come from field observation. Nevertheless, the two approaches seem to be complementary rather than mutually exclusive. As Blom and Gumperz (1972) pointed out, while predictions of language maintenance or shift in large societies have to resort to statistical generalizations, the validity of such generalizations should be materially proved by ethnographic studies on the same phenomenon in particular small communities (p. 434). Gal (1979) also indicated that if both of the approaches are valid, they should also both explain the same phenomenon.

She has in fact demonstrated through her study of language shift in Oberwart, Austria, how the two approaches could be used supplementarily. For the purpose of this study, a combination of the two approaches has been adopted.

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

Since the publication of Fishman et al.'s (1966a) monumental work on immigrant languages in America, *Language Loyalty in the United States*, there has been extensive research on the topic of language maintenance and language shift. Studies of language maintenance and shift have been carried out in various parts of the world, involving native and immigrant languages in North America (e.g., Burnaby and Beaujot, 1986; Fishman et al., 1966a; Veltman, 1981, 1983) and Australia (e.g., Clyne, 1988; Kouzmin, 1988), and the local languages in Europe (e.g., Dorian, 1980, 1987; Timm, 1980; Wood, 1980) and Africa (e.g., Lieberson and McCabe, 1982).

The interests of linguists and sociolinguists in bilingualism involving non-English languages in North America has long been apparent. There is a large literature on the immigrant language groups and their languages in North America. Pioneer studies on the immigrant languages⁴ in North America include Haugen's study (1969) on the

Norwegian language in America, first published in 1953, and studies on Pennsylvania German by Kloss, published in 1952, and by Springer, published in 1943 (cf. Haugen, 1969). These studies brought into attention of linguists the phenomena of linguistic interference and borrowing in situations where languages are in contact.

Studies on the very topic of language maintenance and shift in North America are also mostly concerned with the immigrant languages, for example, German in Pennsylvania (Huffines, 1980), Portuguese in California (Renz, 1988), Spanish in Miami (Resnick, 1988), and the languages of such religious groups as the Mennonites (Buchheit, 1988; Driedger and Hengstenberg, 1986) and the Amish (Dow, 1988). However, few studies concerning language maintenance and shift among the Chinese in North America have appeared.

In the "Twin Cities" (Minneapolis and St. Paul) area of Minnesota in the United States, Kuo (1974) studied the bilingual pattern of 47 pre-school children of 44 Mandarin speaking Chinese families. These children were between the ages of two and a half and six. All were born in the United States. Their parents were immigrants, who had been in the United States for at least a year or more. Kuo found that even when they were very young, the children were able to choose different languages with different interlocutors: they used Mandarin with Chinese and English with Caucasians. In general, these children used more English among

themselves than they did with their parents, and more Mandarin when they were younger than when they grew older. With increased proficiency in English, the children also tended to adopt a more favourable attitude toward English. Among other findings, Kuo's study showed the speech variation among the group of Chinese children in accordance with the differentiation in social role-relationships and the intergenerational Chinese mother tongue shift in the Chinese families involved in his study.

Another American study focusing on language shift among Chinese-Americans is by Li (1982). Using the one percent public use sample of the 1970 U.S. census with a data base of 4,046 persons, Li (1982) examined the extent to which Chinese-Americans had shifted to English and the factors related to the shift. Li found that while the Chinese-Americans were experiencing intergenerational language shift to English, this shift was nevertheless limited to a small percentage of the Chinese-American population. That is, only 13% of all Chinese-Americans were reported to have been reared in English speaking homes, as a result of a high percentage (more than 50%) of Chinese-Americans born outside the United States. In addition to the generation factor, Li's study showed that age, cohort differentiation, socio-economic status, and residential patterns all had an effect on the shift to English among Chinese-Americans, with generation and the cohort factors being more important than

others.

In Canada, most research on language relationship to date has been devoted to the two official languages, English and French (e.g., Joy, 1972; Lieberman, 1970; Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969). Research on non-official languages, including both Native and immigrant languages, has been relatively recent and limited (Driedger and Hengstenberg, 1986).

Under the auspices of the Secretary of State, O'Bryan et al. (1976) conducted a survey of ten immigrant languages in five Canadian metropolitan areas, which include, among other languages and cities, the Chinese language and the city of Winnipeg. Although it used a rather limited sample size (for example, the Winnipeg sample had only 20 Chinese speakers representing the estimated 2,126 Chinese residents over 18 years of age in the city in 1973), the study by O'Bryan et al. (1976) is nevertheless the largest survey in Canada of urban immigrant languages. Among other findings it showed that Toronto and Montreal, the largest of the five cities, had higher retention rates for these languages as a whole than did the other three remaining cities, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver. The explanations given included the tendency for new immigrants to congregate, the availability of ethnic language facilities, and the high concentration of ethnic groups in the two large metropolitan areas.

In a break-down by both language groups and cities, however, the Chinese in Winnipeg were shown not only to have the highest rate of Chinese fluency of the Chinese of all five cities, but also the highest rate of ethnic language fluency of all the groups surveyed in Winnipeg (O'Bryan et al., 1976, p. 49). According to the survey, 67.8% of the Chinese in Winnipeg had fluency in Chinese, as compared with 53.8% in Toronto and 50.8% in Vancouver. Among the Winnipeg ethnic groups surveyed, the Chinese also came on top of the list as far as ethnic language fluency was concerned. On the whole, the survey by O'Bryan et al. (1976) showed that of the ten immigrant groups in the five Canadian cities, only the Greeks and Portuguese surpassed the Chinese in ethnic mother tongue maintenance.

Using 1971 census data, de Vries and Vallee (1980) examined the extent of ancestral and current language shift of a number of large ethnic groups in Canada. In their report, ancestral language shift was defined as the language shift that had taken place before the current generation, measured by the difference between mother tongue⁵, i.e., the early childhood language, and ethnic origin⁶; and current language shift as the language shift within the current generation, measured by the difference between mother tongue and current home language⁷. De Vries and Vallee (1980) found that except for the British and the French, the two largest ethnic groups in Canada, the Chinese and, following

closely, the Italians, showed the least ancestral language shift of all the large ethnic groups in Canada. Chinese was reported as the mother tongue of 76.5% of the ethnic Chinese in Canada (p. 103). As far as current language shift is concerned, they found that, excluding the English and the French mother tongue groups, Chinese was among the top three mother tongue groups most resistant to current language shift, preceded only by Inuktitut and Italian. Of those who reported Chinese as the mother tongue 73.8% still used Chinese as a home language (p. 118).

When the findings of ancestral and current language shift are compared, Chinese is shown as being more resistant to ancestral language shift than all other languages in Canada except for English and French, but not as resistant to current language shift as some other ethnic languages in Canada. The discrepancy between the rates of ancestral shift and current shift for different languages in Canada is considered by de Vries and Vallee to have resulted from the different degrees of "proneness" of different ethnic groups to language assimilation and to be a historical continuation of the processes of ancestral language shift (de Vries and Vallee, 1980, p. 119).

The existing studies involving the maintenance and shift of Chinese as an immigrant language in North America, although few in number, suggest a general trend of Chinese language maintenance and shift in North America. They

showed Chinese to be one of the best retained immigrant languages in North America and the shift from Chinese to English to be more rapid in the current generation than in the previous generations. These studies are all sociological or demographic in nature. With the exception of Kuo's study in the Twin Cities area in Minnesota, which involved a small group of subjects, these studies either employ census data or use survey technique and aim at discovering the extent of language maintenance or shift in large populations. Detailed studies of small groups, especially those groups in Canada, are still needed so as to complement the findings about large groups.

OVERVIEW OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study is concerned with language maintenance and shift in the Chinese community in Winnipeg. It attempts to examine the extent to which Chinese is currently maintained or shifted among the ethnic Chinese in Winnipeg and to account for the social determinants of language maintenance and shift in the Chinese community in Winnipeg.

Based on findings from previous studies on language maintenance and shift involving Chinese in North America in general and in Canada in particular, it was hypothesized that (1) Chinese is still well maintained by the Chinese in

Winnipeg and that (2) both the knowledge and the use of Chinese are more widely spread in the immigrant generation than in the Canadian-born generation. Moreover, based on the social network concept (Milroy, 1980) and boundary maintenance concept (Fishman, 1991), it was also hypothesized that (3) the maintenance of Chinese obtains where network is closed and where social and ethnocultural boundaries are maintained.

Three topics evolved in this study. The primary topic is concerned with the degree of language maintenance and shift in the Chinese community in Winnipeg. Two related topics are (1) the effect of behaviour toward Chinese (cf. Fishman, 1966b), as demonstrated by the efforts of language advocates in the community and by the language consciousness of Chinese speakers, on the maintenance of Chinese in Winnipeg and (2) the bilingual and bidialectal verbal behaviour of Chinese speakers as reflected in code-switching. According to Fishman (1966b), these two related topics are both topical subdivisions of the study of language maintenance and language shift (pp. 104-109).

Both a language use survey and participant observation (Babbie, 1983) in the Chinese community were employed as means of data collection for this study. The survey provided the opportunity for obtaining data on language choice by Chinese individuals in a wide variety of circumstances, not all of which are directly observable in

field research. Participant observation allowed the researcher to make direct observation of the behaviour, both linguistic and otherwise, of members of the Chinese community in Winnipeg.

As a result of two different research techniques employed in this study, two sets of data were collected. One set is in the format of self-reports through the language use survey with 122 selected ethnic Chinese individuals in Winnipeg. The second set of data came from participant observation in the Chinese community in Winnipeg, which includes notes from the fieldwork and some tape-recorded verbal interactions among English and Chinese bilinguals. These data together provided the major sources of evidence for this study.

In the following chapters, the social and historical background of the Chinese community in Winnipeg will first be introduced (Chapter II), followed by a general description of dialect variations within Chinese (Chapter III). Data for these two background chapters were mostly obtained through library research on relevant literatures. Some raw data on Chinese dialects for Chapter III were provided by speakers of these dialects in Winnipeg.

Chapter IV is concerned with the primary topic of the study: the degree of language maintenance and shift in the Chinese community in Winnipeg. Data from the language use survey will be analyzed, and results presented and

discussed. Focus will be given to the structural characteristics of the linguistic repertoire of the group of informants involved in the study, their levels of competence in the various language and dialect varieties contained in their linguistic repertoire, their use of these linguistic varieties in the various relevant domains of language use, and their attitudes toward these linguistic varieties.

Chapter V deals with the behavioral aspect of the Chinese community with regard to Chinese language maintenance. Discussion in this chapter will be based on data from the field research conducted through participant observation and personal interviews. Focus will be given to such overt behaviour toward language as demonstrated through the effort of the Chinese schools in Winnipeg and to the language consciousness of Chinese speakers in Winnipeg as expressed through their use of linguistic varieties as symbols of social identity.

In Chapter VI, the bilingual and bidialectal phenomenon of code-switching in the Chinese community in Winnipeg will be examined. Data for this analysis come from field notes as well as tape-recorded bilingual and bidialectal speech of Chinese speakers in Winnipeg. Both situational code-switching and conversational code-switching, and their differential use by Chinese speakers in Winnipeg will be discussed.

The final chapter summarizes the study. The conclusion

that will be drawn from this study points to the effect, either directly or indirectly, of social network structures and social boundaries on the maintenance of Chinese in the Chinese community in Winnipeg.

CHAPTER II

THE CHINESE COMMUNITY OF WINNIPEG

INTRODUCTION

Even though it is a metropolitan centre, Winnipeg has never been a major attraction to the Chinese immigrants to Canada, probably because of its inland location and its well-known harsh winters. Nevertheless, it now boasts of a sizable and vital Chinese community. The 1986 intercensus reported that by ethnic origin there were 9,295 Chinese in Winnipeg (based on 20% sample data, Census of Canada, 1986). Today the figure may have well surpassed that of half a decade ago, as the influx of Chinese immigrants has continued to date. According to the immigration information from the Government of Manitoba, throughout the second half of the 1980s, Hong Kong and Vietnam, the source regions of recent Chinese-speaking immigrants, continued to rank among the five leading source countries of international immigration to Manitoba, and Cantonese, the dominant mother tongue of

recent Chinese immigrants, continued to be one of the five leading mother tongue groups (Manitoba Immigration Information Bulletin, 1986-1989), reflecting a general trend of Chinese immigration to Canada in recent years. From Hong Kong alone, there were 1,141 immigrants to Manitoba between 1986 and 1989 (p. 13). Just as the tendency for new immigrants to concentrate in large cities in Canada, nearly all new Chinese immigrants to the province of Manitoba have settled in Winnipeg. The estimates of the Chinese population by community leaders are much higher than the figures officially reported. According to some of them, the total Chinese population in Manitoba is 30,000 (Free Press, April 22, 1992, p. B19) and that of the Indo-China Chinese in Winnipeg is at least 10,000.

The Chinese population in Winnipeg is socio-economically stratified with occupational diversity and differences in terms of education and income levels, and it is a population that speaks a number of different Chinese dialects as well as English. The expansion of the Chinese population in Winnipeg and, along with it, the social and linguistic diversity of the Chinese community is a phenomenon that came into existence in the 1960s. During the previous eighty years, the Chinese population in Winnipeg had been small and isolated, and had experienced a decline with a peculiar, unbalanced sex ratio. For example, of 719 Chinese in Winnipeg in 1941 only 40 or 5.5% were

women (cf. Baureiss and Kwong, 1979). The development of the Chinese community in Winnipeg throughout its history has been influenced to a large extent by the changing government policies toward the Chinese in Canada.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY

CHANGING POLICIES

For much of their history in Canada, the Chinese immigrants were faced with racial hostility and discriminative government policies. As early as 1875, seventeen years after the first Chinese of the nineteenth century had come to Canada and four years after British Columbia joined Confederation, the parliament of British Columbia passed a Qualifications and Registration of Voters Act, which made it illegal to grant the franchise to the Chinese (Wickberg et al., 1982, p. 46). Subsequently, the Chinese in other provinces, for example in Saskatchewan in 1909, and in the whole of Canada in 1920, also became disenfranchised (Chan, 1983, p. 14). The disenfranchisement meant that the Chinese were not only excluded from voting at all levels of government, but were also denied many other citizenship rights. For example, they were prevented from practising professions, such as law, pharmacy, and teaching, for which

citizenship was necessary, and they were also banned from working on public projects. The franchise was not returned to the Chinese until many years later, in 1947.

Initially, Canada received Chinese immigrants because of the shortage of labourers in British Columbia (Li, 1988, p. 24). It was difficult to find white labourers in British Columbia in order to build the Canadian Pacific Railway and to develop the local industries of mining, forestry, and cannery. Chinese labourers, therefore, became an alternative cheap and plentiful source of labour supply (p. 24). However, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway made it easy to bring labourers to British Columbia from other parts of North America, and the demand for Chinese labourers was reduced. The Chinese, even though they had been indispensable at times of major construction and in the development of pioneer industries, were then perceived to be economically competitive and socially and culturally undesirable and non-assimilative due to their many alleged social and cultural peculiarities (p. 24).

In 1886, immediately following the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the federal government moved to restrict Chinese immigration by introducing a head tax upon every Chinese entering Canada. This head tax was \$10 in 1886, and was raised to \$50 in 1896, to \$100 in 1900, and finally to \$500 in 1904 (Chan, 1983, p. 11). The only Chinese who were exempted from the head tax were diplomats,

Canadians of Chinese descent, merchants and clergymen and their families, tourists, scientists, and students (p. 11).

To terminate further Chinese immigration to Canada and to control those already in the country, the federal government passed the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, known also as the Chinese Exclusion Act. Under this act, the head tax was abolished, but the admission of Chinese into Canada was restricted to university students, Canadians of Chinese descent, diplomats, and merchants and their families only (Wickberg et al., 1982, p. 141). University students and diplomats were allowed to stay but only for the period of their study or duty in Canada. The merchant class, excluding laundry and restaurant operators and retail product dealers, were the only Chinese allowed to immigrate. As for those Chinese who were already in Canada, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 legalized their inferior status by requiring them to register with the government of Canada within 12 months after the act came into effect regardless of their citizenship (Li, 1988, p. 31). It was not until 24 years later, in 1947, that the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 was repealed.

The infamous Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 had profound demographic and other consequences for the Chinese communities in Canada for many years to come. As a result of this act, the Chinese population in Canada dwindled in the following decades and showed a peculiar, unbalanced sex

ratio for many years.

In the first two decades after the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, both population growth and the sex ratio balancing among the Chinese were slow. The racial bias of the immigration policy at the time continued to restrict Chinese and other Asian immigration to Canada. The only new Chinese immigrants to Canada during the time were spouses, unmarried children under eighteen years of age, and elderly parents of Canadian citizens, all being family members of the Chinese who were already in Canada.

In 1962, the Canadian government removed country of origin as a major criterion for the admission of immigrants to Canada. Immigrants with educational and professional skills were then permitted to immigrate with immediate families, irrespective of country of origin and racial background (Li, 1988, p. 90). However, these immigration regulations were still not without racial biases, since in terms of sponsorship, only the closest relatives were permitted for Asians and Africans, whereas for others all relatives could be sponsored. Nevertheless, Chinese who had no relatives in Canada were then allowed, for the first time in many years, to apply for immigration to Canada as independent immigrants.

Further changes in the immigration regulations made by the Canadian government in 1967 eliminated all the discriminatory elements that had previously existed,

resulting in a universal "point system" to be used as a criterion to assess all prospective immigrants alike (Wickberg et al., 1982, p. 245). Only from then on were the Chinese immigrants on the equal foot to immigrants from other ethnic backgrounds. Since the early 1960s, and even more so since 1967, not only has the number of Chinese immigrating to Canada been on a scale unprecedented in Canadian history, but those who have immigrated are socio-economically, regionally, and linguistically very different from the Chinese immigrants who had come before them. Because of the different historical periods of immigration and the different nature of the social treatment they have received from the larger Canadian society and its different consequences, the different cohort groups within the Chinese community also show different characteristics of network structures. In general, the networks are more open for the relatively recent independent immigrants than for either the old-timer immigrants who had come earlier during the days of discrimination or for the Indo-Chinese immigrants who have come as a result of mass dislocation.

THE EARLY COMMUNITY

The record of the first Chinese in Winnipeg goes back more than a century ago. A Free Press report of 1877 made a

reference to three Chinese, two males and one female, who arrived in Winnipeg by stage coach from the U.S. on November 19 of that year (Baureiss & Kwong, 1979, p. 13).

By then, several thousand Chinese had already settled in British Columbia. The first census of Canada in 1871 counted 1,548 Chinese in British Columbia, although the actual figure might be higher (Wickberg et al., 1982, p. 14). The Chinese in British Columbia then were people who had migrated first from California in 1858 and then directly from South China during the gold rush in the Fraser River Valley. When the gold mines in British Columbia were exhausted by the mid 1860s, some Chinese left Canada, while others stayed on in British Columbia to take on local occupations as domestic servants, laundry hands, vegetable gardeners, or fishery or cannery workers. As travelling across Canada was still difficult, most of Chinese remained in British Columbia.

These Chinese immigrants were later joined by large numbers of Chinese who came, first from San Francisco and Portland in the United States and then increasingly from Hong Kong and South China, through contractors during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the early part of the 1880s. It is reported that at least 15,000 Chinese had laboured on the railway construction during that time (Chan, 1983, p. 63).

When the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, many

Chinese in British Columbia found themselves jobless and at the same time faced with intensifying racial hostility. They began to disperse. Some left Canada. Others moved eastward into the prairies or further to the east. British Columbia's share of the Chinese population in Canada began to drop gradually, from 98% in 1891 to 86% at the turn of the century and even lower in the decades that followed (Li, 1988, p. 51).

TABLE 2.1
Chinese population in Winnipeg, 1881-1986

Year	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
1881	2*		
1891	16*		
1901	119*		
1911	574	563	11
1921	814	790	24
1931	1,033	991	42
1941	719	679	40
1951	738	636	102
1961	1,194	815	379
1971	2,535	1,425	1,110
1981	6,195*		
1986	9,295*		

* No sex distribution available
(Source: Baureiss and Kwong, 1979; Census of Canada, 1986 by ethnic origin.)

Many of the Chinese who migrated eastward from British Columbia passed through Winnipeg on their way further east, but a few stayed and settled down. The Chinese settlement in Winnipeg grew slowly at first. In 1891, the census counted only 16 Chinese in Winnipeg (cf. Baureiss and Kwong,

1979). A rapid increase of the Chinese population in Winnipeg occurred in the first decade of the twentieth century, from 119 in 1901 to 574 in 1911. Continued arrival of Chinese in Winnipeg brought their number to 1,033 at the beginning of the 1930s, before it experienced a sharp decline in the following decade (See Table 2.1).

The population decrease among the Chinese in Winnipeg in the 1930s and 1940s was the direct result of several decades of discriminatory policy of the Canadian government to exclude Chinese. At the beginning of Chinese immigration to Canada, given the working conditions under which the Chinese were permitted to enter Canada, only Chinese men were able to come. A common practice among Chinese immigrants at the time was that usually a single man would come first. When he had saved enough money, he would make a journey back to China, where he would get married, and would then return to Canada. However, he would not bring his family with him, as he could not possibly afford to, but would send what money he had saved back to support the family that had been left behind. When he became able to support someone in Canada, he would usually sponsor another male member or relative of the family, who most often would be a teenage or grown-up son, or, failing that, a brother or a nephew. As the heavy head tax made entering Canada expensive for the Chinese during the period when they were still allowed to enter, it was reasonable that they brought

over those who were considered most able to succeed first.

As a result, for many years, there were very few women and few families among the Chinese in Winnipeg. In 1911, the female population made up only less than two percent of the total Chinese population in Winnipeg, which increased to only 5.5 percent in 1941 (see Table 2.1). According to some old-timer Chinese immigrants in Winnipeg, by the time the Second World War ended, there were only twelve Chinese families in Winnipeg, including three mixed marriages. Some Chinese men, although married, remained single without their families around them for most of or even all their lives. Only a few rich enough to make a small fortune were able to bring their families from China to Canada. The result was a "bachelor society" (Chan, 1983, p. 74) for the Chinese in Canada, although many had their wives and children in China.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 brought the Chinese immigration to Canada to a standstill. Remaining a male population, the Chinese in Winnipeg declined in number from 1,033 in 1931 to only 719 in 1941 (Table 2.1) due to deaths and emigration and no increase in immigration or the resource for self-reproduction. Only after 1947, when the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 was repealed, were the family members of the Chinese in Winnipeg allowed to enter Canada and the Chinese population able to grow and develop sex ratio balance, though slowly.

Being excluded from the host society, the early Chinese

immigrants confined their lives largely to their own circles and built around themselves a rather elaborate community. Toward the end of the first decade of this century, along with the establishment of Chinese businesses along King Street and Alexander Avenue, a Chinatown began to emerge in the centre of Winnipeg. By the 1920s, Chinatown covered the area between Logan Avenue on the north, Rupert Avenue on the south, Main Street on the east, and Princess Street on the west to include a small number of Chinese stores and laundries, as well as cafes and restaurants. Shanghai Lou restaurant, now standing at the corner of King Street and Alexander Avenue, dates back to 1909. With its concentration of Chinese businesses and residents, Chinatown became the meeting place for the Chinese for both formal and informal activities as well as the birth place and residence of many important Chinese organizations, such as the Chinese Freemasons of Winnipeg, the Chinese Nationalist League (Kuomintang) Winnipeg Branch, the Chinese Benevolent Association, and the Chinese Dramatic Society, all established in the early part of the century.

Due to the racial hostility of the Canadian society, the early Chinese immigrants were left with very few occupational choices. Two occupations in which many Chinese were known to be engaged were the laundry and restaurant businesses. Baureiss and Kwong (1979) reported that by the turn of the century, Chinese had monopolized the laundry

business in Winnipeg: of the 33 laundries listed in Winnipeg in 1900, 29 were Chinese (p. 22). The number of Chinese laundries in Winnipeg continued to rise to over 150 in the 1920s (p. 22). However, with mechanization, the hand-laundry businesses of the Chinese began to fade in the 1930s, whereas the Chinese restaurants, catering to the larger society, continued to thrive and still prosper today.

The early Chinese community seemed quite homogeneous in a number of aspects. The early Chinese immigrants all trace their regional origin to the same rural district in the province of Guangdong in South China, a district known as Siyi, meaning 'four counties' in Chinese, which includes the counties of Taishan, Kaiping, Xinhui, and Jianmen, with Taishan being the hometown of a majority of them. According to the old-timer Chinese in Winnipeg, Siyi, being a historically emigrant source area in China, had the tradition that when a boy reached the age of about fifteen, he would go and make a living overseas, owing to the limited cultivable land, overpopulation, and political instability in the area. Those Chinese who came to Winnipeg at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century were part of larger migration of Chinese from Siyi to North America, a place then known to the Chinese immigrants as the Gold Mountain for its economic opportunities. The homogeneity of Winnipeg's Chinese was marked at one time by the domination of a few surnames --

Lee, Wong and Mah (Chan, 1983, p. 69). Many Chinese who came afterwards were also part of the chain migration which involved kin or other relationships from the same region.

Having left their home country at an early age and being labourers all their lives, the early Chinese immigrants had little opportunity for education and were generally not well educated. Some old-timers are still illiterate even today in both Chinese and English. Being discriminated against, the Chinese were forced to look inward for support and survival, and kept only minimal contact with the outside world. Because of their closed network structure and isolation from the English speaking world, some of them, mostly women, were unable to develop the kind of proficiency in English that would allow them to deal with the outside world effectively.

With their regional origin all in the same rural district in South China, the early Chinese immigrants spoke some closely related Chinese dialects, belonging to a subdialect group of Yue. The dominant dialect variety was Taishanese. As people from Taishan were predominantly in the majority, it was natural that the speech of Taishan became the common vehicle of communication in the early Chinese community. Immigrants from other parts of China and speakers of other dialects all had to learn to speak Taishanese when they came to Winnipeg in order to be able to participate in the community's life. Taishanese was then

known as "the Chinese language" spoken in Winnipeg's Chinatown, as well as in many Chinese communities across North America. It was the language of home for many Chinese immigrant families and the language of Chinatown for all, the language commonly used among friends and for community activities.

For many years after the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1947, the demographic and linguistic characteristics of the Chinese community in Winnipeg changed little. Until the 1960s, nearly all new Chinese immigrants that had been admitted into Canada after the war were wives and children of the Chinese who had come earlier, and therefore were of similar regional, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. The social structure of the Chinese community remained almost unchanged. The occupants of Chinatown were still the village people from rural South China.

THE CHINESE COMMUNITY SINCE THE 1960S

The 1960s marked a turning point in the history for the Chinese in Winnipeg as well as in the whole of Canada. For the first time since 1923, changes in the immigration regulations in 1962 had made it possible for the prospective Chinese to come into Canada as independent immigrants, even though there were still discriminatory restrictions

regarding the sponsorship of Chinese relatives. Further changes in 1967 eliminated the rest of the discriminatory elements in the immigration regulations. Ever since then, the Chinese population in Winnipeg has increased rapidly. Within the first decade following the immigration policy change, the Chinese population in Winnipeg more than doubled, from 1,194 in 1961 to 2,535 in 1971. An even more rapid increase followed. By the middle of 1980s, there were about 10,000 Chinese in Winnipeg (See Table 2.1).

A new type of Chinese immigrants

If the Chinese community before the 1960s was more or less homogeneous regionally and linguistically, the Chinese community since the 1960s has become very different. A large number of the new Chinese immigrants came from Hong Kong, but there were also those who came from other Southeast Asian regions, such as Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Taiwan. The arrival of the new immigrants with different social and cultural experiences and varied professional skills from different regions of the world brought about changes in the social and cultural structures of the community which it had never experienced before. The new Chinese immigrants were generally better educated than their predecessors. Many possessed English language

proficiency when they arrived because of the English education they had received before they came to Canada. Unlike the old-timers who were countryfolk, with peasant skills from the rural area of Siyi in Guangdong, the new immigrants were urbanites from large urban centres, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, who had been exposed to the western way of life even before they came to Canada. As independent immigrants, they were admitted into Canada on the basis of merit in professional skills. Their general sophistication made the task of adaptation to the Canadian society less difficult for them than for their fellow countrymen who had preceded them. As modern professionals, the new Chinese immigrants were ready to be integrated into Canadian society and to participate in their professional and economic lives with other Canadians upon their arrival.

Dominant dialect shift

The arrival of new Chinese immigrants in Winnipeg with varied regional and cultural backgrounds expanded the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community to a multiplicity of Chinese dialects. Many Chinese immigrants after the 1960s were Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong, but there were also speakers of other southern Chinese dialects, such as Min, Hakka, and Wu, as well as speakers of Northern

Chinese, known as Mandarin, from other Southeast Asian regions. Some are bi- or multilingual, having come from the multilingual regions of Southeast Asia. Many knew Mandarin as an additional Chinese dialect as a result of education.

A change that occurred in the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community as a result of the arrival of new Chinese immigrants in the 1960s was the shift to Cantonese from Taishanese as the dominant tongue in the Chinese community. Whereas before, most people in Chinatown spoke Taishanese, now more and more people speak Cantonese. Taishanese is still heard and spoken in the Chinatown, but it has for the most part retreated to the home and the aged group.

A number of factors led to this change. Firstly, Cantonese as it is spoken in the city of Canton is the regional standard in the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi in South China, whereas Taishanese is only a local dialect within the region. Being spoken in the culturally and economically most influential centre of Canton in South China, Cantonese enjoys much prestige not only among its own native speakers, but also among native speakers of other Chinese dialects living in the same region. Although Mandarin has been promoted as the national standard throughout China, Cantonese has never lost its prestige in the region where it is spoken. In addition to being the language of home and among friends, Cantonese is the

language of local business transactions and a good proportion of regional mass media, such as radio and television. Cantonese is also spoken on the island of Hong Kong, where it is the language of both formal and informal use. As speakers of Cantonese migrated, they brought with them the prestige of Cantonese, which the overseas Chinese who speak other local dialects would pursue.

Secondly, Taishanese and Cantonese are closely related dialects. As the linguistic distance between the two is small, for Taishanese speakers or Cantonese speakers to learn to speak each other's tongue is not as difficult as it would be to learn to speak a more distant Chinese dialect, such as Mandarin. However, it is often the case that speakers of Taishanese rather than Cantonese have learned the others' dialect. While native Taishanese speakers generally do not find it too difficult to learn to speak Cantonese, Cantonese speakers often complain the difficulty they have to understand Taishanese.

Thirdly, the sheer number of Cantonese speakers present in Winnipeg made the switch to Cantonese necessary. As the Cantonese speaking population increased, the demand for services in Cantonese also increased. As a result, Chinese businesses, especially those ethnically oriented, such as the restaurants and the grocery stores located in Chinatown, all had to use Cantonese as well in order to satisfy the needs of their Cantonese speaking customers.

Fourthly, contacts with the personal and business ties in the Cantonese dominant South China, also provided opportunities for using Cantonese and a motivation for learning Cantonese for those who were not native speakers of Cantonese. These contacts further reinforced the use of Cantonese among the Chinese in Winnipeg.

The Indo-China Chinese

In 1979 and 1980, Canada accepted a total of 60,049 Indo-Chinese refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in response to the refugee situation in Southeast Asia (Li, 1988, p. 91). Further intake of Indo-China refugees has continued to date, but most of those who have come in more recent years were the follow-up cases of family reunification. A large number of Indo-Chinese refugees are ethnic Chinese. Their settlement further increased the Chinese population and at the same time added more complexity to the social, cultural, and linguistic structures of the local Chinese communities in Canada, including the Chinese community in Winnipeg.

The Chinese from Indo-China countries had been residents there for generations. They became dislocated as a result of the political changes which had occurred in their home countries in the 1970s. Regional ties and the

common experience of migration to North America unified them as one people sharing a common history. They regard themselves as being socially, historically, and culturally distinct from the Chinese who had come to Canada earlier or from elsewhere, even though they are admittedly also culturally different from each other, having come from different host cultures in Southeast Asia.

The social and cultural distinctiveness of these immigrants has been realized in a whole set of social and cultural institutions they have set up since their arrival in Winnipeg. The Indo-China Chinese Association was established in 1983. In 1991, the association had a membership of about 750, the largest of any Chinese organization in Winnipeg. It owns its own location at 640 McGee Street. It is an umbrella organization for the entire Indo-China Chinese community, under which there are separate associations for seniors and for women, and also an association for mutual aid. Following their tradition in Indo-China countries, the Indo-China Chinese Association runs its own educational institution, the Pei-ing School. It publishes its own monthly newspaper, the Manitoba IndoChina Chinese News, and once also had its own local radio broadcast station. In addition, the Indo-China Chinese Association runs ESL (English as a Second Language) classes with help from the Settlement Language Programme of the Government of Manitoba, provides lessons for Chinese

folk dance and marshal arts, and gives orientation and assistance to new immigrants. It also provides daycare centre space for the Busy Bee Daycare for the neighbourhood residents. Since 1989, as an expression of their distinctive culture, the Indo-China Chinese Association has run its own Indo-China Chinese Pavilion during the Folklorama Festival, an annual celebration of the various ethnic groups in Winnipeg.

In the Indo-China countries of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, they were mostly well-to-do business people. Although the adult population all had a solid Chinese education, the average educational level is not high among them. For example, many of them do not have a post-secondary education. Since their dislocation was caused by sudden political changes, they had not been prepared for settling in an English speaking environment such as Canada, and therefore had very little English language facility when they arrived. As a result, in Winnipeg, they mostly do menial labour. Many women work as sewing machine operators in the garment manufacturing industry, while men take up whatever jobs that are available to them which do not involve much communication in English. A few have opened their own businesses, such as restaurants, tailor shops, and grocery stores. A small number of "white collar" workers among them are those who had come in time to gain some schooling in Winnipeg.

Of all the Chinese population in Winnipeg, the Indo-China Chinese are perhaps the most culturally and linguistically diversified group, having come from the multicultural and multilingual Southeast Asia. They speak a number of different Chinese dialects, Cantonese, Chaozhounese, which is a Southern Min Chinese dialect, Hakka, and Mandarin, as well as the national languages of their home countries in Indo-China, viz., Vietnamese, Cambodian, or Laotian. Many of them are bi- or multidialectal in Chinese, but depending on their country of origin, one Chinese dialect dominates. Among those from Vietnam, the dominant Chinese dialect is Cantonese, among those from Cambodia, it is Chaozhounese, and among those from Laos, Mandarin. The adult population from Vietnam and Cambodia also speaks Mandarin as a result of the Chinese education they received.

Multilingualism is a feature that they have brought over from Indo-China. In their home countries in Indo-China, they usually speak the native Chinese dialect of their parents as their mother tongue, but as they grew up, they would acquire the dominant local Chinese dialect, if it was different from their own mother tongue, and the Chinese dialects of their friends and neighbours. At school, those who spoke Chinese dialects other than Mandarin would learn and eventually use Mandarin as the language of education. In addition, they would also learn the local national

language, either Vietnamese, Laotian or Cambodian. If they did not do so at school, they would learn these languages at work. To be the successful business people they were in the multilingual Indo-China countries, they had to be at least bilingual, i.e., fluent speakers of the languages of local business transactions, which in Vietnam was Cantonese, in Cambodia Chaozhounese, and in Laos Mandarin, and the respective local national language. Nevertheless, they were little prepared for the linguistic scene in Canada where they had to learn basic English. Within their own community in Winnipeg, the common Chinese dialect is Mandarin, although most of them came from Vietnam and therefore are Cantonese speaking. At formal community meetings, both Mandarin and Cantonese may be used. In the Chinese language school, however, only Mandarin is taught, following their educational tradition in Southeast Asia.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

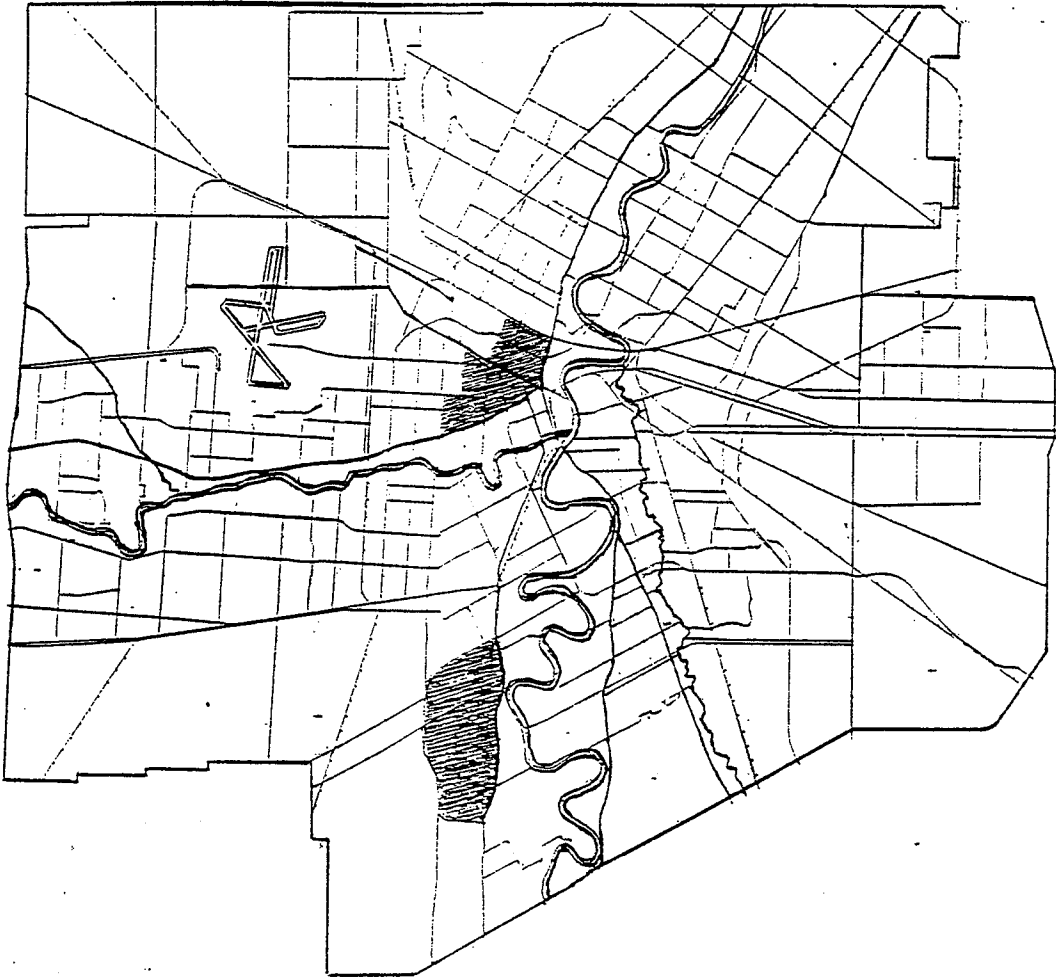
The discussion of the residential patterns of the Chinese population in Winnipeg is based on data from the 1986 intercensus. According to the 1986 intercensus, the Chinese speaking population was scattered in nearly all parts of the

city, even though it was more concentrated in certain areas of the city than in others. The greatest concentration of Chinese speakers was found in an area located immediately north of Portage Avenue and west of Main Street with Logan Avenue on the north and Ingersoll Street on the west (Figure 2.1). There were altogether 1,880 Chinese (by home language) living in this area in 1986, who made up 37% of those who spoke Chinese as a home language in Winnipeg at the time. However, even in this area the percentage of the Chinese population compared with the total population was relatively small. The ratio of Chinese residents to the total population (by home language) within the area was highest between Main Street on the east, Isabel Street on the west, Logan Avenue on the north, and Notre Dame Avenue on the south (410:3570 or 0.11%). Elsewhere in the same area the percentages of the Chinese population ranged from 0.03% to 0.08% (by home language). Fifty percent of the Chinese speaking population in Winnipeg was located in fifteen census tracts⁸ in the city in 1986.

As expected, the centres of Chinese community activities are in the areas of greatest Chinese concentration. Immediately west of Main Street between Logan Avenue on the north and Notre Dame Avenue on the south are Chinatown and the traditional Chinese residential area. Some distance west of Chinatown on McGee Street north of Sargent Avenue is the community centre of the Indo-China

Figure 2.1

Primary Residential Areas of the Winnipeg Chinese Community (Based on 1986 intercensus data)



Chinese, a new Chinese community centre in Winnipeg beside the traditional Chinatown. The surrounding area of this Chinese community centre has been referred to recently as the Indo-Chinese area, not only because of the fact that the Indo-China Chinese Association is located in that area, but also because of the concentration of Indo-Chinese residences in the area living among many other ethnic groups, such as people from the Philippines.

This Chinese most heavily concentrated area in downtown Winnipeg is part of the Winnipeg inner city, with its high concentration of new immigrants and ethnic mother tongue speakers. For example, 45 percent of the residents living between Sherbrook Street on the east, Simco Street on the west, Notre Dame Avenue on the north, and Ellice Avenue on the south in the centre of this area had an ethnic language as their mother tongue in 1986; this fact indicates a high concentration of the people who were foreign-born. In Winnipeg, the inner city is known as being "economically depressed" and "Inner city residency reflects the low level of per capita income" (Census of Canada, 1986).

To some distance south of downtown Winnipeg, between Pembina Highway on the east, Waverley Street on the west, McGilvery Boulevard on the north, and Bison Drive on the south, there was another relatively high concentration of Chinese speakers in Winnipeg, although their ratio to the total population in the area was relatively small. Of 6,260

people in this area 315, or less than five percent, were Chinese speakers by home language.

The study of residential concentration suggests that residential segregation by ethnic minorities may be either voluntary or involuntary (Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1987, p. 139). The model of voluntary segregation argues that members of ethnic groups may choose to live in proximity to one another in order to maintain group norms and values and to promote group identity. Balakrishnan and Kralt (1987) suggest that as the needs for cultural proximity lessen over time, ethnic groups will assimilate into the cultural traits of the larger society, and residential segregation will decrease as a result. In involuntary segregation, on the other hand, ethnic minorities are forced to concentrate in limited areas, due to the denial of their access to social institutions and services by the larger society as a result of racial or ethnic discrimination and social prejudice. Studies on residential concentration show that factors such as social class difference, social distance between ethnic groups, ethnic group size, recency of immigration, and official language facility all may influence the residential pattern of ethnic groups (p. 141).

Applying these theoretical considerations to the analysis of the residential pattern of the Chinese in Winnipeg, we can see that residential concentrations of the Chinese population in Winnipeg in the past and at the

present are affected by a variety of factors. In the past, the concentration of Chinese in the Chinatown area and its vicinity was largely the result of involuntary segregation due to racial discrimination against the Chinese from the larger society, but this is no longer the case as Canadian society has become more tolerant of ethnic and cultural differences.

At present, the residential concentration of the Chinese in Winnipeg seems to be influenced by a number of different factors. Downtown Winnipeg, especially the section north of Portage Avenue, is known for its low economic and social status. Many residents in this part of Winnipeg have low incomes and are recent immigrants (Census of Canada, 1986). So are most of the Chinese living in the area. In contrast, the Chinese of the professional class have mostly chosen to settle in the suburban areas such as Fort Garry, St. Vital, River Heights, or even Tuxedo -- an expensive part of the city. The Chinese who are not professionals but who have become more or less well established have also chosen to live in areas away from downtown, such as the Kildonans in the northern part of the city.

Even though Chinatown and its adjacent areas have the highest concentration of Chinese in Winnipeg, the majority of Chinese do not live in this area. To many new immigrants, residence downtown is transitory. This means

that they would first choose to live close to Chinatown for its convenience for Chinese services and proximity to fellow Chinese immigrants as well as for its low cost housing. Unless they are dependent on Chinatown for services due to physical or English-language limitations, as the aged and the newly arrived often are, immigrants usually move away as they improve their socio-economic status and when they become more integrated into the larger society. Recency of arrival in Canada, social class difference, and lack of English language facility may all have an effect on the present residential concentration of the Chinese in the inner city. Recency of arrival seems to stand out as one of the most important factors, as most of the Chinese living in the apartment block of Winnipeg Chinatown Non-profit Housing are new immigrants, with little facility in English. In the long run, both social class and English language facility improves. It may be predicted that as the Chinese become integrated into the mainstream society, their residential concentration in Winnipeg will gradually reduce.

An interesting phenomenon found in the Chinese most heavily concentrated part of downtown Winnipeg is an increase from Chinese mother tongue speakers to Chinese home language speakers. The general trend, however, was a decrease from ethnic mother tongue speakers to ethnic home language speakers in Winnipeg. While 1,775 residents in the Chinese concentrated area in downtown Winnipeg reported

Chinese as their mother tongue in 1986, a larger number, i.e., 1,880, reported that they used Chinese as a home language. The increase from the number of census respondents who spoke Chinese as a mother tongue to the number of respondents who used Chinese as a home language indicates a shift to Chinese in current language use from mother tongues other than Chinese in the Chinese concentrated area in Winnipeg. In Winnipeg as a whole, although 6,075 reported that their mother tongue was Chinese in 1986, only 5,045 still used Chinese at home. Residential concentration, thus, is shown to be related to the increased use of Chinese in Winnipeg.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

A study by Millien et al. (1971) found that by 1971, the two most important occupational groups among the Chinese in Winnipeg were (1) the professional and technical group and (2) the services and recreational group. Between the two occupational groups, Millien et al. noted a cohort difference. While people in the service and recreational occupations mostly arrived before 1955, people who belonged to the professional and technical group began to appear in increasingly large percentages in the second part of the 1960s, indicating a change that had occurred in the

occupational distribution of the Chinese in Winnipeg along with the change in the immigration policy of the federal government. Millien et al. (1971) identified two trends of development in the occupational distribution of the Chinese in Winnipeg at the time of their survey: an increase in the professional and technical group and a decrease in the service and recreational (restaurant and laundry) group. However, even today, the traditional occupation of running restaurant business continues to be followed by the Chinese. *The Manitoba Chinese business telephone directory* (1989) lists 138 Chinese restaurants in Winnipeg. Nevertheless, the Chinese are no longer restricted to a limited number of occupations. They can be found in nearly all kinds of occupations, even though they are still more concentrated in some than in others.

Although there are no current statistics available on the occupational distribution among the Chinese in Winnipeg, it can be assumed that the two occupational groups shown to be popular among the Chinese in the late 1960s, the professional and technical group and the services and recreational group, are still important among the Chinese today. However, while no Chinese labourers were represented in Millien et al.'s survey twenty years ago, he would not find the same situation in a current survey. It was observed in the field research of this study that large numbers of Indo-China Chinese refugees who settled in

Winnipeg after 1979 had gone into either the primary or the service industries as menial labourers. Although the majority of Chinese in Winnipeg are still engaged in blue-collar occupations, with an increasing number of professionals among new Chinese immigrants and at the same time with the maturity of more and more Canadian-born Chinese, a professional class has emerged within the community. In Winnipeg today, there is a substantial number of Chinese doctors, dentists, professors, school teachers, engineers, administrators, etc. The division between the two occupational groups, the professional and technical group and the services and recreational group among the Chinese in Winnipeg, will be shown to have a bearing on the pattern of language use in the Chinese community in Winnipeg when data from the language use survey for this study are analyzed in a later chapter.

SUBDIVISIONS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

It is not surprising that in a community of the size such as that of the Chinese community in Winnipeg there should be many subdivisions, social, political, and linguistic. One way to observe the differences within the Chinese community in Winnipeg is by cohort groups: an old-timer group, consisting mostly of those of Siyi origin, including the

early immigrants and their families, who may have come to Canada relatively more recently; an independent immigrant group, consisting of the independent immigrants having arrived since the 1960s; and an Indo-China Chinese group, consisting of Chinese from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, who came after 1979.

Organizationally, there are perhaps fewer subdivisions between the old-timer group and the independent immigrant group than among the independent immigrants themselves. That is, while separate social organizations have been set up by different groups of independent immigrants since they arrived in Winnipeg, their participation in the traditional organizations in the Chinese community, such as the Chinese Benevolent Association of Manitoba and the Mah Society, a clan association of the Mah's family, is also present.

Since their arrival, the independent immigrants, especially those of a professional background, have taken an active part in the development of the Chinese community in Winnipeg. With their high socio-economic status in the larger Canadian society, their organizational skills and, above all, their commitment and devotion to the community, they soon assumed the leadership role in local community affairs. One example is the success in the revitalization of Winnipeg's Chinatown in the 1980s, which was due much to the efforts and leadership role of a professional physician, Joseph Du, President of the Chinese Culture and Community

Centre in Winnipeg, as well as to the efforts and contributions of the Winnipeg Chinatown Non-profit Housing led by Ken Wong of Taishan background, an entrepreneur and a former City Councillor. The situation in the Chinese community of Winnipeg today is as what has been described by Chan (1983) for the Chinese communities elsewhere in Canada, in which the new professionals have taken on the function of the old merchant class as pillars of the community, while the roles and functions of the old community leaders have become supportive and secondary.

The social and political subdivisions within the Chinese community are reflected in the separate sets of institutions that the different sectors of the community set up. For example, there are four supplementary Chinese schools and three Chinese newspapers in Winnipeg. The schools all have the same aim of promoting Chinese culture through the teaching of Chinese. The three newspapers are all published monthly and are given free circulation in locations such as Chinese restaurants and grocery stores, the Chinese Culture and Community Centre, and the International Centre in downtown Winnipeg. In appearance, the three newspapers are very similar. For example, they all carry news ranging from the international scene to that of the local community, except that one uses simplified Chinese characters and the other two traditional Chinese characters. Running an ethnic school or an ethnic newspaper

is by no means a simple task and nearly all the work involved is performed on a voluntary basis. To keep either an ethnic school or an ethnic newspaper going involves considerable devotion and support from the community.

The fact that there are four Chinese schools and three newspapers in the local Chinese community is not an accidental fact. No single organization seems to represent the interests of the community as a whole, and the different sectors of the community operate independently within their own networks. Only on matters concerning the local Chinese community as a whole or during times of China's national crises do they come together in joint actions. For example, when the funds supporting the heritage-language programmes was cut by the federal government a year ago, all four Chinese schools in Winnipeg together appealed against the government decision. In 1991, when eastern China suffered from the worst floods of the century, the various Chinese organizations in Winnipeg once again joined efforts and set up a fund-raising committee for disaster relief in China. Though normally divided, the Chinese community nevertheless can show its unity in times of crises and when mutual support is needed to overcome certain difficulties. With regard to language use, the subdivisions within the Chinese community in Winnipeg also show their network specific patterns, as will be discussed in latter chapters.

CONCLUSION

The Chinese began to settle in Winnipeg more than a century ago. However, to date the Chinese population of Winnipeg is still made up mostly of immigrants, as a result of large scale Chinese immigration to Winnipeg in recent decades. The development of the Chinese community in Winnipeg throughout its history has been influenced by the changing policies of the Canadian government toward the Chinese. A discriminatory policy forced the Chinese to look inward for support and to form closed social networks among themselves, isolated from the larger society, while a democratic policy fosters interactive dependency between the Chinese community and the larger Canadian society. However, when language maintenance and language shift are seen to be an effect of social boundaries, Fishman (1991) points out: "Democratic governments ... accomplish the same, or even greater, destruction of minority boundaries" (p. 357). While the in-group and out-group distinction was clear-cut in times of discrimination, this distinction has become less clear in a more democratic atmosphere.

The arrival of new kinds of immigrants since the 1960s has introduced to the Chinese community a social, cultural and linguistic diversity which it had not witnessed before. The influx of large numbers of new Chinese immigrants in

recent years has not only brought vitality to the community life, but has also enriched the linguistic repertoire of the local Chinese community and provided it with a source of native Chinese speakers. However, it will be shown that it is still the social and ethnocultural boundaries and the characteristics of social network structures that have functioned primarily in the maintenance of Chinese in the Chinese community in Winnipeg.

CHAPTER III

CHINESE "LANGUAGES" AND "DIALECTS"

The name *Chinese* refers both to an ethnic group, the 'Han' people, named after the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.), who comprise over 93% of China's population (China's Minority Nationalities, 1981, p. 2), and to the language spoken by them. It is for this reason that their language is known as *hanyu* 'Han language' in China, in contrast to the one hundred or so languages also spoken in China by China's minority groups (cf. Sun, 1986). The Chinese-speaking area covers the eastern half of China's territory that the Han people have traditionally inhabited. To the west are the traditional homelands of China's minority groups. Except for the Hui, the largest Muslim group in China that also uses the same Chinese varieties as are used by the Han people in the various regions in which they reside, all China's minority groups have their own distinctive languages, for example, Tajik (Indo-European), Uighur (Turkic), Dagur (Mongolian), Lolo (Tibeto-Burman), Tibetan, Zhuang (Tai), Miao, Yao, Benglong (Mon-Khmer), etc.

(China's Minority Nationalities, 1981, pp. 585-586).

Chinese constitutes a single branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family; this branch, in turn, consists of a number of "Sinitic" languages, which are, however, usually referred to as dialects (Crystal, 1987, p. 310). The other branches of the same family are called Tibeto-Burman and Miao-Yao (O'Grady and Dobrovolsky, 1987, p. 247). Chinese has been spoken alongside its geographic neighbours for centuries, with the Altaic languages to the north, Tibetan and Miao-Yao languages to the west and southwest, and the Austro-Tai and Austro-Asiatic languages to the southwest and south. Some of these languages are also found in small pockets interspersed amongst Chinese speakers.

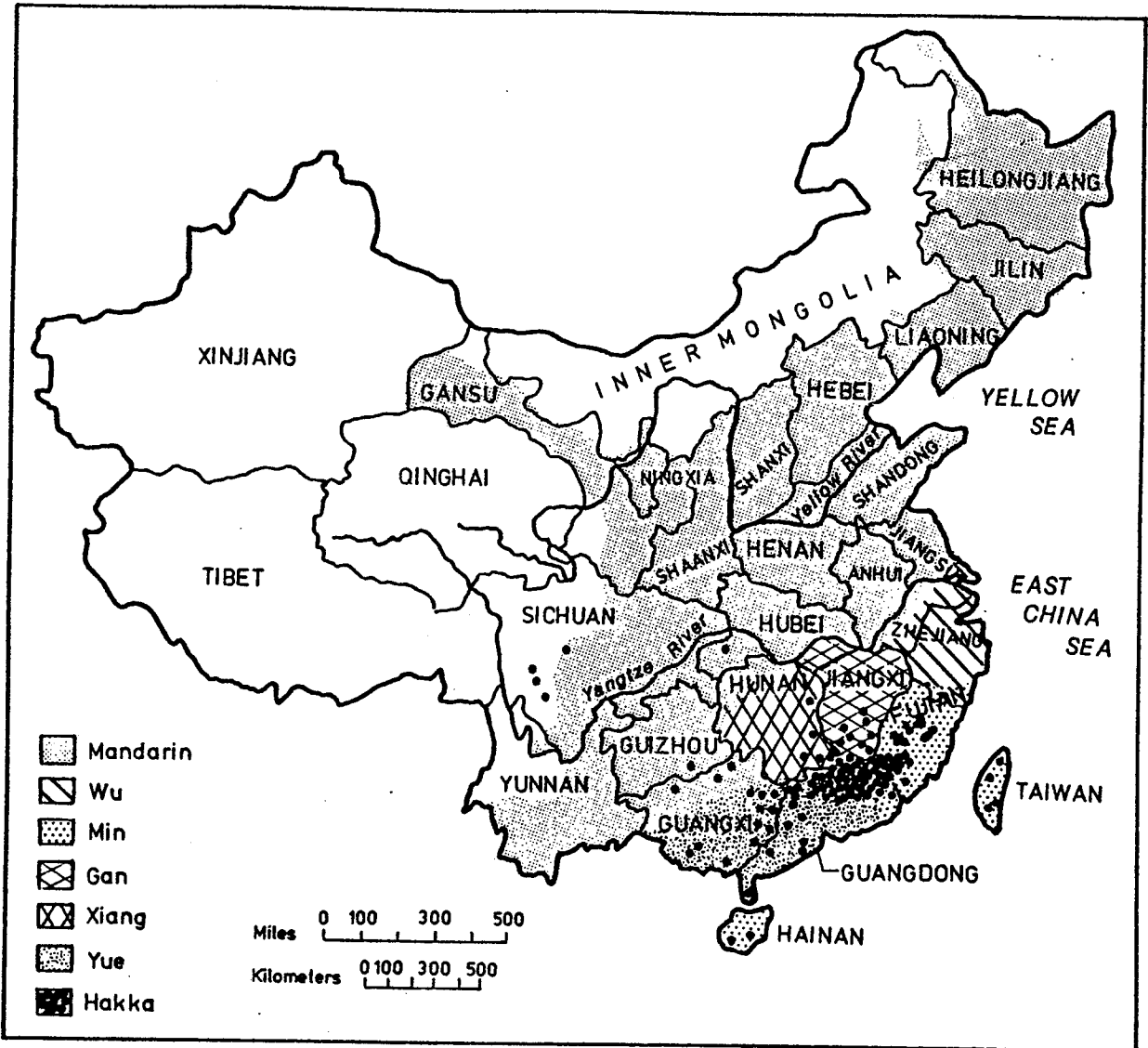
REGIONAL VARIETIES

Classifications of the regional Chinese varieties vary, but it is generally accepted that there are seven regional groups: *Northern Chinese* (known as *Mandarin* in the West), *Wu*, *Xiang*, *Gan*, *Min*, *Hakka*, and *Yue* (Li and Thompson, 1981; Ramsey, 1987; Zhan, 1985). *Northern Chinese*, or *Mandarin*, on which *Putonghua*, the standard variety of Chinese, is based, has by far the largest number of native speakers not just of all the regional Chinese groups but also of all the languages in the world, although English may be the language

that has the largest number of second-language speakers in the world. More than seventy percent of the 1,000 million Chinese-speaking population are native speakers of Northern Chinese (Ramsey, 1987, p. 87). Northern Chinese covers three-fourths of the Chinese-speaking territory, which runs from the northernmost reaches of Manchuria in China's northeast, across northern and central China, to Yunnan and the Thai border in the southwest. The Chinese spoken in the minority regions in northern and northwestern China is also one or another form of Northern Chinese. Speakers of the other six regional groups of Chinese together make up less than thirty percent of the Chinese-speaking population. These regional groups are all concentrated in the southeast quadrant of the Chinese-speaking territory, south of the Yangtze River, the natural north-south division in China (Figure 3.1).

An area immediately south of Mandarin, covering the southern part of Jiangsu, the southeastern corner of Anhui, and most of Zhejiang in the Yangtze delta is where the Wu dialects are located. The speech of Shanghai, the largest cosmopolitan centre in China, is considered the most prestigious of modern Wu dialects and is often the choice for communication among Wu speakers who do not share the same Wu dialects. Southwest of the Wu-speaking region are the Gan dialects, whose region includes most of the province of Jiangxi, the southeast corner of Hubei and the eastern

Figure 3.1 Map of Regional Varieties (Languages/dialects) of Chinese (Based on Ramsey, 1987, Figures 5 and 6.)



border region of Hunan adjacent to Hubei. Further west is the Xiang-speaking region, which covers the eastern and the central parts of Hunan. Scattered in southern China from the inland province of Sichuan to the coastal provinces of Guangdong and Fujian are the Hakka settlements. The largest concentration of Hakka speakers is found in a border region consisting of south Jiangxi, the southwest corner of Fujian and the northeast corner of Guangdong. Meixian, a county located in the province of Guangdong, is known for its large concentration of Hakka settlers. In the hilly coastal province of Fujian south of the Wu-speaking province of Zhejiang is where the various Min dialects are spoken. The Min-speaking region also stretches further south to the northeast tip of Guangdong. Some Min dialects are spoken on China's two largest islands, Taiwan and Hainan, and also other Southeast Asian countries. The entire Guangdong province and a large part of Guangxi west of Guangdong are Yue speaking. Cantonese, the speech of the city of Guangzhou, capital of the province of Guangdong, is the best known and most highly esteemed Yue dialect.

Overseas Chinese are mostly speakers of Min, Yue, or Hakka. It is estimated that there are more than two million Yue speakers in Southeast Asia and at least another several hundred thousand in North America (cf. Norman, 1988, p. 215). The Chinese in the Hawaiian Islands speak Hakka and the Yue dialect of Zhongshan (Chao, 1976, p. 25). Several

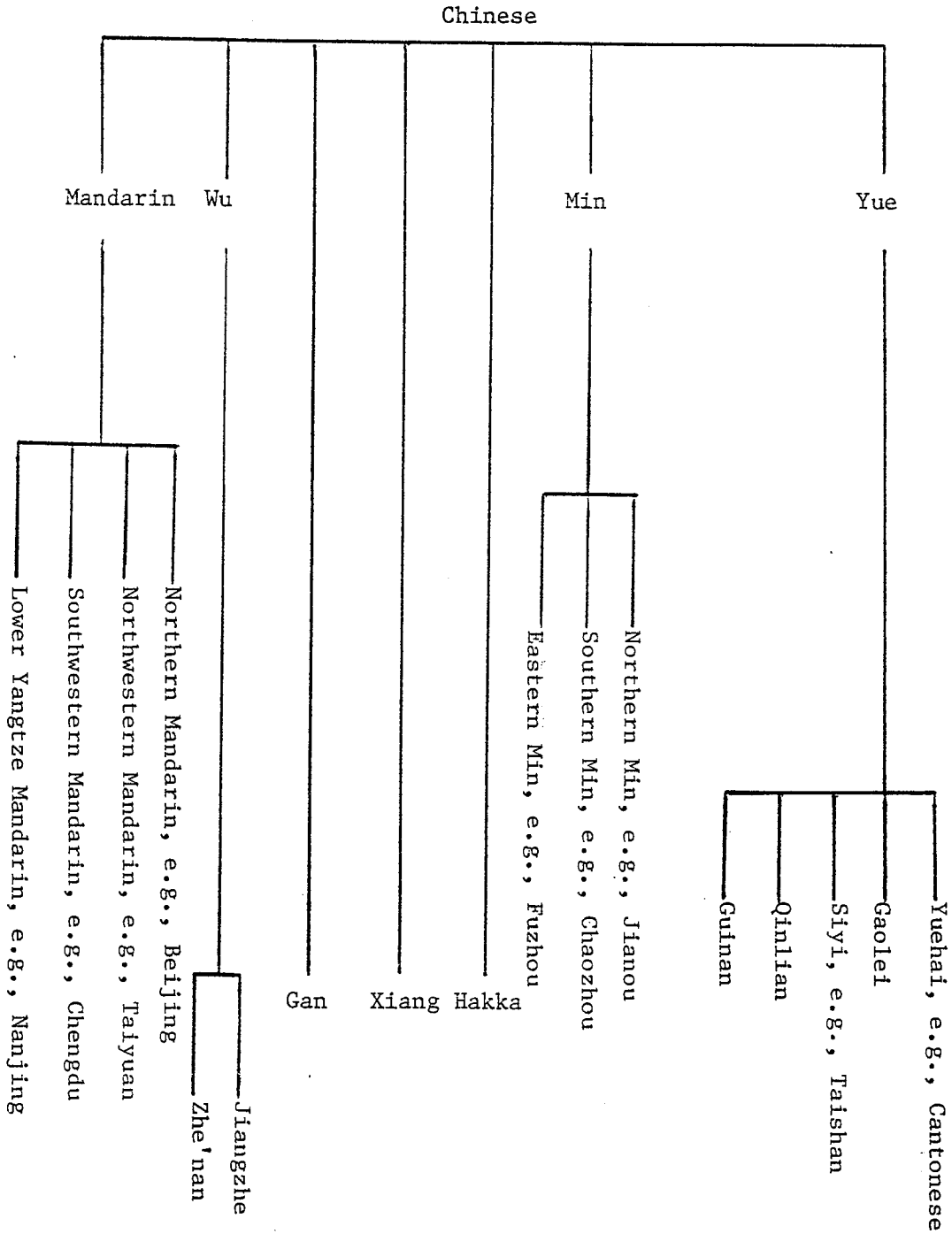
million overseas Chinese in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia are Min speakers (Norman, 1988, p. 233). Many Chinese in the Americas have their origin in Siyi (Zhan, 1985, p. 165), an area located within the Yue-speaking region in China, 60 miles southwest of the city of Guangzhou (Canton). They speak the Siyi dialects of Yue (p. 165). Until recently, Taishanese, a Siyi dialect, had been the most important Chinese variety used in Winnipeg's Chinatown. Most of the Min speakers in Winnipeg from Indo-China speak the dialect of Chaozhou, which is a Southern Min dialect (Zhan, 1985, p. 184).

THE LANGUAGE VS DIALECT ISSUE

What is known as *Chinese* is thus a cover term for a number of mutually non-intelligible regional varieties, which are linguistically related (see Figure 3.2). Although these regional varieties are usually referred to as dialects, in the view of many linguists they are really distinct languages. According to Leonard Bloomfield (1933, p. 44), Chinese is not a single language but a language *family*⁹ consisting of mutually unintelligible languages. One of the most eminent modern linguists who have studied this issue, Yuen Ren Chao (1976), also noted the linguistic disparity between the various regional varieties of Chinese and

Figure 3.2

Classification of Chinese
 "Languages"/"Dialects" (Based on the
 classifications of Li and Thompson, 1981;
 Norman, 1988; Zhan, 1985)



pointed out that, in practical terms, they should really be considered different languages (pp. 24, 105). Li and Thompson (1981) refer to Chinese as the "Chinese language family". According to them, "Cantonese and Mandarin differ from each other roughly as the Romance 'languages' Portuguese and Rumanian do" (p. 2). However, the view of many Chinese linguists is rather different (cf. DeFrancis, 1967, pp. 138-145; Wang, 1985, p. 2). In this view, the regional varieties of Chinese are dialects of a single language and as such constitute an inseparable whole -- just like the people who speak them.

Whether the regional varieties are dialects of a single language or separate languages is really a problem that falls into the realm of the classical question of what constitutes a language and what constitutes a dialect (Haugen, 1966). By a purely linguistic criterion of mutual intelligibility, the various regional varieties are unquestionably separate languages. A "Chinese speaker" from northern China who speaks Mandarin cannot communicate with a "Chinese speaker" from southern China who speaks Cantonese if each of them speaks but his own dialect. In North America, lack of mutual intelligibility among the various regional varieties of Chinese is an important reason why native speakers of different regional Chinese varieties are often forced to speak English among themselves when they meet. Differences within "Chinese" is also a cause of a

practical concern for the supplementary Chinese language schools in Winnipeg as to which regional variety they should choose to teach.

In the popular mind, however, the concept of language covers more than just the linguistic aspect alone. Underlying the notion of the oneness of "the Chinese language" is first of all a cultural continuity in Chinese history. Ever since Qinshihuang unified China for the first time in 201 B.C., unity has always been an overwhelming and mainstream force in Chinese history, although there have been many times of disunity and reunification. The language situation of Chinese is often compared to the situation of the Romance languages (e.g., Ramsey, 1987; Norman, 1988). However, unlike the peoples who speak languages of the Romance family, the Chinese in China are not divided by separate histories, cultures, or language norms. Although regionality has always existed, the regional boundaries in China are not political or national boundaries as are those that have divided the Romance languages. As Ramsey (1987) points out, the Chinese "feel themselves to be part of the same language community in ways that the Romance peoples, with their separate histories, cultures and language norms, could never do" (p. 17). In the same way that the Romance peoples of different nations speak different languages, the Chinese, as one people, believe they speak one language.

The belief of the oneness of the Chinese language has

also been reinforced by the written form of the language. The importance of written Chinese to the unity and continuity of the Chinese culture can never be overestimated. Immediately after Qinshihuang unified China for the first time more than two thousand years ago, he pursued four unification policies for the reinforcement of the political unification. One of Qinshihuang's four unification policies was the unification of the Chinese script, the other three being the unifications of the transportation routes, the measurement systems, and the currency. Although there have been many drastic changes in the centralized power throughout Chinese history, the Chinese script, as it is developed to date, has never failed to be passed on from generation to generation. A widespread saying among the Chinese about the Chinese writing system is *tong wen tong zong* 'common script, common ancestor'. In other words, "if we write the same script, we are of one people". In addition, since the Chinese script is not phonetic in nature and is used for all of the languages in question alike, the "common language" in the mind of many Chinese speakers is often really the "common written language" that they possess in common.

Moreover, Chinese has a long literary history and highly developed literary norms, the literary norms of classic Chinese and of modern vernacular literature. As language use is in many ways guided and restricted by the

written language, there is no doubt that the literary conventions of Chinese have exerted a profound influence on the unification of linguistic norms for all the regional varieties and at the same time have prevented the rise of competitors within Chinese.

In addition to the highly developed standard form of written Chinese, from time to time throughout Chinese history there has also been a commonly accepted standard form of spoken Chinese, used among speakers of different regional varieties (Norman, 1988, pp. 186-187). As early as the Zhou Period (1100 - 771 B.C.) for example, *yayan*, literally 'elegant speech', was one such commonly accepted standard variety of Chinese. *yayan* was based on the speech variety of Gaojing, the capital and the political, commercial, and cultural centre of Zhou, located southwest of the present day Xi'an in Shaanxi. It was the official language of the Zhou government and was used as a lingua franca among officials from the subject countries of Zhou who spoke various mutually unintelligible regional speech forms. *yayan* was also the norm of speech among intellectuals, including Confucius and his contemporaries, for a long time even after Zhou. During the Tang Dynasty (618 - 907 A.D.), the most prosperous of China's dynasties, there was also a standard speech form of Chinese. This standard variety of Chinese was based on the speech of Chang'an, capital of the Tang Dynasty. It is not certain

exactly how widespread this standard speech form was during that time, but it is known that it had been widely accepted by Chinese intellectuals of the time in both north and south China and was even taught by some intellectuals to their own children as a proper form of speech. The prestige of this Tang dynasty standard speech can still be felt today, as speakers of the more conservative regional varieties in south China, Min and Yue, proudly point to the many features of classical Chinese that are preserved in their speech varieties and to the maintenance of differences between colloquial and reading pronunciations of many lexical items in their regional varieties as well.

Today, the whole of China has a single standard variety of Chinese, known by a number of different names: *putonghua* 'common speech' in mainland China, *guoyu* 'national language' in Taiwan, and *Mandarin*, in its narrow sense, in the Western world. This standard variety of Chinese is based on the lexicon of Northern Chinese, the grammatical conventions of modern vernacular literature, and the phonology of the speech of Beijing. It is the single most important linguistic model in the whole of China and for all Chinese speakers, no matter how far removed their own regional varieties may be from the standard. It is also recognized by the Chinese communities overseas and has been used for the formal teaching of Chinese in many Chinese communities, especially those located in Southeast Asia.

In recognition of these social and political facts, many Western linguists (e.g., Norman 1988; Ramsey, 1987), have also adopted the Chinese idea of the oneness of the Chinese language, even though at the same time maintaining that, in practical and theoretical terms, the disparate regional forms should be considered as separate languages. For the same reason, in this dissertation, the regional varieties will also be referred to by their conventional terminology as *dialects* of Chinese rather than as *languages*, even though in linguistic terms they should be treated as separate languages.

DIALECT VARIATIONS

Within the vast Mandarin-speaking region, differences in speech do not generally pose a barrier to communication between speakers coming from anywhere. In the south, however, "sharply divergent forms of speech are often separated by only a few miles" (Ramsey, 1987, p. 21), and lack of mutual intelligibility may arise even between neighbouring villages (Zhan, 1985, p. 12). The linguistic scene in Chinese is characterised by Ramsey (1987) as "a unified North and a fragmented South" (p. 22).

Corresponding to the difference between a linguistically more or less unified north and a fragmented

south is a geographic difference between the two parts of China. In the north lie China's vast plains, e.g., the Northern China Plain, the Loess Plateau, and the Northeast Plain, whereas in the south are many of China's rivers, lakes, hills and mountains. Waterways may create either barriers or pathways to communication. Examples include the separation of Wu from Mandarin by the Yangtze River and the Yue spoken in Guangxi carried over by the West River from the Yue speaking province of Guangdong in the east. The Min speaking Fujian forms the linguistically most diversified Chinese-speaking region, owing to its many mountains and hills that separate people and speech varieties. There, linguistic differences are large enough to result in mutual unintelligibility between Northern Min, Southern Min, and Eastern Min (Zhan, 1985, p. 179).

History has also played a part in the linguistic difference between the north and the south (Ramsey, 1987). All regional groups of Chinese today come from the same ancestral language that was once spoken in the Yellow River Valley in the north. In the south there used to be the various Tai languages, known as *Zhuang-Dong* languages in China (Zhan, 1985, pp. 163, 180). The Tai languages are still spoken by many minority nationalities in southern China today, such as Zhuang, Dai, Li, and Buyi, to name a few (Ramsey, 1987, p. 232-248). When Chinese spread from the north to what is now the Chinese speaking south, along

with the expansion of the Chinese empire, and replaced the indigenous Tai languages once spoken in the south, the indigenous Tai languages of the south disappeared, but certain features of those languages have remained and become part of the local Chinese dialects. The substratum influence from the non-Sinitic languages once spoken in the south accounts for much of the mutual unintelligibility between the regional Chinese varieties today (Zhan, 1985, pp. 137, 163).

Moreover, separate waves of Han immigration from the north to the south ever since the Qin Dynasty (221 - 207 B.C.) have also resulted in different strata in the Chinese spoken in the south (Egerod, 1967; Zhan, 1985), exhibited through such a phenomenon as the existence of systematic variation between two different phonological forms of the same lexical items in Min and Yue. This phenomenon is known to be especially widespread in Min (Egerod, 1967).

The two southernmost regional groups, Min and Yue, which many Chinese in Winnipeg speak, are both geographically and linguistically most distant from Mandarin. In both Min and Yue, a substratum of Tai is very noticeable (Egerod, 1967). According to Zhan (1985), as much as 70% of the sound systems of either Min or Yue is different from that of Mandarin, whereas within Mandarin no more than 20% of the sounds are different between the subdialects (p. 23). In the lexicon, too, both Min and Yue

possess many lexical items for which no cognates can be found elsewhere in Chinese, but whose origins can nevertheless be traced to Tai (Egerod, 1967). Even in syntax, Min and Yue reflect influence from Tai in certain word order patterns.

Although variation can be found virtually in every aspect of the linguistic structure between Chinese dialects, as Yuen Ren Chao (1969) once pointed out, Chinese dialects vary primarily in phonology, secondarily in the lexicon and least importantly in syntax (p. 3). In the following, the dialect variation in Chinese will be discussed in the order of phonology, morphology and syntax. Particular attention will be given to the dialects whose speakers are found in more or less sizable numbers in Winnipeg. These include Northern Chinese, represented by Putonghua, Wu, represented by the speech of Shanghai, and the dialects of the three southernmost groups, Hakka, Min, and Yue, represented respectively by the speech of Meixian, Chaozhou, and Guangzhou (Canton).

Moreover, not only is there mutual unintelligibility between the major regional varieties of Chinese, but within each of them there are also many subdialects. As Crystal (1987) pointed out, "it must also be recognized that each variety consists of a large number of dialects, many of which may themselves be referred to as languages" (p. 312). Thus, the regional varieties of Chinese are really groups of

dialects that are more closely related to each other than to those belonging to different groups.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIATIONS

The following discussion focuses on some systematic variations in the sound systems of the Chinese dialects¹⁰. These variations are considered to be the results of historical sound changes in Chinese, especially since the time of Middle Chinese¹¹ (Zhan, 1985, p. 23).

Tonal variations

Chinese is a tonal language. This means that in the phonological system of Chinese, tones are phonemic and are as important as vowels and consonants. Each syllable in Chinese has a specific pitch pattern, which can be either level or contour, although the physical pitch value of any syllable may vary from dialect to dialect.

Northern Chinese, or Mandarin, has the simplest tonal system of all Chinese dialects. Most Northern dialects have four tones, which are developed from but are no longer the same as the four tones in Middle Chinese, traditionally referred to as the *ping* tone, the *shang* tone, the *qu* tone

and the *ru* tone (Zhan, 1985, p. 44). In most Northern dialects, the Middle Chinese *ru* tone has merged with other tones, and the Middle Chinese *ping* tone has split into two tones, *yin* and *yang*, or upper and lower register. The disappearance of *ru* tone in Northern Chinese is one of the features that have separated Northern Chinese from all other regional groups, and is believed to have come along with the loss of the Middle Chinese syllable-final stops **-p*, **-t*, and **-k* in Northern Chinese¹². Where the *ru* tone is preserved, as in nearly all the regional groups south of the Yangtze river, the syllable-final stops have also been preserved in one way or another.

The four tones in Putonghua are referred to as *yinping*, *yangping*, *shangsheng*, and *qusheng*, respectively. The tonal values of the four tones are 'level' (55) for *yinping*, 'rising' (45) for *yangping*, 'dipping/falling and rising' (213) for *shangsheng*, and 'falling' (52) for *qusheng*. The phonological contrast of the four tones can be shown by the minimal sets:

<i>fan</i> ⁵⁵	'sail'	<i>mo</i> ⁵⁵	'to touch'	<i>chuan</i> ⁵⁵	'valley'
<i>fan</i> ⁴⁵	'bored'	<i>mo</i> ⁴⁵	'to grind'	<i>chuan</i> ⁴⁵	'boat'
<i>fan</i> ²¹³	'reverse'	<i>mo</i> ²¹³	'to wipe'	<i>chuan</i> ²¹³	'to gasp'
<i>fan</i> ⁵²	'meal'	<i>mo</i> ⁵²	'ink'	<i>chuan</i> ⁵²	'to jump'

A general tendency in the tonal systems of Chinese is that, the further south the dialects, the more tones the dialects have. The dialects to the south of Mandarin all have six or more tones: the Hakka dialect of Meixian has six tones, the Wu dialect of Shanghai has five tones (which is not typical of Wu dialects, since the Wu dialects as a whole have an average of eight tones), the Min dialect of Chaozhou has eight tones, and the Yue dialects of Canton and Taishan each have nine tones (Zhan, 1985). What has happened in the tonal development in Chinese is that while in Mandarin tone split has occurred only with one of the Middle Chinese tones, the *ping* tone, in dialects with eight or more tones today tone split has involved *all* four Middle Chinese tones. In the nine-tone Yue dialects, such as Cantonese and the Taishan dialect, one of the Middle Chinese tones, the *ru* tone, has split into three tones. In contrast, in a few isolated cases, some Mandarin dialects spoken in the northwest only have three tones, for example the dialect of Yinchuan in Ningxia Hui Nationality Autonomous Region (Zhan, 1985, p. 45). The reduced tones in these dialects are considered the result of influence from the non-tonal Altaic languages located north of the Mandarin-speaking region.

Consonant variations

The syllable structure in Chinese is (C) V (C), where C stands for a consonant, V a vowel, and the parentheses indicate optional occurrence. Only single consonants exist in modern Chinese, although consonant clusters might have existed in Old Chinese (cf. Norman, 1988, p. 45).

Final consonants

All the consonants in Chinese may occur syllable initially, although their occurrences vary depending on the dialects, but only nasals and stops are found syllable finally. In Northern Chinese, the only syllable-final consonants are the nasals [-n] and [-ng]. In the southern dialect groups, both nasals and stops may be found syllable finally. The two types of syllable-final consonants are considered to reflect Middle Chinese *-p, *-t, *-k, *-m, *-n, and *-ng (Zhan, 1985, p. 42).

In general, nasals are better preserved than stops in the syllable-final position in modern Chinese. Northern Chinese as a whole has lost all Middle Chinese stops in the syllable-final position. In Wu dialects, while *-p, *-t, and *-k have all disappeared, a glottal stop has remained in their place. In the Min dialect of Chaozhou, where [-p] and [-k] are still present, they no longer occur with all the

lexical items that originally had them. There, the glottal stop has replaced all the *-t's and some *-p's and *-k's (cf. Zhan, 1985, p. 43). In Yue and Hakka dialects as well as a few Southern Min dialects in the far south, such as the dialect of Xiamen, all three stops as well as their nasal counterparts have been maintained in the syllable-final position (Zhan, 1985, p. 42).

While the final nasals are better preserved than final stops, the occurrences of the final nasals in the various dialects are more complicated than the final stops. All Chinese dialects still have [-ng], but the occurrence of [-m] is only a feature of the three southernmost dialect groups, Yue, Hakka, and Min (cf. Zhan, 1985, p. 38). In many Chinese dialects, fusion of [-n] and [-ng] has occurred. In the Mandarin dialects spoken in the northwest and the southwest and certain Northern Min dialects, for example, fusion of [-n] and [-ng] has taken place under condition of certain vowel environments (cf. Zhan, 1985, p. 39). In other dialects, most noticeably the Wu dialects in general and also the Min dialect of Chaozhou, [-n] has merged with [-ng]. The following are some lexical items from a few dialects that had originally been distinct from each other by three different nasal endings.

	[-m]	[-m]	[-n]	[-ng]
	'sword'	'woods'	'year'	'light'
Cantonese Yue	[kim]	[lam]	[nin]	[kuong]
Chaozhou Min	[kĩ]	[lim]	[ni]	[køng]
Xiamen Min	[kiam]	[dim]	[dian]	[kuang]
Meixian Hakka	[kiam]	[lin]	[nian]	[kuong]
Shanghai Wu	[tçi]	[ling]	[ni]	[kuang]
Putonghua	[tçian]	[lin]	[nian]	[kuang]

(Source: Zhan, 1985).

Palatal vs velar initials

The presence of the palatal initials [tç], [tç'], and [ç] is another feature that divides the Chinese dialect groups.

The palatals are produced with the blade of the tongue against the front of the hard palate. In dialects that have the palatals, i.e., Mandarin, Gan, Xiang, and Wu, the palatals are in complementary distribution with the velars [k-] and [k'-], and [h-]. In these dialects, the palatals always occur before high front vowels, e.g., [i] or [ü], with which the velar series never occur. In the three southernmost dialect groups Hakka, Min, and Yue, where the palatals are absent, the velars occur regardless of the tongue height of the following vowels. The following list shows examples of the variations in a number of dialects with regard to the occurrences of palatals and velars.

'to see' 'strange' 'hope' 'street' 'home' 'shoe'

Cantonese Yue	[kin]	[k'ei]	[hei]	[ka:i]	[ka]	[ha:i]
Chaozhou Min	[kĩ]	[k'i]	[hi]	[koi]	[kə]	[oi]
Meixian Hakka	[kian]	[k'i]	[hi]	[kiai]	[ka]	[hai]
Shanghai Wu	[tçi]	[dçi]	[çi]	[ka]	[ka]	[ha]
Putonghua	[tçian]	[tç'i]	[çi]	[tçie]	[tçia]	[çie]

(Source: Zhan, 1985).

Proposals that the palatals are allophones of the apical sibilants or they are allophones of the velars have both been made (e.g., Hockett, 1947; Zhan, 1985), but according to Chao (1968), the latter analysis is closest to the "feeling of the native" (p. 21). In this analysis, the occurrence of palatals in Chinese today is considered to be the result of the process of palatalization of velars in the environment of high front vowels. This process is most complete in Mandarin; it is still incomplete in the dialect groups located in central China, including Wu, Gan, and Xiang, and has not occurred at all in the three southernmost dialects, Hakka, Min, and Yue (Zhan, 1985, p. 25). Some dialects, especially the Mandarin spoken in northern and northeastern China, however, have gone further and have spilled palatalization onto lexical items whose vowels originally were not necessarily high, for example *a and the diphthong *ai, and in doing so have palatalized these vowels with the high front vowel [i], as in 'street', 'home' and 'shoe' in the examples above. The same thing has also occurred to a certain extent in the Mandarin dialects spoken

in the southwest, for example the Mandarin dialect of Chengdu in Sichuan and the Mandarin dialect of Hankou in Hubei, and in some Wu, Gan, and Xiang dialects, but there the process is not as complete as in northern and northeastern Mandarin (p. 25). Thus, we find both the variations across dialects, as illustrated by the examples in the above, and the variants of palatals and velars for certain lexical items within certain dialects, such as [tɕiang] ~ [kang] 'river' in the Wu dialect of Shanghai and in the Mandarin dialect of Chengdu, [tɕiai] ~ [kai] 'to solve' in the Mandarin dialect of Chengdu, and [tɕia] ~ [ka] 'to solve' in the Wu dialect of Shanghai.

Retroflex obstruents

Retroflex obstruents in Chinese exist only in the Mandarin dialects spoken in northern and northwestern China. They are produced with the tip of the tongue tilted toward the back of the alveolar ridge. In these Mandarin dialects, the retroflex affricates [tʂ] and [tʂ'] and the retroflex fricative [ʂ] contrast with their apical counterparts [ts], [ts'], and [s], which are produced with the tip of the tongue against the back of the front teeth, as shown in these minimal pairs:

[tʂi]	'to know'	:	[tsɿ]	'capital'
[tʂ'i]	'to eat'	:	[ts'ɿ]	'to protrude'
[ʂi]	'lion'	:	[sɿ]	'silk'

With very few exceptions in all the other Chinese dialects, the two words in each above pair are pronounced identically with the apical obstruents only. The retroflex obstruents in Mandarin are considered a development during Middle Chinese, because in Old Chinese, no retroflex obstruents existed (Zhan, 1985, p. 30). Some examples with retroflex obstruents as a variable that distinguishes northern and northeast Mandarin from the other Chinese dialects are as follows:

	'know'	'capital'	'tea'	'wipe'	'lose'	'silk'
Cantonese Yue	[tʂi]	[tʂi]	[tʂ'a]	[ts'at]	[sat]	[ʂi]
Chaozhou Min	[tsai]	[tsi]	[t'e]	[ts'i]	[ts'i]	[si]
Meixian Hakka	[ti]	[tsɿ]	[ts'i]	[ts'i]	[sɿ]	[sɿ]
Shanghai Wu	[tsɿ]	[tsɿ]	[dz'o]	[ts'əq]	[səq]	[sɿ]
Putonghua	[tʂi]	[tsɿ]	[tʂ'a]	[ts'a]	[ʂi]	[sɿ]

(Source: Zhan, 1985).

Aside from a variation between the retroflex obstruents in Mandarin and the apical sibilants in many other dialects, a correspondence can be found between the apical stops [t] and [t'] in some Hakka dialects and the Yue dialect of Taishan and the sibilants in the other dialects. The stops in these Min and Yue dialects that correspond to either the sibilants or the retroflexes in the other dialects are vestiges from Old Chinese, a most conservative feature of these Min and Yue dialects (Zhan, 1985, p. 30).

Voiced obstruents

Voicing is not a distinctive feature of obstruents in Chinese, except for in the Wu dialects and some Xiang dialects (Zhan, 1985, p. 26). Voiced obstruents did, however, exist in Middle Chinese (p. 26). Devoicing of the obstruents in Chinese is considered to have arisen along with the split of tones into *yin* and *yang*, or upper and lower register, in various Chinese dialects since the time when Middle Chinese was spoken (cf. Norman, 1988, pp. 194, 201). The majority of Chinese dialects today do not have voiced obstruents. Wu dialects are exceptional in this respect, for they have most completely preserved the Middle Chinese voiced obstruents. Unvoiced obstruents in Wu dialects, aspirated or unaspirated, continuant or discontinuant, all have their corresponding voiced sounds, which include [b], [d], [g], [dz], [z], [dʒ], [v], and [ɦ] (p. 200). In Wu dialects, tone split, the very condition that had given rise to obstruent devoicing in the other dialects, also occurred, but while the results of tone split are still present, the voiced obstruents kept intact.

Voiced obstruents in Wu dialects all occur in the *yin* or lower registered tone (Zhan, 1985, p. 114), but their corresponding forms in Mandarin differ both by way of aspiration and by tone values. For example, in the Wu dialect of Shanghai, the two lexical items [du] 'on foot' and [du] 'degree' both have a voiced initial [d-] and the

same lower registered tone, but their corresponding forms in Putonghua differ. The first, 'on foot', has an aspirated stop [t'-] and a lower registered *píng* tone and the second, 'degree', exhibits an unaspirated initial stop [t-] and a falling tone.

In some dialects, including the Min dialect of Chaozhou and Hakka dialects in general, Middle Chinese voiced obstruents have all become voiceless aspirates; in Xiang, they have all become unaspirated but with voicing preserved to varying degrees (Norman, 1988, p. 198). The following shows some corresponding forms of voiced stops in the Wu dialect of Shanghai and the unvoiced stops in the Hakka dialect of Meixian and Putonghua:

				'younger brother'	'flag'	'together'
	'level'	'white'	'lift'			
Meixian Hakka	[p'in]	[p'ak]	[t'i]	[t'i]	[k'i]	[k'iung]
Shanghai Wu	[bing]	[b@q]	[di]	[di]	[dçi]	[gong]
Putonghua	[p'ing]	[pai]	[t'i]	[ti]	[tç'i]	[kong]

(Source: the Meixian Hakka data are from Ramsey, 1987, p. 111).

Labiodental fricative

The labiodental fricative [f] first developed in Northern Chinese during the Middle Chinese period (Norman, 1988, p. 211). All modern Chinese dialects have [f], except for the Min dialect group (Zhan, 1985, p. 27). Min dialects still

retain [h], with its bilabial variant [p] for elevated, literary speech, where labiodentals have occurred in the other dialects. For example, for Putonghua [fen] 'to divide', Chaozhou Min has its corresponding form [hung] ~ [pung] and for Putonghua [fu] 'happiness' the Min dialect of Chaozhou has [ho] ~ [po]. The lack of [f] separates Min dialects from all other Chinese dialects, including dialects of two other southern groups, Hakka and Yue, and thus also the Min speakers of Chaozhou who have settled in Winnipeg from speakers of other Chinese dialects in Winnipeg.

Vowel variations

The high front rounded vowel

Most Chinese dialects, including Mandarin, Wu, Gan, Xiang, and Yue, have two high front vowels, an unrounded [i] and a rounded [ü]. But in many Hakka and Min dialects, only the unrounded high front vowel is attested (Zhan, 1985, p. 33). In dialects that do not have the rounded high front vowel, either i or [u] occurs corresponding to the [ü] in the other dialects, for example:

	'rain'	'cloud'	'to dwell'	'fish'
Cantonese Yue	[ü]	[vun]	[køy]	[ü]
Chaozhou Min	[hou]	[hung]	[kω]	[hω]
Meixian Hakka	[i]	[iun]		
Shanghai Wu	[ü]	[üng]	[tçü]	[ng]
Putonghua	[ü]	[ün]	[tçü]	[ü]

(Source: Zhan, 1985, p. 33).

The absence of the high front rounded vowel separates the Hakka and the Min dialects not only from the dialects spoken in northern and central China but also Yue in the south.

Monophthongization vs diphthongization

Monophthongization of the diphthongs is one of the two most salient phonological phenomena in Wu dialects, the other being the preservation of the Middle Chinese voiced obstruents discussed in the above. A number of Wu dialects, including that of Shanghai, do not have the diphthongs of the ascending type [ai], [ei], [ou], and [ao], which are found in most other Chinese dialects (Norman, 1988, p. 201). For [k'ai] 'open' and [mao] 'appearance' in Putonghua for example, Shanghai Wu dialect has [k'ɛ] and [moŋ] respectively. As a result of monophthongization, Wu dialects now have a very rich vowel inventory. Putonghua has six phonemic vowels, [i], [ü], [ə], [u], [o], and [a], but the vowels in Shanghai Wu dialect are double in number (cf. Norman, 1988, p. 201).

In the opposite direction of development in Chinese is

the diphthongization of the monophthongs. This phenomenon is most prominent with the high vowels [i], [ü], and [u] in Yue and Min dialects (Zhan, 1985, p. 36). Note the following variations: Putonghua [mi] 'riddle' ~ Cantonese [mai]; Putonghua [ts'u] 'vinegar' ~ Cantonese [tš'ou] and Chaozhou Min [ts'ou]; and Putonghua [tçü] 'get together' ~ Cantonese [tšøy] (p. 37).

Summary

In summary, some of the phonological features of the Chinese dialects in question discussed in the above are presented in the following matrix to show their function in distinguishing the dialects from one another.

	[-m]	[-n]	[-p]	[-t]	[tç]	[tš]	[b]		
			[-k]/[tç']	[ç]	[š]	[f]	[d]	[ü]	[ai]
Cantonese Yue	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
Chaozhou Min	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Meixian Hakka	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+
Shanghai Wu	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
Putonghua	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+

The preservation of the Middle Chinese final stops *-p, *-t, and *-k and the Middle Chinese final nasal *-m separates Hakka, Min, and Yue, the three southernmost regional groups of Chinese, from the groups north of them. Mandarin

dialects are unique for the presence of retroflex obstruents and the lack of any of the final stops. The preservation of the Middle Chinese voiced obstruents and the lack of diphthongs along with a rich vowel inventory are characteristics of the Wu dialects. The lack of the labiodental fricative [f-] separates Min from all other regional groups, including the two other southernmost groups, Hakka and Yue, while at the same time Min agrees with Hakka but differs from Yue and the other regional groups in lacking the high front rounded vowel [ü].

LEXICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATIONS

The majority of the vocabulary in Chinese is shared by all Chinese dialects, such that for nearly all words in Putonghua, the 'standard Chinese', equivalents can be found in other dialects, owing mostly to the influence of the written but also to the spoken norms of Chinese. However, every Chinese dialect also has its own lexical items for which no equivalent can be found in other dialects. In everyday life, it is these forms that normally are used, and the common vocabulary of standard Chinese is only used for elevated and formal speech. Some lexical and morphological variations in Chinese are discussed in the following.

Pronominal variations

All Mandarin dialects share the same set of personal pronouns, [wo] 'I', [ni] 'you', and [t'a] 'he/she/it', although alternative forms of the first-person pronoun can be found in some dialects, for example, the [ngan] in the Mandarin dialect spoken in Shandong. In dialect groups other than Mandarin, although the first- and second-person pronouns are mostly cognate to those of Mandarin, the third-person pronoun takes on different forms. Compare the following pronominal systems in Chinese dialects:

	Pronouns		
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Cantonese Yue	[ngo]	[nei]	[k'öy]
Taishan Yue	[ngoi]	[ni]	[k'ui]
Chaozhou Min	[qua]	[lɔ]	[i]
Meixian Hakka	[ngai]	[ngi] ~ [n]	[ki]
Shanghai Wu	[ngu]	[nong]	[yi]
Putonghua	[wo]	[ni]	[t'a]

(Sources: Norman, 1988, pp. 220, 227; Zhan, 1985, p. 59).

Corresponding to [t'a] in Mandarin, the third person pronoun in the Wu dialect of Shanghai is [yi], in the Hakka dialect of Meixian is [ki], in the Min dialect of Chaozhou is [i], in Cantonese and the Yue dialect of Taishan [k'öy] and [k'ui] respectively. The third person pronoun forms in the various dialects are considered to have been derived from

different sources. The [yi] in the Wu dialect of Shanghai, the [i] in the Min dialect of Chaozhou, and the [ki] in the Hakka dialect of Meixian reflect the Middle Chinese *qi (Norman, 1988, p. 203) and the [k'öy] of Cantonese and the [kui] of the Yue dialect of Taishan can be related to the Middle Chinese *gjwo (p. 219).

Variations in the pronominal forms in Chinese thus divide the Chinese speakers in Winnipeg into those who use [wo] for the first person pronoun, i.e., Mandarin speakers, and those whose first person pronoun forms begin with the velar nasal [ng-] or the glottal stop [q-], i.e., speakers of all the other dialects. Furthermore, variations in the third person pronouns not only separate speakers of Mandarin, who use the third person pronoun [t'a], from speakers of the other dialects, but also divide speakers of dialects other than Mandarin into those whose third person pronouns are [yi], [ki] or [i], derived from the Middle Chinese *qi, i.e., Wu, Hakka, and Min speakers, and those whose the third person pronouns are [k'öy] or [k'ui], derived from the Middle Chinese *gjwo, i.e., Yue speakers.

Plural suffixes

One of the few suffixes that Chinese has is the plural suffix. In Mandarin, plural is marked by [-mən], for

example [wom@n] 'we', [nim@n] 'you (plural)', [t'am@n] 'they', and [kongr@nm@n] 'workers'. For speakers of other Chinese dialects, [-m@n] occurs as a plural marker only in elevated speech. For everyday use, different forms are employed. The plural suffix in Cantonese is [-tei]: [ngotei] 'we', [neitei] 'you, plural' and [k'öytei] 'they'. In the Min dialect of Chaozhou, it can be identified as [-ng]. There, the plural form of the first person pronoun is [ng], the plural form of the second-person pronoun is [ning], and the plural form of the third person pronoun is [ing]. In the Wu dialect of Shanghai, the plural suffix can be identified as [-la] as in [qala] 'we' and [ila] 'they'. The second-person plural form in the Shanghai dialect is a fusion of the second-person singular form and the plural suffix, i.e., [na] < [nong] + [la]. In the Hakka dialect of Xingning in Meixian, the pronominal plurals are expressed by [-ts'eka]: [ngai ts'eka] 'we', [ni ts'eka] 'you (plural)', and [i ts'eka] 'they'. In the Yue dialect of Taishan, however, plural forms are formed by tonal changes rather than by affixation (Norman, 1988, p. 219). The following list shows the plural suffixes in the Chinese dialects discussed above:

Plural Suffixes

Cantonese Yue	[-tei]
Chaozhou Min	[-ng]
Xingning Hakka	[-ts'eka]
Shanghai Wu	[-la]
Putonghua	[-m@n]

Possessive and modifier markers

Possession in Mandarin is indicated by [-d@], for example [wod@] 'my' and [wom@end@] 'our'. The same form, with a variant in [di], is also used to introduce modifiers, both verbal and nominal. However, [-d@] is only found in Mandarin. In a number of other dialect groups, the corresponding forms occur with the velars instead. For example, for [-d@] in Putonghua, the Wu dialect of Shanghai has [-g@q] and the Hakka dialect of Meixian has [-k@].

In Yue dialects, possession is expressed by specific measure words for nouns. The following examples are from Cantonese:

[ngo kei I measure-word 'my book'	šü] book
[nei pa you measure-word 'your chair'	yi] chair
[k'öy tši he measure-word 'his pen'	pat] pen

Perfectual morphemes

In Mandarin, the perfectual aspect is expressed by two separate morphemes, [kuo] for the affirmative and [meiyou]

for the negative; the latter morpheme also expresses possession as well as the existential meaning in the negative in the language. The affirmative form [kuo] occurs after the main verb, and [meiyou] occurs before the main verb; for example:

[t'a lai kuo]
he come perfectual (affirmative)
'He has been here.'

[wo meiyou k'antçyan t'a]
I perfectual (negative) see him
'I didn't see him.'

[meiyou] is bimorphemic, i.e., consisting of two morphemes, with [mei] indicating negation and [you] affirmation. To express the perfectual aspect in the negative, often only an abbreviated form of [meiyou], [mei], is used as a spoken form, as in [wo mei k'antçyan t'a] 'I didn't see him'.

In some Yue and Min dialects, the same morpheme that expresses possession and the existential meaning, [you], with negative in [meiyou], is used to express the perfectual aspect. Compare the following pairs in Putonghua and Cantonese:

Cantonese Yue [ngo you hōy]
I [you] go
'I have been there.'

Putonghua [wo tç'ü kuo]
I go [kuo]
'I have been there.'

Cantonese Yue [ngo you tsao k'ōy]
I [you] look-for him

'I have visited him.'

Putonghua [wo tʂao kuo t'a]
I look-for [kuo] him
'I have visited him.'

When bidialectal speakers of Yue or Min switch to Mandarin, the use of the pre-verbal [you] for the affirmative perfectual aspect is one of the syntactic features from their native dialects that most often is transferred into their Mandarin, for example:

Mandarin as a second dialect

[ni you tʂ'ü k'an]?
you [you] go see/watch
'Have you been there and watched (the show)?'

Putonghua

[ni tʂ'ü k'an kuo ma]?
you go see/watch [kuo] interrogative marker
'Have you been there and watched (the show)?'

Mandarin as a second dialect

[wo you tʂ'ü wən]
I [you] go ask
'I have asked (about it).'

Putonghua

[wo tʂ'ü wən kuo]
I go ask [kuo]
'I have asked (about it).'

Lexical variations

All Chinese dialects contain their own dialect specific

vocabulary items. Some of these forms reflect local conventions in lexical choice. For example, for 'to have a bath', Putonghua has *xízao* [çi + tsao] 'wash + bathe' and Cantonese has the form [tš'onglyang] 'rinse + cool'; and for 'kerosene', Putonghua has *meiyóu* [mei + you] 'coal + oil' and Cantonese has the form [hosöy] 'fire + water'.

Some lexical items that are colloquial in some dialects occur as literary counterparts in other dialects, but are obsolete in everyday speech. Examples are [k'ei] 'to stand' and [sIt] 'to eat' in Yue, [t'e] 'to cry' in Min, and [t'ai] 'to see' in both Min and Yue. These regional colloquial vocabulary items were once colloquial in the other Chinese dialects as well, but there their function in daily speech was gradually taken over by new colloquial forms and they thus remain only as literary forms existing only in literary writings.

Moreover, there are also certain dialect-specific lexical items, for which no equivalent can be found elsewhere in Chinese. Such lexical items are more numerous in the dialects located in the south than those in the north. Examples from Yue are [yɛ] 'thing', [nga:m] 'right', [lɛk] 'capable', [nam] 'to think carefully', [kam] 'to grasp', and [təng] 'to throw' (Zhan, 1985). This colloquial vocabulary reflects the linguistic substratum in the south.

SYNTACTIC VARIATIONS

Of all aspects of Chinese, syntax is the most consistent for all dialects. The syntactic variations that do exist among Chinese dialects do not generally interfere with comprehension.

Direct and indirect object ordering

In most Mandarin dialects, the indirect object occurs before the direct object. In most other dialects, including the Mandarin spoken in southwest China, such as the Mandarin of Wuhan in Hubei, and Wu, Gan, Min, Hakka, and Yue dialects, the opposite order occurs. Compare the following:

Cantonese Yue [pei yat pun šy (DO) ngo (ID)]
give one measure-word book me
'give me a book'

Shanghai Wu [p@q pen sɿ (DO) ngo (ID)]
give measure-word book me
'give me a book'

Putonghua *gei wo (ID) yi ben shu (DO)*
give me one measure-word book
'give me a book.'

Wuhan Mandarin [kei tç'ian (DO) wo (ID)]
give money me
'give me money'

In these examples, DO stands for direct object and ID indirect object.

Position of verbal modifiers

Mandarin dialects tend to place verbal modifiers before the verb, but in many southern dialects, verbal modifiers follow the verb; for example,

Cantonese Yue	[nei hang (V) hian (Adv)] you walk first 'You go first.'
Chaozhou Min	[tsia (V) kɛ (Adv) kao pung] eat more some rice 'Have some more rice.'
Meixian Hakka	[tsok (V) tu (Adv) k'iam sam] wear more measure-word shirt 'Put on one more shirt.'
Shanghai Wu	[tɕ'ɪq (V) tu (Adv) nɛ vɛ] eat more some rice 'Have some more rice.'
Putonghua	<i>Ni xian (Adv) zou (V).</i> you first walk 'You go first.'
	<i>Duo (Adv) chi (V) dianr fan.</i> more eat bit rice 'Have some more rice.'

In these examples, V stands for verbs and Adv adverbs.

Position of nominal modifiers

In nearly all cases, modifiers occur before the head nouns in the nominal phrases in Chinese. However, in both Yue and

Min dialects, there is a limited number of bimorphemic nouns in which the head occurs before their modifiers. Compare the following pairs from Putonghua and Cantonese.

Cantonese Yue	[niuku]	(cattle + masculine)	'bull'
Putonghua	<i>gongniu</i>	(masculine + cattle)	'bull'
Cantonese Yue	[ning k'@]	(people + guest)	'guest'
Putonghua	<i>keren</i>	(guest + people)	'guest'
Cantonese Yue	[ts'öykan]	(vegetable + dry)	'dry vegetable'
Putonghua	<i>gancai</i>	(dry + vegetable)	'dry vegetable'

This word order in Yue and Min is considered to reflect the substratum of the Tai, or Zhuang-Dong, languages once spoken in the current Yue and Min regions (Zhan, 1985, p. 164).

Modifiers occur following the head nouns in Tai languages, but such a feature exists in no Chinese dialects other than Min and Yue.

SPECIMENS OF CHINESE DIALECTS SPOKEN IN WINNIPEG

To illustrate both the correspondence and the variation between the dialects of Chinese speakers in Winnipeg, specimens of a number of Chinese dialects based on a similar text are presented in the following. They were provided by native speakers of these dialects in Winnipeg. The text selected for the comparison, *yan er dao ling*, meaning 'cover

the ears to steal a door bell', is a modern vernacular version of a popularly known proverb story from *Lǔshì Chun Qiu*, a 26-volume collection of prior Qin (221 - 207 B.C.) proses edited by Lǔ Buwei (? - 235 B.C.) et al. The informants were asked to tell the story with reference to the same written text in ways that their native dialects were spoken, i.e., in sounds and expressions of their dialects.

The written text of the story was selected from one of the many collections of classical Chinese poems and proses with parallel texts and explanations provided in modern vernacular Chinese for modern readers. Since it is written in standard Chinese, which is based on colloquial Mandarin, it can be taken for granted that there is little deviation between the way the story is written and the way in which a Putonghua speaker actually speaks, even though differences between the spoken and the written forms of language and between speakers can always be expected. For speakers of other dialects, however, "the spoken language is definitely different from the written language", since "You don't use the same words as those used in books in native speech".

The following are phonetic transcriptions of the story told by native speakers of Cantonese, Taishan (Yue), Chaozhou (Min), Jiaoling (Hakka), and Putonghua respectively. The slightly modified IPA symbols (see Appendix A) are used for the transcription.

[yam yi tou lIng] (Cantonese Yue)

(Told by a Cantonese speaking male in his forties, who has been in Winnipeg for fourteen years.)

[koutši yo yatko yan, t'aikin yanka tay mun šöng
old-time there-is one people, see other big door on

kuatšuo yatko lIngton, šöng pa t'a t'ou tsou.
hanging one bell, think (patient) it steal away.

t'a mIngming tšitou, nako lIngton tšiyong šou yat p'ung,
he clearly know, that bell only use hand one touch

tšou hui hōng hilöy, pei yan fatko,
then can sound start, (passive) people discover

hoši t'a šöng, hōngšeng yo yituo tš'öy neng tIngkin
but he think, sound use ear only can hear

ükuo pa yituo yam hilöy, pəši tšou tIng pə kin lyu ma
if (patient) ear cover (complete), no then listen no hear (possibility)
(obviousness)

t'a yamtšü tšikei tei yituo, šən šou hōy t'ou nako lIngton
he cover self (poss.) ear, reach hand go steal that bell

šei tši šou kong pongtou lIngton, tšyu pei yan fatko lju]
who know hand just touch bell, then (passive) people discover (change-
state)

[yam yi ou lIng] (Taishan Yue)

(Told by a Taishan dialect speaking male, who has been in Winnipeg for fourteen years.)

[kyuši yo yatko ngin, haikin nginka ay mun šöng
old-time there-is one people, see other big door on

kuatš@ yatko lIngang, lyang pa ha hao tsou.
hanging one bell, think (patient) it steal away

ha mIngming eituei, nIngkuai lIngang tšiyong šiu yat
he clearly know, that bell only use hand one

p'ong tyu wei hyang hilöy, tyu wei ey ngin fatko
touch then can sound start, then can (passive) people discover

huošī ha hyang, hyangšIng yo ngiquo t'öy nõng hIngkin
but he think, sound use ear only can hear

ngöyko pa ngiquo yam hilöy, p@ši tyu hIng p@ kin lyu ma
if (patient) ear cover (complete) no then listen no hear (possibility)
(obviousness)

ha yamtši tukei ey ngiquo, šæn šyu hōy hou nako lIngang
he cover self (poss.) ear, stretch hand go steal that bell

šui tši šyu ngam p'ong qou lIngang, tyu ei ngin fatko lyao].
who know hand just touch bell then (passive) people discover (change-
state)

[yã tsi tau ləng] (Chaozhou Min)

(Told by a native Chaozhou dialect speaking male in his
seventies, who came from Vietnam in 1978.)

[yitsai tsitkə nəng, t'öykĩ nəngkə to munk'o
before one person, see other big doorway

k'uats@ tsitkə ləngtang, siã pa t'a t'ou tsou
hanging one bell, think (patient) it steal away

t'a mæng tsai nakə ləngtang tsiyo ngIng siu tsit p'ung
he clearly know that bell only use hand one touch

tsyu wei hyang k'ilai, pi nəng huako
then can sound start, (passive) people discover

k'osi t'a syã, hyãsyã hi ts'ai nIng t'ikiã
but he think sound ear only can hear

tsukuo pa hi atyao, pusi tsyu t'ĩ pu kiã lyao ma
if (patient) ear cover, no then listen no hear (possibility)
(obviousness)

yi atyao yike hi, sIng syu hi t'ao hokai ləngtang,
he cover his ear, stretch hand go steal that bell,

šui tsai syu kang p'ongtao ləngtang, tsyu pi nəng huako
lyao].
who know hand just touch bell, then (passive) people discover (change-
state)

[qəm ni tou lyang] (Jiaoling Hakka)

(Told by a Hakka speaking male from Indo-China in his sixties, who has been in Winnipeg for six years.)

[yitš'yan yo yik@ nin, k'antou nin wuka mun hang
before there-is one people, see people home door on

kua yike lInglyang, šyang t'ou tsou
hang one bell, think steal away

ki m ti koko lInglyang tsı yo šu motao,
he not know that bell only use hand touch

tšyu wei šyang hilai, pi nin k'antao.
then can sound start, (passive) people see

tsonghei ki min, šyangs@ng q@ng nikong tsang t'ang titao
but he think, sound use ear only hear (result)

pukuo nikong qəm hilai, mə tšyu t'ang m tao ma
however ear cover (complete), no then listen no (result) (obviousness)

ki ts'ıka nikong qəm hilai, tš'un šu hi t'ou koko lInglang,
he self ear cover (complete), stretch hand go steal that bell

şu pu tsı, tutu ts'ongtao koko lInglang tšyu pi nin ti lyao]
however, just touch that bell then (passive) people know (change-state)

[yan @r tao lIng] (Putonghua)

[ts'ongtç'yan yo yik@ rən, k'antçian rəntçia ta mən şang
before there-is one people, see other big door on

kuatş@ yik@ lIngtang, çyang pa t'a t'ou tsou.
hanging one bell, think (patient) it steal away.

t'a mIngMIng tşıtao nak@ lIngtang tşiyao yong tşou yi pəng,
he clearly know that bell only use hand one touch

tçyu hui çyang tç'ilai, pei rən fatçüø. k'əşı t'a çyang,
then can sound start (passive) people discover but he think

çyangş@ng yong @rtuo ts'ai nəng t'Ingçian, rukuo pa @rtuo
sound use ear only can hear. if (patient) ear
yan tç'ilai, puşı tçyu t'Ing pu tçian l@ ma.
cover (complete) no then listen no hear (possibility) (obviousness).

t'a yantʃu tsɿtʃi t@ @rtuo, ʃ@n ʃou tʃ'ü t'ou nak@ lɪŋtang,
he cover self (possession) ear stretch hand go steal that bell

ʃui tʃi ʃou kang pəŋtao lɪŋtang, tʃyu pei rən fatʃüφ l@].
who know hand just touch bell then (passive) people found (change-state)

English translation:

A long time ago, a man saw a bell hanging on someone else's door and wanted to steal it. Although he knew that, as soon as he touched it, the bell would start to make a sound and he would be known, he thought: "Sound can only be heard by ears. If the ears are covered, they would not be able to hear." He covered his own ears and reached out his hand to steal the bell. However, as soon as he touched the bell, he was noticed.

Comments

Because of the presence of the written text, the various versions of the story told in the several dialects by their native speakers in Winnipeg presented in the above are undoubtedly influenced by the written Chinese to some extent. Even so, these specimens of the dialects spoken in Winnipeg show enough variations between the dialects.

Similar to the English expression "Once upon a time" that conventionally marks the beginning of a story, [ts'ongtʃ'ian] 'in the past' is often used to begin story telling in Mandarin. In the Yue dialects of Taishan and Cantonese, however, the same function is performed by [kyusɿ] and [kouʃɿ] 'old + time' instead. In the Min dialect of Chaozhou, the convention is to use [yitʃ'ian],

which in Mandarin often indicates a definite past, meaning 'previously'. A few other lexical variations shown by different dialect speakers telling the same story are as follows.

	'ear'	'just'	'think'	'know'	'home'
Cantonese Yue	[yitsai]	[šǒng]	[tšitou]	[ukk'ei]	
Taishan Yue	[yitsai]	[ngam]	[lyang]	[eituei]	
Chaozhou Min	[hi]	[kang]	[hyã]	[tsai]	[kɛ]
Jiaoling Hakka	[nikong]	[tutu]	[min]	[ti]	[wuka]
Putonghua	[@rtuo]	[kang]	[çyang]	[tšitao]	[tçia]

Exceptions are [tutu] 'just' in Jiaoling Hakka, [ngam] 'just' in Taishan Yue, and [eituei] 'know' in Taishan Yue as opposed to the forms with the same meanings in the other dialects. The [min] 'think' found in Jiaoling Hakka exists only as a literary form, i.e., in literary writings, in Mandarin.

In addition to lexical variations, the different versions of the story also show systematic sound variations across the dialects. One of the features that distinguish the Putonghua version of the story from those of the other dialects is the occurrence of the palatals. The following lists the Putonghua forms with the palatals and their corresponding forms without the palatals in the other dialects.

	'see'	'sound'	'rise'	'go'
Cantonese Yue	[kin]	[höng]	[hi]	[höy]
Taishan Yue	[kin]	[hyang]	[he]	[höy]
Chaozhou Min	[kĩ]	[hyã]	[k'i]	[hi]
Jiaoling Hakka		[tšang]	[hi]	[hi]
Putonghua	[tçian]	[çiang]	[tç'i]	[tç'ü]

Putonghua [tç], [tç'], and [ç] correspond to [k], [k'], and [h] in the other dialects, with the exception of the occurrence of an alveolar affricate [tš] in [tšang] in Jiaoling Hakka.

Another diagnostic feature of Putonghua is the presence of retroflexes. The following sets show the correspondence between the retroflexes in Putonghua and their counterparts in the other dialects:

	'on'	'stretch'	'only if'	'people'
Cantonese Yue	[šöng]	[š@n]	[tšiyö]	[yin]
Taishan Yue	[šöng]	[šIng]	[tšiyö]	[ngin]
Chaozhou Min		[sing]	[tsiyö]	[nang]
Jiaoling Hakka	[hang]	[tš'un]	[tsɿ]	[nin]
Putonghua	[šang]	[š@n]	[tšiyao]	[r@n]

The different versions of the story show that the Hakka dialect of Jiaoling, the Min dialect of Chaozhou, the Yue dialects of Taishan and Cantonese, all located in southern China, share more features among them than any of them does with Putonghua. Another feature that these dialects share but Putonghua lacks is the occurrences of the final [-t] and [-m], as the following forms illustrate:

	'one'	'cover'	'discover'
Cantonese Yue	[yat]	[yam]	[fat ko]
Taishan Yue	[yIt]	[yam]	[fat ko]
Chaozhou Min	[tsit]	[yã]	[hua ko]
Jiaoling Hakka	[yi]	[qɛm]	
Putonghua	[yi]	[yan]	[fa tçüø]

A most noticeable feature of the Min dialect of Chaozhou is the nasalization of the originally pre-nasal vowels. A number of examples can be taken from the Chaozhou dialect version of the story: [t'ĩkiã] 'hear' ~ [t'Ingtçian] in Putonghua ~ [t'aikin] in Cantonese, and [hyãsyã] 'sound' ~ [hõngšIng] in Cantonese. The existence of two variants for the same word 'see' was pointed out by the informants: [kĩ] ~ [kiã], of which the first is colloquial and the second literary.

One of the most striking features of the Taishan dialect is the presence of a lateral fricative, found in [ɬyang] 'think'. Only in some other Yue dialects, this lateral fricative is also attested, but it does not occur elsewhere in Chinese (Zhan, 1985, p. 167). This lateral fricative is believed to have its origin in the non-Sinitic languages once spoken in Guangdong, and it is found in Li, a Tai, or Zhuang-Dong, language (Ouyang and Zheng, 1980) and even some Yao languages (Mao et al., 1982).

Another important feature that distinguishes the Taishan dialect from the others is the zero and [h-] initials in Taishan that corresponds to either [t-] or [t'-]

in the other dialects. Example are

	'big'	'steal'	'listen'	'reach'
Cantonese Yue	[tay]	[t'ou]	[t'Ing]	[tou]
Taishan Yue	[ay]	[hao]	[hIng]	[ou]
Chaozhou Min	[to]	[t'ou]	[t'ĩ]	[tao]
Jiaoling Hakka	[ta]	[t'ou]	[t'ang]	[tou]
Putonghua	[ta]	[t'ou]	[t'Ing]	[tao]

The variation here is considered to be the result of the loss of Old Chinese alveolar stops *t- and *t'- in the Taishan dialect (Zhan, 1985, p. 167).

Although based on limited data, this comparison of the Chinese dialects spoken by the Chinese in Winnipeg shows a number of diagnostic features that distinguish the dialects in question. The presence of the palatals and the retroflexes separates Putonghua from the other dialects, while the absence of these sounds, along with the presence of the final [-t] and [-m], shows a closer relationship among these other dialects than between any of them and Putonghua. While there is no doubt that Cantonese and the Taishan dialect are closely related (Norman, 1988; Zhan, 1985), they are distinguished from each other by a number of features, such as the presence of the lateral fricative and the loss of Old Chinese alveolar stops, as well as variation in their lexicons.

DIGLOSSIA, DIALECT SHIFT AND STYLE SHIFT IN CHINESE

Except for the native speakers of Putonghua, Chinese speakers living in the Chinese-speaking regions of China today are nearly all at least bidialectal in their own native Chinese dialects and Putonghua. Even in rural areas in China's far south, where Hakka, Min, and Yue are spoken natively, the knowledge of Putonghua is also widespread, owing to the compulsory Putonghua education in schools throughout the country since the second half of the 1950s and the widespread availability of Putonghua mass media such as radio and television. As a result, recent immigrants to Winnipeg from these parts of China, including several informants from rural areas of the province of Guangdong involved in this study, also know Putonghua, in contrast to their predecessors from the same region who speak only local dialects. The influence of Putonghua is also felt in the overseas Chinese communities. The adult immigrants from Southeast Asia are all able to speak Putonghua as an additional Chinese dialect, and the knowledge of Putonghua among the Chinese in Winnipeg is also on the increase.

However, in everyday speech, it is the use of the local dialects that is the norm of speaking, and Putonghua is only used when it is necessary, mainly as a lingua franca and for symbolic functions. Among speakers who do not speak the same local dialects but share the same regional variety, it

is the regional standard, rather than Putonghua, that is normally used. These regional standard varieties are, in the Yue-speaking region, Cantonese, in the Wu-speaking region, the speech of Shanghai, and, among Southern Min speakers, either the speech of Chaozhou or Xiamen, known as Hokien in Southeast Asian countries. For nearly all social functions within local dialect communities, only local dialects are used. The linguistic situation in Chinese is characteristic of a stable diglossia. While the knowledge of Putonghua has become nearly universal and the regional standard varieties are influential, local dialects have continued to thrive.

Until the vigorous promotion of Putonghua, which started in the mid 1950s, the local dialects did not imply the socio-economic status of their speakers as they do today. The vast majority of Chinese speakers speaks some form of local dialects. Many influential political figures in China had always been or still are dialect speakers. For example, Mao Tze-tung was known for his typical Xiang accent, Zhou Enlai always spoke with a combination of Wu and Tianjin Mandarin accents, and Deng Xiaoping still speaks the Southwestern Mandarin dialect of Sichuan. However, with the promotion of Putonghua since the mid 1950s, the ability to speak Putonghua in formal situations has become a marker of the educational level of a speaker in China. For example, anyone who is young enough to have been influenced by the

promotion of Putonghua since the 1950s but who does not speak Putonghua in a public address would be judged as under-educated by listeners. Among the Chinese in Winnipeg, however, no such status differentiation is implied by Putonghua. Nor does Putonghua carry the same social meaning for them as it does for the Chinese speakers in China, even though nearly all those who know Putonghua in Winnipeg are relatively recent immigrants or people of professional background. In fact, to the Chinese in Winnipeg, no additional Chinese dialect, including Putonghua, is more important to them than is English.

Notwithstanding the phonological features that mark the dialectal boundaries, traditionally, the choice of lexical items is suggestive of stylistic differences within dialects. Because of the availability of a common vocabulary provided by a supradialectal written Chinese, dialect speakers can shift style within dialects at different levels of formality by their choice between lexical items from literary Chinese and the local dialects. This is especially the case where social and geographic mobility is low and the influence of either a superimposed national variety or the regional standard is little felt. However, since only the literate have the access to literary Chinese, they are the only ones who are able to shift to the literary style of speech, whereas the under-educated do not usually have such a choice. In Winnipeg, among the North

American-born Chinese, who acquired Chinese within limited social contexts and who do not generally achieve literacy in Chinese, the range of styles within their Chinese is even more limited. Nevertheless, traditionally it was the stylistic variations within dialects rather than the phonological variations between dialects that was more important in the signalling of the socio-economic status of the speakers in Chinese. As the standard vs. dialect diglossia in Chinese becomes widespread with the promotion of Putonghua, dialect variation between Putonghua and the local dialects has also come to mark the socio-economic status of speakers as well as the levels of formality in speech in China, but still much less so for the Chinese speakers in Winnipeg.

While the knowledge of Putonghua has become more and more widespread among Chinese speakers, many who speak it as a second dialect use it with different degrees of approximation. To generalize, one of the most salient phonological features that distinguishes non-native speakers from native speakers of Putonghua is the use of retroflex sounds [tʂ], [tʂ'], and [ʂ]. Although the retroflexes occur in Putonghua, most non-native speakers of Putonghua, including the many speakers of Mandarin as a second or an additional dialect from Southeast Asia in Winnipeg, do not usually have the retroflexes in their speech, owing to the linguistic interference from their native dialects.

Accent in Mandarin is always tolerable as long as the speech is intelligible and even most Mandarin speakers do not speak with a standard Putonghua accent, whereas the syntax is more consistent. However, among those who came from Southeast Asian countries who speak Mandarin as a second or an additional dialect in Winnipeg, one of the features in their Mandarin that is most readily noticed by native speakers is the use of *you* instead of *guo* as the affirmative perfectual aspect morpheme. In standard Mandarin, or Putonghua, the affirmative perfectual aspect is expressed by *guo* following the main verb, but native speakers of Min or Yue who speak Mandarin as a second or an additional dialect often express the same meaning in Mandarin with *you* preceding the verb, the same morpheme that expresses possession and the existential meaning. The use of the pre-verbal *you* rather than the post-verbal *guo* for the affirmative perfectual aspect by Min or Yue speakers from the Southeast Asian regions when they speak Mandarin results from the dialect contact situation in the regions where they came from; it is a result of linguistic interference from Min and Yue.

CHAPTER IV

CHINESE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

This chapter is concerned with the degree of Chinese language maintenance and shift in the Chinese community in Winnipeg. Data collected through a language use survey carried out with 122 individuals in the Chinese community will be analyzed, and results presented and discussed. An attempt will be made to show the levels of competence of the informants in the various linguistic varieties contained in their linguistic repertoires, the extent to which these linguistic varieties are used in the relevant domains of language use, and the attitudes of the informants toward these linguistic varieties.

METHOD

THE PROCEDURE

Fieldwork for this study was carried out from September 1989 to September 1991. As neither the size of the community nor time constraints allowed for community-wide observation, it was necessary to focus on smaller groups and on accessible group activities within the Chinese community in Winnipeg.

As it is already known from a background study of the community described in a previous chapter that there are three subdivisions within the community as a result of three separate waves of Chinese immigration to Winnipeg, three institutional locations, representing respectively the three subgroups within the community, were selected as the fieldwork locations. These included a Chinese language school and two ethnic Chinese churches.

The school, which is part of the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, was established by a group of professionals in Winnipeg in 1974 (Doherty, 1987, p. 14), therefore representing a professional group in the community. The two ethnic Chinese churches provided access to the two other subgroups in the community. The Winnipeg Chinese United Church, which was the Chinese Presbyterian Church before the union, has a history of 75 years and is still attended by a sizable number of old-timer Chinese and their families. The

Hua En Chapel of the Winnipeg Mennonite Brethren Church is attended mostly by Chinese from the most recent immigrant group, the Indo-China Chinese.

These three institutional groups by no means represent the totality of social networks of the community. They are merely clusters (Milroy, 1980, p. 50) of community networks, each characterized by relationships of like content, either cultural or religious. Milroy (1980) pointed out two properties of clusters of social networks: their relatively high density and like content. According to her observation, most network studies, including Labov's New York studies as well as her own study of three Belfast working class communities, deal with clusters or groups of clusters rather than entire networks. Just because the "relationships within the cluster are denser than those existing externally", "density of key sectors or clusters is in fact a more important norm enforcement mechanism than overall density" (p. 50).

Data on which the analysis in this chapter is based were collected through a language use survey involving 122 Chinese individuals in Winnipeg. They therefore consist of self-reports of the informants. Most of the informants were from the three institutional groups where the field research was carried out. In addition, the survey also involved a small number of Chinatown business people and residents and eight students from the Chinese Public School, another one

of the four Chinese language schools in Winnipeg. The degree of Chinese language maintenance among the informants will be measured by their level of competence in Chinese and the extent to which Chinese is currently used by them in the various Chinese relevant domains of language use.

As the problems with self-reports are inherent and hardly avoidable, i.e., people may lie or their responses may be influenced by personal or contextual factors, data from self-reports, therefore, cannot always be taken for granted as being reliable. With these problems in mind, on various occasions during the fieldwork, observation was also made of the actual language behaviour of the informants who participated in the survey. Since the data from the observation showed a high degree of consistency with the findings from the survey, some data from the observation are used to complement the data from the survey in the following discussion.

THE INSTRUMENT

The questionnaire for the language use survey contains several sections. In addition to a section designed for obtaining the background information of the informants, there are sections on their individual linguistic repertoires; their choice of linguistic varieties in the

domains of the home, friendship, religion, and ethnically oriented social and cultural activities and business transactions; their use of the written media; and their language attitudes (Appendix B).

Two versions of the questionnaire were prepared, one in Chinese and the other in English. Each individual was given a choice of which version of the questionnaire to use for the survey. The choice between the two versions of the questionnaire itself reflected an informant preference for the language to be used for the very survey. As it turned out, 59 of the 122 informants chose the Chinese version of the questionnaire and 63 chose the English version.

THE INFORMANTS

Of the 122 informants who participated in the survey, 59 were males and 63 females. Their ages ranged between 13 and 85. In terms of group affiliations, 47 of the informants had affiliations with the old-timer group, 44 with the professional group, and 31 with the Indo-China Chinese group.

A total of 27 informants were born in the English speaking countries: 25 in Canada, one in the United States, and one in England. Two of the Canadian-born informants were senior citizens. Six of the Canadian-born informants

had one parent born in Canada and two had one grandparent born in Canada.

All the other informants (95) came from countries or regions in South East Asia, including China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, and the three Indo-China countries of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, except for one who came from Mauritius via England. Of these 29 came from Indo-China countries and another 38 had prior Hong Kong experience before coming to Canada.

The immigrant group in the sample represents the recent arrival of immigrants in Canada. Only two informants who immigrated to Canada came before 1950. Both of them arrived before the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923, one in 1918 and the other in 1921. A majority of the informants (74) came to Canada from South East Asia between 1970 and 1989. They include 29 Indo-China Chinese, all of whom came between 1978 and 1989. Twenty-one informants came to Canada between 1950 and 1970.

As to the educational backgrounds of the informants, 66, or 54.6%, have educational attainments above the secondary level, of whom 25 have educational attainments beyond the university level. Two informants have no formal education. A majority of the informants (84) have received at least some education in North America, either in Canada or the United States, or both, while close to half that number (41) also received their initial education in North

America.

The differences in language use between those who were Canadian-born and those who were born elsewhere and between those who have received education in North America and those who have not will become apparent in the data analysis in the following.

THE LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

The data from the language use survey show that the Chinese in Winnipeg possess a rich linguistic repertoire, which includes many language and dialect varieties. Of the various Chinese dialects spoken by the Chinese in Winnipeg, three are found to be more important than others: Cantonese, Taishanese, and Mandarin. The importance of these Chinese dialect varieties to the group of Chinese informants in Winnipeg does not lie so much in the fact that they are spoken as mother tongues by large numbers of informants, since Mandarin is only the mother tongue of a relatively small number of Chinese in Winnipeg (6), as in the fact that they are accepted by large numbers of Chinese in the sample as second or additional Chinese dialects, as illustrated in Table 4.1 in the following. Based on the survey data on the individual linguistic repertoires, Table 4.1 presents the dialect and language varieties spoken by

the informants either as mother tongues or as second or additional dialect or language varieties.

According to Table 4.1, Cantonese is the dominant Chinese variety among the informants involved in this study. As the Chinese variety that appears statistically as one of the leading mother tongue groups in recent international immigration to Manitoba (Manitoba immigrant information bulletin, 1986-1989), Cantonese has the largest number of mother speakers among the informants involved in the current study. Almost half of the 122 informants (55) claimed Cantonese as their mother tongue, and nearly as many (51) claimed to speak Cantonese either as a second or an additional language, indicating that the knowledge of Cantonese is almost universal in the group.

TABLE 4.1

Languages and Dialects of the Informants

Dialects/ Languages	Number of Speakers	
	Mother Tongues	2nd/Additional Tongues
Cantonese Yue	55	51
Taishanese Yue	24	18
Chaozhou Min	9	5
Other Min	4	0
Hakka	5	7
Shanghai Wu	2	1
Mandarin	6	60
English	16	100
Other	1	23
Total	122	265

Moreover, Table 4.2 shows that speakers of Cantonese as a second language or Chinese dialect can be found virtually in all mother tongue groups:

TABLE 4.2
Numbers of Second/Additional Dialect/Language Speakers
from Mother Tongue Groups

Mother tongues	Second/Additional dialects/languages							
	C	T	CM	H	SW	M	E	O
Cantonese Yue		14	5	3	1	30	55	8
Taishanese Yue	20			1		9	21	
Chaozhou Min	8			2		7	8	8
Other Min	3					3	3	
Hakka	4					5	4	3
Shanghai Wu	2					2	2	
Mandarin	3			1			6	3
English	10	4				3		
Other	1					1	1	1
Total	55	18	5	7	1	60	100	23

Legend: C=Cantonese, T-Taishanese, CM=Chaozhou Min, H=Hakka, SW=Shanghai Wu, E=English, O=Other.

Although Taishanese was once the most important Chinese dialect in the Winnipeg Chinese community, since nearly all early Chinese immigrants in Winnipeg were of Taishan origin, it has been replaced by Cantonese as the dominant Chinese variety in the community ever since large numbers of Cantonese speaking Chinese immigrants began to arrive in Winnipeg in the 1960s. Nonetheless, Taishanese is still the most important and often the only Chinese variety used among the old-timer Chinese immigrants and their descendants. Although only 24 in the sample, or less than half the number

of those to whom Cantonese was the mother tongue, claimed Taishanese as the mother tongue, a sizable number of informants (18) had learned Taishanese as a second or an additional language, as indicated in Table 4.2. The fact that all those who learned Taishanese as a second or an additional language come from the Cantonese or English mother tongue group, the mother tongues relevant to the old-timer group in addition to Taishanese, indicates that Taishanese is an in-group language of the old-timer Chinese. Even though Cantonese has replaced Taishanese as the dominant tongue of the community, Taishanese continues to be influential within certain sectors of the community, as nine out of the 18 informants for whom Taishanese was a second or an additional language indicated that they had learned Taishanese outside their immediate families, from peers or relatives.

Native Mandarin speakers are among the most recent arrivals in Canada (Lai, 1971, pp. 120-123). While their number is relatively small in Winnipeg, the number of speakers of Mandarin as an additional Chinese dialect in the community is on the increase, probably owing to the increasing influence among overseas Chinese of Mandarin as the standard variety of Chinese and the national language in China. The above tables show that although only six informants spoke Mandarin as the mother tongue, a much larger number (60) said they knew Mandarin. Just like those

who speak Cantonese as a second Chinese dialect or language, speakers of Mandarin as a second Chinese dialect or language are found in all mother tongue groups. Unlike Cantonese, which many acquired informally, many who learned Mandarin reported that they learned it in formal situations, for example in schools.

Table 4.1 shows that only 16 informants claimed English as their mother tongue, even though 27 were born in the English speaking countries. The actual number of the people to whom the mother tongue is in fact English may have been even smaller, as the families in which the home language is exclusively English are few indeed. Only six informants have a parent born in Canada and none has both parents born in Canada. With immigrant parents from non-English speaking countries, many of those who were born in Canada and claimed English as their mother tongue may in fact have been exposed to, or even have learned, some Chinese early in life, but may have lost the Chinese facility as they grew up.

Nearly all those whose mother tongue is one or another Chinese dialect learned English as a second language. However, six informants reported that they did not speak English at all. These were either elderly people or recently arrived immigrants.

Haugen brought into our attention the phenomenon of dialect levelling in the immigrant groups in North America (Haugen, 1956, p. 27). He pointed out that in the Norwegian

communities as well as many other North American immigrant communities, although "adults do not readily abandon their childhood speech", the prevailing dialect of the younger generation "is not necessarily determined by their early influences" and most often the younger generation "adopted as their own that dialect which was most generally used in the community" (Haugen, 1969, p. 350). Dialect levelling can also be observed among the group of informants involved in this study. Although these informants spoke different dialects as their mother tongues, many of them nevertheless also acquired the linguistic varieties of wider use in the community, for example Cantonese and increasingly also Mandarin, and the official language of the dominant society, English.

LEVELS OF COMPETENCE

No formal language test was administered to evaluate the level of competence of the informants in either English or Chinese. The informants were asked, however, to rate their own competence in the language and dialect varieties they use in five categories: "very fluent", "fairly fluent", "not so fluent", "very poor", and "not at all". It was found that on the whole, mother tongue competence remained high among the informants, as indicated by the high

percentages of informants from all mother tongue groups who were either "very fluent" or "fairly fluent" in their mother tongues, as illustrated in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3

Self-perceived Levels of Competence
in Speaking the Mother Tongues

Mother tongues	Self-perceived levels of competence in speaking				
	1	2	3	4	5
Cantonese Yue	85.19%	9.26	3.70	1.85	0.00
Taishanese Yue	83.33	8.33	8.33	0.00	0.00
Chaozhou Min	71.43	28.57	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hakka	60.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	0.00
Shanghai Wu	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mandarin	83.33	0.00	16.67	0.00	0.00
English	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other	80.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Legend: 1=very fluent, 2=fairly fluent, 3=not so fluent, 4=very poor, 5=not at all.

RELATED FACTORS

Place of birth

Perhaps the most important difference in the overall competence in Chinese and English among the informants is between those who were born in the English speaking countries of Canada, the United States and England, on the one hand and those who immigrated from China and other Southeast Asian regions on the other. In Table 4.4, the informants are divided into North American-born and non-

North American-born groups, and their percentages at each level of competence in speaking, listening, reading and writing in the two languages are presented. Included in the North American-born group (N.A.) is also an informant who was born in England but immigrated to Canada at age two. The "Other" category includes all those whose birth places were elsewhere.

TABLE 4.4

Self-perceived Levels of Language Competence
and Place of Birth

Birth Places		Levels of Competence				
		1	2	3	4	5
N.A.	CS	13.04%	43.48	39.13	4.35	0.00
Other		91.40	6.45	1.08	1.08	0.00
N.A.	CL	17.39	60.87	13.04	8.70	0.00
Other		91.40	6.45	1.08	1.08	0.00
N.A.	CR	0.00	0.00	4.55	40.91	54.55
Other		67.44	12.79	8.14	5.81	5.81
N.A.	CW	0.00	0.00	9.09	45.45	45.45
Other		59.30	18.60	8.14	8.14	5.81
N.A.	ES	96.15	3.85	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other		51.16	27.91	13.95	5.81	1.16
N.A.	EL	96.30	3.70	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other		55.29	25.88	11.76	7.06	0.00
N.A.	ER	96.30	3.70	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other		54.95	24.81	9.89	7.69	3.30
N.A.	EW	96.30	3.70	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other		51.11	27.78	7.78	10.00	3.33

Legend: C=Chinese, E=English, S=speaking, L=listening, R=reading, W=writing.
1=very fluent, 2=fairly fluent, 3=not so fluent, 4=very poor, 5=not at all.

Table 4.4 shows that those who were born in North America and those who were born elsewhere are divided in their self-perceived levels of competence in the two languages. Those who were born elsewhere as a whole perceived themselves to be more competent in Chinese than in English, while those who were born in North America perceived themselves to be more competent in English than in Chinese. Of those who were born outside North America, 91.40% perceived themselves to be very fluent speakers and listeners of Chinese, whereas only 13.04% and 17.39% respectively of those who were born in North America perceived themselves as being so in these two Chinese language skills. With respect to reading and writing skills in Chinese, 67.44% of the informants born elsewhere perceived themselves as being very fluent in reading and 59.30% very fluent in writing, but no North American-born informants perceived themselves to be even fairly fluent in the two written language skills in Chinese.

In contrast, all North American-born informants perceived themselves to be at least fairly fluent in all the English language skills, but approximately 20% of the informants born elsewhere perceived themselves as having no fluency in any English language skill. Place of birth in North America is thus a factor related to the self-perceived levels of competence in Chinese and English among the informants.

Education

For the purpose of this analysis, the educational attainment of the informants is divided into three levels, low, mid, and high. The low level includes all levels of schooling up to and including the completion of senior high school, the mid level the post-secondary education, and the high level includes education beyond the post-secondary level.

According to this categorization, 54 informants had a low level of educational attainment, 41 a mid level of educational attainment, and 25 a high level of educational attainment. Two had no formal schooling at all.

Table 4.5 shows that the levels of competence in both Chinese and English are related to the levels of educational attainment, with the levels of competence in Chinese being inversely related to the levels of educational attainment. That is, the higher the level of educational attainment, the less likely the informants would perceive themselves to be fluent in Chinese, whereas the lower the level of educational attainment, the more likely the informants would perceive themselves to be fluent in Chinese. The reverse is true with regard to competence in English. Here, more informants with a higher level of educational attainment than those with a lower level of educational attainment perceived themselves to be fluent.

TABLE 4.5

Self-perceived Levels of Language Competence
and Educational Attainment

Levels of Education		Self-perceived Levels of Competence				
		1	2	3	4	5
low	CS	88.46%	3.85	5.77	1.92	0.00
mid		70.00	15.00	12.50	2.50	0.00
high		58.33	33.33	8.33	0.00	0.00
low	CL	86.54	5.77	3.85	3.85	0.00
mid		72.50	20.00	5.00	2.50	0.00
high		62.50	37.50	0.00	0.00	0.00
low	CR	60.00	13.33	6.67	11.11	8.89
mid		50.00	7.50	10.00	12.50	20.00
high		47.83	8.70	4.35	17.39	21.74
low	CW	53.33	15.56	11.11	13.33	6.67
mid		47.50	10.00	10.00	15.00	17.50
high		34.78	21.74	0.00	21.74	21.74
low	ES	50.00	22.92	18.75	6.25	2.08
mid		65.00	25.00	5.00	5.00	0.00
high		79.17	16.67	4.17	0.00	0.00
low	EL	53.19	23.40	12.77	10.64	0.00
mid		70.00	20.00	7.50	2.50	0.00
high		80.00	16.00	4.00	0.00	0.00
low	ER	53.85	19.23	11.54	9.62	5.77
mid		65.85	24.39	4.88	4.88	0.00
high		84.00	12.00	4.00	0.00	0.00
low	EW	50.00	25.00	5.77	13.46	5.77
mid		63.41	24.39	7.32	4.88	0.00
high		83.33	12.50	4.17	0.00	0.00

Legend: C=Chinese, E=English, S=speaking, L=listening, R=reading, W=writing.
1=very fluent, 2=fairly fluent, 3=not so fluent, 4=very poor, 5=not at all.

There is, moreover, a clear relationship between places of education and levels of language competence. Places of education are divided into two general categories, those in

North America and those elsewhere. Table 4.6 shows the percentages of North American-educated informants and elsewhere-educated informants at each level of competence in Chinese and English.

TABLE 4.6
Self-perceived Levels of Language Competence
and Place of Education

Place of Education		Self-perceived Levels of Competence				
		1	2	3	4	5
N.A.	CS	64.56%	20.25	12.66	2.53	0.00
Other		100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N.A.	CL	65.82	25.32	5.06	3.80	0.00
Other		100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N.A.	CR	38.03	8.45	9.86	19.72	23.94
Other		83.78	13.51	2.70	0.00	0.00
N.A.	CW	32.39	14.08	8.45	23.94	21.13
Other		75.68	16.22	8.11	0.00	0.00
N.A.	ES	79.27	20.73	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other		13.33	26.67	40.00	16.67	3.33
N.A.	EL	81.93	18.07	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other		17.24	27.59	34.48	20.69	0.00
N.A.	ER	81.93	18.07	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other		22.86	22.86	25.71	20.00	8.57
N.A.	EW	79.27	20.73	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other		20.00	25.71	20.00	25.71	8.57

For each of the Chinese language skills, the informants who received all their education elsewhere are shown to be more fluent than the North American-educated. For the English language skills, however, while all North American-

educated informants are either very fluent or fairly fluent in Chinese, fewer than 50% of those who received all their education elsewhere have been found to be so.

The fact that both the levels of educational attainment and the places of education are related to the levels of competence in the two languages is not surprising, as the two variables are themselves clearly related, as shown in Table 4.7.

TABLE 4.7

Levels and Places of Education

Levels of Education	Places of Education	
	N.A.	Other
Low	48.21%	51.79
Mid	85.37	14.63
High	92.00	8.00

That is, nearly all those with a high level of educational attainment have received at least some education in North America, but fewer than 50% of those with a low level of educational attainment have done so. A confounding factor may be the place of birth, since all those who were born in North America are North American-educated, whereas a majority of those with a low level of educational attainment were born and educated outside North America.

Occupation

Related to educational attainment and places of education is the occupational pattern of the group. Most informants who held administrative, managerial, professional, or skilled occupations not only had university degrees but also had received at least some education in North America, whereas most informants engaged in manual work had neither university education nor educational experience in North America. Table 4.8 shows the percentages of informants from various occupational categories at different levels of educational attainment and Table 4.9 the percentages of informants from the various occupational categories and their corresponding places of education. Twenty-three informants who were full time students at the time of the survey are excluded from the two tables.

As with educational attainment and places of education, the occupational pattern of the group is related to the differences in the self-perceived levels of language competence. So far as the language skills in English are concerned, 75% of those engaged in the administrative, managerial, professional and skilled occupations (categories 1 to 9), the occupations which require communication skills, perceived themselves to be very fluent. In contrast, a much smaller number of those who were engaged in manual work or

small businesses thought of themselves as being very fluent in English, especially as far as speaking is concerned. It is possible that those who perceived themselves as being not so fluent in English, especially with regard to speaking, were more likely to find job opportunities in occupations which did not demand high communication skills in English. The opposite seems to be true with regard to Chinese language skills. Here, those engaged in manual work perceived themselves as being more fluent than those in the administrative, managerial, professional, and skilled occupations. More than 90% of those engaged in manual work perceived themselves to be very fluent in both oral and aural skills in Chinese, whereas a relatively small number of those who held administrative, managerial, professional, and skilled occupations perceived themselves as being proficient in oral Chinese.

As far as the self-perceived fluency in written Chinese is concerned, both occupational groups rated themselves lower than they did for spoken Chinese. Such a result can be attributed to Chinese being essentially an ethnic community language in Winnipeg, with its primary function being that of a spoken rather than a written language in the community.

TABLE 4.8

Percentages of Informants in Occupational Categories
Based on Levels of Educational Attainment

Occupational Categories	Levels of Educational Attainment		
	Low	Mid	High
1	0.00%	75.00	25.00
2	0.00	0.00	100.00
3	0.00	0.00	100.00
4	0.00	0.00	100.00
5	0.00	66.67	33.33
6	16.67	0.00	83.33
7	40.00	40.00	20.00
8	18.18	63.64	18.18
9	0.00	64.29	35.71
10	70.00	20.00	10.00
11	73.33	26.67	0.00
12	90.00	10.00	0.00
13	37.50	62.50	0.00

Legend: 1=administrator/manager, 2=physician, 3=lawyer, 4=professor, 5=teacher, 6=financial consultant/accountant, 7=office clerk, 8=salesperson, 9=technician, 10=small business person, 11=service worker, 12=industrial worker, 13=retired/not employed.

TABLE 4.9

Percentages of Informants in Occupational Categories
Based on Places of Education

Occupation Categories	Places of Education	
	North America	Elsewhere
1	100.00	0.00
2	75.00	25.00
3	100.00	0.00
4	100.00	0.00
5	100.00	0.00
6	100.00	0.00
7	70.00	30.00
8	81.82	18.18
9	100.00	0.00
10	40.00	60.00
11	46.67	53.33
12	10.00	90.00
13	25.00	75.00

Legend: 1=administrator/manager, 2=physician, 3=lawyer, 4=professor, 5=teacher, 6=financial consultant/accountant, 7=office clerk, 8=salesperson, 9=technician, 10=small business person, 11=service worker, 12=industrial worker, 13=retired/not employed.

In Table 4.10, the various occupational categories shown in Tables 4.8 and 4.9 are collapsed into two general categories A and B. In A are the occupations included in categories 1 to 9 in the two previous tables, the administrative, managerial, professional and skilled occupations, and in B are the occupations included in categories 10 to 12 in the two previous tables, the occupations in the primary and services industries and small businesses. These two occupational categories coincide roughly with the two major occupational groups, the professional and technical group and the services and recreational group, defined by Millien et al. (1971) in their study of the Winnipeg Chinese in the early 1970s. Table 4.10 shows the percentages of informants from the two occupational categories who are "very fluent" in each language skill in English and Chinese.

TABLE 4.10

"Very Fluent" Informants and Corresponding Occupational Categories

Occupation Categories	Percentages of Informants "Very Fluent" in Chinese and English Skills			
	CS	CL	CR	CW
A	62.75%	64.71	46.94	42.86
B	97.14	97.14	77.14	65.71
	ES	EL	ER	EW
A	78.43	80.77	78.85	74.51
B	29.03	33.33	39.39	36.36

Legend: A=Occupational categories 1-9 in Tables 8 and 9,
 B=Occupational categories 10-12 in Tables 8 and 9.
 C=Chinese, E=English, S=speaking, L=listening, R=reading,
 W=writing.

The analysis above seems to suggest that those with a higher educational attainment, educational experience in North America, and administrative, managerial, professional, and skilled occupations tend to be less fluent in Chinese but more fluent in English than those with a lower level of educational attainment, educational experience elsewhere and manual occupations. However, the actual fluency in Chinese of those with a high educational attainment, educational experience in North America, and occupational positions that demand communicational skills in English may not have been lower than that of the others, especially with respect to the fluency in spoken Chinese. Those who have a high level of educational attainment, who were educated in North America, and who were engaged in occupations that demand communicational skills in English may have a higher expectation for language competence and may be more conscious of their use of the two languages. As they used English in formal settings for education and work related high functions and Chinese only in informal settings, they may have been conscious of their Chinese being only the language of informal contexts and low functions and, consequently, might have perceived themselves as being less competent in Chinese than they were in English. However, so long as they continue to use Chinese in informal settings with family members and friends, their actual fluency in

Chinese, especially in spoken Chinese, may in fact not be less than the fluency of those with different educational and occupational backgrounds. The low rating of their Chinese competence may have been the effect of self-monitoring in or different standards for language use. Such an interpretation was indicated as being agreeable by some members of the community engaged in the professional and technical occupations.

LANGUAGE USE IN THE RELEVANT DOMAINS

THE FAMILY DOMAIN

The choice of which language or dialect variety to use among family members in bilingual and bidialectal Chinese homes depends mainly on the role-relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor. Our data on language use within the family domain suggest that one may have a choice of different language or dialect varieties at home depending on whether the interlocutor is a father, a mother, a grandparent, a spouse, an older sibling, or a younger sibling. Generally speaking, the amount of Chinese used at home decreases in the descending order of generations. That is, Chinese is used most with the grandparent generation, less so but still substantially with the parent generation,

less with one's own generation, and still less with the descending generation. Quantitative differences exist in the use of Chinese at home between those who were born in the English speaking countries of Canada, the United States, and England and those who immigrated from elsewhere.

TABLE 4.11

A
Language Choice with Interlocutors at Home
by Non-Canadian-born Informants

	AC	MC	CE	ME	AE
Gp	98.04%	1.96	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mo	80.49	19.51	0.00	0.00	0.00
Fa	71.76	24.71	2.35	0.00	0.00
Os	60.27	23.29	5.48	4.11	6.85
Ys	48.48	25.75	9.09	7.58	9.09
Sp	46.30	38.89	9.26	5.56	0.00
Oc	28.00	44.00	6.00	14.00	8.00
Yc	20.93	39.53	13.95	13.95	11.63

B
Language Choice with Interlocutors at Home
by Canadian-born Informants

	AC	MC	CE	ME	AE
Gp	63.64%	13.64	0.00	4.50	18.18
Mo	18.52	22.22	3.70	25.93	29.63
Fa	8.33	16.67	4.17	37.50	33.33
Os	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.43	78.57
Ys	0.00	0.00	0.00	22.22	77.78
Sp	0.00	20.00	20.00	40.00	20.00
Oc	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00

Legend: Gp=grandparent, Mo=mother, Fa=father, Os=older sibling, Ys=younger sibling, Sp=spouse, Oc=older or only child, Yc=younger child.
AC=Chinese all the time, MC=Chinese most of the time, CE=Chinese and English equal amount of time, ME=English most of the time, AE=English all the time.

Table 4.11 presents the percentages of informants who chose to use either Chinese or English with different interlocutor types at home. The Canadian-born and the non-Canadian-born informants are shown separately in parts A and B. From left to right are categories indicating the extent to which each language was reportedly used, i.e., whether AC, "Chinese all the time"; MC, "Chinese most of the time"; CE, "Chinese and English more or less equal amount of the time"; ME, "English most of the time"; or AE, "English all the time". On the left axis are interlocutor types. The "younger child" interlocutor type category is missing in part B of Table 4.11, because no Canadian-born informant had more than one child at the time of the survey.

With the grandparent generation, Chinese is much used by both the non-Canadian-born and the Canadian-born informants. Nearly all non-Canadian-born informants (98.04%) used Chinese with the grandparent all the time. Even among the Canadian-born informants, a majority (63.64%) still continued to use Chinese with their grandparents all the time. The presence of a Chinese speaking grandparent at home is thus an important factor in the use of Chinese in Chinese homes.

However, with the other interlocutors at home, the non-Canadian-born informants continued to use more Chinese than English, but the Canadian-born informants used more English than Chinese. With the parent generation, a difference is

found between the choice of language with father and that with mother. Both the Canadian-born and the non-Canadian-born informants used more Chinese with mothers than with fathers and more English with fathers than with mothers. With one's own generation, there is also a difference between language use with elder siblings and language use with younger siblings. Both the Canadian-born and the non-Canadian-born informants used more Chinese with elder siblings and more English with younger siblings.

One's spouse is of the same generation as one's own, so that language choice with spouse is expected to follow the same pattern as that with the siblings. The survey data show that both the Canadian-born and the non-Canadian-born informants used more Chinese with their spouses than they did with either the elder siblings or the younger siblings. Among the non-Canadian-born informants, more than 85% used at least more Chinese than English with their spouses, while close to 85% used more Chinese than English with their elder siblings, and close to 75% used more Chinese than English with their younger siblings. Among the Canadian-born informants, while all used more English than Chinese with their siblings, not all of them did so with their spouses. The difference in language choice between siblings and spouses is probably due to the fact that while habitual language use with siblings usually becomes established in early childhood, that with the spouse becomes established

later in life.

Differentiation in role-relationship is identified to be an important factor in speech variations (Fishman, 1976, p. 232). According to Fishman, "even small and total societies are likely to differentiate between men and women, between minors and adults, between children and parents, between leaders and followers....Thus, even small, total societies reveal functionally differentiated linguistic repertoires (and, not infrequently, intra-group bilingualism as well) based upon behaviorally differentiated interaction networks". So are "even smaller family networks, friendship networks, interest networks, or occupational networks" (p. 232). In the traditional Chinese society, too, role differentiation is strictly kept within the family. Chan (1983) noted the authoritarian control of the eldest male adult and the inferior position of women to their fathers, husbands, and sons in traditional Chinese families (p. 106). Role differentiation implies the differentiation in behaviour, including language behaviour. Thus, one finds the variation in speech between spouses, between fathers and sons, between friends, between strangers, and so forth. As family members and kin are usually from the same region and thus speak the same local Chinese dialect, functional differentiation in speech as a result of social role differentiations within the family is usually realized in the stylistic differences within dialects in traditional

Chinese society.

Such role differentiation also survives in the Chinese immigrant families in Canada (Johnson, 1979, p. 369). In Vancouver, for example, Johnson found that the cultural traditions such as respect for and support to parents are still expected among the Chinese. Almost a quarter of Johnson's sample of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver had their parents living in the same households. Johnson noted the particular role of grandmothers in those Chinese families. According to him, "the grandmothers of those Chinese households were not only crucial to child-rearing but also had an important influence on the cultural knowledge, and especially language skills, which young Chinese-Canadians possess" (p. 369).

Some informants involved in this study, including also some who were Canadian-born, still live with extended families, i.e., families made up of more than two generations. In these Chinese families, grandparents play an important role in caring for the grandchild generation, while the parents are preoccupied with their own careers. Much of the socialization during the early years of the grandchild generation in these families, especially when both parents work, takes place with the grandparents, many of whom habitually speak Chinese and very little English. It is through socialization with the grandparents that many young Chinese are exposed to Chinese and that the role-

relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is established in Chinese. As the grandparents often speak little English, the grandchildren may need to continue using Chinese with the grandparents even as they grow up. In fact, many Canadian-born informants admitted that the only people they ever had to use Chinese with were their grandparents.

Language choice as a function of role differentiation is also one of the factors in the variation in language choice with different parents and siblings. Typically, the father in a traditional Chinese immigrant family is usually the one who came to Canada first, long before all the others, including the mother, and who often is the chief or sole breadwinner of the family. Since the father has been in Canada longer and uses English outside the home more often than the mother, he is also usually more competent in English than the mother. The mother, on the other hand, as a result of spending more time inside rather than outside home, is usually less competent in English than the other members of the family. Therefore, it is often the case that a child may be able to communicate with the father in English but may need to speak to the mother in Chinese.

A difference can also be observed in language choice with siblings and with children. In both cases, more Chinese is used with the elder than with the younger. As siblings or children of the same family are of different age

groups, they may differ in the age of immigration and possibly also place of birth. Thus, those who immigrated at an older age have a more established pattern of habitual language use in Chinese, whereas those who immigrated at a younger age or those who were born in Canada have a less established pattern of habitual language use in Chinese, or none at all. As a result, in many immigrant families, while the elder siblings or children who already spoke Chinese before immigration have to pick up English after they arrive in Canada, the younger siblings or children may be exposed to English at very early ages of their lives.

Even with children who were all Canadian-born, the parents may find that their use of language can be different with different children. With the elder child still being the only child at home, if the parents persist, Chinese may still be the only language of home. With more children to come, however, the effort on the part of the parents to maintain Chinese as the only home language may not be as successful. This is because, while it is possible that Chinese is the only language of the first child of Chinese immigrant parents, the language a younger child may be exposed to from birth may not be Chinese only. The younger child may be talked to by an elder sibling in English as soon as he was born, as the elder sibling acquires English. Thus, while the parents are able to bring up the first child in an all Chinese home environment at least to a certain

point in time, the all Chinese home environment may not be maintained for a younger child even from the very beginning, as the younger child acquires Chinese from the parents and English from an elder sibling both at the same time.

The few known successful cases of home Chinese language maintenance in the Canadian-born generation in more recent immigrant families involve either the eldest or the only child of these families. A father of one of the only child families shared his experience: "I find it easier to keep Chinese at home with only one child. If there are more children, they'd talk in English among themselves." His only daughter, now a third year law student in Ottawa, was born in Canada but has been using Cantonese only at home with both parents. The persistent use of Chinese by this Canadian-born daughter with her parents is not due to the incompetence in English either of her own or on the part of the father, since the father has been a high school mathematics teacher in Winnipeg for more than thirty years and is a fluent speaker of English.

Thus, while in general it is found that more Chinese is used with the elder sibling or the elder child at home than with the younger sibling or younger child, the presence of an elder sibling or an elder child, provided that the elder sibling or child is competent in English, may not always be favourable for the maintenance of Chinese among those who are younger. Peer pressure thus may be transparent and

influential in language choice among family members of the same generation as well.

THE FRIENDSHIP DOMAIN

A majority of the informants (77) reported that they had more Chinese friends than non-Chinese friends. Of the rest, 24 said they had about the same number of Chinese and non-Chinese friends and 21 said they had more non-Chinese friends than Chinese friends. When asked to identify the ethnic identity of five closest friends, 62 of the 122 informants said that all their five closest friends were Chinese, and six said that none of their five closest friends was Chinese. For the rest of the informants, the five closest friends included both Chinese and non-Chinese.

Chinese is still used by a vast majority of the informants (86) either as the only language or at least one of the languages of communication with Chinese friends. A considerable number of the informants (49 or 40.16%) indicated that they used only Chinese with their close Chinese friends, 37 or 30.33% either used Chinese with some of their close Chinese friends but English with others, or both Chinese and English with the same Chinese friends; the rest used no Chinese at all with their close Chinese friends. Table 4.12 shows the language and dialect

varieties used by the informants with their close Chinese friends. Both the number and the percentage of responses for each language and dialect variety are presented in the table, with the number of responses included in brackets. Language use by the informants with friends who were not ethnic Chinese is not included in the table.

TABLE 4.12

Language and Dialect Varieties Used by Informants
with Five Closest Chinese Friends

Languages/ Dialects	Friends				
	A	B	C	D	E
Cantonese Yue	50.51% (50)	44.55 (45)	46.32 (44)	48.75 (39)	45.95 (34)
Taishanese Yue	8.08 (8)	10.89 (11)	7.37 (7)	3.75 (3)	4.05 (3)
Chaozhou Min	1.01 (1)	2.97 (3)	2.11 (2)	1.25 (1)	1.35 (1)
Hakka	2.02 (2)	1.98 (2)	1.05 (1)	0.00 (0)	1.35 (1)
Shanghai Wu	1.01 (1)	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)
Mandarin	7.07 (7)	9.90 (10)	11.58 (11)	12.50 (10)	10.81 (8)
English	21.21 (21)	19.80 (20)	21.05 (20)	22.50 (18)	24.32 (18)
Other	1.01 (1)	0.00 (0)	1.05 (1)	2.50 (2)	2.70 (2)
English/ Chinese	8.08 (8)	9.90 (10)	9.47 (9)	8.75 (7)	9.46 (7)
Total	100.00 (99)	100.00 (101)	100.00 (95)	100.00 (80)	100.00 (74)

As Table 4.12 shows, the various Chinese dialects that the Chinese immigrants brought with them to Winnipeg are still in use not only among family members but also between friends outside the family domain. The most important of all dialect and language varieties used by the informants

with close Chinese friends is Cantonese; half of the informants reported to use Cantonese with at least one of their five closest friends. Of secondary importance as the language of communication with close friends is English; it was used by one-fifth or so of the informants as the only language between them and their five closest friends. The other Chinese dialects of which the informants reported their knowledge were also being used among close Chinese friends, but Mandarin and Taishanese were shown to be used more by their speakers with their close friends than the remaining dialects. The use of the remaining dialects is limited. On the whole, the use of the various Chinese dialects with ethnic friends shows a pattern of distribution similar to that of the knowledge of these Chinese dialects among the informants.

TABLE 4.13

Use of Mother Tongues by Informants with Close Chinese Friends

Mother tongues	Chinese Friends				
	A	B	C	D	E
Cantonese Yue	69.77% (30)	65.91 (29)	65.91 (29)	62.50 (25)	58.33 (21)
Taishanese Yue	38.10 (8)	36.36 (8)	30.00 (6)	12.50 (2)	12.50 (2)
Chaozhou Min	11.11 (1)	33.33 (3)	22.22 (2)	0.00	16.67 (1)
Hakka	40.00 (2)	20.00 (1)	20.00 (1)	0.00	33.33 (1)
Shanghai Wu	50.00 (1)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mandarin	83.33 (5)	83.33 (5)	100.00 (3)	100.00 (3)	66.67 (2)
English	90.00 (9)	87.50 (7)	87.50 (7)	75.00 (3)	80.00 (4)

A comparison of the mother tongue backgrounds of the informants and their choice of linguistic varieties with close Chinese friends shows that often a Chinese dialect other than mother tongue or English was used between the informants and their close Chinese friends. Table 4.13 shows this comparison. The only mother tongue groups that still used mostly their own mother tongues as the vehicle of communication with ethnic friends are the Cantonese, Mandarin, and English. The majority of the other mother tongue speakers in the sample shifted from their mother tongues when they communicated with their Chinese friends. Such a shift has occurred either to another Chinese dialect or English, but the shift to a second Chinese dialect is found to be greater than the shift to English among ethnic Chinese friends. For example, with friend A, 42.89% of Taishanese mother tongue speakers shifted to use Cantonese, but only 19.05% of this mother tongue group shifted to English. The same phenomenon is found in the other Chinese mother tongue groups as well. Such a finding reflects the multidialectal nature of the Chinese community in Winnipeg and that Chinese speakers are often functional in more than one Chinese dialect. Moreover, the finding that not all English mother tongue speakers used only English with all their closest Chinese friends suggests the use of Chinese in the friendship domain by those who spoke English as their

mother tongue as well. Having an ethnic mother tongue speaking friend, thus, is influential to the use of ethnic tongues among the Chinese in Winnipeg.

Language choice among Chinese friends is predictable to some degree by such personal characteristics as the place of birth, age of immigration, and length of stay in Canada. Although Chinese is still used either all the time or at least some of the time by a majority of the informants with their close friends who were Chinese, such use is nonetheless confined mostly to the non-Canadian-born group. The use of Chinese with Chinese friends by those who were born in Canada is limited. Only five of the 27 informants who were born in Canada or other English speaking countries reported any use of Chinese with their close Chinese friends. For the other informants born in Canada or other English speaking countries, only English was used between them and their close Chinese friends. No informant born in Canada or other English speaking countries reported to have used only Chinese with close Chinese friends. The difference between Canadian-born (including two who were born in the United States and England) and non-Canadian-born informants in their choice of language with friends is presented in Table 4.14 in the following.

TABLE 4.14

Variation in Language Choice with Close Friends
between Canadian-born and Non-Canadian-born Informants

Birth Places	Chinese only		Chinese/English		English only	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Other	(49)	51.58	(32)	33.68	(14)	14.74
Canada	(0)	0.00	(5)	18.52	(22)	81.48
Total	(49)	40.16	(37)	30.33	(36)	29.51

Among immigrants, most of those who used English only with all their five closest friends either came to Canada at very early ages or had been in Canada for relatively long periods of time. Those who had come to Canada at more advanced ages and more recently tended to use only Chinese with their friends.

However, there are exceptions. Several non-Canadian-born informants who came to Canada between the ages of 22 and 44 reported that they had more non-Chinese friends than Chinese friends and, therefore, also used more English than Chinese in the friendship domain. Among these informants were a doctor, a computer expert, a social worker, and a professor. That English has become the dominant language of the friendship domain for these informants reflects the characteristics of the personal networks that these informants have formed.

The survey questionnaire was designed in such a way that the informants were able to report the choice of

dialects and languages with each friend separately as well as to report the choice of more than one dialect or language variety with the same friend. The data from the survey show that a majority of the informants (66) code switch between Chinese and English or between two or more Chinese dialects with their close friends. Such code switching among friends is shown to be either interpersonal, i.e., code switching as initiated by a change in the interlocutor, or intrapersonal, i.e., code switching that occurred without a change in the interlocutor, as the informants reported the use of different linguistic varieties with different friends as well as the use of different linguistic varieties with the same friends. Only 20 informants reported that they used Cantonese only with all five closest friends, and 36 spoke only English with their close friends.

THE DOMAIN OF ETHNICALLY ORIENTED BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

Chinatown businesses, for example the grocery stores, restaurants, and travel agencies, are usually, although not exclusively, oriented toward Chinese customers. Many transactions between Chinatown businesses and their Chinese customers are conducted in Chinese. Although not all the Chinese in Winnipeg use all or only the services provided by Chinatown businesses, some ethnically oriented businesses

are frequented more by the Chinese population than others. A majority of the informants shopped regularly in Chinese grocery stores, dined out more often in Chinese restaurants than elsewhere, had Chinese family doctors, and had their hair done by Chinese hairdressers. Many also used the services provided by Chinese real estate agents, financial counsellors, travel agents, and social workers, but these people were more concentrated in certain age groups or social sectors than in others. For example, those who used travel or real estate agencies were usually the adults and those who requested the assistance of Chinese social workers tended not to be competent in English.

The informants who used Chinese for Chinatown business transactions were mostly the non-Canadian-born. The use of Chinese for ethnically oriented business transactions by those who were Canadian-born was limited, as few of the Canadian-born Chinese would ever use Chinese to any extent other than with their immediate families. However, for certain business transactions, which were more heavily embedded in the ethnic culture, for example those pertaining to Chinese food and eating habit, as in the Chinese grocery stores and Chinese restaurants, Chinese was used by many from the Canadian-born group as well. Table 4.15 shows the numbers and percentages of the responses by the informants who answered to have used "Chinese only", "both Chinese and English" or "English only" in a number of Chinese oriented

services.

Only informants who reportedly had Chinese family doctors, who went to Chinese hair dressers, who shopped in Chinese grocery stores and who ate in Chinese restaurants are included in the analysis. While a majority of the non-Canadian-born informants chose to use Chinese only with their Chinese family doctors, Chinese hair dressers, Chinese grocers and waiters or waitresses in the Chinese restaurants, very few Canadian-born informants chose to use Chinese with their Chinese family doctors, and few Canadian-born informants chose to use Chinese with Chinese hair dressers. However, the use of Chinese by Canadian-born informants increased when interlocutors were Chinese grocers and waiters or waitresses in Chinese grocery stores and Chinese restaurants.

One explanation for the increased switching to Chinese with Chinese grocers and waiters or waitresses in the Chinese restaurants is that while interlocutors such as Chinese doctors are competent speakers of English, Chinese grocers and waiters or waitresses in the Chinese restaurants may be perceived by those who were born in Canada and grew up in English to be not as competent in English. Thus, the linguistic competence of the interlocutor is a factor related to the switching to Chinese in these instances. In addition, increased switching to Chinese in the Chinese grocery stores and Chinese restaurants may have also been

brought about by changes in topics. A reason frequently given for code switching in these instances is that there are simply no English equivalents for certain culturally bound food items.

TABLE 4.15

Language Choice by Informants with Interlocutors
in Chinese Oriented Business Transactions

Interlocutors	Places of birth	Chinese only	Chinese/English	English only
Doctors	Other	70.89% (56)	7.59 (6)	21.52 (17)
	Canada	5.56 (1)	5.56 (1)	88.89 (16)
	Total	58.76 (57)	7.22 (7)	34.02 (33)
Hair dressers	Other	82.00 (41)	16.00 (8)	2.00 (1)
	Canada	15.38 (2)	23.08 (3)	61.54 (8)
	Total	68.25 (43)	17.46 (11)	14.29 (9)
Grocers	Other	78.02 (71)	14.29 (13)	7.69 (7)
	Canada	40.00 (10)	12.00 (3)	48.00 (12)
	Total	69.83 (81)	13.79 (16)	16.38 (19)
Waiters/ waitresses	Other	86.67 (78)	6.67 (6)	6.67 (6)
	Canada	40.74 (11)	18.52 (5)	40.74 (11)
	Total	76.07 (89)	9.40 (11)	14.53 (17)

THE DOMAIN OF ETHNICALLY ORIENTED
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Ethnically oriented social and cultural activities refer to those activities organized and participated in by the Chinese. Presumably, these activities originate in the

milieu in which Chinese is used. While such had been the case in the earlier community and in older times, it is no longer true for all community activities today. Of the 63 informants who reported affiliations with ethnic social and cultural groups, more than half (33) reported the use of one or more Chinese dialects as well as English for their group activities. Of the rest, two thirds reported Cantonese as the only linguistic variety used by their groups, and the remaining informants reported the use of Mandarin, Taishanese or English as the only linguistic variety for their social groups.

These findings reflect the heterogenous nature of the social and cultural groups within the community. Because of the heterogeneity of the linguistic backgrounds of the members of the various social and cultural groups, often more than one linguistic variety has to be used for group activities. Only where the linguistic backgrounds of the participants are more or less homogeneous, the use of only one linguistic variety is found. The observations of the social and cultural activities in the Chinese community conform to findings from the survey.

THE DOMAIN OF RELIGION

Not all informants reported a religious affiliation. Of

those who did, 51 were Christians, one was Muslim, 25 were Buddhists, and one was Taoist. The Chinese in Winnipeg have several religious institutions, all being Christian churches. Those with religious denominations other than Christianity either practised in the privacy of the home or, in the case of Buddhism, at the Buddhist Temple on Burrow Street, the language of which is Vietnamese.

Perhaps some background information of the religious institutions within the Chinese community, gathered during the fieldwork, is in place here. The Winnipeg Chinese United Church, formerly the Chinese Presbyterian Church before the union, is the oldest Chinese church in Winnipeg. It is located in Chinatown and has traditionally been attended by the old-timer Chinese and their families. The Winnipeg Chinese Alliance Church, located on Colony Street close to downtown Winnipeg, was established in the early 1970s, as a result of separation from the Chinese United Church. The Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Church was also established in the 1970s. Located in Fort Garry, the church is attended by a large number of visa university students from Southeast Asia. The Hua En Chapel of the Winnipeg Mennonite Brethren Church, attended mostly by recent immigrants of Chinese origin from the Indo-China countries of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, is one of the most recently established Chinese churches in Winnipeg. Two other recently established churches are the Chinese Lutheran

Church, established in 1988 and located in Fort Garry, and the Chinese Calvary Temple, located in downtown Winnipeg.

With the exception of the Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Church, which was started as a Mandarin-only church, all the Chinese churches in Winnipeg traditionally provided their services in Cantonese, as their members were traditionally of Cantonese origin. At present, the only Chinese churches that use Cantonese exclusively for church services are the Hua En Chapel of the Winnipeg Mennonite Brethren Church and the Chinese Calvary Temple, even though prayers at the Hua En Chapel are sometimes led also in Mandarin by Mandarin speaking church members, as most of the members of the Hua En Chapel know Mandarin either as a first or an additional Chinese dialect, having come from multilingual Indo-China.

In a number of these Chinese churches, including the Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Church, the Winnipeg Chinese Alliance Church, and the Chinese Lutheran Church, both Cantonese and Mandarin are used for formal church services. At these churches, sermons are usually first given in one of the dialects and then repeated sentence by sentence in the other. Initially, they were also monolingual churches, as one started as a Mandarin church and the other two as Cantonese churches. Having bilingual services can be seen as an attempt on the part of these churches to appeal to the congregation. These churches now all have a congregation with heterogenous linguistic backgrounds. That Cantonese is

used for formal services at these churches is due mostly to the fact that it is widely understood by the congregation. The selection of Mandarin for formal services at these churches is, however, not only due to Mandarin being the native dialect of some speakers in the congregation at church services, but, more importantly, to its attraction to those who aspire to acquiring it as a high variety of Chinese and the national language of China.

The Chinese United Church initially was also a Cantonese only church. After going through a stage of using both Cantonese and English for formal church services, however, in January of 1991, the church began to have two separate sessions of services every Sunday, one in Cantonese and the other in English. Except for the monthly holy communion, when a single bilingual service is held for all, most of the young and the Canadian-born members now attend the early Sunday services conducted in English, while those who come for the Cantonese services after the English session are mostly the elderly.

With the Chinese United Church being the oldest Chinese church in Winnipeg, the changes that have taken place in church language use at the United Church, from monolingualism to bilingualism to two separate monolingualisms at present, may be seen as indicating a similar pattern of development for the other Chinese churches in Winnipeg in the future as well. The initial

monolingualism, still present in the Hua En Chapel and the Chinese Calvary Temple, two newest Chinese churches in Winnipeg attended by most recent Chinese immigrants, may thus be considered as a reflection of the beginning stage of this development. Even at the Hua En Chapel, the Sunday school for children is already being held in English.

Four variables of language use by informants in the domain of religion were examined. They are the linguistic varieties used for praying, for religious studies, for communication with members of the same religious denomination, and for communication with the ministers. As far as the language or dialect varieties for praying and for religious studies are concerned, all those who belonged to the English mother tongue group and a majority of those who belonged to the Cantonese mother tongue group (i.e., 26 or 70.27% and 20 or 71.43%, respectively) reported the use of their mother tongues for praying and religious studies. Among the rest of the informants, however, many did not use their mother tongues either for praying or for religious studies. Of the 12 informants whose mother tongue was Taishanese, only two still used Taishanese for praying and religious studies, while five reported that they used English and the rest used Cantonese for praying and religious studies. A shift to English for religious practice can be found in the Cantonese mother tongue group as well, as more than 25% of the Cantonese mother tongue

informants with religious affiliations reported that they used either English only or at least some English both for praying and for religious studies.

The data on the use of language or dialect varieties by the informants with other believers from the same religious institutions as well as with the ministers show a somewhat different pattern from the data on the use of language or dialect varieties for praying and religious studies. A greater shift from the mother tongue can be observed in all mother tongue groups when the informants communicated with others of their own religion than when they were praying or participating in religious studies. An increasing number of informants from various mother tongue groups reported that they used English in addition to their own mother tongues and possibly also other Chinese dialects when they communicated with others from their own religious institutions. Thus, the choice of a single language from the available linguistic resources decreased and code switching increased as the informants moved from talking to the religious deity and about topics focusing on religion to less formal and less rigid situations, such as when they engaged in casual conversations with their co-believers. Such a finding in part reflects the linguistic heterogeneity of the various religious groups within the Chinese community. In part, it also supports the finding in Gal (1979) that habitual language use in inner speech, such as

the one used in praying, is more resistant to change than outer speech, which is used for conversing with others.

The role of religious institutions in the maintenance of Chinese in this community can be seen as two-fold. In the long run, the various religious institutions in this community strive for linguistic conformity rather than linguistic diversity, since the principal function of religious institutions is, after all, religious advocacy rather than language maintenance. In the short term, the various ethnic religious institutions also have a role to play in providing the linguistic environment for the ethnic tongues, especially as these religious institutions provide opportunities for informal social interaction among ethnic group members in addition to formal religious services.

As most informal social interaction among adult church members takes place in Chinese, they provide opportunities for the young members who are present to be exposed to Chinese. It is through such informal social interaction among church members as well as language use in formal church services that the acquisition of such a dominant community tongue as Cantonese has taken place among some church-goers. One Taishanese-speaking informant from the Chinese United Church acquired Cantonese in his early 50s just after he started going to the church regularly a few years ago. He immigrated to Canada from Taishan in the early 1950s and, until he started to attend the church, had

been speaking Taishanese as his only Chinese variety. A number of Chaozhounese-speaking parents at the Hua En Chapel also commented on the ease with which their children had picked up Cantonese from Cantonese-speaking children at their church.

Thus, on the one hand, efficiency for religious advocacy requires linguistic conformity; on the other hand, outside formal religious practice, these ethnic community churches also provide a setting for informal social interaction among ethnic members, which fosters the informal use of the ethnic mother tongues. However, as generations change, the ethnic Chinese churches can be expected eventually to abandon the use of Chinese and shift to English for religious practice, as the oldest Chinese church in Winnipeg has already chosen to keep each language for its own generation.

LANGUAGE USE IN THE WRITTEN MEDIA

To measure the use of the written language, three variables were taken into consideration: the version of the religious texts used, reading of Chinese newspapers, and the language of correspondence with friends and relatives. It was found that nearly all those who reported the use of the Chinese version of the religious texts, such as the Bible, who read

Chinese newspapers, and who corresponded with relatives and friends in Chinese were born outside Canada. The only two Canadian-born informants who reported that they subscribed to Chinese newspapers said that they only read these papers for advertisements in English. The only Canadian-born informant who reported to have corresponded with friends and relatives in Chinese used written Chinese only for such purposes as signing cards to friends and relatives on occasions of traditional Chinese holidays.

Among the non-Canadian-born Chinese, the use of written Chinese is related to the level of fluency in written Chinese. The majority of those who read the Chinese version of the religious texts, who read Chinese newspapers, and who corresponded with friends and relatives in Chinese were also very fluent in written Chinese, either in reading or writing. The majority of those who read the English versions of the religious texts only, who did not read Chinese newspapers, and who corresponded with friends or relatives only in English were either not so fluent in written Chinese or had no fluency at all. On the whole, wherever Chinese is used among the Canadian-born Chinese in Winnipeg, it is in the form of spoken Chinese rather than written Chinese.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

While many variations exist in the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community in Winnipeg, both in terms of the linguistic varieties and the choice among them, the attitudes toward the various Chinese dialects and English appear to be more consistent among the Chinese in Winnipeg, so that they reflect the sociolinguistic norms of the community. To measure the attitudes of the informants toward the options in their community's linguistic repertoire, the informants were asked to name the dialect or language that sounded more comfortable than others to them. Notwithstanding the actual use of the various linguistic varieties, nearly all responses to the question fall into three categories: Cantonese, Mandarin and English. These responses neither all correspond to the mother tongues nor to the linguistic varieties preferred for use by the informants. That is, speakers may actually prefer the use of one linguistic variety but express their liking for a different one. Although only six informants spoke Mandarin as the mother tongue and eight preferred to use Mandarin at home, a much larger number, i.e., 24, chose Mandarin to be the linguistic variety that sounded more comfortable to them than the other language or dialect varieties. Similarly, while only 16 informants reported English as their mother tongue, 44 preferred to use English at home; to a still

larger number of informants (50), English sounded more comfortable than any other linguistic variety.

When data from the informants on the linguistic varieties preferred for use with the family members at home and in public are compared, it was found that more switching to English from all Chinese dialects occurred in public places among family members than if conversations with the family members were taking place at home. A difference between the linguistic environment of public places and that of home is that in the public places it is likely that there is presence of English speaking outsiders, but at home there is no presence of English-speaking outsiders. The switching toward the majority language in public locations can be interpreted as a deliberate effort on the part of bilingual speakers to conform to the linguistic norms of the larger society.

People must first show an awareness of norms before they can observe those norms. According to one of the informants, a bilingual Cantonese and English speaking high school graduate, this is how her choice of language varieties was made: "It depends which language I choose to use. If I'm at home, I like to speak Chinese with my family members. If I'm outside, on a bus for example, I like to speak English, because I don't want to sound different. With my Chinese friends, I sometimes speak Chinese, but whenever there is a Canadian in the group, I'll speak

English and never speak Chinese. In fact, I very seldom speak Chinese with my Chinese friends." At the time of the interview, this informant was working at a summer job as an office clerk in a garment factory in Winnipeg while waiting to enter the university in the fall. She came from Vietnam when she was very young. As a result, she had acquired her English along with the norms of language use from the larger society as she was attending school in Winnipeg, and would observe these norms of linguistic behaviour whenever she perceived herself to be in the milieu of the larger society. Her switch to English with bilingual friends outside the home was by no means due to her incompetence in Cantonese but was brought about by her awareness of the larger societal norms. For example, when she was entertaining an older family friend at her own home whom the family had known since they were in Vietnam and who did not speak English as well, she only used Cantonese. In doing so, she followed the norm of linguistic behaviour that characterized the long established friendship between her family and this family friend.

Perhaps the true feeling toward language or language loyalty can best be inferred from actual language use, especially in the informal, private, and intimate settings. The informants both preferred and actually used the various Chinese mother tongues more in private settings, such as that of the home, than in public. The fact that the Chinese

dialects spoken by only a very limited number of speakers in Winnipeg, for example the Wu dialect of Shanghai and Hakka, are still being used among their native speakers demonstrates the in-group value of these dialects; they are valued by their speakers precisely for their symbolization of the relationship between those who speak them. It is through their use in the informal and intimate relationships characterized by them that these dialects are actually being maintained. This also explains how Taishanese, although no longer the dominant Chinese variety in the Chinese community that it used to be, is still well preserved to a considerable extent among people of Taishanese origin in Winnipeg, even in the Canadian-born generations. I was told from the beginning of my fieldwork that if I really wanted to find out whether Chinese was indeed being maintained by the Chinese in Winnipeg, I should make observations among the Taishanese in Winnipeg, because they were a particular Chinese group known for having maintained their mother tongue in Canada for generations. Indeed, some knowledge, though a limited one, of Taishanese was even attested in a fourth generation Canadian-born informant.

A distinction can be made between the overt prestige and the covert prestige of linguistic varieties. While some languages and dialects may be overtly prestigious, for others the prestige may be covert, as speakers may not be consciously aware of, or openly admit, the prestige of these

languages and dialects. One of the informants, a Taishanese professional, father of two Canadian-born children attending universities, told me that both his children knew Taishanese and used Taishanese with their grandparents at home, even though they may not have admitted to me their knowledge of Taishanese. That was in fact the response I had received from his two children: the response that they spoke only English.

While most Chinese in Winnipeg agree on the social prestige of Cantonese, Mandarin, and English, the three linguistic varieties are each valued by the Chinese in Winnipeg for different reasons. Cantonese is valued not only for the regional tie that it holds for a large number of Chinese in Winnipeg who came from the Cantonese-speaking part of southern China, but also for its association with the wealth and sophistication of recent immigrants from places such as Hong Kong. Mandarin is valued for being the standardized variety of Chinese and the national language of the ancestral country. The prestige of English comes from its being the dominant language of the larger Canadian society, of which the Chinese in Winnipeg are also a part. Of the three linguistic varieties, Cantonese and Mandarin, as the in-group varieties, are used only among the Chinese and for in-group functions, while English is used both with the non-Chinese and among the Chinese as well, and for all the high functions associated with the larger society.

Because of its association with the larger society, English is in fact generally perceived by the Chinese in Winnipeg to be more prestigious than any dialect variety of Chinese. Its high prestige is demonstrated by its replacement of Chinese as an in-group language in the Canadian-born generation of Chinese in Winnipeg.

The relative levels of prestige that the various Chinese dialects and English hold for the Chinese in Winnipeg are also displayed by the code-switching practice of bilingual speakers of Chinese and English. For example, while formal speech requires English, proverbs may be cited in Mandarin and jokes can be told by switching to Cantonese.

SUMMARY

The analysis of the language use survey data in this chapter has shown that Chinese, as an ethnic community language, is still well maintained by the Chinese in Winnipeg. A high level of competence and the use of Chinese, though mostly in the spoken form, have both been retained among a majority of the informants who participated in the survey. However, both the knowledge and the use of Chinese are concentrated mostly in the immigrant population. Among the Canadian-born Chinese, the knowledge and the use of Chinese are limited. The use of Chinese in the Winnipeg Chinese community is

located most noticeably in the family and the friendship domains, in communication with the grandparent generation, and in the areas of life where the ethnic culture is heavily embedded.

It is of particular interest to note that both the knowledge and the choice of the linguistic varieties available in the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community in Winnipeg co-vary with the differences found among both speakers and interlocutors in terms of place of birth, education, occupation, and social role relationship, reflecting the structural characteristics of the community networks. Both interpersonal and intrapersonal types of code-switching are found to occur among bilingual and bidialectal Chinese speakers. That is, the speakers may choose to use different linguistic varieties with different interlocutors, or they may code-switch with the same interlocutor.

In conclusion, data on language choice from the language use survey involving the 122 informants are summarized in Table 4.16. These data are organized in such a way that both speaker and interlocutor differences will appear in the same matrix as in an implicational scale. Implicational scales, or Guttman scales, were first used to arrange linguistic data in 1958 (DeCamp, 1971) and have proven useful in the presentation of sociolinguistic data on language variation and variation in language choice (eg.

Fasold, 1984; Gal, 1979). A special advantage of implicational scales lies in the binary feature of the scales, which allows for the incorporation of contextual data into data on linguistic variation, thus avoiding circular arguments (DeCamp, 1971, p. 37).

In Table 4.16, the informants are shown on the vertical axis and the interlocutor types on the horizontal axis. Speaker differences are indicated by ages and years of arrival in Canada, and interlocutor differences are shown by interlocutor types, such as grandparent, father, Chinese family doctor, etc. The ages of arrival of the informants appear on the second left column of the table, the years of arrival of the informants on the far right, and the interlocutor differences are ordered by types across the top of the table. Zero age and year of arrival represent informants who were born in Canada. Each letter in the cells of the table represents a language, with C representing Chinese, E English, and CE both Chinese and English. Where an asterisk occurs beside the letter indicating a language, the response shown in that cell fails to fit into the scale. Empty cells indicate no response or where the choice is not applicable. One informant is excluded from the table because of incomplete data. As it turns out, those informants who used Chinese only with all interlocutor types appear toward the top of the scale, and those who used English only toward the bottom, with those

who used both languages with the interlocutor types shown at the centre.

This table presents the language choice by the group of informants involved in this study in such a way that given the language choice by a certain informant with a particular interlocutor type, both the language choice of the informant immediately above him or her in the table and his or her own language choice with the interlocutor type to the left of the interlocutor type with whom the language choice is known are predictable to some extent. Take informant 111 for example. Since we know that his language choice with the interlocutor type father involved Chinese as one of the languages, we can predict that his language choice with the interlocutor type mother to the left of father would also involve Chinese at least as one of the languages and that the language choice by the informant above him, informant 110, with father would involve Chinese as well. However, we cannot predict with the same certainty the language choice by the same informant with the interlocutor type to the right of father, i.e., waiters or waitresses in the Chinese restaurants, or the language choice with father by the informant below him in the same table, i.e., informant 112. In many cases, language choices by the Chinese in Winnipeg with their interlocutors presented in the table involve both English and Chinese.

TABLE 4.16

The Pattern of Language Choice

ID	Age	Gp	Mo	Fa	W	G	H	Os	Ys	Sp	Kd	D	Year
1	37				C	C				C	C	C	79
2	19				C	C		C		C		C	53
3	57				C	C		C	C			C	78
4	36			C	C	C	C	C	C			C	84
5	33			C	C	C	C	C	C			C	84
6	38		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	84
7	32		C	C	C	C		C	C	C		C	88
8	12		C	C	C	C	*E	C	C			C	89
9	15	C	C	C	C	C						C	81
10	23	C	C	C	C	C	C	C		C	C	C	83
11	12	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C			C	79
12	60	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	70
13	26	C	C	C	C	C		C	C			C	87
14	14	C	C	C	C		C	C				C	89
15	12	C	C		C			C				C	87
16	26	C	C	C	*E	*E		C	C	C	C	C	67
17	17	C	C	C	C	C				C			69
18	20	C	C	C	C	C		C	C				79
19	52				C	C		C	C	C	CE	C	80
20	34				C	C				C	CE	C	78
21	56				C	C					CE	C	82
22	35			C	C	C	C		C	C	CE	C	60
23	22		C	C	C	C	C	C		C	CE	C	58
24	33		C	C	C	C		C	C	C	*E	C	71
25	29	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	C	80
26	24	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	C	88
27	20	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	C	81
28	19	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	C	C	83
29	29				C	C		C	C	CE	CE	C	70
30	19			C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	CE	C	65
31	34		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	CE	C	84
32	52	C	C	C	C	C		C	C	CE	CE	C	83
33	25		C	C	C	C		C		C	CE		68
34	12			CE	C	C		C	C	CE	CE		18
35	13		C	C	C	C	C	C		CE			75
36	21	C	C	C	C	C	C	C		CE			76
37	9	C	C	C	C	C	C		C	CE	CE	CE	50
38	29		C	C	C	C			CE	C	CE	C	69
39	16	C	C	C	C	C			CE	CE	CE	C	65
40	43	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE			C	88
41	28	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	CE	C	CE	C	86
42	61		C	C	C	C		CE	CE	C	CE	C	79
43	22		C	C	C	C		CE	CE	C	CE	C	75
44	56		C	C	C	C	C	CE	CE	CE	C	C	85
45	31	C	C		C	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	C	67
46	18	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	CE				84
47	14	C	C	C	C	C		CE	CE	CE	CE		65
48	57	C	C	C	C	C	CE	C	C			C	80
49	10	C	C	C	C	C	CE	C	C	C	CE		76
50	18	C	C	C	C	CE	C	C	C			C	86
51	25	C	C	C	C	CE	C	C	CE				86
52	30		C	C	*E	CE				C	CE	C	80
53	24		C	C	C	CE		CE	CE	CE	CE	C	78
54	28		C	C	CE	C	CE	CE		CE	CE		64

ID	Age	Gp	Mo	Fa	W	G	H	Os	Ys	Sp	Kd	D	Year
55	27	C	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE		70
56	17	C	C	CE	C	C	C	C	C			C	80
57	62	C	C	CE	C	C	C	C	C	CE	CE	C	79
58	18		C	CE	C	C		C	CE	CE	CE	C	82
59	19		C	CE	C	C		C	CE			C	80
60	20	C	C	CE	C	C		CE		CE	CE	C	52
61	28	C	C	CE	CE	CE				CE			89
62	32		CE	C	C	C	C				CE	C	79
63	1	C	CE	CE	C	C			CE			C	79
64	28	C	CE	CE	C	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	C	77
65	10		CE	CE	C	C	C	CE				C	86
66	11		CE	CE	C	C		CE				C	80
67	7		CE	CE	C	C	CE	CE	CE			CE	81
68	35		CE	CE	C	CE		CE	CE	CE	CE	C	78
69	5		CE	CE	C	CE		CE				CE	80
70	0	C	CE	CE	C	C						CE	0
71	34	CE	CE	CE	C	C		C	C	CE	C	C	83
72	5	C	CE	CE	*E	CE	C	CE	CE			CE	78
73	0	CE	CE	CE	C	*E		CE	CE				0
74	17	C	C	C	C	C	C	C				E	82
75	19	C	C	C	C	C						E	81
76	9	C	C	C								E	85
77	12		C	C		C				C	CE	E	21
78	10	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	E	60
79	12	C	C	C	C	*E	C	C	C			E	88
80	44		C	C	*E	*E				CE	CE	E	70
81	7	C	C	C	C	*E	C		CE			E	80
82	19	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	CE			E	80
83	3	C	C	C	C	C	CE	CE	CE			E	74
84	19	C	C	C	C	CE	C	CE	CE			E	82
85	0		C	CE	CE	CE	*E		CE	CE	CE	E	0
86	0	C	CE	CE	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	E	0
87	26	C	CE	CE	C	C			CE	CE	CE	E	81
88	0	C	CE	CE	CE	CE			CE			E	0
89	0		CE	CE	CE	CE	CE					E	0
90	26		C	C	C	C		CE		CE	E	E	67
91	22	C	C	C	*E	C		CE	CE	CE	E	E	57
92	9		C	CE	C	C		C		CE	E	E	50
93	9	C	C	C	C	C	C	CE	E			*C	71
94	0	C	C	C	C	C			E				0
95	11		C	C		*E	C	C	E			*C	84
96	0		C	CE	CE	C			E				0
97	4		CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	E				CE	79
98	0	C	C	C	C	C	CE	E	E	CE	E	E	0
99	0	C	CE	C	C	C	C	E	E	CE	E	*C	0
100	7	C	CE	CE	C	C	C	E	E	CE	CE	E	68
101	0	C	CE	CE	C	C	C	E	E			E	0
102	4	C	CE	CE	CE	CE		E	E			E	80
103	0	C	CE	CE	CE			E					0
104	0	C	CE	CE	C	C	E	E				E	0
105	0	C	CE	CE	C	C	E		E			E	0
106	2		CE	CE	C	E	*C	E	E			CE	79
107	0		C	E	E	E		E	E				0
108	16	C	CE	CE	E	E							85
109	0	C	CE	CE	E	E	E	E	E			E	0
110	3	C	CE	CE	E	E						E	74
111	0	CE	CE	CE	E	E		E	E			E	0
112	5	C	E	E	CE	CE	CE	E	CE			CE	82
113	0	CE	CE	E	*C	*C	E	CE	E			E	0
114	0	C	E	E	*C			E	E				0

ID	Age	Gp	Mo	Fa	W	G	H	Os	Ys	Sp	Kd	D	Year
115	0	C	E	E	E	E	E		E			E	0
116	0	CE	E	E	E	E		E				E	0
117	0		E		E	E							0
118	0	E	E	E	E	E							0
119	0	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E				0
120	0	E	E	E	E	E	E		E			E	0
121	2	E	E	E	E	E		E		E		E	66

Legend: Age=age of arrival in Canada, Gp=grandparent, Mo=mother, Fa=father, W=waiters/waitresses in Chinese restaurants, G=Chinese grocers, H=Chinese hair dressers, Os=elder sibling, Ys=younger sibling, Sp=spouse, Kd=children, D=Chinese doctor, Year=year of arrival in Canada. Scalability¹³=98%.

Most of the cells that do not fit the scale involve interlocutor types waiters/waitresses, grocers, hair dressers, and doctors. One explanation for the exceptions is that these interlocutors do not belong to the same speech community as the speakers. Owing to the multidialectal nature of the Chinese community, Chinese speakers often have to switch to English, an out-group language, for communication with their own ethnic group members who are outside their family or friendship networks who do not share the same Chinese dialects. Where the exceptions are choices of English are these instances. In addition, the survey questions with respect to language choice with interlocutor types such as Chinese waiters or waitresses and Chinese grocers may also have reminded informants of certain topics related to the Chinese culture, which require the use of Chinese. Thus, we find the few exceptions in the choice of Chinese where the choice of English is expected with these interlocutors.

CHAPTER V

BEHAVIOUR TOWARD

CHINESE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

The analysis of the previous chapter showed that Chinese is still very much alive and viable in the Chinese community in Winnipeg, even though the use of Chinese is concentrated mostly in the immigrant group. In this chapter, the behaviour of the Chinese speakers in Winnipeg toward Chinese will be examined. "Behaviour toward language", according to Fishman (1966b), refers to "focused and conscious behaviours on behalf of either maintenance or shift per se" rather than "language behaviour or behaviour through language" (p. 449). The purpose of this chapter is to show whether the maintenance of Chinese in the Chinese community in Winnipeg can be attributed to such overt efforts to promote and maintain Chinese as demonstrated by language advocates and language schools in the community or to the language consciousness of Chinese speakers.

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

During the fieldwork in the Chinese community in Winnipeg, I also made observation of the behavioural aspect of the Chinese community with respect to the maintenance of Chinese. This observation was mostly carried out through my participation in the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies. In addition, observation was also made through participating in other community activities, such as volunteering during the annual event of the Folklorama Festival. Personal interviews were carried out with responsible personnel of three other Chinese schools in Winnipeg and the responsible personnel of the Victoria-Albert School, one of the public schools in Winnipeg that taught Mandarin as a heritage language.

According to Babbie (1983), a researcher can opt between three different roles for carrying out observation in field research (pp. 247, 248). In one role, the researcher observes through participating in the life of the group under study without making known his role as an observer. In the second role, the researcher identifies himself as an observer while participating with the group. In the third role, the researcher observes the on-going social process of a group without taking any part in the

group. For the purpose of this study, the second role, i.e., the role of an observer as participant, was adopted for field observation. I approached the community by making known my role as an observer and observed the behaviour of the community, both linguistic and otherwise, through participating in community activities.

Milroy (1980, p. 50) noted the importance of the exchange theory to success in data collection in field research. According to Milroy, in order to maintain relationship with the community under study and make insightful observations, it is necessary for the field researcher to fulfil the obligation of returning the "goods and services" provided by the community. The obligation on the part of the fieldworker in this study was fulfilled in the form of volunteer work for the community. In the role of teacher at the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies during the 1989-1990 school year, it was possible to make observation of the role of Chinese language schools in Winnipeg in the maintenance of Chinese through interacting with the students, the teachers, and the parents of the school as well as with teachers of the other Chinese schools in Winnipeg. In the role of Folklorama volunteer at its annual festival, it was possible to reach a larger number of members of the community with diversified backgrounds.

The observations made while teaching at the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies and participating in a number of

other social and cultural activities in the community and the interviews carried out in three other supplementary Chinese language schools in Winnipeg as well as in the Victoria-Albert School together provided the sources of evidence on which the arguments of this chapter are based.

OVERT EFFORTS TOWARD LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Overt efforts to maintain Chinese in the Chinese community are exhibited mostly through the efforts of the four Chinese language schools in Winnipeg: the Chinese Public School, the Manitoba Institute of Chinese Language, Culture and Arts, the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, and the Pei-ing Chinese School. Although the ethnic mass media, which include the three monthly local Chinese newspapers, the Manitoba IndoChina Chinese News, the Manitoba Chinese Post and the Prairie Chinese News of Canada, and the weekly broadcast by the Chinese Culture and Community Centre, also support the use of Chinese, their main interest is not the language itself; their influence on the maintenance of Chinese is also limited, as the Chinese newspapers are circulated only among those who have competence reading Chinese and the Chinese radio broadcast also has a small audience.

The most important function of the Chinese schools,

however, is to offer Chinese language instruction, either in Cantonese or Mandarin. The Chinese Public School teaches Cantonese only. Both the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies and the Pei-ing Chinese School teach Mandarin only. The Manitoba Institute of Chinese Language, Culture and Arts teaches mostly Cantonese, but also offers adult Mandarin classes. All these schools are of the supplementary type. That is, they offer an average of two hours of classes weekly outside the regular school system on Saturdays. In addition to language classes, these schools also offer other culture related subjects, such as Taiji, which is a type of Chinese marshal arts, traditional Chinese painting, Chinese calligraphy, etc.

Although functionally more or less the same, the four schools have different origins and are run by personnel from different sectors of the community (cf. Doherty, 1987). The Chinese Public School was established by the Manitoba Chinese Benevolent Association in the 1960s. The Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies was established in 1974 by a group of professionals, who came to Winnipeg relatively recently. The Manitoba Institute of Chinese Language, Culture and Arts was established in 1977, also by a group professionals, as a result of separation from the Chinese Public School. The Pei-ing Chinese School, established in 1983, is a school run by the Indo-China Chinese Association.

Although separately organized, the four schools

nevertheless share the ideology of preserving and promoting Chinese as an important aspect of Chinese culture among the young Chinese in Winnipeg. For a number of years, the four schools have held joint in-service training programmes for teachers. Recently, as a need was felt for improved communication among the four schools, an Association of Manitoba Teachers of Chinese Language and Cultural Arts was established, participated in by members from all four schools. With this association, the four schools now are able to promote their common interest as well as gain support from the larger society with a united effort.

The teachers of the four Chinese schools are of very similar backgrounds. The teaching staff of the four schools were born outside Canada. Although mostly not teachers by profession, nearly all of them have a university education of some kind, or are presently attending university in North America. Not all teachers are local Chinese; all four schools also attract a sizable number of visa university students as teaching staff. For example, eight out of the twenty-three teachers at the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies in the 1989 - 1990 year were visa students, doing undergraduate or graduate studies at the University of Manitoba. The teachers are thus usually those who have a solid educational background in both Chinese and English and are devoted promoters of Chinese language and culture.

The students at the schools are themselves either

Canadian-born or those who, although born outside Canada, came to Canada at an early age with little or no formal education in Chinese. Many of them, however, attend the Chinese schools out of the desire of their parents rather than of their own volition. For example, seven of the eight students in the grade seven class at the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies during the 1989 - 1990 year said that they were taking Chinese classes because their parents wanted them to. Only one of them said that he attended Chinese classes because he wanted to learn Chinese. These students were all born in Canada and were between the ages of thirteen and sixteen. Two of them were already fourth generation Canadians, one had an immigrant mother and a Canadian father, and all the rest had immigrant parents. All of them had been attending the Chinese school since kindergarten.

In general, the students in this class had not yet achieved functional proficiency in the variety of Chinese they had been learning, Mandarin. The class was known to be the most difficult one to teach in the whole school at that time, because of the non-cooperative nature of the students. Outside the Chinese school, however, these students were all known to be doing extremely well. One of the students had skipped a grade in high school and was ahead of his grade level. Several students in the class were fluent in French as a result of attending French immersion schools.

Language aptitude or intelligence clearly was not a factor in the unsuccessful learning of Chinese by these students at the Chinese school, since they were known to be good learners of French, which was also a second language to them, and of other school subjects. One explanation for a difference between their achievement in Mandarin and their achievement in French, both being second languages to them, lies in the difference in their motivation for learning the two languages.

The social psychology of language choice distinguishes two types of motivation for learning a second language, instrumental and integrative (Lambert, 1984, p. 239). An instrumental motivation is present where a second language is learned for its practical values and advantages, and an integrative motivation is present where speakers are willing to identify with the group whose language they are learning. As far as the instrumental motivation for learning the two languages is concerned, the award for learning French was immediate for these students, since it counted in their total achievement in schools, but the practical value for learning Chinese was not directly observable, since it did not count in their school record. The acquisition of Mandarin did not seem to be directly related to their personal advancement in the larger Canadian society. Nor was Mandarin the language normally spoken even in their homes. As a result, Mandarin did not seem to have any

utilitarian value in their daily lives.

The integrative motivation for language learning seemed to be lacking in the learning of Chinese for the group of students as well. Their experience as part of the ethnic Chinese group, especially in their generation of the group, had shown these students that their membership in the group did not necessarily depend on a linguistic identity to be acquired through their learning in the classroom, and speaking Chinese was no longer the group norm for their generation. Moreover, if they were to identify themselves with the ethnic Chinese, they would identify with the local group rather than the geographically far removed larger group whose national language they were being taught to speak in the Chinese school. In fact, many young Canadian-born Chinese indeed perceive themselves to be more Canadian than Chinese. When asked about her ethnic identification, one Canadian-born informant of Taishanese parents spoke as follows: "I belong here. I know what's going on here, but I know nothing in China. If you told me something there, I may not have understood." A popular expression that many Canadian-born Chinese in Winnipeg use to describe themselves is that they are like "bananas": "yellow outside but white inside", meaning that while they have Chinese complexion, inside, they are really Canadian. Thus, they already see themselves as being very different from their immigrant parents, who normally speak Chinese.

According to some teachers, the lack of interest in learning Chinese among these grade seven students at the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies was an age-related phenomenon. Both the younger and the older grade students were said to be more studious learners of the language than they were. These students belonged to a group that had just become old enough to be able to participate in a wide variety of social activities and thus had begun to expand their individual networks. As a result, they would find less time for studying Chinese and at the same time would show a desire for identifying with other social groups in whose activities they were participating. However, they were also said to be capable of developing more interest and appreciation for in-group values as they grew up. Nevertheless, both instrumental motivation and integrative motivation seem to be lacking in these students' learning of Chinese, which are present in their learning of French.

Some teachers blame the parents for not encouraging the students to learn or use Chinese at home and leaving that responsibility to the school. However, the ideology of the parents who send their children to the Chinese school may not be the same as that of the teachers or language advocates. One parent expressed the following view: "One of the reasons that I like this Chinese school is that they don't force your children to master the language." This parent, a professional, was himself Canadian-born. To him,

becoming functional in Chinese was not the reason for him to keep his children at the Chinese school. His expectation for his children attending the Chinese school was rather their acculturation in Chinese.

In general, the attitude of parents toward Chinese language education for their children is ambivalent. On the one hand, they express a concern for the preservation of Chinese by the younger generation and thus show an interest in Chinese language education. On the other hand, they are anxious that their children be able to get ahead in the larger Canadian society, which emphasizes competence in the English language and other social and academic skills. Therefore, they do not want to distract the attention of their children from mainstream education with too much time and energy spent on education in Chinese, which, being an ethnic community language, is not considered part of the mainstream culture of Canadian society.

Such an ambivalence in the attitude of the Chinese parents toward Chinese language education for their children was demonstrated through their initial support for a Chinese heritage language programme in the public school system and later their indifference toward the programme that resulted in the final cancellation of the programme in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 in 1991. The Chinese heritage language programme in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 was started in 1984 at the initiative of a single Chinese

language advocate in the community, supported by Chinese parents. During the six years the programme was in operation, Chinese was taught in two primary schools in Winnipeg, Victoria-Albert School and John M. King School. Located in downtown Winnipeg, the two schools had a large concentration of students of new Chinese immigrant background. In the 1989 - 1990 school year, about 130 of the 500 students at Victoria-Albert School were of Chinese ethnic background. However, only 23 students of Chinese origin at the Victoria-Albert School were taking the Chinese heritage language classes that same academic year, 23 being the minimal number of students for any heritage language to be taught in a public school in Manitoba. This attendance in the Chinese classes at Victoria-Albert School was small compared to both the total number of the Chinese students at the school at the time and the large number of students who took Chinese classes when the programme was first started. Owing to the insufficient number of students who requested the Chinese programme at both schools, it was finally cancelled in both schools the following year¹⁴. According to the teacher who taught the Chinese classes at both schools over the years, the Chinese parents "are more concerned with their kids' advances in the Canadian society", so that "the maintenance of Chinese is being supported but is struggling" in the public school system.

The observation of the differences in attitude toward

the teaching of Chinese in Winnipeg in the Chinese community is supported by relevant data gathered through the language use survey that formed the focus of the previous chapter. The very last question asked of the informants in the language use survey was with respect to their opinion whether Chinese should continue to be taught in Winnipeg. The informants were given three choices for the reply: "yes", "indifferent", or "no". A vast majority of the 122 informants (109) chose the affirmative answer "yes", eight indicated that they were "indifferent", and three answered "no".

Although becoming functional in Chinese is no longer a realistic objective to be reached by Chinese schools in the community, there are, however, achievements by the Chinese schools in other aspects of cultural maintenance as well as achievements in ethnic group maintenance. The very existence of the schools provides a meeting ground for the young Chinese, who otherwise would be totally immersed in the large society outside their homes. The schools thus provide the students with the sense of a group. In the Chinese schools, the young Chinese are able to meet with others of their own ethnic background and be exposed to the cultural models provided by their teachers; they are also exposed to the cultural values transmitted by the schools. According to one of the pioneers of a Chinese language school, the value of attending the Chinese school is not so

much the Chinese that the students are able to learn or to retain, but rather the cultural values the students are exposed to while they are still young that will last them all their lives. Her own children, all being Canadian-born and university graduates, also went through the Chinese school as they grew up. Even though they now hardly have any chance to speak Chinese and, even when given the chance, they are hardly able to, they nevertheless tell their mother how their ways of dealing with things still, in many ways, are influenced by the education they received at the Chinese school. The parent, too, also proudly attributed the personal achievements of her children in the larger society to the influence of the Chinese education her children had received in the Chinese school.

The schools probably also realize that making students functional in Chinese is not a realistic outcome that can be expected of them either. As a result, the goals of the Chinese schools are not restricted to the promotion and maintenance of the Chinese language. Although language teaching is the most important component of the Chinese schools in Winnipeg, the schools have nevertheless defined their goals of language teaching within a larger objective of cultural maintenance (cf. Indo-China Chinese Association of Manitoba, 1987; Institute of Chinese Language and Cultural Arts, 1987). This orientation of the Chinese schools is also reflected in their inclusion of cultural

subjects in addition to language as components of teaching.

In addition, among Chinese educators in Winnipeg, there has also been a concern for a curriculum with relevance to students with a Chinese-Canadian background. The Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, for example, has been using its own textbooks for teaching Mandarin to its students since 1975 (teachers at the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, personal communication). At the present, the school still has a committee working on a new edition of its locally-oriented Chinese Language Arts textbooks.

However vigilant the Chinese schools are in their efforts to teach and promote interest in Chinese among the young Chinese in Winnipeg, their efforts cannot be considered to be successful in so far as they do not produce functional Chinese speakers. The effect of these schools on culture and group maintenance is, however, more successful than the effect on language maintenance. An important part of teaching in the Chinese language classrooms in these Chinese schools is the teaching of the Chinese characters. Because of the role the Chinese writing system plays in the Chinese culture and in the Chinese concept of the language, both the parents and the teachers place an important emphasis on the teaching of the Chinese characters in the Chinese language classrooms. Much of the homework from the Chinese school also involves the writing or copying of the Chinese characters. In the Manitoba Academy of Chinese

Studies, for example, annual competition is held for good handwriting in Chinese, along with the competition for reading in Chinese. One is surprised to find in these supplementary Chinese schools that the students, although with little proficiency in the Chinese they are learning, are able to produce good copies of complicated Chinese characters with sophistication, even though they may not be able to make connections between the written forms and meanings. Chinese writing, thus, is more of a cultural artifact, loaded with cultural meaning, than a functional tool of communication that the schools are able to pass on to their students.

Nonetheless, the students of the Chinese schools generally have a positive attitude toward their own ethnic group, are able to make friends with their own ethnic group members, and are willing to participate in ethnic group activities. For example, many students at the Chinese schools are at the same time also members of other social or cultural groups within the community, such as the Chinese Youth Club or the Chinese Folk Dance troupes, and do volunteer work during the Folklorama Festival, held every August in Winnipeg.

The influence of the Chinese schools as agencies for the promotion of Chinese language and culture in the Chinese community is, however, limited. Not all young Chinese attend Chinese schools. At the time when the fieldwork for

this study was carried out in 1990, the enrolment at the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies was 110; at the Manitoba Institute of Chinese Language, Culture and Arts it was 175, and at the Pei-ing Chinese school it was 180. Altogether, the students of the Chinese schools make up only a small proportion of school aged Chinese population in Winnipeg¹⁵. Most school-aged children of Chinese descent in Winnipeg do not attend Chinese schools. Thus, although the Chinese schools have a role to play in the maintenance of the Chinese language and culture in the Chinese community in Winnipeg, this role is nevertheless limited as it does not reach the majority.

LANGUAGE CONSCIOUSNESS

By a strict linguistic criterion, the Chinese are not one group but many groups divided by mutually unintelligible Chinese dialects. The various dialects spoken by the Chinese define their speakers within their distinctive boundaries. Being Chinese thus does not imply a common linguistic identity, except in the written form of the language. However, language has never been an object of political struggle for Chinese speakers, as one finds it has been, for example, between the Croatians and Serbians in Yugoslavia and between the French and English in the larger

Canadian society. What has joined the Chinese together as the largest nation of the world is rather the amalgamating force of Chinese civilization. No matter where they are and what Chinese dialect they may speak, Chinese nevertheless all refer to themselves as the "descendants of *Yan* and *Huang*", the legendary kings of two ancient tribes from which the Chinese nationality originated.

However, the Chinese are not unconscious of the linguistic differences among them. Ever since the first unification of China by Qinshihuang in 221 B.C., various efforts have been taken by political rulers at different times to unify the Chinese language as part of their effort to reinforce the political unification. This effort included the unification of the Chinese writing by Qinshihuang right after he unified China for the first time more than two thousand years ago. Today we see it in the promotion of the standardized Chinese in contemporary China.

Among ordinary Chinese speakers, there is also language consciousness. Stereotypes among speakers of people from different localities who speak different local dialects can always be found. For example, people from Beijing who speak the local Beijing dialect are referred to as being 'smooth' or 'crafty'; people from Tianjin who speak the Mandarin dialect of Tianjin are 'glib-tongued'; and people from Hubei who speak some form of Southwestern Mandarin are 'sharp tongued'. Regionality, marked by speech varieties, has

always existed, such that services may be extended or denied just on the ground of a shared speech variety. Incidents of these are not infrequently reported by outsiders to places such as Canton or Shanghai, where the regional standard prevails. In a "matched-guise" experiment carried out with a multidialectal group of college students in the city of Guangzhou (Canton), Kalmar et al. (1987) showed the different attitudes toward the Cantonese accent in Putonghua expressed by native speakers of Cantonese and native speakers of other Chinese dialects and the prejudice of native speakers of Cantonese toward Putonghua. To the native Cantonese speaking judges in this experiment, the presumed Cantonese speaker was taller (height being a general sociolinguistic criterion of positive affect toward speaker) and more simpatico on personal matters than the presumed Putonghua speaker, but these responses were not shared by non-Cantonese speakers (p. 503).

Emotions toward different dialect varieties are also different. Among the Chinese in Winnipeg, Mandarin has been overtly expressed as "civilized" speech, because "it does not contain the many un-written slang or cursing words found in other Chinese dialects", whereas the local dialects are "rough".

Moreover, differences in speech have also been made use of as markers of group identity and group membership (Giles, 1979) by the Chinese in Winnipeg. Among the Chinese,

regional identities have always been very important; they usually always have their own corresponding linguistic varieties in the various Chinese dialects. When speakers of the same region get together, their gatherings are thus nearly always linguistically marked. For example, when the Association of the Chaozhou People has its gatherings, it is always the Min dialect of Chaozhou that is used, no matter how formal the occasion is or whether the gathering is local, regional, or international. When groups of Taishan background get together, for example the long established clan associations, such as the Mah's and the Li's Societies, the linguistic variety for their gatherings is the Yue dialect of Taishan. In these cases, social-group identity, which is derived from a common regional identity, corresponds to a linguistic identity.

Although the choice of a linguistic symbol for linguistically homogeneous groups is more or less automatic, when participants of heterogenous linguistic backgrounds get together, such a choice becomes conscious. Among the Chinese in Winnipeg, the selection of linguistic varieties for formal occasions with linguistically heterogenous participants often involves more than one linguistic variety, such that a Chinese variety and English are usually both selected. A Chinese variety is selected partly for the practical purpose of conveying messages, and partly for its symbolism of ethnicity, and English is chosen mainly for its

communicative function. The selection of a Chinese variety for activities involving participants with a heterogenous background is most often based on majority rule. In many cases, such a selection is Cantonese. At a community celebration of Confucius birthday, with participation of different generations in the community, for example, both Cantonese and English were used as the formal languages of the meeting. While Cantonese was selected out of consideration and respect for the elderly present who knew little English, English was used for the inclusion of the young Chinese who no longer normally spoke Chinese. Note, however, that whenever there are participants with a heterogenous linguistic background of both Taishanese and Cantonese, it is Cantonese rather than the dialect of Taishan that is selected.

Cantonese has also been the Chinese variety used on the Folklorama Festival stage at the Chinese Pavilion along with English. In this case, Cantonese is only used for its symbolism of the ethnic Chinese group in Winnipeg, while English is the language for conveying message to the audience. This very fact suggests the dominance of Cantonese in the Chinese community in Winnipeg.

Where the majority rule can not be applied without erecting barriers to intelligibility, or where no consensus can be reached as to which Chinese dialect is that of the majority, or where efficiency of communication is more

important than linguistic symbolism, only English is used. This turned out to be the case at the first meeting of the Association of Manitoba Teachers of Chinese Language and Culture, a community wide association of Chinese language teachers involving all four supplementary Chinese language schools in Winnipeg. Just as the four Chinese language schools were divided by the two Chinese dialects they each chose to teach, Cantonese and Mandarin, so were the linguistic backgrounds of the teachers. To use either one of the dialects would mean either the repetition in or the exclusion of the other. However, on this occasion the use of one dialect, to the exclusion of the other, by a political figure in the community, fully bidialectal in both dialects, would not mean so much the simple exclusion of the other dialect as the possible impression of bias that might be left toward a dialect group. To maintain the use of Chinese at this meeting thus meant either the use of both Chinese dialects, in the case of a fully bidialectal speaker, or the use of one of the Chinese dialects and English, by a speaker who either was not bidialectal in the two Chinese dialects or was not willing to use one of the dialects whatever the reason, even though the repetition resulted in more redundancy than necessary for communicative efficiency. Therefore, simply for the sake of efficiency or neutrality, a speaker may abandon the use of Chinese and resort to English. This was in fact what a guest speaker,

the President of the Chinese Culture and Community Centre, chose to do in an opening address, as he began with these words: "Which Chinese dialect shall I use, Cantonese or Mandarin? I could speak Cantonese. I could speak Mandarin, too. Since I don't want to translate back and forth between the two dialects, and be efficient, I'll speak English."

As elsewhere, language choice of social and cultural groups within the community is marked by generational and age group differences. Thus, within social groups of the elderly, one can expect the linguistic variety to be one or another dialect of Chinese. In groups that are linguistically and generationally heterogenous, one may expect to find English being used along with one or more dialects of Chinese. In groups made up of the young Chinese only, such as the Chinese Youth Club, the linguistic variety is invariably English, regardless of the language or dialect varieties these young Chinese may use at home. Thus, linguistic varieties mark social group affiliations for their speakers, either consciously or unconsciously, within the Chinese community.

Furthermore, a linguistic variety may be consciously employed as the marker of group identity in the formation of a voluntary association. Such is the case with the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, a voluntary social group, formed mostly by relatively recent Chinese immigrants of professional background. The formal language of the

Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies is Mandarin, which is the Chinese variety taught in its Chinese school as well as the formal Chinese variety spoken at its meetings, even though most members of the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies speak different Chinese dialects as their mother tongues. Moreover, the group has also chosen to use the simplified Chinese characters for its formal written Chinese, for example for teaching in its Chinese classrooms and for the publication of its monthly newspaper, even though many of those who run the newspaper habitually use the traditional Chinese characters themselves. Although the formation of the group may have been based on an ideology other than that of the particular Chinese dialect or the particular written form of Chinese alone, Mandarin and simplified characters are chosen by the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies as its group markers. However, the identification with Mandarin and with the simplified Chinese characters does not necessarily imply an identification with any political power in China. Rather, Mandarin and the simplified Chinese characters are used by the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies to mark its group distinctiveness and to distinguish it from other social groups within the community who do not share the same linguistic or ideological aspirations.

CONCLUSION

Overt efforts toward the maintenance of Chinese in the Chinese community is mostly demonstrated through the efforts of Chinese schools in Winnipeg. However, the effect of the Chinese schools as agencies of language maintenance among the Chinese in Winnipeg is limited. These schools, although preoccupied with the teaching of Chinese, may nevertheless have a more important role to play in the maintenance of the ethnic culture as well as in ethnic group continuity in the younger generation rather than in the maintenance of a Chinese language itself.

Consciousness of a linguistic identity and the conscious use of a linguistic variety as the marker of social identity may be conducive to both the promotion and the maintenance of that linguistic variety. In the case of Mandarin as the social group marker of the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, speakers voluntarily acquire Mandarin for their membership in the group. They thus increase the number of speakers of Mandarin in the Chinese community.

However, just because consciousness exists of dialect variation within Chinese and of the symbolic aspect of the variation, speakers may also consciously choose to avoid the use of Chinese at all and use English instead for its neutrality within the community, thus increasing the process

of language shift toward English. The behaviour of the Chinese speakers in Winnipeg toward Chinese, thus, although influences the language choice of these speakers, is not determinative to the maintenance of Chinese in Winnipeg.

CHAPTER VI

CODE-SWITCHING

While the overt efforts of the Chinese community, represented by the Chinese language schools, to promote and maintain Chinese in Winnipeg do not seem to be determinative to the maintenance of Chinese and the language consciousness of Chinese speakers shows varying effect on language choice and language use, this chapter focuses on the actual verbal behaviour of bilingual and bidialectal Chinese speakers as reflected in bilingual and bidialectal code-switching. The term code-switching as it is used here refers to the alternate use of two distinctive linguistic varieties, either languages or dialects, in the case of Chinese.

In the following, attempts will be made to place the observable individual code choices at the micro level of social interaction within the speech economy and the social context of the community. The importance of the study of the code-switching phenomenon to the topic of language maintenance and language shift is, as pointed out by Fishman (1972), in that "both interference and switching are related

to the domains and variance sources of bilingualism, on the one hand, and to socio-cultural processes and types of interaction, on the other hand" (p. 109).

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

During the two years of fieldwork, observation was also made of the bilingual and bidialectal behaviour of Chinese speakers at the micro level of face-to-face interaction. The data from the observation include field notes and some tape-recorded bilingual speech exchange of a group of Chinese language teachers in Winnipeg.

It was observed that the bilingual Chinese speakers in Winnipeg not only invariably code switch when they communicate across the ethnic boundary with non-Chinese, but also amongst themselves within the Chinese community. In general, where code-switching occurs in response to social situations, a co-occurrence rule applies so that only one linguistic variety is situationally appropriate in a particular social situation. Where code-switching occurs as a result of the momentary intent of the speaker, more than one linguistic variety may be juxtaposed within the same speech exchange. These two types of code-switching have been defined by Gumperz as situational code-switching and metaphorical, or conversational, code-switching,

respectively (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982a).

All bilingual members of the Chinese community code switch depending on social situations, since, for example, they use Chinese only with other Chinese speakers and English with non-Chinese and those members of the community who no longer speak Chinese. The use of conversational code-switching, on the other hand, i.e., code-switching without changes in social situations, is not a universal phenomenon among bilingual members of the community. In the three institutional locations of the fieldwork, conversational code-switching was frequently observed among members of the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, but it did not seem to occur among members of the other two groups, the Chinese United Church and the Hua En Chapel. Among members of the two ethnic Chinese churches, speakers were found to code switch only with different interlocutors.

It can be said that the occurrence of conversational code-switching in the Chinese community in Winnipeg is network-specific and reflects the network-specific convention of language use. Only speakers who have multiple roles both within the Chinese community and in the larger society and who have experience using the two languages as required by their multiple roles are likely to juxtapose elements of both Chinese and English within their speech when they communicate with other bilingual speakers who have the same bilingual experience. However, even among speakers

who do practise conversational code-switching, code-switching does not occur to the same extent, i.e., on the same occasions or with the same frequency.

Although situational code-switching may be predicted to some extent given salient situational features, such as the participant, the topic, and the setting, conversational code-switching in the speech of bilingual Chinese speakers is not predicable, as it frequently occurs as a result of the momentary intent of the speaker. Moreover, while speakers use different languages and dialects in different social situations, the juxtaposition of linguistic forms within speech occurs only between languages; conversational code-switching seldom, if ever, occurs across Chinese dialect boundaries.

However, the argument here is not to suggest that English forms are not found in the Chinese spoken by members of the two ethnic churches who did not show the same type of code-switching as was found among the professionals at the Chinese school. Forms such as "O.K.", "Yeah", and "Bye" do frequently occur in the otherwise monolingual Chinese speech of many individuals. So do some individual English nouns, such as "holiday" and "stop sign", as well as personal and place names in English. When these English forms occur, they express meanings that are not as easily explainable in Chinese. When they do occur, these English words are often integrated into the sound systems of the Chinese dialects of

the speakers. They are considered to be borrowings from English rather than cases of code-switching, since they are not used in the same way as the juxtaposition of two languages is found in conversational code-switching. The use of these English words by Chinese speakers in Winnipeg in their Chinese utterances are also results of the contact between speakers' Chinese and English.

SITUATIONAL CODE-SWITCHING

Many sociolinguistic studies have shown the relationship between situational factors and the choice of speech forms. In *The social stratification of English in New York city* (1966), Labov found that Lower East Side New York speakers varied their speech styles in accordance with the social situations they found themselves in. Thus, by intentionally making certain situational features salient, Labov was able to elicit a large range of speech styles from New York speakers. In a Northern Irish village, Douglas-Cowie (1978) found that the presence of an English outsider and the discussion of such topics as education and occupation would initiate a switch to the more standard forms of English among the villagers. Ervin-Tripp (1964) showed the relationship between setting and language choice. Greenfield and Fishman (1971) demonstrated that all three

factors, participant, topic, and setting, are necessary for the interpretation of congruent situations related to language choice by Puerto-Rican bilingual speakers in New York city (p. 248).

Not all social and situational factors, nor all domains, however, are of equal importance to the choice of linguistic varieties in all speech communities at all times. Gal (1979) found that, among the villagers of Oberwart in the easternmost province of Austria, the participant was a more important factor than either the setting or the topic in determining the selection between Hungarian and German. Fishman (1972) noted the crucial importance of the family domain to language choice in multilingual communities. According to Fishman, the family domain is important in the multilingual communities because multilingualism often either "begins in the family and depends upon it for encouragement if not for protection," or "withdraws into the family domain after it has been replaced from other domains in which it was previously encountered" (p. 82).

Since the bilingual and bidialectal Chinese speakers speak Chinese only with other Chinese who share their dialect background in Chinese but use English elsewhere, Chinese is an in-group language for the ethnic Chinese in Winnipeg. While Chinese is used most often in the informal situations of the home and friendship, English is used for all formal purposes related to work, school and the larger

society. However, the in-group language is not exclusively Chinese, as English has also come to be used not only to the near exclusion of Chinese among many Canadian-born Chinese but also on various occasions by non-Canadian-born Chinese who are bilingual. Code-switching as a consequence of change in topic, setting, or participant by Chinese bilinguals in Winnipeg can be frequently observed.

However, given the situational factors of topic, setting, and participant, the situational code-switching of the bilingual and bidialectal Chinese speakers in Winnipeg is not always predictable. For example, one cannot always tell for certain whether code-switching will occur in the speech of a given bilingual Chinese speaker given a change in topic or setting. When the setting is changed, many Chinese bilinguals continue to use whatever Chinese dialect that they habitually use among them, while others switch to English. More predictable than code-switching as initiated by a change in setting is one initiated by a change in topic. Still, all one can say is that code-switching is more likely to occur or is likely to be more frequent in the speech of a given bilingual speaker with a change in certain topics, for example the change from the topic of domestic affairs to a topic of the school, but this cannot be firmly predicted.

The choice of language or dialect by Chinese bilinguals in Winnipeg is more predictable, however, with a change in

the participant than with either a change in topic or setting, as bilingual and bidialectal Chinese speakers are observed to switch between languages and Chinese dialects frequently with different interlocutors. Smooth switching between languages and dialects as a function of interlocutor depends on the speaker's knowledge of the interlocutor, and therefore takes place only among familiar participants. Between strangers, negotiation of some kind would have to take place at the initial stage of the encounter before decisions can be made on the language or dialect variety to be used between participants.

In addition, where the linguistic factor comes into play, there are individual differences in the choice of linguistic varieties. Only those who are bilingual or bidialectal and who have experience in using both languages or dialects are likely to code switch. Speakers with limited facility in a second language or dialect are seldom found to code switch between languages or dialects. As the analysis of the language use survey data in Chapter IV has shown, among the informants, such personal factors as the age of arrival and the length of time spent in Canada also both affect the structure of individual linguistic repertoire, and thus the choice of language and dialect varieties in the various Chinese relevant domains of language use as well. Although stylistic variations also exist within languages and dialects, choice between language

talked to each other in Cantonese. As a norm, the whole family, including the two sons, spoke Cantonese with their friend from Vietnam. In talking to the fieldworker, the three adults all spoke Mandarin but the two boys used English. During a car ride of twenty minutes, the minister's wife and their friend spent most of the time talking to each other in Cantonese while the two boys were joking with each other and playing games in English. The minister, while driving, occasionally joined in the conversation with the two adults in Cantonese by making one or two comments. At one time, the younger boy turned from his conversation with the elder brother in English to make a request for a treat from his mother in Cantonese. He switched back to English when he resumed his talk with his elder brother. Toward the end of the car ride, when the minister's wife and the female church member turned from their conversation to speak to the fieldworker, they both switched to Mandarin.

Code-switching among the participants during the twenty minute car ride involved three linguistic varieties, Cantonese, Mandarin and English. All these linguistic varieties were used according to the participant factor. In all instances, only one language or dialect variety appropriate to one role-relationship was used in one speech exchange, without juxtaposition of linguistic forms from different linguistic varieties.

CODE-SWITCHING AND THE TOPIC

Code-switching as a result of topic change is also often observed among bilingual and bidialectal Chinese speakers. In such cases, speakers switch from one language to another or from one dialect to another as they shift topics while the participant and setting remain unchanged.

The following example, in which code-switching occurred in response to the topic of speech, was observed during a talk given to a group of Chinese language teachers by a psychologist working in the public school system in Winnipeg. The speaker, the school psychologist, was a native speaker of Mandarin, but also spoke Cantonese and English fluently. The audience was made up of bilingual and bidialectal Chinese speakers, who spoke either Cantonese or Mandarin or both as well as English. The topic of the talk was on the understanding of bilingual children in the teaching of heritage languages.

The speaker began by informing the audience of the code of her speech: she would use Mandarin, but where she was not able to make herself clear, she would "**switch over**" to English. The perceived appropriateness of Mandarin for the occasion was based on the characteristics of a particular audience: a group of teachers teaching Chinese in Winnipeg,

and the characteristics of a particular setting: a meeting to inaugurate a Chinese language teachers' association for the promotion of the teaching of Chinese in Winnipeg. However, the speaker seemed to be aware of an incongruency between the topic of her speech and other characteristics of the social situation. That is, while both the participants and the setting suggested the appropriateness of Mandarin, the topic was nevertheless one that she would most often come across at work in English and therefore was most comfortable talking about in English. Owing to such a perceived incongruency in the social context in which her talk was to be situated, the speaker thus was prepared to code switch.

As it turned out, all three linguistic varieties known to the speaker and the audience were used by the speaker during her talk. At various times, the speaker switched from Mandarin to talk in English instead. In general, however, statements were made mostly in Mandarin, while quotations and comments were cited in English. Cantonese was used least often, only on certain topics related to particular cultural experiences or experiences to be shared with some of the audience, who spoke Cantonese.

On a number of occasions, the speaker seemed to be conscious about an expected code switch as she shifted topics. At one of the switches, for example, she said: "I have to say this in Mandarin. I'm a Mandarin person." She

then switched from English to Mandarin to talk about her own experience as a bilingual youngster doing grocery shopping with her mother in China.

Frequent code-switching between Mandarin, English and occasionally also Cantonese during this talk was mostly due to the topics covered in the talk. However, here, the correspondence between linguistic varieties and topics was not as clear cut as that which may be observed between linguistic varieties and the participants. One explanation is that the speaker, while giving the speech, was at the same time enacting different social roles -- her role as a member of the Chinese community and her role as a psychologist in a public school division outside the Chinese community -- through the use of her linguistic resources. For example, she code switched also to quote other speakers and to make comments.

THE CASE OF NO CODE-SWITCHING AND DIALECT MAINTENANCE

A typical example where code-switching was expected but refused, causing a communication breakdown, was observed one evening at a souvenir counter in the Chinese Pavilion of the annual Folklorama Festival, a local festival to celebrate multiculturalism and the various ethnic groups in Manitoba.

It involved two volunteers at the souvenir counter in the Chinese Pavilion, who were visa students from Southeast Asia. They spoke different local Southeast Asian languages, a number of Chinese dialects, including Cantonese, Mandarin, and Chaozhou Min, and English. That evening, one of the items at the souvenir counter, the Folklorama T-shirts, was on sale. Among visitors who came by the souvenir counter was a group of elderly women of Taishanese background. It was obvious that these women wanted to buy some T-shirts. They were greeted by one of the salespersons, D, at the counter in Cantonese, the normal Chinese dialect to be used with Chinese customers at the Chinese Pavilion. Instead of responding in the same Chinese dialect as they had been addressed, these women began to talk to D in Taishanese, a Chinese dialect which he did not understand. Failing to understand his customers in Taishanese, D switched to English as well as a number of other Chinese dialects that he knew, hoping that the women could make one of these their choice so that they could communicate. However, the women continued to talk only in Taishanese. Since nobody at this souvenir counter knew Taishanese, in the end, another Folklorama volunteer, who spoke Taishanese, Cantonese, and English, had to be called in to serve as an interpreter. It turned out that the women only wanted to make sure whether the price of the T-shirts could be reduced further. The transaction was finally completed through the mediation of

the interpreter, when the women walked away with their purchase.

The temporary communication breakdown here was due to the ignorance of Taishanese on the part of those working at the souvenir counter rather than to an inability to understand Cantonese on the part of the customers, since these women were said to understand Cantonese although they did not speak it. Not being able to comprehend the customers' questions in Taishanese, those working at the souvenir counter were not able to provide the customers with answers that they asked for. The customers, the group of elderly women, had also taken for granted that they could receive their services in Taishanese at this Folklorama souvenir counter as they were used to elsewhere in Chinatown.

These women had been in Winnipeg since the 1950s when they joined their husbands in Winnipeg from rural Taishan in China. Removed from their place of origin, they nevertheless had lived within the same social networks throughout the years they had been in Winnipeg, spending their time caring for their families, socializing among people of their own kind, and participating in social events all within the confines of the Chinese community. As traditional Chinese wives, they were satisfied being housewives inside the home. Everything to do with the English speaking world had been dealt with for them by other

members of their families, their husbands or children. They were thus sheltered from direct contact with the larger society by the people close to them. As they never had the need to deal with the English speaking society themselves, they did not have the need to expand their linguistic repertoires. As a result, to date, Taishanese is still the only linguistic variety that they speak.

However, as many of them lived in homes in which husbands and children may speak a different Chinese dialect, usually Cantonese, a Yue dialect closely related to Taishanese, and also English, as they usually did, it is unlikely that they had no knowledge at all of the linguistic variety that was spoken at least as often as Taishanese around them as well. For a speaker brought up in the environment in which both Taishanese and Cantonese are used equally, the differences between the two are said to be really minor. This being the linguistic claim, it should not have been too formidable a task for someone living in an environment in which both Taishanese and Cantonese were equally used to pick up one or the other, at least passively. As a matter of fact, many of the non-Canadian-born Taishanese speakers, including the group of elderly women at the Folklorama souvenir counter, did have at least a passive knowledge of Cantonese. However, in daily life, it is usually the others around them with whom they interact, their husbands and children at home and the

business people in Chinatown stores, who would make the switch to the code they speak when communicating with them, whereas they themselves had no need to adopt alternate forms in their own speech.

One bidialectal young adult who spoke both Taishanese and Cantonese recalled that whenever he communicated with his mother, who spoke only Taishanese, he would adjust his speech by switching to Taishanese, although with all the rest of his family he spoke Cantonese. It is very unlikely that the mother could not understand anything of what was said in Cantonese between father and son or among her children in the family.

What happened as the Taishanese women at the Folklorama's souvenir counter persisted in using Taishanese rather than code switch was an over-generalization of a network-specific convention of behaviour to an inter-group interaction with individuals from different linguistic background, a situation in which such a network specific norm of behaviour no longer held. It is a case of speech maintenance or divergence rather than a case of speech convergence, or accommodation, on the part of the elderly women, and is in accordance with the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, 1979, p. 271).

These Taishanese-speaking elderly women and others like them came to Winnipeg at a time when the people from Taishan were still a dominant group within the Chinese community in

Winnipeg and Taishanese was still a dominant Chinese dialect spoken in the community. Even today, many of those in the Chinese community who have been in Winnipeg long enough still remember the time when one would be ridiculed just because of not being able to speak Taishanese with other members of the community. Although Taishanese has been replaced by Cantonese as the dominant Chinese dialect in the Chinese community in Winnipeg and is not used to perform formal functions in community-wide activities, the Taishanese speaking old-timers still take much pride in their being the pioneers of the Chinese community. As a result, many of the old-timers, including also the younger generation, perceive their group vitality as still being very high, both in terms of the relative social status they hold and the ratio of population they form within the Chinese community. Many members of the Chinese community of Taishanese background believe that at least from sixty to seventy percent of the Chinese population in Winnipeg today are of Taishanese background and thus are Taishanese speaking. Moreover, the political forces within the Chinese community are still very much controlled by those from or with affiliations to the old-timer group.

Owing to the perceived high group vitality, the Taishanese speakers are likely to preserve and even accentuate their group distinctiveness, especially when they find themselves in inter-group encounters, so as to be

distinguished from the groups with whom they come into contact. Accentuation of the Taishanese dialect without accommodation to the linguistic variety of the out-group in inter-group encounters is thus a manifestation of an effort on the part of the group of elderly women to maintain group distinctiveness.

CODE-SWITCHING AND ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN STRANGERS

Just because the choice of linguistic variety may be predicted from the background knowledge of the speaker and the interlocutor in the multilingual Chinese community in Winnipeg, uncertainty as to which code to choose for a particular encounter may arise when the background knowledge of the interlocutor is unknown or limited. One condition under which such an uncertainty in code choice often arises is found in encounters between strangers who are ethnic Chinese. In encounters between strangers who are ethnic Chinese, more than one linguistic variety is often used by the participants before one is finally adopted as appropriate. The linguistic variety with which an encounter is initiated is often not necessarily the one that continues in use until the end of the encounter; nor need it be the one that would be used for subsequent encounters. Participants code switch in their encounters with strangers

to explore shared frames of reference and to establish role-relationships within the shared frameworks (Heller, 1988, p. 4). Code choices in encounters between strangers who are ethnic Chinese in Winnipeg are thus not random. They are a function of the negotiation of social identities and role-relationships (Scotton, 1988, p. 151).

Three examples of encounters between strangers can be cited to illustrate this phenomenon. In (1), the background knowledge of the participants involved was not totally unknown, as the participants had been informally introduced to each other by a mutual friend before their meeting. In (2), although the participants are strangers to each other, the social identity of the participants, one as a bank manager and the other a fieldworker, both being ethnic Chinese, can be inferred from the setting: a bank located in Chinatown, and the social event that was taking place: the collection of a survey questionnaire in Chinese. In (3), there is little contextual clue as to the background of the participants, except for the identifiable ethnic identity of the participants. In (1), the linguistic background of one participant could be inferred from her place of origin known to the other. In (2) and (3), neither participant knew the linguistic background of the other.

The Pinyin system is used for the transliteration of Putonghua utterances and the slightly modified IPA symbols (see Appendix A) are used for phonetic transcription of

Cantonese. The code switched parts in these examples are boldfaced.

(1) Scene: A community leader's office.

(Telephone conversation)

A: Can I make an appointment to see you?

B: You can come to my office any time now.

A: Now?

B: Sure.

A: Ok, see you soon. Bye.

B: Bye-bye.

(Shortly after at the community leader's office)

(Mandarin)

B: *Qing jin lai ba.* 'Come in, please.'

The participants in (1) are a community leader and the fieldworker. Most of (1) contains part of a telephone conversation between the fieldworker and the community leader, through which an interview appointment was set up for the fieldworker to meet with the community leader in his office. Although the telephone conversation between the community leader and the fieldworker was carried out entirely in English, as soon as the fieldworker arrived at his office, the community leader began to speak to the fieldworker in Mandarin, the Chinese dialect of the fieldworker.

The switch from English to Chinese by the community leader for his meeting with the fieldworker can be considered as a result of his motivation to define the relationship between him and the fieldworker not as one between an insider and an outsider but as one between in-group members of the community and to emphasize this relationship through the use of a particular linguistic variety for the encounter. That Mandarin became the choice of a Chinese variety for the encounter right from the beginning was based on information available to the community leader with regard to the regional origin of the fieldworker. Since the community leader had already been told prior to their meeting that the fieldworker came from Northern China and therefore must speak Mandarin and that he himself, although a native speaker of Cantonese, was also a fluent speaker of Mandarin, Mandarin became the natural choice for his encounter with the fieldworker. The selection of Mandarin, the dialect of the fieldworker, rather than any other dialect of Chinese as the marker of a shared ethnic identity by the community leader first suggests his knowledge of the interlocutor background, but it may also be interpreted as a result of his willingness not to diverge but to converge or to accommodate to the very aspect of ethnic identity of his interlocutor as expressed by Mandarin.

(2) Scene: A bank in Chinatown.

.....

Receptionist: (Cantonese)
(To the bank manager) [Köy löy lo tyutş'a pyu.] 'She's here to pick up the questionnaire.'

Manager: (To the fieldworker) [M koi, ni teng yattşen, ngo höy lo.] 'Hi, just a minute. I'll go and get them (for you).'

Fieldworker: ??

Bank Manager: (English)
I'll go and get them for you.

Fieldworker: **Ok.**

Code-switching in (2) involves Cantonese and English and occurs in the exchange between the bank manager and the fieldworker. A Cantonese speaker, the Chinatown bank manager usually uses both Cantonese and English while working in the bank. She speaks Cantonese with her Chinese colleagues and Chinese customers, who usually also speak Cantonese, and English with others. When the fieldworker arrived, she was talking with the receptionist in Cantonese. Since the fieldworker was identifiably a Chinese, she continued to use Cantonese as she started to address the fieldworker, even though her interlocutor changed from the receptionist to the fieldworker. She switched to English upon her realization that the fieldworker did not speak Cantonese.

In this encounter, because the linguistic background of

the interlocutor was unknown, the speaker had to make a second choice by switching to English, an out-group language, and use it as a lingua franca with an identifiable member of her own ethnic group, with whom she did not share a common in-group linguistic variety.

(3) Scene: An arena.

(Mandarin)

A: *Ni cong Zhongguo lai?* 'Are you from China?'

B: *Dui. Wo jian guo ni jici.* 'Yes. I've seen you a few times.'

A: *Wo dai xiaohai lai huabing. Ni hua bu hua bing?*
'I bring my kid to skate here. Do you skate?'

B: *Wo bu hua.* 'No, I don't.'

(Cantonese)

A: [šei lotsai ho yi hok ko tšɛ.] 'Kids learn fast.'

B: ??

(Mandarin)

A: *Ni bu jiang Guangdong hua?* 'You don't speak Cantonese?'

B: *En, bu hui jiang. Ni jiang Guangdong Hua?* 'No, I don't. So you speak Cantonese?'

A: *Wo jiang.* 'Yes.'

In (3), neither participant had any background information about the other. A was a native speaker of Cantonese and normally spoke Cantonese. However, as she initiated the encounter with B, a stranger who was identifiably of her own ethnic group, she started with

Mandarin. B happened to be a native speaker of Mandarin, so that A and B began to converse in Mandarin. Soon after, however, A switched to Cantonese, her native dialect, but only to find that it was not a variety with which B was also able to identify. She therefore switched back to Mandarin. Their subsequent exchanges were all in Mandarin.

In this encounter, both Mandarin and Cantonese were used by A to signal her own multi-dimensional identity and to explore common frames of reference with B. Mandarin was used as an expression of her national identity, and Cantonese an expression of her local identity within that national identity. A started with Mandarin. When a shared frame of reference had been found between her and B with a common national identity, A then switched to Cantonese. However, as A found out, although she and B shared a common national identity, B did not share with her a local identity. As a result, A and B established their role-relationship based on a common national identity.

Between total strangers, such as between A and B in (3), code-switching is shown to be exploratory in nature. Only when the background knowledge is known, as in (1), could an appropriate choice be made with some certainty. Unless a shared framework is found immediately, further attempts have to be made through code-switching, as what happened when the bank manager failed to communicate with the fieldworker in Cantonese, so that a role relationship

can be established.

As we find in (2), code choice in encounters between strangers within the community often results in English, owing to the linguistic disparity within Chinese. It seems to be the case that unless speakers share the same Chinese dialect, either as a first Chinese dialect or a second, they have to resort to English for communication. Even among bidialectal Chinese speakers who speak one another's dialect, English is also often adopted as the final choice, even though initial encounters between them may be in Chinese. This is because, although bilingual and bidialectal Chinese speakers use English regularly because of their roles in the larger society, they may not use a second Chinese dialect as regularly. As a result, many of them are more used to relying on English as a second language than on a second Chinese dialect. Therefore, although initial encounters between strangers in the Chinese community in Winnipeg nearly always involve the use of some kind of Chinese, this use is at least as much for the symbolic function as it is for the communicative function. Due to the linguistic differences between the various Chinese dialects, the final code choice for social encounters and the relationships that result may be English instead.

CONVERSATIONAL CODE-SWITCHING

An interesting phenomenon found in the bilingual speech of the Chinese in Winnipeg is the juxtaposition of linguistic forms belonging to two distinct linguistic varieties within a single speech exchange, a phenomenon known as conversational code-switching (Gumperz, 1982a). The linguistic forms that are juxtaposed are often those from two different language varieties rather than different dialect varieties of Chinese. Unlike what we find in situational code-switching, where a one-to-one relationship obtains between features of social situations and linguistic forms, the co-occurrence rule, by which linguistic forms correspond to features of social situations, breaks down in conversational code-switching. Speakers may unexpectedly switch from one language to another within the same speech event, while the topic, participant, and setting of social interactions remain unchanged.

Conversational code-switching is a network-specific phenomenon within the Chinese community. It is found only among the bilingual population of the community, consisting mostly of immigrants. Moreover, even among bilingual speakers, conversational code-switching is frequently found to occur only among certain bilingual individuals within certain social networks. Of the three institutional locations within the Chinese community where the fieldwork

was carried out, conversational code-switching is frequently observed only among members of the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies. Among members of both the Hua En Chapel and the United Church, only situational code-switching is frequently observed, while conversational code-switching does not seem to occur.

The bilingual Chinese professionals in the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies who exhibit such code-switching skills are those who usually spend much of their daily life interacting with speakers from outside the Chinese community, while at the same time also taking an active part in community affairs. They thus possess cultural values of both their own ethnic group and the larger society. They invariably use English when they communicate with members of the larger society; but when they are with other bilinguals who share the same bilingual experience as they do, the alternative norms and conventions of two cultures become a resource which they can employ to express communicative subtleties.

When conversational code-switching occurs, it is used by bilingual Chinese speakers to perform communicative and rhetorical functions in much the same way that the monolingual speakers make use of stylistic differentiations within a single language. Some of the frequently observed functions of conversational code-switching are to quote other speakers, to emphasize, to highlight, and to

personalize. The examples of the code-switching functions given here have been taken from tape-recorded conversations of a group of Chinese language teachers. The languages involved are Mandarin and English. The code switched parts in these examples are printed in boldface.

Quotation. A teacher reported on a student in her class:

(4) R: *Wo shuo: "Look." Wo shuo: "I'm here to teach. That you're learning or not learning is not my problem. But I have to let your parent know."* *Wo gen ta yao gongke, ta jiu shuo tade dongxi zai ta che de trunk limian. Na, youde laoshi jiu bu xiaode zenme ban. Wo shuo: "So, ok. You go and get it." "Where's the car?" "I don't know," I said. "Well, get your parent." Ta jiu pa le.*

'..... I said: "Look." I said: "I'm here to teach. That you're learning or not learning is not my problem. But I have to let your parent know." I asked for his homework, but he said his things were in the trunk of his car. (When that happens,) some teachers wouldn't know what to do. I said: "So, ok. You go and get it." "Where's the car?" "I don't know," I said. "Well, get your parent." He then became afraid.'

Here we find that the teacher was reporting on a student in her class to her colleagues in Mandarin, but when she quoted the student and even herself, she switched to English, the language in which the quoted speech was actually said.

Highlighting. Some Chinese language schools in Winnipeg proposed the forming of an association of Chinese teachers in Winnipeg. The following excerpts are taken from a decision making process of a group of teachers as to whether their school should participate in the project.

- (5) P: *Xianzai sheng zhengfu ne yijing you yi ge curriculum guide, en ... outline. Jiushi suoyou de kecheng dou you yi ge dagang. Na, women xiwang women neng bao ru tamen de dagang. Jianglai jiu xiwang tamen ne, keyi gei women xuesheng credit. Ok, credit! This is another consideration further down the road, I hope. Danshi yao zuo zhei ge shiqing ne, ni yiding yao you yi ge zuzhi.....*

'Now the provincial government already has a **curriculum guide, en ... outline.** That is, all courses have a curriculum guide. So, we hope we can be included in their curriculum. In the future, [we] hope they could give our students **credit. Ok, credit! This is another consideration further down the road, I hope.** But to have this done, you must have an organization.....'

- (6) P: *..... Jianglai sheng zhengfu yao kuoda ta na ge Zhongwen, Chinese programme, na women xiwang women zhexie Chinese school a, Saturday school a, zhexie supplementary school de laoshi ne, keyi you yidian input. Danshi ni yi ge ren zheyang zongshi meiyou liliang de. Women yiding yao zuzhi qilai, you yi ge zuzhi. Na ni jiu keyi gen ta jiang: "Women shi 'Teachers' Association'. We, as experts teaching for so many years, women renwei zheli de haizi dui naxie fangmian bijiao shihe, na fangmian bu shihe."*

'..... In the future, if the provincial government expands its Chinese, **Chinese programme,** we hope the teachers of our **Chinese schools, Saturday schools, and supplementary schools,** could give some **input.** But you by yourself alone are not strong enough. We must get organized, and have an organization. Then, you can say to him: "We are a **'Teachers' Association'.** We, as experts **teaching for so many years,** we know what is suitable for our children here and what is not."

In both (5) and (6), P was persuading the participants at the meeting to support the idea of a teachers' association in Winnipeg. In (5), she supported her argument by pointing to an advantage to be expected once such an association was in place, an advantage of being able to claim credits for students that could be accepted by the public school system for courses taken at the supplementary Chinese language schools. She was speaking Mandarin, except in places where noun phrases from English such as **curriculum guide** and **outline** occurred, but she switched to English when she mentioned the credit. Her switching at **credit** and in the following comment can be considered to result from her intention to highlight the point here so as to bring it to the attention of her interlocutors. In (6), too, P's switching to English for such phrases as '**Teachers' Association**' and '**We, as expert teaching for so many years**' is also considered to be verbal strategy which she adopted for the purpose of highlighting. Code-switching in (6) takes place within a quote. It thus differs from the code-switching used for quoting where normally only one linguistic variety occurs within one quote. In (6) two languages are juxtaposed within a single quote.

Code-switching for the purpose of highlighting, as in both (5) and (6), was also accompanied by certain noticeable prosodic features, such as an increase in the loudness and pitch of the utterance. This fact seems to suggest that

code-switching between languages functions in much the same way as style shift within a single language, which is also often accompanied by these prosodic features.

Appeal to authority. The following exchange took place when the participants at the meeting were asked by the chair to express their own opinions about their school's future involvement in the proposed teachers' association.

(7) C: *Name, women xianzai rang dajia fabiao yijian, ranhou women jue ding xu bu xuyao. A, ni you shenme yijian?*

'Ok, we now let all of you express your opinions. After that we'll decide if we need or not (to participate). A, what's your opinion?'

A: *Wo jue de ting hao de. Zhende. Wo jue de you zheme yi ge zuzhi, dajia huxiang jiaoliu. Shenme shiqing yaoshi guang kao yi ge ren de liliang buxing, yaoyou dajia de yijian. Wo jue de shi zheyang.*

'I think it's very good. Really. I think with such an organization, we can exchange with one another. Whatever we do, we cannot depend on one man's strength alone, we should have opinions from everyone. I feel it this way.'

P: *Haiyou yi dian wo xiang gen nimen jiang, guanyu na ge qian. En... The Federal government gave us a grant.....*

'There is another point I want to let you know, regarding the money ... En... **The federal government gave us a grant.....**'

The unmarked choice (Scotton, 1983) here is Mandarin, in which the exchange has been proceeding. After A had spoken, P took her turn to add a new point to her argument in support of the proposed project. Although she began with

Mandarin, following the code choice already made by previous speakers, P switched to English when she began to announce a financial support they had received for the project from the Federal government. The switch to English, an official language, for this particular speech event can be interpreted as a strategy adopted by P to quote authority.

Personalization. The following exchanges took place during the processes of recruiting volunteers.

- (8) C: Now, we'll have two volunteers to represent us.
- P: *Bu yao keqi. Bu yao keqi.*
'Come on. Come on.'
- C: Ok, H, ok. Good.
- (9) C: Could we have a volunteer for the lower grades, like one for Grade Five and under, and one for the upper grades?
- R: Five and under, M!
- M: Me? No.
- R: *Jiushi huodong yixia, kankan you meiyou jiemu. Bushi jiao tamen quanbu qu.*
'Just ask around. See if we can put together a programme. You don't have to ask everybody to participate.'
- M: What kind of programme?

The switch to Mandarin, an in-group variety, from English in both (8) and (9) can be seen as a way of making oneself more personal and more acceptable when a favour was being asked. If only English, an out-group language, were

used in these cases, the speakers who were asking for the favours may have sounded less personal and therefore their requests might more likely be ignored.

Rhetoric. The following episode of the teachers' meeting was again centred on the proposed teachers' association.

(10) A: *Wo tongyi. Wo juede hen you biyao. Hen hao ma.*
Why not?

'I agree. I think it is very necessary (to have the association). Sounds very good. **Why not?'**

C: *B, (your turn to speak).*

B: *Wo juede shi hen you biyao. Dui cujin zhe ge sheng de Huayu jiaoxue hen you biyao. Bu zhidao you shenme liyou shuo ta bu biyao.*

'I think it is very necessary (to have the association). (It is) necessary for the promotion of the teaching of Chinese in this province. I don't see why it is not necessary.'

C: *En.*

P: *Tai mafan.*

'Too much trouble.'

B: *Jiushi jiguan tai duo, shi ba?*

'Is that because there are going to be too many organizations?'

P: *Tamen juede jiushi ... too much work.*

'They think there is ... too much work.'

C: **Any organization is work.**

P: **Any improvement is work.**

In this discussion, A first expressed her opinion in favour of the teachers' association in Mandarin, but switched to English in a question form "Why not" as she wound up her statement. Her question in English was rhetorical; it adds to the illocutionary force of her statement rather than seeks a reply. It was recognized as being so by her interlocutors, since not only did the audience remain silent in response to her question but also the chair immediately called on the next speaker, B, to take over the turn of speaking. Notice the different effects of A's question asked in English and the statement made by B in Mandarin, meaning "I don't see why it is not necessary (to have the association)", which was understood by the interlocutors as a request in need of explanations, since not only did the chair not call on the next person to speak, but also at the same time P attempted an explanation with regard to the request made by B. A's switching to English for a question form so as to add to the illocutionary force of speech as well as B's statement in Mandarin which turned out to be a real request can both be considered as devices employed by speakers for rhetorical effect.

Furthermore, because of her involvement in the proposed project to establish a Chinese teachers' association in Winnipeg, P played the role of both an advocate and an informant for the proposed project in this discussion. Therefore, twice during this discussion, P was obliged to

provide information following requests from B about reasons for disproving the project. Her response to B's first request was made in the same code in which the request was made, Mandarin, which stated that the reason for disproving was "too much trouble". In her response to a direct question from B, however, English and Mandarin were juxtaposed within a single sentence: "*Tamen jue de jiushi* 'They think there is' ... **too much work**". The switch to English, an out-group language, by P was probably motivated by her intention to avoid a straightforward answer that the in-group language would provide. The chair, C, understood this, as she followed in English: "**Any organization is work**", the implication being that the question was not the amount of work which might result from the forming of the association but rather the proposed association itself. At this, P immediately returned, also in English: "**Any improvement is work**", stating her point of view that the proposed association was to be an improvement.

The code choices discussed here were used by speakers to express communicative subtleties. The participants involved were members of a voluntary group. As such, they not only had common interests and aspirations, but also shared rights and obligations toward each other. Thus, as members of the same voluntary group, they must cooperate. At the same time, however, as individuals, they also each had different experiences and held different viewpoints on

issues concerning their own in-group as well as the out-groups. Their rights and obligations toward each other and their attitudes were expressed through code choices.

Therefore, while Mandarin was used among members of the group for sharing opinions or pleading assistance, when they were arguing or expressing differences or when they became evasive, speakers switched to English in their out-group guise. Both the content and the codes of the utterances here contributed to the meaning of the utterances.

The juxtaposition of Mandarin and English in the above exchanges functioned as a single, complex code. Speakers switched from one language to another without any hesitation, as if they were communicating in a single language. The conversational code-switching skills demonstrated by the group of Chinese language teachers in Winnipeg are derived from network-specific conventions of language use. Just because these communication conventions are network-specific, the communicative subtleties expressed through them, such as the point of disapproval of the proposed association as expressed by P and C, could be appreciated only by members of a specific social network. Although these skills are observable, without inquiry, their in-group significance would not be at all clear to speakers who do not hold that in-group membership. For example, speaker B, obviously not an in-group member, had no idea of the reason of disapproval by members of this group regarding

the proposed teachers' association.

CONCLUSION

While both situational code-switching and conversational code-switching occur in the Chinese community in Winnipeg, situational code-switching is more widespread than conversational code-switching. Situational code-switching can also be considered as being more basic than conversational code-switching. It may be as old a bilingual phenomenon of the Chinese community as are domain separation and social role differentiation for the various language and dialect varieties. Situational code-switching can be considered as a mechanism that reinforces the maintenance of social boundaries within the Chinese community. While speakers must use different language and dialect varieties depending on the situation and social role-relationship, only one language or dialect variety is used on any one occasion. On the other hand, conversational code-switching may be seen to result from social boundary levelling, as speakers enact different social roles and express different social identities through the juxtaposition of different linguistic varieties within a single speech event. Finally, conversational code-switching as found among the Chinese speakers in Winnipeg reflects network specific conventions

of language use, and occurs only among speakers of certain social networks.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

This study has been concerned with the problem of language maintenance and language shift in the Chinese community in Winnipeg. Attempts were made to examine the extent to which Chinese is currently used by the Chinese in Winnipeg, the effect on the maintenance of Chinese in Winnipeg of overt behaviour of the Chinese in Winnipeg with respect to the Chinese language, and the phenomena of bilingual and bidialectal code-switching in the Chinese community in Winnipeg. Based on the literature available on the study of language maintenance and language shift, three hypotheses were proposed. The first hypothesis is that Chinese is still well maintained in the Chinese community in Winnipeg; the second hypothesis states that both the knowledge and the use of Chinese are more widespread in the immigrant than in the Canadian-born generation; and the third hypothesis says

that the maintenance of Chinese is achieved where the networks are closed and where social and ethnocultural boundaries are maintained. The three hypotheses are supported by the findings of this study.

The results of the language use survey conducted with 122 Chinese individuals in Winnipeg demonstrate that both the fluency and the use of Chinese have remained high among the ethnic Chinese of Winnipeg. Among the 122 individuals involved in the survey, a vast majority of Chinese mother tongue speakers are still very fluent in their Chinese mother tongues and use them regularly in various Chinese-relevant domains of language use.

Of all the relevant domains of language use, the family domain has been shown to be where the use of Chinese is most frequently found. However, even within the family domain, variation in language choice exists depending on the social role-relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor. In general, the use of Chinese increases with ascending generations and decreases with descending generations. Certain role-relationships, such as the one with a grandparent, require the use of more Chinese than others. The presence of a Chinese-speaking grandparent in the family, in particular, has been shown to have an important effect on the maintenance of Chinese in the home setting.

In addition, within the domains of friendship, ethnically oriented business transactions and ethnically

oriented social and cultural activities, where the use of Chinese also still persists, this study shows that the use of Chinese is most readily observable where the ethnic culture is most prevalent. For example, in dealing with food and eating habits, as in the Chinese restaurants and grocery stores, we found an increase in the use of Chinese even among the Canadian-born informants. Thus, the maintenance of Chinese can be said to coincide with cultural maintenance.

The most important difference in the pattern of language choice is found between speakers who were born in North America and those born elsewhere. While a vast majority of the informants who were born outside North America are very fluent in all four language skills in their respective Chinese tongues, very few of those born in North America are very fluent either orally or aurally in Chinese and none is fluent in written Chinese. In contrast, while all those who were born in North America are very fluent in all English skills, just a little over half of those who were born outside North America are very fluent in English. When the overall pattern of language choice is considered, it becomes evident that all those who appear to use only English with all interlocutor types within the Chinese community were born in North America, while those who choose to use Chinese with all interlocutor types within the community are immigrants.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

A number of studies (e.g., Gal, 1979; Gumperz, 1972; Milroy, 1980) have shown that "a close-knit social network is an important mechanism of *language maintenance*" and that changes that occur in the network structures bring about linguistic change (Milroy, 1980, pp. 178, 185). A close-knit social network is characterized by a high density of individuals who are connected to one another by a multiplicity of social ties (p. 21). We have noted that the social networks of the old-timer group are in general denser than those of the professional group in that the individuals within the old-timer group are not only often all related to one another but are often related to one another in more than one capacity. Although similar cases can also be found among the professionals, the social networks of the professional group are as a whole more open and uniplex.

The Chinese from Indo-China are recent arrivals in Winnipeg. Many of them are of low socio-economic status and interact most often within their own group, partly because of their poor ability to speak English. As a result, their social networks also show a higher density than those of the Chinese professionals who interact, either socially or as required by their work, more frequently outside the ethnic

Chinese community.

Variation in language use among the Chinese in Winnipeg also results from the characteristics of their personal network structures. Although in general immigrants who arrived in Canada at an early age tend to use more English with more interlocutor types than do those who immigrated at an older age and more recently, exceptions are found which may be related to the specific network structures of speakers. Thus, even those who arrived in Canada relatively early in age and who has been in Canada relatively long, would tend to use more Chinese than English, if their personal networks are relatively closed. In contrast, if the network of an individual is more open, even a person who immigrated to Canada relatively late in life would tend to use more English than Chinese. This was shown to be the case for a number of informants in the friendship domain of language use.

The function of social networks as norm-preserving mechanisms also explains the difference in the maintenance of Chinese between cohorts. Although only two Canadian-born informants of advanced age participated in the present study, when their individual data on language competence and language use were examined and when their actual language behaviour was observed, both were found functionally bilingual in either Cantonese or Taishanese and English, with native fluency in both languages. However, not all

communities had to learn both Chinese and English in order to be able to function both within their own group and outside. Although they had the advantage of learning both languages in childhood, they had to learn also to use each in separate social situations. Thus, their two languages were situationally and functionally separated. Today, however, as Canadian society has become more tolerant of racial and cultural differences, partly as a result of higher levels of immigration from more diverse places of origin, the overt racial discrimination of years ago no longer exists. Because of the difference in treatment, attitudes toward the out-group and, consequently, the out-group language are also different in the Chinese community of today.

Among our Canadian-born informants, Chinese is better maintained in the older age group than in the younger age group. The finding here supports the finding by de Vries and Vallee (1980) of a difference between the extent of ancestor language shift and the extent of current language shift in the larger Chinese population in Canada. The more rapid shift toward English in the younger cohort group parallels the change from the close-knit to the more open social networks of the Chinese community. As the Canadian-born generations mature, and with the immigration of Chinese with professional backgrounds, there is more and more participation by the Chinese in Canadian society (Chan,

1983). Now that they have a role to play in the Chinese community as well as in the larger Canadian society, the in-group and out-group distinction becomes less clear-cut. While Chinese is still an in-group language, English has also become an in-group language as well as an out-group language; it has come to be used in more and more domains in which Chinese used to be used exclusively, and by more and more Canadian-born Chinese, as the only language of communication.

Moreover, our analysis of the phenomenon of code-switching among Chinese speakers in Winnipeg also shows variation in code-switching practice between social groups within the Chinese community. Both situational code-switching and conversational code-switching occur among members of the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies. Among the old-timers at the Chinese United Church and among the more recently arrived Chinese refugees from Indo-China at the Hua En Chapel, however, while situational code-switching is also frequently observed, the conversational code-switching that one finds among the Chinese professionals does not seem to occur. The conversational code-switching among the teachers at the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies illustrates the communicative pattern of an open social network. It provides examples of the way in which the barrier to communication between two languages has been broken down and the way speakers enact different social

roles within the same social situation. Thus, variation in language choice as shown through the code-switching practice of bilingual and bidialectal Chinese speakers in Winnipeg reflects the variation in the norms of language behaviour within different social groups. It is a consequence of social network structures within these groups.

Just because the social networks of the old-timer group and the Indo-China Chinese group are more dense, or close-knit, than those of the professional group, the social and situational separation of language and dialect varieties is stricter there than in the professional group. Thus we observe the juxtaposition of linguistic forms of two distinctive linguistic varieties within the same speech exchange among the professionals at the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, as occurring in conversational code-switching, whereas only a one-to-one correspondence between linguistic variety and social situation exists among the old-timers and the Indo-China Chinese. It is also because speakers within a close-knit social network "are able to form a cohesive group capable of resisting pressure, linguistic or social, from outside the group" (Milroy, 1980, p. 178) that the monolingual Taishanese speakers, whom we have mentioned in our discussion of the code-switching phenomena in the Chinese community, have been able to remain monolingually Taishanese-speaking in a multilingual environment over a long period of time. The presence of

their own in-group members may also have accounted for their resistance to switching at the souvenir counter.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL BOUNDARIES

By a strictly linguistic criterion, the Chinese of Winnipeg are not members of one speech community, but many groups divided by mutually unintelligible Chinese dialects. For the Chinese in Winnipeg, the dialect boundaries that divide them have been found to be harder than the language boundary between Chinese and English. The observation of the code-switching practice of the Chinese speakers in Winnipeg shows that, between the various Chinese dialects, only situational code-switching occurs, so that each Chinese dialect is used for its own social situation, whereas conversational code-switching, the occurrence of which can be considered as an effect of boundary levelling (Heller, 1988, p. 1), never occurs. The same situation is found with the Chinese dialects as they are spoken in China. Speakers switch dialects with different interlocutors and in different situations. By doing so, they may either accentuate their own speech or accommodate their speech to that of their interlocutor. However, between Chinese and English, both situational code-switching and conversational code-switching have been found to occur among the Chinese speakers in

Winnipeg, although their occurrences are network specific.

Therefore, as long as the social boundaries between the various dialect groups remain and the social relationships defined by the various Chinese dialects are maintained, the social and functional separation of the various Chinese dialects spoken by the Chinese in Winnipeg will persist. Speakers may also maintain their small in-group identity while aspiring for a larger in-group identity embedded in a dialect variety of wider use, such as Cantonese in the Chinese community in Winnipeg, or for a national identity embedded in a national standard variety of Chinese, Mandarin, preserving the multilingual nature of the Chinese community. Similarly, speakers may maintain their ethnic group identity by continuing the use of the ethnic tongues while at the same time taking on the identity of the larger Canadian society symbolized in the use of English. On the other hand, the existence of the linguistic boundaries will also function to reinforce the social boundaries, as they either create barriers or provide access to linguistic varieties and social roles within the Chinese community. For example, the condition for membership in some linguistically distinctive groups within the community is the ability to use the same language or dialect.

Stability or change in social networks and social boundaries within the Chinese community in Winnipeg are the social determinants of the maintenance or shift of Chinese

and its various dialects in this community. Overt efforts and attitudinal behaviour toward Chinese and its various dialects may also have an effect on the maintenance of Chinese among Chinese speakers in Winnipeg. So far, however, the function of social networks and social boundaries within the ethnic Chinese community in Winnipeg seems to have been even more effective than the overt behaviour of the Chinese community in Chinese language maintenance in Winnipeg.

NOTES

1. The Chinese community in Winnipeg is taken to consist of the local ethnic Chinese population; the visa students from the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and other Southeast Asian countries are excluded.
2. In this dissertation, the Pinyin system is used for the transliteration of proper nouns in Chinese, i.e., place and personal names and the names of historical periods and of the dialects and languages spoken in China (see also Appendix A). The few exceptions in which the English terms are used, e.g., the Yangtze River, Confucius, Mao Tze-tung, and Cantonese, are for consideration of the familiarity of these English terms in the West.
3. According to *Manitoba Immigration Information Bulletin 1986 - 1989*, "Immigration to Canada is grouped into three main classes: family class, refugees, and independent immigrants.... The independent class includes assisted relatives, retirees, entrepreneurs, investors, self-employed persons, and other independent immigrants. Generally, applicants in this class are assessed following a point system designed to determine how well an applicant may meet Canada's socio-economic and labour market needs and become successfully established in Canada" (Manitoba Immigration Information Bulletin, 1986-1989).
4. In general terms, all languages brought to the New World from the Old World should be considered immigrant languages. However, in the strict sense of the terminology used in the literature, the immigrant languages differ from the colonial languages "in so far as they settle in a country already dominated by speakers of other languages" (Haugen, 1956, p.27).
5. In the Canadian censuses, mother tongue has been operationally defined as the language first learned in childhood and still understood (Census of Canada, 1986).
6. In the Canadian censuses, ethnic origin refers to "the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which the respondent or the respondent's ancestors belong" (Census of Canada, 1986).
7. In the Canadian censuses, home language refers to the language spoken most often at home (Census of Canada, 1986).

8. In the Canadian censuses, a census tract "refers to a permanent small census geostatistical area established in large urban communities", in which "the boundaries must follow permanent and easily recognizable lines on the ground", "the population must be between 2,500 and 8,000, with a preferable average of 4,000", and "be as homogeneous as possible in terms of economic status and social living condition" (Census of Canada, 1986).
9. The italics are mine.
10. A slightly modified IPA system (Appendix A) is used for the phonetic transcription of the Chinese dialect data. The slightly modified IPA symbols are used in square brackets. Where the Pinyin transliteration is used for Putonghua data, it occurs in italics.
11. According to Chinese linguists, the history of Chinese is divided into *shanggu hanyu*, the Chinese of the first millennium B.C., *zhonggu hanyu*, the Chinese of the period from the Sui to the Ming Dynasties (581 - 1644 A.D.), and modern Chinese, the Chinese we know today (Zhan, 1985, p. 18). These periodical divisions of Chinese correspond to the Western terminology Old Chinese, Middle Chinese, and Modern Chinese respectively (cf. Norman, 1988; Ramsey, 1987).
12. Where an asterisk, *, occurs in front of a phonetic symbol, the symbol represents a sound in the proto-language.
13. "Scalability is the proportion of cells that fit the scale model" (Gal, 1979, p. 120).
14. The factors that led to the dissolution of the Chinese heritage language programme in the two public schools in Winnipeg may have been more complicated. During the last year of the Chinese language programme in the two schools, a new school was built in the downtown area. Many students originally attending schools far away from their homes, including some students taking the Chinese classes in the two schools, were transferred to the new school for its closeness to their homes. The opening of this new school thus accounted for the loss of some students taking the Chinese programme in the two schools.

Some people in the community also pointed to another factor: the difference between the variety of Chinese taught in the school heritage language programme and the variety of Chinese spoken at home. Mandarin was the subject of Chinese language teaching

in both schools. However, it is not the variety of Chinese normally used in many Chinese homes. Therefore, there was a lack of reinforcement through use at home for Mandarin.

In addition, the size and the dispersion of the community were also pointed out to be factors in the community's lack of enthusiasm and support for the Chinese heritage language programme in the public schools in Winnipeg. Toronto and Vancouver, two larger Canadian cities where the Chinese heritage language programmes are known to be successful, both have a larger Chinese population than that in Winnipeg.

15. The 1986 intercensus reported 2,600 Chinese by ethnic origin under the age of fifteen in the province of Manitoba (Census of Canada, 1986).

APPENDIX A

PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Both the Pinyin system and the IPA system are used for the presentation of the Chinese data in this study. The Pinyin system, which occurs in italics, is used for transliteration and the IPA symbols, slightly modified and in square brackets, is used for phonetic transcription. In addition, the Pinyin system is also used for the proper nouns in Chinese. In such cases, no italics are used.

The Pinyin system uses the same set of roman scripts as that used in English. The following symbols, slightly modified from the IPA system, are used in this study for phonetic representation.

Symbols	Description
p	voiceless bilabial stop
b	voiced bilabial stop
t	voiceless dental stop
d	voiced dental stop
k	voiceless velar stop
g	voiced velar stop
q	glottal stop
m	labial nasal
n	dental nasal
ng	velar nasal
l	alveolar lateral
ɭ	lateral fricative
f	voiceless labial-dental fricative
v	voiced labial-dental fricative
ts	voiceless apical affricate
dz	voiced apical affricate
s	voiceless apical fricative
z	voiced apical fricative
tʃ	voiceless alveolar affricate
ʃ	voiceless alveolar fricative
tʂ	retroflex affricate
ʂ	retroflex fricative
r	retroflex trill
tɕ	voiceless palatal affricate

ç	voiceless palatal fricative
dç	voiced palatal affricate
h	voiceless uvular fricative
ħ	voiced uvular fricative
i	high front unrounded tense vowel
I	high front unrounded lax vowel
ü	high front rounded vowel
ɪ	apical vowel
ĩ	retroflex vowel
ø	higher mid front rounded vowel
ö	lower mid front rounded vowel
u	high back rounded vowel
ω	high back unrounded vowel
e	mid front unrounded vowel
ɛ	higher mid front unrounded vowel
@	mid central vowel
o	higher mid back vowel
ó	lower mid back vowel
a	low vowel
y	palatal glide
w	bilabial glide
'	aspiration
~	nasalization

APPENDIX B

LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

The questionnaire for the language use survey contains the following language-related questions.

Individual Linguistic Repertoire

1. What is your mother tongue?
2. What language(s) or Chinese dialect(s) did you learn, if any, later in life?
3. How did you learn each of your later language(s) or dialect(s) (e.g. at home, from peers, from relatives, at school, or through work)?
4. At what age did you learn your second language(s) or dialect(s)?
5. Where did you learn your second language(s) or dialect(s) (e.g., in your home country, in other Southeast countries or in North America)?
6. How would you rate your proficiency in *speaking* each of your language(s) or Chinese dialect(s) (Excellent, Very good, Fairly good, Not too good, or Very poor)?
7. How would you rate your proficiency in *understanding* in each of your language(s) or Chinese dialect(s) (Excellent, Very good, Fairly good, Not too good, or Very poor)?
8. How would you rate your proficiency in *reading* in each of your language(s) (Excellent, Very good, Fairly good, Not too good, or Very poor)?
9. How would you rate your proficiency in *writing* in each of your language(s) (Excellent, Very good, Fairly good, Not too good, or Very poor)?

Language Use at Home

10. If you are married, which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) is/are used between you and your spouse and to what extent is/are it/they used? That is, is/are it/they used All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time?
11. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do you use when talking to your *father* and to what extent do you use each? That is, do you use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time when talking to your father?
12. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) does your *father* use to talk to you and to what extent does your father use each when talking to you? That is, does your father use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time?
13. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do you use when talking to your *mother* and to what extent do you use each? That is, do you use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time when talking to your mother?
14. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) does your *mother* use to talk to you and to what extent does your mother use each when talking to you? That is, does your mother use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time?
15. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do you use when talking to your *paternal grandparent(s)* and to what extent do you use each? That is, do you use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time when talking to your paternal grandparent(s)?
16. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do(es) your *paternal grandparent(s)* use to talk to you and to what extent do(es) your paternal grandparent(s) use each when talking to you? That is, do(es) your grandparent(s) use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time?
17. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do you use when talking to your *maternal grandparent(s)* and to what extent do you use each? That is, do you use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time when talking to your maternal grandparent(s)?
18. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do(es) your

maternal grandparent(s) use to talk to you and to what extent do(es) your *maternal grandparent(s)* use each when talking to you? That is, do(es) your *grandparent(s)* use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time?

19. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do you use when talking to your *elder sibling(s)* and to what extent do you use each? That is, do you use it All the time, Most of the time, Some of the time or when talking to your *elder sibling(s)*?
20. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do(es) your *elder sibling(s)* use to talk to you and to what extent do(es) your *elder sibling(s)* use each when talking to you? That is, do(es) your *elder sibling(s)* use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time?
21. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do you use when talking to your *younger sibling(s)* and to what extent do you use each? That is, do you use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time when talking to your *younger sibling(s)*?
22. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do(es) your *younger sibling(s)* use when talking to you and to what extent do(es) your *younger sibling(s)* use each? That is, do(es) your *younger sibling(s)* use it All the time, Most of the time, Some of the time when talking to you?
23. If you have child(ren), which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do you use when talking to your *elder or only child(ren)* and to what extent do you use each? That is, do you use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time when talking to your *elder or only child(ren)*?
24. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do(es) your *elder or only child(ren)* use to talk to you and to what extent do(es) your *elder or only child(ren)* use each when talking to you? That is, do(es) your *elder or only child(ren)* use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time?
25. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do you use when talking to your *younger child(ren)* and to what extent do you use each? That is, do you use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time when talking to your *younger child(ren)*?
26. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do(es) your *younger child(ren)* use to talk to you and to what

extent do(es) your younger child(ren) use each when talking to you? That is, do(es) your younger child(ren) use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time?

27. If you have any grandchild(ren), which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do you use when talking to your *grandchild(ren)* and to what extent do you use each? That is, do you use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time when talking to your grandchild(ren)?
28. Which language(s) and/or Chinese dialect(s) do(es) your *grandchild(ren)* use to talk to you and to what extent do(es) your grandchild(ren) use each when talking to you? That is, do(es) your grandchild(ren) use it All the time, Most of the time or Some of the time?

Language Use with Friends

29. What are the ethnic backgrounds of five of your close friends (Chinese or Non-Chinese)?
30. Which language(s) or Chinese dialect(s) do you usually use to talk to each of them?
31. Do you have more Chinese friends or more non-Chinese friends?

Language Use in Religion

32. Do you have a religion?
33. What is your religion?
34. Which language or Chinese dialect do you use in prayer?
35. Which version of the religious text do you usually read?
36. Which language or Chinese dialect do you use in discussing the religious text?
37. Which language or Chinese dialect do you use when talking to others in your religious group?
38. If you belong to a religious institution, please indicate which religious institution do you belong to?
39. If you go to a church, which language(s) and/or Chinese

dialect(s) do you use to talk to the priest or minister?

Language Use in Other Associations

40. What kind of predominantly Chinese association(s) are you affiliated with?
41. Which language or Chinese dialect is used for your Chinese association's meetings and activities?

Language Use in Business Transactions

42. How often do you do grocery shopping at supermarket and Chinese grocery stores respectively?
43. If you go to a Chinese grocery store, which language(s) or Chinese dialect(s) do you use to talk to the people working in the store?
44. Do you go to a Chinese restaurant more often or a western restaurant more often?
45. In a Chinese restaurant, which language(s) or Chinese dialect(s) do you use to order dishes?
46. Is your family doctor Chinese?
47. If you see a Chinese doctor or dentist, which language or Chinese dialect do you use to talk to him/her?
48. Have you ever seen a social worker for help?
49. Is your social worker a Chinese?
50. Which language or Chinese dialect did you use to talk to him/her about your problem?
51. Do you usually go to a Chinese hair dresser or a non-Chinese hair dresser?
52. If you go to a Chinese hair dresser, which language or Chinese dialect do you use to talk to him/her?
53. Have you ever bought or sold a house or an apartment in Winnipeg through a Chinese real estate agent?
54. If your real estate agent is Chinese, which language or Chinese dialect did you use to talk to him/her?

55. Which travel agency do you usually go to?
56. Which language or Chinese dialect do you use to talk to your Chinese travel agent about your trips?

Written and Mass Media

57. Do you read Chinese newspapers?
58. Which Chinese newspaper(s) do you regularly read? How often?
59. Do you read Chinese novels? How often?
60. Do you watch Chinese TV programmes? How often?
61. Do you listen to Chinese radio programmes? How often?
62. Do you watch Chinese video tapes? How often? In which Chinese dialect?
63. Do you keep correspondence in writing with your relatives and/or friends?
64. Which language do you use to write to your relatives and/or friends?
65. Which language do(es) your relative(s) and/or friend(s) use to write to you?

Language Schools

66. Do you attend a Chinese language class?
67. Where do you attend the Chinese language class?
68. Which Chinese dialect do you study in the Chinese language class?
69. Which language or Chinese dialect do you use to talk to your Chinese teacher after class?

Language Preference and Attitude

70. At home, which language or Chinese dialect do you prefer to use with your family members?
71. In the public place, which language or Chinese dialect do you prefer to use to talk to your family members?

72. Which language or Chinese dialect do you prefer to use when you talk to your bilingual friend?
73. Which language or Chinese dialect sounds more comfortable than the others to you?
74. Which language or Chinese dialect do you prefer to use generally?
75. Do you think that Chinese should continue to be taught in Winnipeg?

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