

## Cross-Generational and Cross-Language Comparison in Heritage Languages

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The Heritage Language Variation and Change project (Nagy, 2009, 2011) is based on intergenerational comparisons (i.e., how many generations since the family immigrated to Toronto?) of speakers in language diaspora in Toronto. It examines and compares variation in spontaneous speech from 10 heritage languages. I will discuss some differences between the outcomes of experimental studies and our variationist sociolinguistic studies, in terms of what they show about cross-generational change. In general, greater linguistic stability is illustrated by the variationist approach than experimental methods. The important issue of distinguishing internal change, contact-induced change and incomplete-acquisition effects will be discussed as well. Data come from studies of a range of phonetic and morphosyntactic variables (based on publications listed at [http://ngn.artsci.utoronto.ca/HLVC/1\\_5\\_publications.php](http://ngn.artsci.utoronto.ca/HLVC/1_5_publications.php)). The languages discussed include Cantonese, Faetar (a Francoprovençal variety spoken in southern Italy), Italian, Korean, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian. The ability to make comparisons across languages strengthens the conclusions that can be drawn, as foreseen in many of Janne Bondi Johannessen's collaborative projects (cf. Johannessen et al., 2009; Johannessen & Larsson, 2015; Johannessen & Salmons, 2015; Kilgarriff et al., 2014; Larsson & Johannessen, 2015; Lindstad et al., 2009)

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