

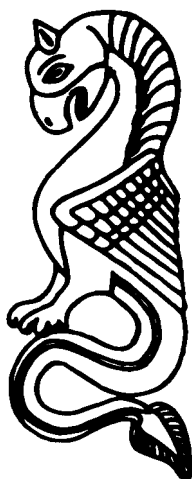
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SWEDISH SPEECH IN AN ENGLISH SETTING: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON AND ASPECTS OF IMMIGRANT ENVIRONMENTS IN AMERICA

By FOLKE HEDBLOM

During the approximately one-thousand-year history of the Swedish language, it has only once to any great extent¹ been removed from its historical setting, taken to a different continent, isolated, changed, and as a minority language there subjected to such a powerful outside influence that it finally succumbed and died out. This occurred in America during the course of less than 100 years, beginning in about 1840. The process is of course part of the history of Swedish emigration in general.

A great number of the Swedish population emigrated. When the great emigration started, the country had somewhat more than 3 million inhabitants, and by the beginning of this century more than one million Swedes had moved to the New World. The population of Sweden was then about 5 million.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Sweden was a typical agrarian country. The emigrants of the first few decades were farmers, farmers' sons and farmhands who left for America to find more and better land to cultivate, land which would afford them a better living and future. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that industry began to attract large numbers of Swedes. In 1900 agriculture and forestry employed about 33% of the immigrant Swedes and their children. Industry then employed about 35%.²

The majority of the Swedish rural immigrants settled in the Midwest States, especially Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. The hot climate of the southern states did not attract the Swedes, with the exception of Texas. As early as 1838 a large colony was established there with cotton and sugar cultivation as the main sources of livelihood. The immigration into the Mountain and Pacific States came later; it took place above all in the early years of the twentieth century, and the immigrants were mainly employed in forestry. There was a large Swedish settlement in and around Seattle.

The first rural farm immigrants mostly travelled in small or larger groups from the same limited area of Sweden. They settled close together and formed homogeneous settlements where relatives and

friends from Sweden soon joined them. The later emigration was mainly individual. Those who sought industrial employment went to places where there were already people from home who could help them to get settled. A large number of them settled in the New England States, particularly in New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts. Many also went to Chicago and other towns in the Upper Midwest, where most of them worked in the building trade, in mining or forestry. The Swedish immigration was at its height about 1890, almost entirely ceased during the First World War, and has since then been only slight.

The early Swedish settlers were on the whole working people without much education, sons and daughters of farmers, farmhands and servant girls, but they had definite cultural ambitions. When they established their settlements they tried to reproduce the best of the society in Sweden they came from and they wanted for their children the educational facilities that in Sweden had more or less been reserved for the children of the upper classes. At almost the same time as they built their simple dwellings of lumber or prairie-sod they built churches, established parishes, mainly Lutheran, adhering to the State Church of Sweden, employed clergy and started their own schools in which their children could learn to read and write Swedish. These continued to function as summer and confirmation schools until the 1920's. Until that time the children and grandchildren of the older immigrants could not speak English when they started their compulsory education in the American public schools at the age of eight.

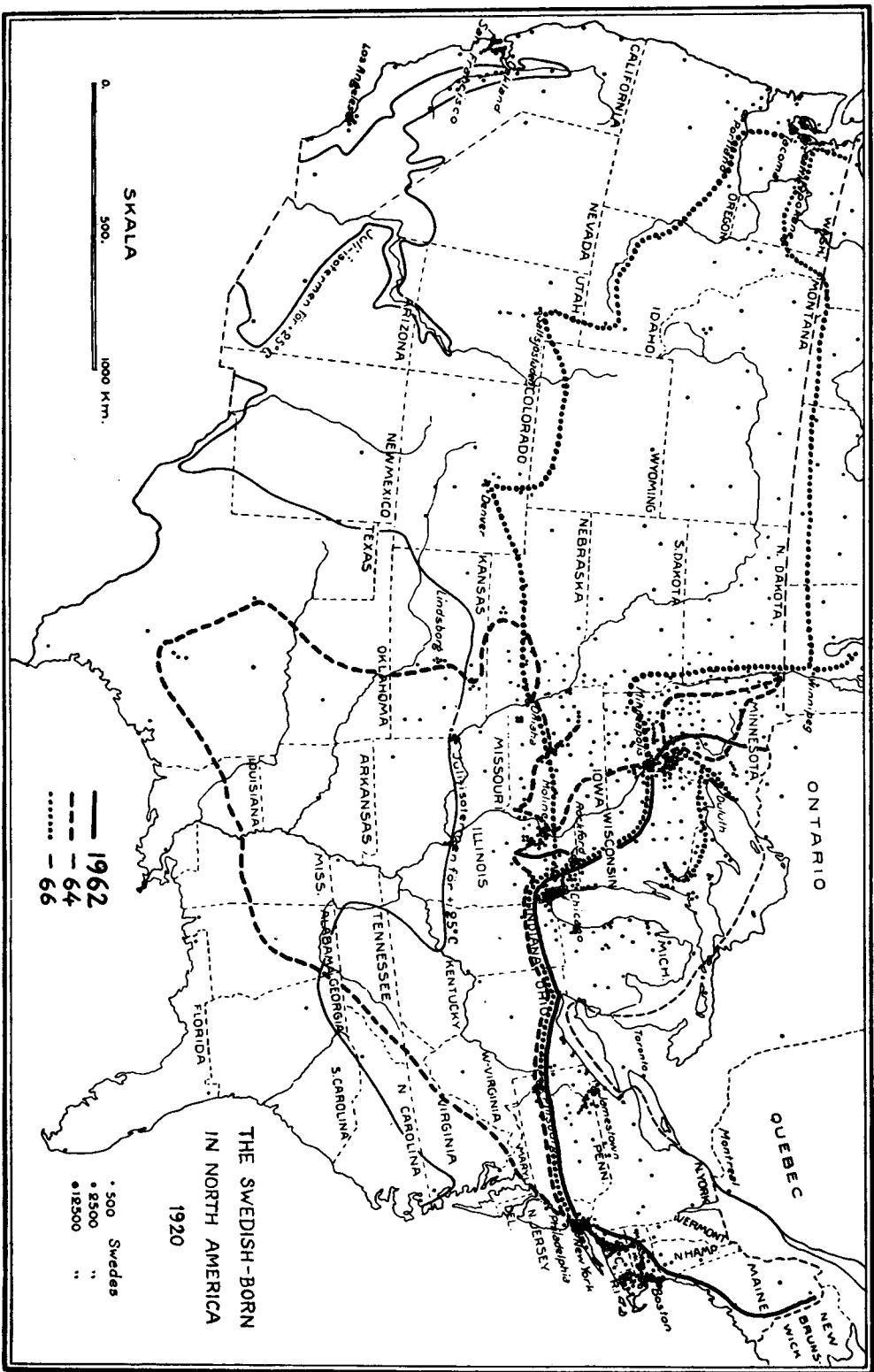
Community feeling among the Swedish immigrants was encouraged by a large number of Swedish newspapers and many associations and clubs, idealistic, religious and financial. But their communities were never completely sealed off and isolated from their surroundings. The only exception for a short time was Bishop Hill, which will be mentioned below. The Swedish attitude towards "Americans" and immigrants of other nationalities was in general open and unreserved, even though they were very conscious of their own superiority as regards working capacity, honesty, and suchlike virtues. After some years, when they had a good enough knowledge of English, they also began to take part in public affairs and voted their own people into administrative posts in places where they were in the majority.

This openness towards their surroundings meant of course significant changes in the Swedes' pattern of life and also in their language. The influence of English on both speech and writing became more and more noticeable and caused concern on culturally conscious circles. But, in general, the existence of Swedish as a minority language in America was not considered in any way threatened. As late as the turn of the

century it was assumed in certain places that Swedish in America would live on as a special branch of the Swedish standard language, characterized by "necessary" loan-words from English.³ This did not happen however. The decline of Swedish proceeded at a brisk pace, especially after World War II, and at the beginning of the 1960's the last and most stubborn strongholds of the Swedish language in America, the churches, ceased to exist as specifically Swedish organizations. They have now been merged with their American counterparts. Of the hundreds of Swedish-language newspapers there are now only five in the U.S. and one in Canada. Swedish in America is now only a language spoken in the family circle and on social occasions, and even here it is disappearing more and more.

Many other European "colonial languages" in America have suffered similar fates in various ways and to a somewhat varying degree. Some of them have been investigated by experts. Norwegian, for example, has been the subject of a detailed, pioneer work by Einar Haugen.⁴ American Swedish was almost unknown to language scholars until the beginning of the 1960's. In 1962, 1964 and 1966, research expeditions were sent out from the Institute for Dialect and Folklore Research of Uppsala, Sweden (Landsmåls-och Folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala) on the initiative of its Director at that time, Professor Dag Strömbäck. The idea was to collect as quickly as possible by means of tape-recordings representative, authentic text samples of the Swedish speech in different parts of "Swedish America." The impetus and driving force behind this task was the widespread supposition in Europe that nineteenth-century dialects had been preserved out there in their isolated setting, free from the influence of the standard language at home, as so-called "frozen dialects." This interest in dialects must be seen against the background of Sweden's many powerful dialectal contrasts among the 25 historical provinces of the country. Within these there are often great variations among church parishes and again among the villages. Many dialects are extremely archaic in both grammar and vocabulary and quite incomprehensible to outsiders.

The three expeditions, lasting for 3 or 4 months each, covered the greater part of the Swedish settlement area in the U.S. as well as Manitoba in Canada. The specially equipped recording van of the Institute, a minibus containing tape-recording equipment of a professional type and driven by the Institute's technical expert, Mr. T. Ordéus, was sent over to America. The writer acted as leader and interviewer. The material was collected during the course of conversation, generally in the speaker's home. We had been given a list of suggested speakers by newspapers and the radio in Sweden and America.



The routes of the Uppsala tape recording expeditions in 1962, 1964 and 1966. (The population map is reproduced from H. Nelson's *The Swedes and Swedish Settlements in North America*, 1943).

but we came across the best speakers on the spot, quite often by pure chance. The result of the expeditions is contained in more than 400 tapes, each lasting half-an-hour, kept at the Archives in Uppsala. So far only a few of them have been analyzed. They represent only a preliminary survey of Swedish speech in America, based on speakers chosen at random, but nevertheless representative. This collection should, before it is too late, which may be very soon, be supplemented by depth investigations of different kinds in some of the best-preserved settings.

The aim of this article is not to present new investigation results but to give British readers an introduction to a new collection of linguistic field-material, as a token of respect to Professor Harold Orton who was himself from 1924-28 a highly esteemed linguistic scholar at Uppsala University, and is still today a very great friend of ours at the Institute.

It was realized right at the beginning of the first trip that the recording programme could not be confined to hunting for conservative dialect speakers. It had to cover American Swedish speech in general with the emphasis on dialectal speech. This is the line that has been taken throughout.

To begin with we had only a vague idea of where we should find Swedish best preserved and where Swedish dialects were still spoken. We started in Chicago ("one of Sweden's biggest cities") where Professor Gösta Franzen of the University of Chicago, a former Uppsala scholar, had made preparations and introduced us to Swedish settings. In the Swedish Old People's Homes there were plenty of pre-1900 immigrants. The dialect they spoke was, however, more or less levelled out, a sort of sub-standard Swedish. Only English features of vocabulary and phonology distinguished it from the levelled-out provincial Swedish (containing more or less obvious dialectal forms) which is heard in small towns and newer communities in the country in Sweden. In the larger cities of America, people from different dialect areas have mixed, intermarried, established clubs and religious groups etc., and the most striking dialect features have been levelled out. The levelling process has tended towards the Standard Swedish that the emigrants learnt at school in Sweden and which their children heard in church, at summer schools and clubs. From the point of view of the contact of Swedish with English these recordings of speakers of the first immigrant generation were very valuable. We met very few second-generation Swedish speakers here.

In the small towns west of Chicago we heard more archaic dialect.

An almost 90-year old woman, who emigrated in 1903, was so intelligent and had such a gift for language that when she realized that I wished to hear her speak in her childhood tongue, she changed from the Southern Swedish sub-standard that she normally used and told me about her childhood in Sweden in the dialect she had spoken then. She used, for example, certain plural forms of the verb which have not been heard in her native Swedish village for a long time. But she was an exception. As far as the second generation⁵ is concerned, we found in these rural milieus in Illinois that the children of immigrants still living seldom speak Swedish, even if some of them understand what their parents are saying. On the other hand, there are quite a number of Swedish-speaking second-generation immigrants, now of retirement age, among the children of the earliest immigrants.

After these first experiences I began to doubt whether the talk of "frozen dialects" had any real basis, but after three weeks we suddenly found what we were looking for. It was in the little community of Bishop Hill in Illinois (c. 150 inhabitants), one of the oldest Swedish settlements in America, with a unique history. It was established in 1846 with the first and largest group emigration from Sweden. A religious zealot named Erik Jansson had with his followers, about 1,500 in all, most of them from the province of Hälsingland, emigrated to America and organized there a religious, communistic society in which all property was held in common and everyone worked together under the guidance of the prophet. After his death in 1850, however, the organization broke up, many left the community and the land was divided up into private farms. To begin with, the community was a closed one, and no-one was allowed to marry an outsider. All this ceased after the dissolution of the colony but today the village is still off the beaten track, away from the main roads. A number of new immigrants from the same part of Sweden moved in during the decades that followed. Bishop Hill was the only Swedish settlement in America that might have developed into something like the well-known German Amish colonies in Pennsylvania. There is nothing Swedish in America corresponding to "Pennsylvania Dutch" or "Pennsylvania German."⁶

We had been told that Swedish was now more or less extinct in Bishop Hill but luckily this was not the case. The most interesting people from a dialectal point of view were a pair of twins of the third generation, born in 1906. Their maternal grandfather and grandmother were among the first colonists, and their father had entered America with his parents in 1875 at the age of ten. They came from the same part of the province of Hälsingland. When the two sisters started to speak Swedish I heard at once that they were using an archaic South

Hälsingland dialect. This was the only form of Swedish they had learnt, the language of their childhood home. At school they learned English and they used this language with outsiders. They told me that, as children, they were so used to language "switching" that they were not really sure which language was English and which was Swedish. They had to ask their mother! They understood that their language was not "good" Swedish; they said they spoke "Bishop Hill Swedish," the dialect that had probably been used by the majority of the older immigrants. But the other second- and third-generation immigrants we met at Bishop Hill mainly spoke a levelled-out form of Swedish with only a few pure dialectal features. Why the language of the two sisters had remained so conservative is not clear. They seemed intelligent and normally sociable. Probably it was due to a certain extent to personal disposition. English was now their family language and their children did not understand Swedish. The strange thing was that the husband of one of them, an emigrant from Sweden as late as 1928 had great difficulty in speaking Swedish. He had seldom used the language since he had learnt English and, when he tried, his articulation proved to be greatly influenced by the local English speech. We later came across several similar cases.

Our experience in Bishop Hill taught us that Swedish dialects in America, in exactly the same way as in Sweden, were to be found in rural areas. Further, we had to look for them in places where the Swedes had been in the majority and had come from the same area of Sweden. The speakers would probably be second- and third-generation immigrants who might be assumed to have preserved important features of the nineteenth-century dialect taken to America by the earliest emigrants, not emigrants who had left for America after the dialectal levelling had established itself in Sweden. Only in a few exceptional cases were we able to record well-preserved archaic dialect speech from old emigrants. These were all people who had not had much opportunity to use their native tongue but had lived in wholly English-speaking surroundings. In these cases the interference of English was remarkably limited.

We found a large early settlement north and north-east of Minneapolis in Minnesota, in the counties of Isanti and Chisago. Swedes from the provinces of Hälsingland, Dalecarlia and Småland had been the first white settlers here in the 1850's and for a long period they had, particularly the Smålanders, been in the majority and owned almost all the farms over a vast area. The farms are still to a great extent owned by their grandchildren and these proved to have preserved the dialect of their elders surprisingly well. This was partly due to the

fact that the oldest generation had lived in the homes of their children and grandchildren until they died. In some cases the oldest "log-house," built in Swedish style, was still part of the present dwelling. The old people had apparently been almost entirely monolingual; they had spoken very poor English. The grandchildren told us that they had to speak to their sometimes rather deaf grandpa in his own village dialect. That was the only language he understood properly! We were told how they had worked with father and grandfather out in the fields and woods every day and had helped grandma with the housework. In their childhood they had not had much contact with outsiders except travelling salesman and such sporadic visitors. Grandpa's and grandma's Swedish dialect was the only language they had used, and from the dialect one could tell from which part of the settlement people came. The children mostly knew nothing about Swedish provinces like Östergötland and Småland but they could perfectly well discriminate between the speech differences of the people from those areas. Even when they spoke English one could hear in "the Swedish dialect" where they came from. They had not normally learned English until they went to school, and as recently as the years just before the First World War the children used only to speak Swedish during the school holidays.⁷ Nowadays English is the family language everywhere in the homes. The fourth generation does not know Swedish. Our youngest informant among the third generation was born in 1921. His dialect was almost perfect without any noticeable "foreign accent." His wife understands but does not speak Swedish and his children understand nothing but English.

The above remarks apply mainly to the numerically largest group, the people from the province of Småland, but also to a great extent to those originally from Hälsingland and Värmland. The latter have settlements west of Minneapolis. The dialects of all these groups were for the most part understood by other Swedes. This was not however the case with the dialects spoken by the emigrants from Dalecarlia. These are completely incomprehensible to outsiders and also to people in the neighbouring parishes. But the Dala people were accustomed to using a modified standard Swedish when speaking to outsiders, and in their communities people were therefore trilingual. When we visited third-generation immigrants still living in their farmhouses, as a rule people of 70 or 80, the conversation was carried on in the archaic parish and village dialects of the emigrants. But for these recordings I had to enlist the aid of an "interpreter," who put my questions in dialect to the speakers.

The fact that the second and third generations in such linguistically

homogeneous settlements are those that have best preserved the dialect of the earliest emigrants was also true of Texas and Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa. In these states the Swedes had been among the earliest immigrant groups in the 1840's and 1850's and there had been so many of them that their dialect had been locally predominant. In Texas Swedish is still spoken among the older second-generation immigrants but in the other states, where the flow of immigrants ceased in the 1890's, there are only a few conservative individuals who still preserve the language of the old immigrant colonies. Many Swedes have moved to the cities and people of other nationalities have bought their farms. Rationalization in agriculture has also greatly contributed to the depopulation of the countryside.

The Swedish immigrants in the Mountain and Pacific States mainly came from the north of Sweden, and most of them probably spoke in a levelled-out dialect even before they emigrated. The bulk of them were forestry and industrial workers, a migrant population that had to move from place to place to seek work. On the whole, Swedish has not survived the first generation. The same is true of the Mormons in the state of Utah. The Mormon Church was, earlier on, against foreign language groups. English was the language of the Church and this served to hasten the language change. We recorded a number of emigrants there but only a few second-generation people.

A unique feature of the history of Swedish settlements in America is the "Gammalsvenskby" (Old Swedish Village) people in Manitoba, Canada, whose language we recorded in 1966. Their forefathers were forced in 1781 to move from the island of Dagö in the Baltic Sea, formerly belonging to Sweden, to southern Russia, where they retained their nationality and their conservative village dialect right up to modern times. In 1929 almost the whole village population moved to Sweden and some of them went on to Canada, where they built up a village of eight large farms on the prairie. The village is quite unlike the surrounding ones in the fact that the farms are situated in a cluster, not far from one another. In this village the Swedish eighteenth-century dialect from South Russia is the language used. The younger people are bilingual, speaking the village dialect and English, while their elders are most often able to speak five languages: dialect, Standard Swedish, Russian, German, and English.

There are more than 550 voices recorded on our tapes at the Institute. Their colloquial Swedish represents a practically unlimited number of variations, from archaic seventeenth-century dialect to a

standardized Swedish in which little more than intonation and accent reveal the dialectal background of the speaker. As far as the influence of English is concerned, there are also all possible variations from single words and anglicisms to such uninhibited "mixing" that the listener sometimes wonders which language the speaker thinks he is speaking. We have also quite a number of recordings of the Swedish of educated Swedish Americans, with its limited use of both dialect and English words and its efforts to approach as far as possible the language patterns of Sweden. Even our speakers' ways of switching from language to language during the conversation and their manner of speaking English are recorded on the tapes.

The most striking feature of American Swedish—whether it is dialectal or levelled out—is its extreme archaism. This general conservatism, both in speech and writing, is a well-known trait of emigrant languages both in America and other places. In Scandinavia the languages of Iceland and the Faroes are outstanding examples.⁸ In addition may be mentioned the Swedish dialect of Gammalsvenskby in southern Russia and the kind of Finnish spoken until modern times by the Finns who moved to northern Värmland in about 1600.⁹

It will be understood from the above that the really conservative dialect speakers were almost entirely found among the second- and third-generation Swedes who grew up in a homogeneous, isolated, rural setting in America. It was only in exceptional cases that we found them among the immigrants of the first generation. Even the older of those who left Sweden before 1900 had in most cases levelled out their language before they emigrated or had come to live in dialectally heterogeneous settings in America, or both. Exceptions were those who had come direct from an isolated community in Sweden to a similar milieu in America. A typical case was a 90-year-old woman from the forests of northern Värmland who had emigrated with her parents and 10 brothers and sisters at the age of 17 in 1891. The family settled on a farm in the forest area of north-western Minnesota, where she was still living in 1964 and still preserved her old village dialect. Her son, aged 65, had his mother's morphology in all essentials, but as for phonology and accent his speech was influenced by other dialects of his environment, above all by his father's Härjedalen speech.

When I say that the dialect we recorded among second- and third-generation speakers was archaic this must not be misunderstood. It does not of course mean that our recordings contain elements of phonology, grammar, vocabulary, etc. which until now have been unknown to scholars in Sweden. One must remember that there have been systematic dialect investigations in most of Sweden's 2,500 church

parishes since the 1890's, that certain records phonetically transcribed were made even earlier, and that systematic gramophone recordings of living connected speech have been made since 1935 in all the Swedish provinces. But in spite of this, it is of course not impossible that discoveries concerning the existence and distribution of certain dialectal features in Sweden during the latter half of the nineteenth century may be made when we analyze in detail our American recordings. They also give us certain dating possibilities. On the other hand, it is clear that it would not have been possible to record in Sweden in the 1950's and 1960's texts of connected speech that are as consistently archaic in the choice of words, syntax, and style as those we brought back from America.

Here and there in the recordings we can hear words or grammatical points which have long been extinct in the original Swedish village. A couple of examples may be mentioned. An 86-year-old informant in the Värmland dialect, whose parents had emigrated in 1869 from the same parish in Värmland and who himself had never been to Sweden, spoke in such an archaic way that an expert who knows the same dialect says that it would be impossible to record a text like it in Värmland today. The old man told us how in his childhood, craftsmen of different kinds, tailors, shoe-makers and the like went around from farm to farm in the settlement in Minnesota in the same way as was customary in Sweden. They stayed for a while at each farm making clothes, shoes, etc. of the material or leather that the farmers themselves had produced. He spoke of them as "ämbetsmän" ("officials"), a word which in modern Swedish means "higher civil servants," but which before the abolition of the guilds in 1846 meant "craftsmen organized in a guild." The word presumably disappeared from the Swedish dialects long ago. A 73-year-old man, who emigrated from Dalecarlia with his mother and brothers and sisters at the age of eleven and whose dialect is quite incomprehensible to outside Swedes, used in his speech grammatical constructions that the present expert at our Institute had never heard in Dalecarlia in living speech but knew had existed earlier. Since he grew up the speaker referred to has mainly spoken Standard Swedish or English.

There is therefore without doubt some justification for the theory of "frozen dialects" in cases where several factors have combined to protect the speaker's dialect from alien influences of different kinds. In addition to the geographical and social isolation that I have spoken of above it was obviously of significance that the speaker or his parents or grandparents had come direct from Sweden to their settlement in America. So-called secondary settlements, established by people who

had lived in other places in America earlier, were usually characterized by linguistic levelling. This is often the case in Kansas and Nebraska. It is also important of course for the speaker himself not to be easily influenced by outside linguistic influence.¹⁰ The above-mentioned speakers were, I think, of this type. In genuine cases of archaic dialect the wife or the husband of the speaker often did not speak Swedish at all, or in one case had the same dialect. When the husband or wife had a different dialect it usually helped to level out that of the partner.

As an example of an archaic third-generation speaker may be mentioned one of our latest recordings. We met the speaker by chance in Cambridge, Minn., in 1966. He is a mechanic by profession and has a machine shop. We went along there to have a look at a renowned model of an old-time "steam-engine" (locomobile) he had built. We were told he was Swedish and I addressed him in Swedish. When he answered I was amazed. Never before in America had I heard such a strikingly genuine archaic dialect among the numerous Hälsingland people I had met there. He spoke fluently and naturally without any hesitation or uncertainty, "naïvely" in the best sense of the word. When I asked him from which parish he came, he answered: "I have never been in Sweden, I was born here." He was born in 1904. But his parents? They had also been born in America. His grandpa and grandma came from Sweden. From which part of Sweden? "I don't know but they used to talk about Hälsingland." What and where this Hälsingland was he had not the faintest idea. As he was busy in his shop just then we were not able to continue the conversation but we were invited to come back the next morning, a Sunday. Standing at his oily work-bench with a map of Sweden spread out in front of us, with the microphone in my hand and the recording bus outside, we talked about his childhood in a Hälsingland immigrant colony, one of the oldest settlements in the vicinity, possibly founded in the 1850's but now abandoned by the Swedes. His maternal grandparents came direct from Sweden, probably in 1869, and their North Hälsingland dialect was the everyday speech of the colony. At school the children learnt English and there they heard other children speaking in the Småland dialect, but they don't seem to have had much contact with them. He stayed on his father's farm until he grew up and then he worked in a factory in Minneapolis for about twenty years. During that time he hardly spoke Swedish at all. His wife did not speak Swedish and the everyday language of Cambridge is nowadays English.

Our interview with him lasted for an hour. I have transcribed it but

have not yet had the opportunity of analyzing it in detail. So far the following observations may be made.

Almost all the characteristic features of the phonology and grammar of the dialect, such as I know it from the gramophone and tape recordings made among old people in the 1940's and from the early manuscript collections of the Institute, are preserved in his speech. The phoneme system and its phonic realizations are intact. Not even as regards the normally sensitive *o* and *r* sounds has his Swedish articulation been influenced. Only the North Swedish palatalization of [k] > [tʃ], [g] > [dʒ] and [ŋ] > [nj] has been abolished in conformity to Standard Swedish. This is also mostly the case among modern dialect speakers in the Swedish parishes of Hassela-Bergsjö in Hälsingland.

Nor does the morphological system seem to differ essentially from the older dialect. This is also not surprising, as in "language contact" the morphology always seems resistant to foreign influence.¹¹ The speaker's deviations are very few.

The same applies to the prosodic factors, stress, tone (melody), and quantity. There is no "foreign accent" whatever in this man's speech apart from loan-words retaining their American form partly or entirely. His syntax is also consistently archaic, as are his style, choice of words and manner of expression, with the few exceptions mentioned below.

What distinguishes his speech from the language of the original Swedish village is of course the loan-words from English. The bulk of these words are the same as those used by most American Swedes and Norwegians, denoting new phenomena which did not exist in the home country, e.g. *railroad*, *train*, *stove*, *haymower*, but also for concepts which had their own equivalents in the home country, e.g. *log*, *pine*, *country*, *grandpa*, *grandma*, *different*, *plenty*, *cut*, *keep*, *treat*, etc. The reason for this extensive borrowing is often enigmatic. Haugen (1956) writes: "The new words did not necessarily represent new objects or experiences, but they inevitably brought with them new attitudes toward experience" (p. 31). The language was part of the whole adjustment of the immigrant to a new society and to a new way of living and thinking, something which has been called the process of 'acculturation'.

As far as single words are concerned, certain observations can be made. Thus in our text, *plenty* is used only partitively, *plenty gem* (game), *plenty fisk* (fish), etc. For the rest the Swedish equivalent *mycket* is used. (This is different from Norwegian; see Haugen (1953), p. 588.) Special types are hybrid loans (or "loan-blends," Haugen) such as *cord-ved* [ˈko: ve:] "cord-wood," *pine-skog* [ˈpajnsku:g] "pine-forest," *jarn-mina* [ˈja:nmi:na] "iron-mine," *pär-diggrar* (plur.)

[pɛ:dig:rar] "potato-lifters," *pärdigg-länkar* (plur.) [pɛ:diglɛŋkar] "part of elevator of a potato-lifting machine," *sä-fil* [sɛ:fi:l] "corn-field," etc. There are also translation loans (or "loanshifts," Haugen) and other types. The English loans that occurred in our speaker's dialect and the changes they had undergone coincide to a great extent with the corresponding Norwegian loans. I refer to Haugen's detailed presentation.

A characteristic of the English loans in this speaker's language was the fact that they had been phonetically and morphologically integrated to a high degree. Words like *railroad*, *jarn-mina*, *cut* and *treat* have the articulation, inflection gender, etc. of the dialect. The word *plenty* has the normal Northern Swedish pronunciation with the retroflected ("thick" or "one-tap") *l*. The female *schoolteacher* is called [ʃku:liti:tʃa], with the feminine suffix *-a*. The speaker himself obviously was not aware that these words, which he must have inherited from the older generations, were not as Swedish as the rest of his vocabulary. They were as Swedish to him as the many older German and French loan-words in Standard Swedish are to the Swedes in Sweden. In certain cases his substitution of sounds is facilitated by the fact that the phonic variant of the dialect is very close to or coincides with that of English, e.g. [ʌ] in words like *up* [ʌp]. The rather few cases of partial or vacillating adaptation agree to a great extent with the examples given by Haugen (1953), pp. 449-53. We have, for example, the use of the English plural ending *-s* in *tings* (things), *tulls* (tools), etc.

Younger, temporary loans normally keep their American form unchanged. From the text may be mentioned such words as *bottle-gas*, *gauges*, *pretty good* and *veterinarian*. When the speaker supposes that the interviewer does not understand the loan-word *deer*, pronounced with Swedish articulation, he repeats it in the English form, all the sounds then being automatically replaced by the corresponding American ones. As regards newer, temporary loans and one-time loans¹² the second and third generations differ greatly from the first generation of Swedes, who do not have clearly distinct patterns of articulation and inflexion and can therefore never be such perfect bilinguals as their children and grandchildren.

It has often been pointed out that the native tongue of the immigrants suffers great losses in vocabulary. This is also the case with our speaker. When the conversation touches upon characteristic phenomena of the Swedish place of origin, such as the mountain pasture system, he does not even know what it is. The most common words in the wide terminology of this vital aspect of the Northern Swedish farm-culture are completely unknown to him. The same applies to the

flourishing flax-dressing procedure of his Swedish home-parishes. Even a common Swedish word like *by* (village) has gone out of his vocabulary. Instead he says *country-stad* "country-town." The range of functions of his mother tongue¹³ is strictly limited.

As mentioned already, the loans relating to syntax and style are fairly infrequent in our speaker's language. His negation is "no," but "yes" is rarely used. He sometimes starts a sentence by "Well" and he very often inserts a *vet du*, probably based on the *you know* pattern. He also follows the English pattern in question-tags like *är det?* "is it?," *är det inte?* "isn't it?," *gjorde de* "did they?" There are a few cases of a non-Swedish use of prepositions. But the speaker never borrows conjunctions like *and*, *but*, *because*, which are so common in our recordings of first-generation speakers.

Our first survey of this third-generation Swede's dialect shows it to be extremely well preserved in the state which it must have been in when his grandparents emigrated at the end of the 1860's and which we are acquainted with partly through our older collections of manuscripts and gramophone records. Most of the inhabitants of the Hälsingland settlement he grew up in must have spoken in this way. But there were probably variations. Those who associated more with other Swedes certainly levelled out their speech to a much greater extent. We have good examples of this in families in which we recorded several brothers and sisters. The same goes for people who were not of the same conservative disposition as our speaker.

I have chosen this speaker as an example, mainly because his dialect is one of those I know best. The remarks and observations made in this case can, however, probably be applied to a great extent to the rest of the above-mentioned examples of archaic dialect preserved in the language of second- and third-generation speakers. In all cases, with the exception of the Dala people, the speaker is from the Swedish point of view monolingual; the speaker knows no other form of Swedish than his dialect. But their main language is nowadays English and when they get excited or tired in the course of conversation they often switch to English. This language-switching should of course be studied more closely on our tapes. As far as the analysis of their dialect is concerned it must be emphasized that this can only be carried out by trained regional experts, if possible by those whose native language is that particular dialect and who have the right feeling for values and shades of meaning, as well as for the different ways older and younger people have of expressing themselves.

These extremely conservative dialect speakers, about twenty in all, form a very small minority of those we have recorded. The majority have a dialect that has been levelled out in varying degrees and different ways. This applies to all three generations and all parts of "Swedish America." To sum up, it may be emphasized that in modern Swedish America it is among people of the second and third generations that we find the purest Swedish, both as regards a well-preserved dialect and resistance to borrowing. On the whole, they have two separate language systems which they automatically keep separate.

The levelling-out of dialects occurred wherever the Swedes met, at work, at clubs, in churches, schools and homes. In mixed communities the majority have generally been responsible for linguistic development. To speak like most other people is considered "refined," socially correct, and proper. In the Småland-dominated Texas settlement the children of Scanians do not appear to have adopted the language of their parents but rather the levelled-out Småland dialect of the majority. In a colony in Enterprise, Kansas, the majority of the emigrants were from the province of Gästrikland. One couple, the wife from Östergötland and the husband from Gotland, explained that they always talked English to the other Swedes because the Gästrikland people "did know how to talk, but we didn't." In some cases the children at school teased one another about their dialects and this often led to a switch in dialect. A farmer in Darwin, Minn., born in that vicinity in 1884, and speaking in a well-preserved Värmland dialect, told us that his father had emigrated from Värmland in 1876 and his mother from Dalecarlia in 1877. They had married in 1880. When he and his six sisters were small they had used only their mother's Dala-speech, which was quite different from their father's Värmland dialect. At the first school they attended only English was spoken but when they were moved to another school where almost all the children were Värmlanders, these made fun of their Swedish. They then began to adopt their father's dialect. But as long as their maternal grandmother was alive they had to continue speaking to her in the Dala-dialect, and it was only after her death and their mother's that they abandoned this dialect completely. Now they only remembered a few single words. The brother still speaks in a conservative north Värmland dialect without any distinguishable Dalecarlian features. His two sisters, who were interviewed at the same time and who had not stayed in their native settlement but had been a nurse and a teacher respectively, in different places, spoke levelled-out American Swedish with a slight Värmland ring.

It has been mentioned above that either the wife or the husband

could "correct" the Swedish of his or her partner. In general, it appears that the one who spoke the dialect nearer Standard Swedish was more likely to win the day. A man in a Swedish colony in Wisconsin, where most people spoke in the Småland dialect, said that in his childhood his mother had spoken in this dialect, but when she had remarried a man from Västmanland (not far from Stockholm) she had adopted his dialect. A man from the province of Dalsland told us that he was teased about his dialect by a work-mate who had emigrated from Stockholm, and he had taken it so to heart that he switched to English. The large number of American Swedish newspapers encouraged this development towards what people thought of as Standard Swedish or "High Swedish," a model language which was considered constant, unchanging. The linguistic endeavours of these newspapers were concentrated mainly on the loans from English, the "mixed language" against which they fought a long and bitter battle.¹⁴

Apart from the linguistic aspects, our tapes also contain information and descriptions of historical, cultural, and biographical interest, which provide a meaningful background to the fate of the language. Old emigrants describe conditions in the Sweden of their childhood, the reasons why they emigrated, the voyage, the difficulties and satisfactions of the first few years. Speakers of the second and third generations remember what father and grandfather told them about the earliest settlements in the forests and on the prairies of the Midwest, where their nearest neighbours were Red Indians and where they lived their daily lives according to the ancient pattern of the self-contained economic units of Swedish villages before the modern monetary system was introduced. They told us about their work and play, their churches, superstitions and popular medicine, their relations with other groups in the community, and the changes brought about by the great "acculturation" process. Told in their own language and seen from the personal point of view, these recollections should provide a fine supplement to the written sources of information.

Of course I now find that a great deal of the material we collected is incomplete or one-sided. It is already more difficult to supplement it with new material from America, as we were able only in exceptional cases to use speakers under the age of 65. But even in their present state, our recordings should give us considerable insight into an aspect of the Swedish language which some years ago was *terra incognita*.

NOTES

- ¹ I leave out of account the Swedish colonization of the land around the mouth of the Delaware River 1638-55, where the Swedish language was kept for about 150 years. See Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, 2 vols. (New York, 1911).
- ² H. Nelson, *The Swedes and the Swedish Settlements in North America*, 2 vols. (Lund, 1943), I, 66.
- ³ A. Noreen, *Vårt språk*, I-IV, V, VII, IX (Lund, 1903-23), I, 97.
- ⁴ E. Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, Pa., 1953).
- ⁵ Like Haugen I count as the first generation—as far as the language is concerned—those immigrants who were 15 years old or older when they immigrated. The second generation I count as those who were born in America and those who were 14 years old at the most on their arrival in America. The third generation are the children of the second generation.
- ⁶ For the comprehensive literature about Pennsylvania German see O. Springer, "The Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect," *JEGP*, XLII (1943), 1-39 and Carroll E. Reed, "Double Dialect Geography," *Orbis*, X (1961), 308-19.
- ⁷ W. G. Johnson, "American Loanwords in American Swedish," *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, XXIX (Urbana, Ill., 1942), 80.
- ⁸ K.-H. Dahlstedt, "Isländsk dialektgeografi," *Scripta Islandica*, IX (Uppsala, 1958), 24-7.
- ⁹ R. Broberg, "Den nuvarande språksituationen i Värmlands finnbygder," *Svenska Landsmål* (1953-54), 78-91. (With summary in French.)
- ¹⁰ For "language aptitude" see E. Haugen, "Bilingualism in the Americas," *Publications of the American Dialect Society*, XXVI (1956), 71-2.
- ¹¹ Leo Pap, *Portuguese-American Speech* (New York, 1949), p. 59; Haugen (1953), II, 439-58.
- ¹² N. E. Hansegård, "Recent Finnish Loanwords in Jukkasjärvi Lappish," *Studia Uralica et Altaica Upsaliensia*, III (Uppsala, 1967), 115.
- ¹³ U. Weinreich, "Languages in Contact," *Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York*, 1 (1953), 87.
- ¹⁴ Nils Hasselmo, "Language in Exile," *The Swedish Immigrant Community in Transition*, Essays in Honor of Dr Conrad Bergendoff, ed. J. I. Dowie and E. M. Espelie (Rock Island, Ill., 1963).