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The study of Germanic heritage languages in the Americas

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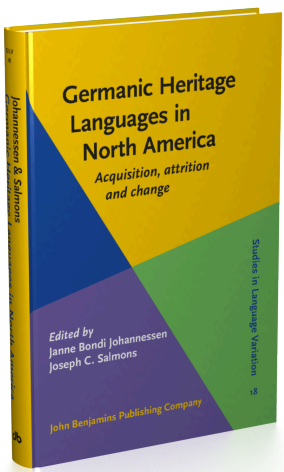

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Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Acquisition, attrition and change
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The study of Germanic heritage languages in the Americas

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1. Introduction*

This volume grows from recent collaboration among a group of scholars working on Germanic immigrant languages spoken in North America, initially faculty and students working on German dialects and Norwegian, and steadily expanding since to cover the family more broadly. More structured cooperation began with a small workshop at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 2010 and continued with larger workshops sponsored in turn by the University of Oslo, Pennsylvania State University, University of Iceland, and University of California, Los Angeles.[1] The volume you're reading is the first group publication in English (though see Johannessen and Salmons 2012 for a collection of papers on and written in Norwegian), and several others are in preparation. Most of the papers included in this volume have grown from the ongoing set of international workshops just sketched. These were started by the co-editors, led initially by the first co-editor, a trajectory reflected in the relatively heavy representation of work on Norwegian. A number of the chapters have been developed specifically from these networks and ongoing dialogues about heritage languages.

This introduction has three simple aims, namely to provide for this volume: (1) the scholarly context, in terms of traditional work on Germanic immigrant languages in North America, (2) an overview of how we see the contributions cohering around the themes in our subtitle, and (3) some basic, brief background on the languages under discussion.

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1. Programs from the four workshops held to date are available here: http://tekstlab.uio.no/WILA5/index.html

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2. Immigrant languages and heritage languages

Work on immigrant languages in North America, Germanic and otherwise, has a long and rich history, including work by important figures in the broader field of linguistics, including Einar Haugen, Max and Uriel Weinreich and more recently Joshua Fishman. The figures just named, widely cited to this day, played tremendous roles in understanding both the effect of language contact in such bilingual settings and the way languages have been maintained or populations have shifted to English. But aside from the work of a few such giants, until recently research on immigrant languages in North America has overwhelmingly been very local, often focused on identifying dialect patterns and possible 'base dialects' or cataloguing examples of contact. Today, the context has been transformed, thanks to strong connections to synchronic linguistic theory (notably Putnam 2011 for German varieties), as well as to language contact studies, sociolinguistics and historical linguistics (see the references to virtually any chapter in this book).

In the aftermath of immigration, new generations often speak "heritage languages," a recent notion that Rothman (2009: 159) defines this way: "A language qualifies as a heritage language if it is a language spoken at home or otherwise readily available to young children, and crucially this language is not a dominant language of the larger (national) society." Under this and similar definitions, the immigrant languages we treat here are clearly 'heritage languages.' Heritage languages have only recently become a major topic of interest among linguists (as noted by Polinsky and Kagan 2007), explored for their implications for linguistic theory, especially in terms of acquisition, attrition and change. Still, the current wave of work is new enough that little comparative research has been undertaken. In that regard in particular, we hope to advance both more traditional work on immigrant languages and the still emerging 'heritage language' linguistics.

3. Acquisition, attrition and change

This book presents a wide range of new empirical findings about heritage languages, focused on varieties of Germanic languages spoken in the North American context. Theoretically, the volume coheres by a focus on the critical issues that underlie the notion of 'heritage language': acquisition, attrition and change. Specifically, much research on heritage languages has debated the role of 'incomplete acquisition' versus 'attrition,' within the broader context of the psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics of bilingualism, along with the effects of language contact (see Grosjean 2008, Montrul 2008, Polinsky and Kagan 2007, Rothman 2009).

The basic idea behind this volume is twofold. First we provide theoretically-informed discussion of heritage language processes across a range of subfields – traditional 'modules' of grammar, plus sociolinguistic and historical and contact settings. Second, we provide relatively broad coverage of Germanic languages in North America

in a variety of different settings. Theoretically, the volume includes a wide variety of frameworks and approaches, spanning synchronic and diachronic studies, acoustic phonetics, corpus-oriented work, and language-contact theoretic work. Papers cover a variety of subfields, including phonetics-phonology, morphology and syntax, the lexicon, and sociolinguistics. Empirically, chapters cover a broad range of Germanic varieties spoken in North America: Dutch, German, Pennsylvania Dutch, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Yiddish, and West Frisian, along with attention to varieties of English spoken by heritage speakers and communities after language shift.

Despite some notable exceptions, as already hinted at above, a major shortcoming of traditional work on heritage languages is that work on a given community has been done all too often in isolation from related work on other languages and sometimes with little regard for goals beyond documenting a local variety. This volume collects work that moves past precisely these two boundaries. We have worked to provide close coordination, sharing of drafts and open discussion to build on the foundation created by the workshops. We trust that this has helped create a more comparative perspective built by specialists in each relevant language and creating a more cohesive volume than is typical for edited volumes.

We will forgo here the usual summaries of each chapter, instead providing a brief discussion of how they address the themes in our subtitle (i.e., acquisition, attrition and change). To the last first, every contribution to the volume deals pretty directly with linguistic change over time.

The two chapters by Westergaard and Anderssen and by Johannessen both see attrition in the context of acquisition, while Arnbjörnsdóttir focuses more singularly on the attrition and change perspective. **Westergaard and Anderssen** directly address acquisition – comparing child language acquisition patterns with patterns of use found in American Norwegian and with an eye to attrition as well. The data are discussed in terms of general concepts such as frequency and complexity, and the authors suggest that while complexity is more important in acquisition, high frequency of a construction protects against attrition. **Johannessen**'s case study of attrition in one speaker of American Norwegian compares the degree of apparent attrition with the steps of acquisition. **Arnbjörnsdóttir** takes stock of a language long understudied as an immigrant language, but to which tremendous attention is now being devoted. Her main ambition is to identify different patterns of attrition and change in American and European Icelandic.

The phonetics and phonology papers show two very different ways of approaching this field: Allen and Salmons use acoustic measurements, while Pierce et al. base their findings on descriptions and impressionistic interpretations of recordings, i.e., without acoustic analysis. **Allen and Salmons** document phonetic realizations of obstruents in English and Norwegian acoustically, thus also documenting a change that has occurred in the English language of the Norwegian heritage areas. **Pierce et al.** study the loss of rounding in front vowels in New Braunfels German and find that multiple factors brought about this change, all motivations widely accepted in historical linguistics.

The change in the morphosyntax of three different heritage languages is described differently in three papers. Brown and Putnam as well as Åfarli look to the principled grammatical system for explanations, while Kahan Newman assumes a pure borrowing approach. **Brown and Putnam** study an extension of the progressive aspect in Pennsylvania Dutch (also known as Pennsylvania German) which has gone beyond the range of the progressive in English. They use this change to document that convergence in language contact is not a simple one-to-one mapping between languages. **Åfarli** proposes a theoretical account for the fact that although English words are borrowed into American Norwegian, they are usually adapted to Norwegian grammar; they do not bring with them English morphosyntax. **Kahan Newman** finds changes in the syntax of Hassidic New York Yiddish to the effect that these varieties use less subject-verb inversion than expected. She attributes this to a movement towards the English word order norm.

Vocabulary change is assumed to be constrained by the human cognitive capacity in both Annear and Speth's chapter and in Eide and Hjelde's chapter, while Benor looks at changes in the vocabulary from the point of view of ethnic identity. Ehresmann and Bousquette, like Benor, argue that social factors account for their vocabulary findings. **Annear and Speth** examine the vocabulary of American Norwegian and discover that lexical convergence tends toward overlap in phonemic shape as well as semantics, reducing the cognitive load of the speakers. **Benor** studies changes in Yiddish-influenced English among American Jews. It turns out that there is not an ever smaller Yiddish substrate in English, but a boomerang effect, where some loanwords are increasing in use among American Jews. This is explained sociolinguistically, by speakers embracing their identity. **Ehresmann and Bousquette** focus on West Frisian in Wisconsin, and particularly on the frequency and linguistic integration of loanwords. The number of loanwords was relatively low in their corpus, and they were not well integrated. The authors argue that the social context of controlled bilingualism, as well as a multiple-lexicon coordinate bilingualism model, account for their findings. **Eide and Hjelde** describe the borrowing of a modal verb from English into Norwegian as typical of borrowings in contact situations, where modal expressions are often borrowed. The way it has been borrowed points toward convergence.

The final chapters treat variation and real-time change, where all but Lanza and Golden study their respective heritage languages in a comparative, chronological perspective. **Hjelde** deals with the development of phonology, morphology and vocabulary among American Norwegians in a small area of Wisconsin originally populated by immigrants with different Norwegian dialect backgrounds. He shows that the language of the youngest generation seems to have developed towards a common form, i.e., a koiné. **Johannessen and Laake** focus on vocabulary, morphology and syntax, asking whether American Norwegian is old-fashioned and whether it has changed toward a written standard. They compare their findings with the language found in a European Nordic dialect corpus and a written language corpus, and find that both questions must be answered negatively. **Lanza and Golden** focus on identity construction in

the presentation and positioning of self in social experiences related to migration, language learning and use and literacy among elderly third generation speakers of American Norwegian. **Larsson, Tingsell** and **Andréasson** investigate American Swedish and find that particularly in the vocabulary, there has been development towards a koiné. Many speakers nonetheless have features otherwise connected to second language acquisition, which they attribute to language acquisition rather than attrition. **Smits and van Marle** look for possible differences between American Dutch and Standard Dutch, using data from acceptability tests and recorded conversations. What they found was a reduced form of Dutch and speakers who were uncertain about the norms. Their spontaneous speech was closer to the standard than their grammar evaluations, possibly due to self-imposed restrictions when they were speaking.

4. Background on Germanic immigrant languages in North America

Because so much current work on Germanic immigrant languages, and heritage languages in the broader sense, has been insular (if that pun can be forgiven), we provide a simple comparative sketch here, some basic information on the languages treated in the present book, to set up the individual discussions that follow. The languages investigated in the volume come from both branches of Germanic spoken today, West Germanic – represented here by German, Pennsylvania Dutch, Yiddish, West Frisian, and Dutch – and North Germanic – represented by Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic.

First, consider some basic numbers reported by the US Census and the American Community Survey on languages spoken in the US (and we consciously restrict this discussion to the US for simplicity). The decennial census of the United States has long included questions about language use, though which languages were tallied and how they were defined vary widely by decade. For instance, no clear distinction is made in many cases between German and Pennsylvania Dutch, though the 2000 US Census did make the distinction. 'Frisian' was surely reported mostly by people who speak or spoke West Frisian, the indigenous language of the northern Netherlands, but there are also North Frisian (with great dialectal diversity) and East Frisian, not mutually intelligible with West Frisian. Moreover, the Census questions asked vary significantly, even aside from sampling (where language questions applied to foreign-born or the whole population, for instance). In 1910 and 1920, people were asked whether they could speak English and if they could not, the language spoken was reported for those over 10 years of age. This is tremendously valuable for tracking monolingualism (see Wilkerson and Salmons 2008 and 2012 for Germans in Wisconsin), though less so for tracking use in bilingual households. Waggoner (1981) lays out the basics for later years, with the 1940 question phrased in terms of the "language spoken in earliest childhood" while the 1970 question was "What language, other than English, was spoken in this person's home when he was a child?" (Waggoner 1981: 487). That change in

the relevant question is no doubt connected with the large jump in the 1970 numbers in Table 1. Keeping in mind the sometimes severe limits of census data (on which see especially Veltman 1983), they provide a first look at how widespread Germanic immigrant languages have been. The three tables below give snapshots from the Census and the most recent information from the American Community Survey (http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/ and related links on that site).

Table 1. Reported numbers of speakers over time (Census, data drawn from Fishman 1991: 47).

Mother tongue	**1940**	**1960 (est.)**	**1970**	**% Change 1940–70**
Norwegian	81,160	–	204,822	152.37
Swedish	33,660	17,000	113,119	236.06
Danish	9,100	6,000	29,089	219.66
Dutch	65,800	74,000	102,777	56.20
German	518,780	383,000	1,460,130	181.45
Yiddish	52,980	39,000	170,174	221.20

Table 2. 2000 US Census, home language.

English only	215,423,555
German	1,382,615
Pennsylvania Dutch	83,720
Yiddish	178,945
Dutch	150,485
Afrikaans	16,010
Frisian	920
Luxembourgian	830
Swedish	67,655
Danish	33,395
Norwegian	55,465
Icelandic	5,660
Faroese	70

Table 3. American Community Survey 2011.

Population 5 years and over	
Spoke only English at home	230,947,071
German	1,083,637
Yiddish	160,968
Other West Germanic	290,461
Scandinavian languages	135,025

Even allowing for inaccuracies and inconsistencies across the surveys, these numbers reflect a highly dynamic situation. In part, these numbers will reflect the shift to English in long-settled immigrant communities, like many of those discussed in this volume, balanced against the arrivals of new immigrants.

Second, we supplement those numbers with an outline of some salient issues about each language:

- Period of immigration, size of migrant population
- Dialectal variation, koiné formation
- Institutional support and role of standard
- Basic community demographics, age of youngest speakers / robustness of transmission; language shift.[2]

These brief sections are simply arranged alphabetically.

4.1 Dutch[3]

Dutch immigration to North America came in two waves. The first, the First Immigration, relates to the founding of New Netherlands in the early 17th century. Dutch immigrants settled in the territory now part of New York and New Jersey. Dutch continued to be spoken in these areas for 300 years. However, all present-day Dutch-American communities are in the Midwest and date to the 19th century, the Second Immigration. The most important early Dutch settlements are Pella in Iowa, the Holland area in Michigan and the Waupun-Alto area in Wisconsin. All stem from the late 1840s. Nearly all were orthodox Calvinists. In the case of Iowa and Michigan, the Dutch settlers travelled to the US under the leadership of a minister. At the same time, a group of Roman Catholic immigrants went to Wisconsin, where they settled in the Little Chute area. They travelled under the leadership of a priest. According to Swierenga (2000), between 1835 and 1880 75,000–100,000 Dutch migrated to the US. The majority of the Protestants who went to Iowa came from the western parts of the Netherlands, while those who went to Michigan came from the eastern areas. The Roman Catholic immigrants came from the southern parts of the Netherlands. In the smaller settlements in Michigan and Wisconsin, the original dialects (eastern in the former case, eastern and southern in the latter) have been largely maintained for

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2. The sections on German and Norwegian were written by the authors of this introduction while information and prose for the others were contributed by the following authors and then integrated into the paper by the editors: Jaap Van Marle on Dutch, Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir on Icelandic, Mike Putnam and Josh Brown on Pennsylvania Dutch, Ida Larsson on Swedish, Joshua Bousquette and Todd Ehresmann on West Frisian, Sarah Benor with assistance from Zelda Kahan Newman on Yiddish.

3. For a recent overview, see Krabbendam (2009).

a considerable period of time. In other cases, particularly in 'mixed' settlement areas including other immigrant groups, Dutch was given up more quickly.

Around the turn of the 20th century, a mixed 'Yankee Dutch' developed as a group code of the acculturating Dutch in American big cities such as Grand Rapids. In this mixed code, Dutch sounds and grammar were retained, whereas its word stock came to be heavily influenced by English. In Iowa, Dutch-Americans switched to the spoken standard language gradually developing in the Netherlands in the second half of the 19th century – a trend also found in the other Dutch settlements, if more sporadically.

The Dutch language was intimately linked to the Dutch Calvinist tradition. As a consequence, many immigrants felt a deep love for their native language and quite a few of the early immigrants refused to learn English. Also, in some churches Dutch was maintained relatively long and it was taught in many schools. In addition, there were many newspapers and other types of publications in Dutch. However, in the course of the 20th century, Dutch developed more and more into an informal, exclusively spoken in-group language. At present, only a handful of speakers are left, all in their eighties.

4.2 German[4]

German speakers may have been coming to North America since at least the Jamestown settlement in the early 17th century. Leaving aside the communities that came to speak Pennsylvania Dutch (on which see below), though, the roots of contemporary German-speaking communities typically go back to the 1830s or later, with some groups arriving after World War II. German speakers of course continue to come to the US and sometimes settle in established German communities. German speakers were the largest non-English speaking immigrant population among the Germanic languages; millions came, mostly before a German nation state was established in 1871. Particularly large populations settled across the entire Midwest, across the Great Plains and in Texas, but significant pockets exist or existed in the northeast and parts of the South. Essentially every dialect area is represented – just in Wisconsin, Swiss dialects, Rhenish and Low German dialects are still spoken, reaching from the southwestern part of German-speaking Europe through the west and on to the northeastern corner.

In various communities, koinés (in the sense of Kerswill 2002 or Kerswill and Trudgill 2005) began to form, and often reached significant degrees of leveling, though Nützel (2009) provides one striking example of a community where virtually

4. This immigrant group is too large and diverse to give a reasonable sketch. Indeed, many of the 'German' varieties spoken are not mutually intelligible with the standard language called 'German' and many speakers came from areas far from contemporary Germany, especially eastern Europe. See Gilbert (1971) and Salmons (1993) for some basics on the bigger picture, along with the myriad individual studies cited throughout this book.

no leveling took place in over a century and a half. The role of the standard likewise varied, from a full range of institutional support including German-medium schooling, so that standard-like German was learned and used, to settings where the standard was overwhelmingly absent. More uniform is the pattern of shift, where communities (aside from religious groups like Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking Old Order Anabaptists [again, see below] or Hutterites) have reached their last generation of native speakers, who are typically older than 60. A burgeoning literature seeks to understand language shift here in terms of a 'verticalization' model, i.e., a shift of control over local institutions to non-local powers (Frey 2013, Lucht manuscript, Salmons 2002, 2005a, 2005b, others).

4.3 Icelandic

The history of the Icelandic settlement in North America is somewhat unique in that the original immigrants came to the new world with the intention of forming a 'New Iceland'. 15,000 Icelanders (out of about 70,000 inhabitants at the time) are thought to have settled in the United States and Canada from 1873 to 1914 (Kristjánsson 1983). Icelanders settled mainly in the Canadian Interlake region north of Winnipeg in Manitoba and around Wynyard in Northern Saskatchewan, and in Pembina County in North Dakota in the United States, and more recently, on the West Coast of Canada and the United States.

The variety of Icelandic spoken in the Icelandic settlements of North America has few speakers under 60. The number of heritage speakers of Icelandic is not known, but according to the Canadian Census from 1986 14,470 persons in Canada as a whole claimed Icelandic ethnic origins and of those, 6,980 lived in Manitoba. Of the 6,980 in Manitoba, 305 claimed that Icelandic was their first language and 800 said that they had grown up with English and Icelandic as home languages. In 1986 there is a dramatic decline in numbers from previous censuses and in the Canadian census from 2006, only a little over 2000 individuals claimed that they spoke (North American) Icelandic.[5]

During the first decade in Canada the Icelandic settlers had their own government, laws, schools and newspapers. Many second and third generation North American Icelanders could read and write Icelandic. Travel to and from Iceland was almost nonexistent from 1914 until 1975, when regular excursion flights began between Winnipeg and Iceland. Despite the physical isolation, the 'New Icelanders' kept abreast of current events in Iceland through their Icelandic newspapers and extensive letter writing. Yet the Icelanders had social mobility and from very early on had representatives in education, politics, business and medicine. Bilingualism and biculturalism were encouraged and this served North American Icelanders well.

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5. http://www76.statcan.gc.ca/stcsr/query.html?style=emp&andqt=Icelandic&andcharset=iso-8859-1&andqm=1

The survival of the language is interesting as there has been no continuation of immigration after 1914 until recently, and thus not a constant influx of new immigrants to sustain the language. The North American Icelandic of those who learned the language 'at their mother's knee' shows signs of influence from English in the lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax as well as signs of attrition (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006).

Recently, a new comprehensive multidisciplinary research project on North American Icelandic was launched with funding from the Icelandic Centre for Research. Its goal is to examine North American Icelandic as a heritage language from linguistic and cultural perspectives.

4.4 Norwegian

The first Norwegians arrived in New York in 1825, but it was not until some decades later that the number of immigrants really rose. By 1930, 810,000 had arrived in the US and 40,000 in Canada. No country except Ireland had a higher rate of emigration. Einar Haugen (1953: 29) writes that the 1800s was a century of huge population growth in Norway, and the number of immigrants equaled the 1800 population. Many immigrants came from agricultural and backgrounds, and chose the Midwest as their new homeland: Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Dakotas. New arrivals typically started with very little, and their first shelter was often reported to be a "lowly sod hut or the ramshackle log cabin" (Haugen 1953: 30). Even with this harsh start, Norwegians quickly built institutions that were important to them. They organized and built churches, hospitals, old peoples' homes, and established Luther College (Decorah, Iowa) as early as in 1861, and St. Olaf College (Northfield, Minnesota) in 1875. There were Norwegian-language schools, and newspapers, such as *Decorah-Posten* and *Nordisk Tidende*.

All dialect groups were represented in the immigrant population, but they tended to engage in chain migration and settle together. According to Haugen (1953: 340), the first immigrants were from the Norwegian west coast county Rogaland, and later groups followed as news of prospects in America arrived. In 1850 large numbers came from the Norwegian east country and valley regions. Those from the east and the west had little contact with each other. Recent publications (Johannessen and Laake 2012, and forthcoming) show that mainly these eastern varieties are spoken today. It may even be true to say that a koiné has emerged, based on east Norwegian dialects. In 2010 a project supported by the Research Council of Norway was formed, with the documentation of the American Norwegian language as one of its goals. It turned out to be very difficult to find speakers with dialects from the Norwegian west coast area after 2010. Descendants of immigrants who settled before 1920 who speak Norwegian, are typically older than 70.

4.5 Pennsylvania Dutch

The Pennsylvania Dutch community traces its origins to central Europeans who immigrated to pre-Revolutionary America. By the end of the seventeenth century, William Penn and his fellow Quakers had founded their 'Holy Experiment' of Pennsylvania in the New World and welcomed their first group of German and Dutch immigrants (Mennonites). The group settled just outside of Philadelphia in Germantown and proclaimed Francis Daniel Pastorius its leader. Pastorius and Penn worked together to welcome new immigrants to cultivate the area. Thus began a 'great migration' to Pennsylvania, stretching from 1683 to 1775 (Louden 1988: 72). Estimates are that 81,000 immigrants settled the historic Pennsylvania Dutch region (Wokeck 1999). With them, the immigrants brought their own dialects, from which developed what is today known as Pennsylvania Dutch. Most scholars define Pennsylvania Dutch as a language which most closely resembles the varieties of the eastern Palatinate, but with some influence from Alemannic, other German dialects, and English (Haldeman 1870: 80, Buffington 1939: 276). There are three distinct groups of Pennsylvania Dutch: (1) nonsectarians, members of the Lutheran, Reformed, Schwenkfelder and related Protestant denominations, (2) sectarians, members of one of the Anabaptist groups, either Amish or Mennonite, and (3) the Moravians, often described as being somewhere (religiously and socially) between the sectarians and nonsectarians. Most research, following Huffines (1980), separates Pennsylvania Dutch speakers into sectarians and nonsectarians due to the linguistic and marked sociocultural differences.

Today, there are nearly 300,000 native speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch, almost all Old Order Amish (270,000) and Team Mennonites, as nearly all Old Orders speak Pennsylvania Dutch as their first language and learn English upon entering school. For an immigrant population to maintain a heritage language for centuries on foreign soil especially in the US is extraordinarily unusual, and the number of speakers is growing today thanks to population growth in these communities. Socioreligious isolation (e.g., Kloss 1966) played an important role in the maintenance of Pennsylvania Dutch for the earlier generations, but an increase in urbanization and integration into societal fabric of the nonsectarians led to incipient language shift. Today, most nonsectarian speakers are elderly, heavily attrited native speakers. The prominent connection between Pennsylvania Dutch and ethnoreligious identity remains the primary reason for its survival into the twenty-first century (Johnson-Weiner 1998, Louden 2006). For most of its history, Pennsylvania Dutch has been almost exclusively an oral language, however efforts to standardize its orthography and structure exist and are primarily geared toward language revival on the part of remaining nonsectarian speakers of the dialect (Frey 1985, Beam et al. 2004).

4.6 Swedish

The first wave of emigration from Sweden took place in the 1840s, and the rate of emigration rose after crop failures at the end of the 1860s. By 1930, when the period of mass migration came to an end, more than a million Swedes had left. Most Swedish emigrants settled in the Midwest, with the largest concentration in Minnesota and Illinois. Although the majority came from rural areas, around a fourth came from towns, and around a third of them settled in American cities like Chicago (Beijbom 1971: 11). The Swedish language was preserved longer in rural settlements with a high density of Swedish speakers. This is where we find most heritage speakers today, with most now over 70.

All Swedish dialect areas were represented among the emigrants, and there is clear evidence of dialect leveling and koiné formation among the first and second generation American-Swedes. Standard Swedish has had some influence, particularly through the written language and churches. Religious organizations established hospitals and colleges like Augustana in Illinois, and Gustavus Adolphus in Minnesota, and published both religious literature and journals in Swedish. The shift to English starts in the 1920s, and, in the public domain, it is more or less complete by the end of World War II. The Augustana Book Concern published 90 titles in Swedish between 1891–1895, with editions of over 300,000. The numbers drop from 1921 onwards, and after 1937 books and journals are published in English, with few exceptions. In 1921, 85% of the sermons in the Augustana Synod were held in Swedish, but from the middle of the 1930s, English can be considered the dominant language of Augustana (Hasselmo 1974: 57–58). Other organizations experienced parallel developments. For people with a Swedish heritage born after World War II, Swedish is generally a foreign language, and it is taught as such at some of the colleges.

4.7 West Frisian

The history of West Frisian immigration to the United States is closely tied to that of Dutch, its political and linguistic neighbor. Both share a history of relatively low out-migration compared to many other European groups, especially for a region with such relatively high population density: while there were roughly 80,000 Dutch in the United States when the nation was formed, overseas emigration of combined Dutch and Frisians between 1820 and 1920 totaled 272,882 individuals (Van Hinte and Swieringa 1985). Separating the West Frisian records from the Dutch proves difficult, though the best available data suggest that emigration from Friesland was much higher per capita than the national average (Galema 1996: 59).

Frisian settlement was highly concentrated. Major rural communities were founded in Randolph, Friesland and La Crosse, Wisconsin, and Orange City and Pella, Iowa, and elsewhere. In 1900 these communities included between 127 and 533 first- and second-generation Frisians (Galema 1996: 126–127). Even though such

raw numbers are low, local concentrations constituted a majority of the municipality (Bousquette and Ehresmann 2010: 260). Frisian emigration to Wisconsin took place relatively late and was short-lived. It peaked around 1880–1910 and then experienced a resurgence following World War II. Some of the Frisians who came over are still alive. In the first half of the 20th century, Frisian was the majority language in Columbia County, WI, with 15% of the population of Friesland, WI, reporting in the 1910 census as monolingual Frisian speakers; extrapolation of the data finds that over 55% of the community was likely proficient in West Frisian (Bousquette and Ehresmann 2010: 262). Today, there are less than two dozen living speakers in and around Friesland, WI.

A bi- or multi-lingual situation was defined by a separation of language domains, with Frisian as the language of everyday informal interaction, English as the language of school instruction, and Dutch and English as church languages. This situation mirrors the bilingual situation of the European Frisians before emigration, where Dutch was the language of school instruction. With immigration, English supplanted Dutch in church and school. Galema suggests that this may have occurred in the first generation of US-born Frisians (1996: 198).The last Dutch sermon was given in the 1990s. Turning to print media, a number of Dutch newspapers were printed in Michigan and Iowa. Frisian was exclusively a spoken variety.

4.8 Yiddish

Millions of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe spoke Yiddish, and a large percentage of them immigrated to the United States between 1880 and 1920. While the majority settled in New York, especially on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, there were also pockets of Yiddish speakers elsewhere. After World War II, many Yiddish-speaking survivors of the Nazi Holocaust, including many Hasidim and other Haredim (strictly Orthodox Jews), settled in the New York area.

The vast majority of descendants of the first wave of immigration (which ranged from secular to Orthodox) shifted to English within a few generations (Fishman 1981). The same is true for most of the non-Hasidic Yiddish speakers who immigrated after World War II. But many descendants of Hasidic immigrants have maintained Yiddish as a primary language of communication, especially among men (Isaacs 1999, Fader 2009), no doubt because they tend to live in insular communities and eschew elements of secular society. Due to high birth rates and communal retention, the number of Yiddish-speaking Hasidim has increased rapidly in the past few decades (Barrière 2013).

Among non-Hasidic Jews, the majority of Yiddish speakers today are elderly Holocaust survivors, and only a few dozen families have transmitted Yiddish to subsequent generations. In addition, Yiddish is still a language of instruction in some non-Hasidic Haredi yeshivas (religious educational institutions for boys and young men). Although over 150,000 people in the United States speak Yiddish today (Shin

and Kominsky 2010: 6–7), there is a discourse of language endangerment among non-Hasidic Yiddish enthusiasts (Avineri 2012).

Eastern Yiddish (in contrast with the obsolete Western Yiddish, which was spoken in Germany and the Netherlands) is divided into three major dialects: Northeastern (considered the standard), Central, and Southeastern (Katz 1988, Jacobs 2005). These dialects differ mostly at the level of phonology along with some morphosyntactic distinctions. Yiddish speakers who immigrated between 1880 and 1920 spoke various dialects, and most Hasidim speak Central Yiddish (except Lubavitch Hasidim, who speak Northeastern Yiddish), with a large lexical component from Hebrew and Aramaic.

Today, among non-Hasidic Jews, there are several organizations dedicated to Yiddish, including Yugntruf, Yiddish Farm, League for Yiddish, Yiddishkayt LA, and Workmen's Circle. Some of these groups deal with Yiddish as a postvernacular language (Shandler 2006, Avineri 2012), while others focus on transmitting Yiddish as a vernacular. The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research – founded in Vilna in 1925 and based in New York since 1940 – has played a major role in the standardization of the language through research and publications.

5. Concluding remarks

Since we began this project, the Workshops on Immigrant Languages in the Americas have become a regular event, with planning presently underway for the 2015 event, to be held at Uppsala University, Sweden. Two further volumes are in planning as well, one each from the third and fourth workshops. When we put together the first little workshop in Madison, we had a hope that it would grow into a network of scholars, but no inkling that it would lead to a regular conference and to a string of volumes. We're excited to see where things go from here.

Finally, we are grateful to many people for making this volume possible, including the editors of the series, the organizers of the previous workshops, and participants. Alyson Sewell has provided invaluable editorial assistance in the last stages of the project. We owe special thanks to all those who reviewed papers so carefully, leading to significant improvements in both style and content and better integration with our overarching themes. The papers have each been reviewed by at least two external reviewers as well as by the present editors. Expert reviewing is of course essential in order to ensure high quality, and we are very grateful to the following linguists for their invaluable comments, in addition to many of the contributors to the volume who helped out as well: Suzanne Aalberse, Karin Aijmer, Gisle Andersen, Kate Burridge, Kersti Börjars, Nanna Haug Hilton, Eric Hoekstra, Rob Howell, Gisela Håkanson, Pavel Iosad, Neil Jacobs, Kristín Jóhannsdóttir, Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson, Merel C. J. Keijzser, Terje Lohndal, B. Venkat Mani, and Alyson Sewell. Some of the papers have been adapted from Norwegian after publication of earlier versions in the

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