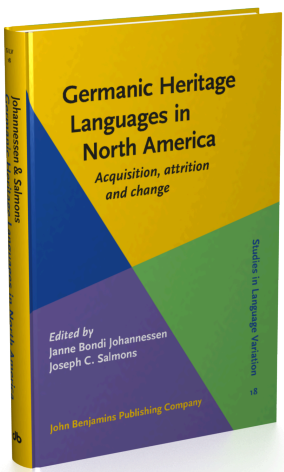
Studies in Language Variation
18

Variation and Change in American Swedish

Ida Larsson | University of Oslo
Sofia Tingsell | The University of Gothenburg
Maia Andréasson | The University of Gothenburg

https://doi.org/10.1075/silv.18.16lar



Pages 359–388 of
Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Acquisition, attrition and change
Edited by Janne Bondi Johannessen † and Joseph C. Salmons
[**Studies in Language Variation**, 18] 2015. vi, 418 pp.

Variation and change in American Swedish

Ida Larsson*, Sofia Tingsell** and Maia Andréasson**
*University of Oslo / **The University of Gothenburg

This chapter surveys variation and change in Swedish spoken in America. We compare data from a corpus of American Swedish collected in Minnesota 2011 with material collected in the 1960s. Linguistic change in American Swedish can partly be accounted for in terms of koinéization. Marked dialect features seem to have disappeared quickly from American Swedish, but we can also observe dialect mixing and simplifications in, e.g., the pronominal system. At the same time, Swedish has been lost in the public domain, and there is considerable variation between speakers even with the same dialect background. It can also be noted that some speakers (even those that have Swedish as a first language) now have linguistic features that are otherwise typical of second language learners. We attribute this to the loss of Swedish-speaking communities, but view it as features of language learning rather than attrition. The paper concludes that it is mainly in the lexicon that American Swedish stands out. This variety of Swedish has its roots in a *koiné* situation of speakers of different Swedish dialects living together, but also includes language-contact traits from English.

Keywords: American Swedish, heritage language, koinéization, dialect leveling, language contact, bilingual acquisition, attrition

1. Introduction

From the late 1800s to the early 1900s, as many as 1.3 million Swedes left their homeland to find a new life in America. People from all parts of Sweden emigrated, although different areas and social groups were represented to a varying extent in different periods, e.g., Hasselmo (1974: 12). This means that a large proportion of the world's Swedish speakers actually lived in America at that time. Even today many Swedes emigrate to the United States. Despite this, we do not know much about the Swedish spoken in America during the great emigration, nor do we know much about contemporary American Swedish.

In the 1960s, a large body of American Swedish material was collected, over 300 hours of recorded speech, and based on this material a few studies were published (see

DOI 10.1075/silv.18.16lar

Hedblom, 1963, 1970, 1978, 1982). However, with the exception of Hasselmo (1974), few major linguistic studies of Swedish language in America have been published (but see Karstadt 2003, a longitudinal study on linguistic variation and identity). The project 'Swedish in America' is investigating Swedish language in the U.S. today and to what extent today's American Swedish differs from the Swedish spoken in the U.S. 50 years ago. In June 2011, we made our first field trip to Minnesota to collect new material. We can now study linguistic change in American Swedish in real time (cf. Bailey 2002, Sundgren 2002, and Hjelde this volume).

In this chapter, we give an overview of the new material and from our initial observations outline what seems to be central aspects of the development of American Swedish, and discuss the processes involved. We do not give quantitative data or detailed analyses of specific linguistic phenomena (but see Larsson and Johannessen 2015a, 2015b, for a study of embedded word order and Tingsell 2013 on reflexives).

In Section 2, we present our consultants and methods of data collection. Sections 3, 4 and 5 focus on factors that bear on linguistic variation and change in American Swedish, and which in some way relate to contact between linguistic systems. First, Section 3 considers factors related to variation within Swedish, dialect features in American Swedish, and koinéization. Section 4 gives a short overview of features that are due to contact between Swedish and English. In Section 5, we discuss individual variation relating to acquisition and attrition in different settings, and consider factors that relate to the multilingual situation. Section 6 gives a summary and conclusion.

2. Data collection

Recordings made by Folke Hedblom and Torsten Ordéus in the 1960s consist of interviews of varying length (and varying degrees of formality) with 1st–4th generation speakers of Swedish, with family from almost all areas of Sweden. Many of the consultants are first generation immigrants who emigrated from Sweden as children or young adults. Others are descendants of Swedes who emigrated during the 19th or early 20th century, and many of them grew up with Swedish as the only first language (L1).[1] Some of the consultants clearly have English as the strongest language, but Hedblom was particularly interested in Swedish dialects, and not in heritage language, second language (L2) acquisition or language attrition, and this is reflected in different ways in the material.

1. We use the term 'first language' to refer to a native language acquired naturalistically in a home(-like) setting, from birth. The term 'second language' here includes languages that are not acquired from birth, but which might have been acquired naturalistically and partly in a home(-like) setting. We use the term 'heritage language' for a first language which is not the dominant language in the society.

The main purpose of the 2011 Minnesota fieldwork was to document Swedish spoken in the United States today, and make it possible to investigate change in American Swedish since the 1960s. We made recordings with different groups of speakers to get an overview of the speech community and enable comparison between different types of speakers, and we used several methodologies in the data collection. In this section, we give a short overview of this new material (see also Andréasson et al. 2013).

2.1 Interviews, questionnaires and elicitation

During fieldwork, we collected four different types of linguistic material: a relatively free conversation (interview) between the consultant and a researcher, a guided conversation where the consultant speaks on the basis of a series of pictures, an oral questionnaire where grammaticality judgments were elicited, and finally a written survey on the consultant's (linguistic) background.[2] The methods were intended to capture different linguistic abilities, from free speech to grammar skills and intuitions.

In the interviews, which constitute the largest part of the material, the consultants talk freely about topics of their own choice; the interviewer spoke as little as possible. The subjects mostly cover topics like personal immigration history, childhood and memories, and language use. The background survey provides us with opportunities to put the consultants' linguistic practice in a larger context and to relate it to the multilingual situation. The background survey also addresses underlying factors that enable sociolinguistic and dialectological studies.

2.2 Consultants

Many early Swedish Americans lived in areas where Swedish was used both in schools and in church up until the 1920s, both in the cities and the countryside (cf. Hedblom 1963: 115). In these linguistic enclaves, Swedish newspapers were published and read, and people could to a large extent get around in their everyday lives speaking mainly Swedish. Even today there are descendants of the many Swedes who emigrated in the late 19th or early 20th century who speak Swedish, and who have Swedish as their only L1. Some tell us that they did not learn English until they started school. However, these speakers are now typically over 80 years old, and the old emigrant Swedish variety must now largely be described as dying (as noted already by Hasselmo 1974). Descendants of the fourth generation immigrants seem to acquire Swedish at home only very rarely. One of the purposes of the data collection was to document this early American Swedish before it has completely disappeared.

At the same time, it was important to include other types of speakers of American Swedish in the investigation, in order to get a clearer view of the American Swedish

2. Not all speakers were able to provide grammaticality judgments (due to age, etc.).

speech community, and to allow for comparison (e.g., to isolate factors determining the linguistic competence of the speakers; see Section 5 and cf. Larsson and Johannessen 2015a, b and Tingsell 2013). The material therefore includes both more recent immigrants (and their descendants), and consultants who have learned and do speak Swedish, but not as (their only) first language.

Altogether 45 consultants were interviewed and recorded. Most were second-generation (23) or third-generation (18) immigrants. Four of the third-generation immigrants spoke very little or no Swedish. Four speakers were first-generation immigrants; two had immigrated as adults and two had arrived with their parents, as children. 12 state that Swedish was either the only or the most common language in their homes during their childhood, and 16 give English as their stronger home language. Today, English is by all measures the stronger language for all American-born speakers, and these speakers generally report that they only speak Swedish once or twice a week, or less often. With few exceptions, they do not read or write Swedish.

All in all, 37 speakers had parents or grandparents that emigrated from Sweden before 1930, or were themselves first generation immigrants that arrived earlier. 8 speakers were descendants of emigrants that left Sweden after 1930, and two were first generation immigrants that emigrated after 1930. The language situation for more recent Swedish Americans was of course very different from the situation for the many early immigrants. The group of speakers that are descendants of people that emigrated during the later part of the 20th century, or who emigrated themselves during the second half of the 20th century, typically had learned English in school in Sweden, and they therefore knew some English already on arrival in America. Moreover, they generally did not settle in Swedish enclaves, or continue to attend Swedish church, etc. Their children have grown up in an English-speaking community, and this obviously has had consequences for parents' as well as children's use of Swedish in their homes. At the same time, these speakers have new means of communicating with other Swedish speakers. Many of them are active in Swedish heritage societies and travel to Sweden from time to time.

In the following, we consider some of the factors that have played a role in the development of American Swedish, investigating both how American Swedish differs from Standard Swedish, and how present-day American Swedish differs from the older American Swedish described, e.g., by Hedblom and Hasselmo.[3] Here, we focus on descendants of people who emigrated in the period between 1850–1930. In the next section, we consider the dialect situation in America.

3. The term 'Standard Swedish' is used to refer to the standard as spoken in Sweden, and the term 'Standard American Swedish' refers to the variety spoken in America. The former and the latter are clearly not standards in precisely the same sense. Standard American Swedish has, for instance, never been taught in schools, and it is not a written language.

3. Dialects in American Swedish

During the mass-emigration around 1850–1930, many of the emigrants chose to settle in the same area as family members or others from the same home district. However, emigration generally led to contact among people from different dialect areas, and the children of those first immigrants came to grow up in heterogeneous Swedish-speaking communities. Hedblom (1992: 8, our translation) talks about "a violent rearrangement of the geography of the traditional dialects." Neighbors could speak widely different dialects and even have a hard time understanding each other's Swedish. Hedblom reports that some of his consultants had adopted (or had tried to adopt) a new dialect (1963: 148). Against this background, one could expect that dialects were leveled and that a koiné gradually developed. By koiné we mean a new variety is "a result of contact between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties of that language" and which "occurs in new settlements to which people, for whatever reason, have migrated from different parts of a single language area" (Kerswill 2002: 669).

In this section, we compare the use of dialect features in the recordings from the 1960s with speakers in the new material. We focus on speakers that are descendants from areas in Northern Sweden (cf. Hedblom 1978 on the dialect spoken in Hälsingland), and speakers with Swedish as their L1. Section 3.1 gives a background to the dialectal variation in Sweden at the time of emigration. Section 3.2 and 3.3 discusses the use of dialect features in the 1960s and today. Finally, Section 3.4 is concerned with dialect leveling and language contact more generally.

3.1 Linguistic variation in Sweden in the 19th century

Spoken Standard Swedish is a rather recent phenomenon. In the 19th century, there was considerable geographical and social variation in Swedish. As noted, American Swedish immigrants from different areas of Sweden sometimes had a hard time understanding each other. At the same time, already in the 17th century, there seem to have been tendencies towards a spoken language in Sweden that was not specific to certain geographical areas.

In a discussion of Swedish from the 18th century, Sven Hof (born 1703) distinguishes three different speech styles: "the speech of the common man" with a pronunciation that separates the speaker from "honest people," "common speech," used in daily life, and "public speech," used in speaking to a large group of people (Hof 1753: §117 f.). The good 'common speech' includes pronunciations like *allri* for written *aldrig* 'never'; the reading pronunciation [aldrig] is common in Present-Day Swedish. At the same time, Hof dislikes dialect forms like *fräga* [fræ:ga] for *fråga* [frɔ:ga] 'question,' or *stolana* for *stolarna* 'the chairs.' The common speech variety is not dialect, nor does it involve reading pronunciation, and it is not simply the language of the Bible ('Book Swedish' in the terminology of Widmark 2000). Widmark (2000) points out that it should be treated as a sociolect, rather than a dialect or standard language in

the modern sense. In the 17th–18th centuries, it is more than anything the language spoken by educated people and nobility. Like Hof, Samuel Columbus (born 1642) locates 'the best language' in a rather large area with Stockholm and Uppsala as the center (e.g., Larsson 2004).

A distinction between speech styles similar to Hof's is still made in descriptions from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries (e.g., Lyttkens and Wulff 1889, Noreen 1903 and the discussion in Widmark 2000). For instance, Noreen (1903) distinguished the following spoken forms: *hafver han tagit det* 'has he taken it' in public speech versus *ha(r) han tagi(t) de(t)* in private society and *ha n tatt* (or *taji, teje*) *e(t)* in less educated private society (1903: 30). We thus note considerable differences between stylistic levels, and variation within a given style. As in the 17th and 18th centuries, the 'common speech' is connected to education and status, and dialect features seem to have been associated with lower status and with the peasantry.

Through the reformation and the translation of the Bible (in 1541), the Swedish language gained a stronger position in church. In Laurentius Petri's church ordinance (1571), it is said that during the morning song children should read three paragraphs, chosen so that the content is suitable 'for the people.' During the evening song, children heard the catechism, read in Swedish. Records from the parish catechetical meeting suggest that the Swedish population was to a large extent able to read as early as the 17th century. School attendance (for six years) was made compulsory in Sweden in 1882, and it is likely that at least some work was done in order to make pupils adopt a standard-like pronunciation.

In the 19th century, many Swedish speakers in other words had access to a (regional) standard or Book Swedish, through school and church. At least to some extent, they had a linguistic repertoire that let them switch between varieties or styles depending on situation. This is obviously true also for some of the Swedes that emigrated to America at the time. However, the large groups of farmers and workers without higher education who emigrated during the second part of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century most likely spoke dialect, i.e., had a linguistic system which differed from the standard language in systematic ways and which could be geographically located. At the same time, these speakers presumably had some awareness of the lower status of dialects, and they had some (passive) knowledge of official or standard language. We can further assume that they had had more contact with Book Swedish (through written texts and the church) than with the spoken language of the nobility.

The dialects themselves were obviously not completely unaffected by the development of the standard. By the end of 19th century, migration within Sweden also has some linguistic effects. In the American Swedish recordings made in the 1960s, Mrs. Backlund, born 1891 in Ragunda (Jämtland, Northern Sweden), tells Hedblom about linguistic changes that arose when they built the local power plant and people moved there from other parts of Sweden; see (1).[4] Mrs. Backlund states in her discussion

4. Hedblom's recordings are referred to by the tape number that the recording has in the archive of the Institute of Language and Folklore in Uppsala All proper names that refer to new recordings have been anonymized, but Hedblom's consultants have not.

with Hedblom that people started speaking "better". Still today, dialect speakers in the area refer to the regional standard as "speaking more properly" or "speaking better." In Northern Sweden, the standard language had the strongest influence in the towns along the coast, and in places where power plants or lumber industries were developed.

(1) *de medförde ju att de kåm fålk ifrån alla håh-* (.)
that led.to PART that there came people from all pla-
'This lead to (a situation where) people came from

olika landskap i Sverje (.) *så de blev*
different regions in Sweden so it became
different regions in Sweden and it [i.e., the language] became

uppblandat å dåm tala mera fint såm man säjer
mixed and they spoke more nicely as you say
mixed, and they spoke better, so to speak.'
Mrs. Backlund
born 1891 in Ragunda, Jämtland
Recorded by Hedblom, AM90B

Some American Swedes did not emigrate directly from the home community but first spent time in a Swedish city, working in the growing industries (cf. Hedblom 1992, who uses the term 'secondary immigration').

For our purposes, it is important to distinguish in principle between changes within a single variety – or the grammatical system of individuals – and alternations between one variety (or speech style in the sense of Hof and Noreen) and another (e.g., between dialect and standard).[5] In the American Swedish context, we can note changes within the language of individual speakers which cannot simply be understood as a switch from one stable or invariant variety to another, but rather involves the development of a new variety. This American Swedish variety largely seems to develop out of the dialects, in a situation of extensive dialect contact, but it is clearly also affected by English (as we will see further in Section 4 below), and it is probably not completely independent of (speakers attitudes towards) the development of a spoken standard in Sweden. We return to this complexity in Section 3.4 below.

3.2 Dialects in earlier American Swedish

As noted above, the Swedish dialects were at the time of emigration associated with low status and the lower social classes, both in Sweden and Swedish America (cf.

5. We are well aware that it is hardly possible to give a principled definition of the term 'variety' (e.g., Fraurud and Boyd 2011). At the same time, the term is clearly useful to discuss the language of a group of individuals who communicate with each other, and whose language therefore share some characteristics, and distinguishes them from other groups. We obviously do not mean to say that a variety is ever completely homogeneous or stable.

Hedblom 1992: 8, 12).[6] Hedblom (1992: 23) observes that his American Swedish consultants prefer the Swedish varieties spoken in the central parts of Sweden (around Stockholm and Uppsala), just like Columbus and Hof did some centuries earlier. Our consultants sometimes mention that older relatives were teased for speaking dialect. To avoid linguistic class marking, early American Swedes often switched to English as soon as they could (Hasselmo 1974: 75 ff.).

One of our consultants explains that her grandmother wanted her to learn "proper Swedish" and not the peasant variety that she herself knew. Hedblom (1963) notes that, contrary to his expectations, only a minority of his consultants speak 'traditional' dialect. Instead, the majority have a leveled and standard-like (or bookish) language, with influence from English. For instance, during the interview with Hedblom, Mrs. Backlund in Example (1) above has a regionally colored standard-like language, often with reading pronunciation (cf. Example (4) below). It is, however, not self-evident that she speaks the same way with Folke Hedblom as she would, e.g., with her children. On the contrary, Mrs. Backlund's repertoire allows her to speak both dialect and 'more properly' (see further below). Also other speakers in the recordings from the 1960s admit that they speak dialect at home, but are reluctant to do so during the interview, even though Hedblom tries to persuade them. Hedblom himself speaks Standard Swedish with northern elements. As a university professor, he has considerable theoretical knowledge of the dialects and has a northern dialect in his own repertoire. (See Nilsson 2011 for a discussion of how dialect speakers adapt their language in discourse.)

However, a minority of the speakers in the recordings from the 1960s speak dialect even during the interview. Mrs. Hansson from Resele (Ångermanland, Northern Sweden) is one of these, see (2) below. She emigrated to Mora, Minnesota, as a child, at the very beginning of the 20th century.

(2) MrsH: *så döppe dåm å* (.) *um vartanne* (.) *hele natta tycke*
so dipped they and by turns all night think
'So they dipped in turns. All the night, I think

ja dåm va juppe [(.)] *å jorde ljuse* (.) *å* =
I they were up and made the.candles and
they were up, to make the candles and'

INT: [*a*]
ah
'Ah'

6. In this respect, the conditions for the development of American Swedish is slightly different from those for, e.g., American Norwegian (cf. Johannessen and Laake this volume). In Norwegian, dialects are not in the same way associated with social status, and for a long time Danish was used as the written language in Norway.

MrsH: = *inge(n) fick gå å öppne döra (dåm had börte)*
no.one could go and open the.door they had away
'no one was allowed to open the door […]

för då varťe bögn på ljuse
because then became.it bends on the.candle
because then, the candles would come out curved.' Mrs. Hansson
born 1893 in Resele, Ångermanland
Recorded by Hedblom, 113B_m

Mrs. Hansson's language has many of the features we expect in the dialect of Ångermanland (e.g., Dahlstedt and Ågren 1980). In Hansson's vowel system, we can note [oː] or [ɔ] for Standard Swedish [aː] or [a] in [boːna] 'the children' and [kɔlt] 'cold.'[7] Moreover, Hansson has [i] for standard [e], e.g., in [himː] 'home.' The retroflex [ɖ] in the standard corresponds to a cacuminal *l*, e.g., in [kaɽe] 'to card.' Vowels are reduced or lost, e.g., in the suffixal definite article, as in *båtn* 'the boat' for standard *båten,* or *tin* 'the time' for standard *tiden*. The sentence negation is reduced from *inte* to *itt* or *int*. Also vowel length sometimes differs from Standard Swedish. Mrs. Hansson says [døːra] 'the door' for standard [dœrːən] in (4). According to the historical dictionary SAOB (1893–), this form is 'highly dialectal.' Unlike Standard Swedish, Mrs. Hansson also shows examples of vowel balance. In the verbal inflection, infinitives with an old long root syllable end in *-e*, whereas old short syllabic roots form infinitives with *-a: fiske* 'to fish,' *styre* 'to rule, control,' *stärne* 'to stop' but *täla* 'speak' and *värа* 'be.' In Standard Swedish, infinitives always take *-a*.

In Mrs. Hansson's noun inflection, we can observe definite plurals in *-en* as in *getten* 'the goats' (standard *getterna*) and *nätten* 'the nights' (standard *nätterna*). Definite singular forms of feminine nouns end in *-a*, as in *döra* 'the door' or *natta* 'the night' in the example above. Feminine and masculine pronouns are used also to refer to inanimates. Standard Swedish has not preserved feminine and masculine as separate genders, and has a specific common gender pronoun (*den*) for inanimates. Hansson does, on the other hand, not make a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative case of pronouns. She has [døm] or [dem] for the standard variant [dɔm] both in subject and object position; see (3). In the feminine, the form *a* is used for standard *hon* 'she' or *henne* 'her,' and *n* is used in the masculine for *han* 'he' or *honom* 'him.' To Noreen (1903), the forms *a* and *n* belong in the 'less educated private discourse.'

7. In Old Swedish (c. 1200–1526), the syllable system is simplified and the vowel system changes considerably (e.g., Widmark 1998 on the Swedish Great Vowel Shift). Different areas are affected in different ways, and at partly different times, and the vowel systems vary considerably between dialects.

(3) MrsH: *båna er besynnerlig ja kan en- aller minnes- s att je*
children are strange I can never remember that I
'Children are funny, I can never remember that I

fö- je förstog va såm eh (.) eh va såm sa-e va
un- I understood what that eh eh what that said what
un-… I did understand what was said, what

dem jole fast int ja kunne täla
they did although not I could speak
they did, even though I couldn't speak.'

INT: *(ja) så*
yes so
'Yes so'

MrsH: *ja kan ja kan (alle) minnes va nån ti såm int*
I can I can never remember was any time that not
'I can never remember that there was any time

såm int ja visste va såm gick försegick
that not I knew what that went went.on
that I did not know what was going on.' Mrs. Hansson
born 1893 in Resele, Ångermanland
Recorded by Hedblom, 113B_m

In syntax, Hansson places the negation before a weak subject pronoun, e.g., a 'high' negation, illustrated two times in Example (3) (see Johannessen and Garbacz 2011 for discussion), which is not consistent with the Swedish standard. In the lexicon, we find dialectal forms like *bögn* 'bends,' and the copula *varda* 'become' for standard *bli* (see Lundquist 2014 for an overview of *varda* and *bli* in contemporary Scandinavian dialects). In other words, Mrs. Hansson's language is dialectal throughout, in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon.

In the older American Swedish recordings, there are speakers with the same or a very similar dialectal background as Mrs. Hansson, who lack all or almost all of the mentioned dialect features. Mrs. Friesendahl from Näsåker in Ångermanland says [baŋ] 'children' not the dialectal [bo:n], [hem:] 'home' not [him:], *nätterna* 'the nights' not *nätten*, *inte* 'not' not *itt* or *int*, i.e., she uses the Standard Swedish forms. In some cases, she even has reading pronunciations like [la:dugo:ɖaŋa] for standard [lago:ɖaŋa] 'the barns' and [so:dana] for standard [sɔna] 'such.' The dialect word for 'barn' is *föjs* (from *fä-hus* 'cattle-house'), and it is mentioned by Hedblom during the interview. Generally, Mrs. Friesendahl does not use dialectal lexical forms, and she lacks dialectal features like vowel balance. However, her language is not completely without regional features. For instance, she uses the pronoun *han* 'he' to refer to masculine inanimates like the road or the village, and the possessive form is *hanses* not *hans* as in Standard Swedish. Friesendahl also often has non-agreeing predicative

adjectives, as in (4). This is typical of many northern dialects and of the Northern Regional Standard.[8]

(4) *första året vi var gift*
first the.year we were married
'the first year we were married'

Mrs. Friesendahl
born 1878 in Näsåker, Ångermanland
Recorded by Hedblom, Am117A_m

As illustrated by the examples from Mrs. Hansson and Mrs. Friesendahl, the old recordings include speakers with dialect features on all linguistic levels as well as speakers who have a leveled language with only few regional elements. In other words, we find the entire span of variation that we expect in speakers that emigrated from Sweden around the turn of the 19th century, given the observations in Lyttkens and Wulff (1889) and Noreen (1903). However, as noted, the standard or 'common speech' was hardly fully established among the Swedish peasantry. In America, the situation is different: we find dialect speakers, but, like Hedblom, we can observe a rather rapid leveling of dialects among the majority of speakers and the establishment of a new common variety (which however contains both intra- and inter-individual variation). Although Mrs. Friesendahl does not speak in dialect, her language is in several ways distinct from Standard Swedish (cf. Section 4). Hasselmo (1974) talks about an 'American Swedish norm.'

3.3 Dialect features in present-day American Swedish

In the new recordings, there is also considerable variation between speakers. This variation can however not easily be understood in terms of a span from highly dialectal speakers to regional standard, Book Swedish or what can be referred to as Standard American Swedish. On the contrary, neither of the extremes can be found in the new material. Most of our consultants have a language with some regional flavor, with more or fewer dialectal traits, but what dialectal features are present varies. One speaker can have dialect features that are missing in another speaker with the same background (who in turn can have features that are missing in the language of the former). In this section, we look more closely at two speakers, Gerald and Albert, who are descendants from Ångermanland (and Medelpad) in Northern Sweden, just like Mrs. Hansson and Mrs. Friesendahl. Both Gerald and Albert have Swedish as their L1, and for Albert, it is his only L1. Gerald is born in Mora, Minnesota, where Mrs. Hansson was recorded almost 50 years earlier.

---

8. Absence of agreement can sometimes also be a consequence of language contact and attrition. In this context it is, however, clearly dialectal, since Mrs. Friesendahl's morphology does not show any other signs of attrition or influence from English morphology.

From prosody alone, it is immediately clear that Gerald's family comes from Northern Sweden. In phonology and morphology, there are features that place his speech in or around Ångermanland. In Example (5) below, we note dialectal present tense forms of verbs without an ending: *behöv* 'need' for standard *behöv-er*, and also the infinitival *-s* form *känns* 'feel' for standard *kännas* has a regional flavor of Northern Swedish. Moreover, Gerald uses the pronominal from *ne* 'it' for Standard Swedish *den* (common gender) or *det* (neuter), and this form can be found in Ångermanland. Dialectal features like these do not occur in the standard-like language, e.g., of Mrs. Friesendahl, but are part of the dialect.

(5) *du behöv inte betala mej för ja ÅCKSÅ kåm från*
you need not pay me because I also come from
'You don't need to pay me, because I also come from

Sverje å ja hade ne mycke SVÅRT att börje bli
Sweden and I had it very hard to start become
Sweden and I had a very hard time when I started to become

dåktor här i Amerika (.) *så att nu vet ja att hur du*
doctor here in America so that now know I that how you
a doctor here in America, so now I know how things are for you.

har ne så du fö- du behöv inte känns att du måst betala mej
have.it so you fo- you need not feel that you must pay me
So you don't need to feel that you have to pay me.' Gerald, born 1926
parents from Skorped, Ångermanland

At the same time, many of the features found in Mrs. Hansson's dialect are clearly missing in Gerald's. Gerald sometimes has the standard form *inte* 'not,' sometimes the regional *int*, but the form *itt* is missing. Pronunciations like [bo:n] 'child' are also missing; Gerald uses the standard form [ba:ɲ]. We can note vowel reduction as in *börje* 'to begin' for standard *börja* in the example above (line 2), but no systematic vowel balance. The pronominal forms *a* 'she/her' and *n* 'he/him' are missing. In the example above, he has the copula *bli* 'become' and not *varda* like Mrs. Hansson. On the whole, Gerald's vocabulary seems to contain very few (if any) dialect-specific words.

In other words, we note both leveling and simplification in Gerald's language, as compared to the more conservative dialect spoken by Mrs. Hansson. At the same time, Gerald's language is distinct both from Standard Swedish and the standard-like American Swedish spoken by Mrs. Friesendahl, and contains dialectal or marked features that are missing in the language of speakers like Mrs. Friesendahl in the old recordings.

Albert has preserved the dialect to a higher extent than Gerald; see (6) where he talks about someone from southern Sweden who is hard to understand.

(6) A: *de va så hårt- hård å förstå'n*
it was so hard hard to understand.him
'It was so hard to understand him.'

INT: *ja*
yes
'Yes'
A: *hja*
h-yes
'h-Yes'
INT: *de e annorlunda*
it is different
'It's different.'
A: *ja* (.) *hanne-* (.) *han levde omtrent tjugu mil*
yes he- he lived about twenty miles
'Yes, he lived about twenty miles
från K--- här
from K --- here
from K---'
INT: *ja*
yes
'Yes'
A: *å när han ble äldre så flytte'n in till*
and when he became older so moved.he
'and when he got older, he moved into
stan här (.) *å när ja tjöre påstn så kåm en*
town here and when I drive the.mail so came one
town here. And when I was delivering the post, he came
fram (.) *å skulle prata mej- mä mej*
forward and would talk me with me
up to me and tried to speak to me'
INT: *ja*
yes
'Yes'
A: *å han var så hör- hård ti att förstå* *hehehe*
and he was so hear- hard to to understand *laughter*
'and he was so hard to understand (LAUGHTER).
ja vante- ja vante (*varn en*)
I wasn't I wasn't (used him)
I wasn't used to him.'
INT: *ja*
yes
'Yes'

Albert
born 1921, parents from Matfors,
Medelpad and Hoting, Ångermanland.

In Albert's language, we find several dialectal features that we know from Mrs. Hansson. With respect to phonology, he has forms like [du:ter] for [dɔt:er] 'daughter' and a retroflex *n* in [vɑ:ɳ] 'used to' for standard [vɑ:n], which are highly dialectal. In the pronominal system we find forms like *a* for 'she/her' and *n* for 'he/him.' Albert's language can, however, hardly be considered dialectal at all linguistic levels, like Mrs. Hansson's. Just like Gerald, Albert says [bɑ:ɳ] 'child' and [hem:] 'home,' and the copula is *bli* 'become.' His lexicon shows few dialectal elements. For instance, Albert says *potatis* 'potato' and not *pära*, which is common in Northern Swedish dialects, and *prata* 'talk' not *tala* or *täla* 'talk' like Mrs. Hansson. In the example above, we also note the word *omtrent* 'around' which most likely is from Norwegian; it is not part of the (dialectal) vocabulary in Sweden. Albert also at some point says *akkurat* 'precisely,' which is also Norwegian; the Swedish word would be *precis*. During the interview, Albert says that there were many Norwegians in the area when he grew up and that nobody speaks "pure Swedish anymore."

Compared to the dialect speakers in the recordings from the 1960s, both Gerald and Albert are more leveled, and we can also note both dialect mixing (or language mixing) and simplifications in their linguistic systems. Compared to the standard-like speakers in the older material, on the other hand, our consultants seem to speak more dialect, if anything. On the whole, it seems as if the public or official American Swedish has disappeared in the course of the last 50 years. Descendants of speakers like Mrs. Backlund, Mrs. Hansson and Mrs. Friesendahl do not read and write Swedish, and they can hardly be said to live in Swedish-speaking communities. In other words, Swedish has lost more or less its entire public domain (for discussion of some further implications of this domain loss, see Section 5), but survived as a home language, and the home variety tends to be dialect. During the interview, Mrs. Backlund lets Hedblom know that she speaks dialect with her children, and that "that seems easier for them." Speakers like Gerald and Albert, who belong to the same generation as Mrs. Backlund's children, do not alternate between different varieties of Swedish (e.g., dialect and Standard America Swedish) depending on situation. They only have one Swedish variety in their repertoire, a leveled American Swedish (with some marked dialectal features), and they alternate between this variety and English.

3.4 Dialect leveling and language contact

While the most standard-like American Swedish has largely disappeared since Hedblom and Ordéus made their recordings in the 1960s, we can, as we saw above, note dialect leveling, mixing and simplifications also in Present-Day American Swedish. Hedblom (1992) states that the 'traditional' dialects do not survive in America for more than three generations, at least not outside the linguistically most homogeneous areas. It can also be noted that already second generation American Swedes have a weaker conception of the linguistic norm – they can no longer identify 'the best Swedish.'

The tendencies towards standardization, and the linguistic attitudes that the immigrants brought with them from their home country, are likely to have affected the direction that the development of American Swedish took. At the same time, it seems clear that the linguistic situation in the immigrant communities accelerated the change. In Sweden at the time, the linguistic situation can be described in terms of variation between varieties (e.g., public language and dialect) among certain speakers. In America, we can in a different way note a rapid leveling of the dialects (i.e., change within a variety).

The American Swedish described by Hedblom and Hasselmo can to a large extent be understood in terms of koinéization (cf. Kerswill 2002, Johannessen and Laake this volume, Hjelde this volume on Norwegian, and Boas 2009, Nützel and Salmons 2011 on German). As noted, Hedblom observes that a minority of his consultants speak dialect, and Hasselmo uses the term 'American Swedish norm.' When people from different dialect areas migrate and come to settle in the same community, they tend to adapt to one another. As far as we can see, American Swedes avoid dialect-specific vocabulary. The also use elements from different dialects or languages, and in some cases a dialect-specific word can instead be established as part of the standard (see Section 4).

According to Kerswill (2002), mixing and leveling (i.e., loss of marked or unusual features) are typical for koinéization. In the development of a koiné, we also expect simplifications in the system, like the loss of gender distinctions and vowel balance in the language of Gerald. In the new recordings, we further note more variation both within and across speakers, as compared with earlier generations.

The development of American Swedish since the 1960s can, however, not be construed fully in terms of continuous koinéization. Rather, the loss of Swedish in the public domain seems to have led to a reintroduction of dialect features into American Swedish (perhaps again followed by leveling), but on an individual level. As we will see further below, speakers like Gerald and Albert integrate features from the old standard-like American Swedish into their language, as well as features from the dialect that their parents or grandparents brought with them.

The situation is however more complex, since it is hardly possible to completely distinguish the processes that depend on dialect contact from those that are tied to contact between Swedish and English. On the contrary, the noted variation, leveling and simplification can also to some extent be explained by bilingualism and contact with English, just like the loss of the standard-like and public American Swedish is a consequence of the weaker position of Swedish, both in the American society and in the individual. We can observe direct influence of English in the language of both Gerald and Albert. In Example (5), Gerald places an adverbial before the finite verb, as in English: he says *jag också kom från Sverige* 'I also came from Sweden' which would be judged ungrammatical by native speakers in Sweden (see Section 4.3 and 5). Albert says that the speaker from southern Sweden was *hård te förstå* 'hard to understand,' not like most Swedes' *svår att förstå* 'difficult to understand.' The influence of English seems stronger in Gerald than in Albert, and it is not only lexical but has also affected word order. It is also possible that the simplifications in the pronominal systems, or

the absence of overt present tense morphology, are consequences of the bilingualism of the speakers. It is well known that, e.g., morphological gender is sensitive, both in second language acquisition and in attrition (see Section 5, and, e.g., Håkansson 1995 and Schmid 2002).

Even if some of the features of Present-Day American Swedish clearly are a consequence of dialect contact and dialect mixing, we hardly expect complete koinéization in American Swedish, since Swedish is reduced to a language used primarily between family members (if at all). Instead, the development seems to involve a gradual switch to English. In the following section, we look at some contact features in American Swedish observed in the recordings from the 1960s and our new material. We try to isolate some features that may be seen as specific to American Swedish, and features that the early immigrants seem to have shared, independent of their geographical origin in Sweden.

4. Contact features in American Swedish

In the previous section, we argued that the development of American Swedish can to some degree be understood in terms of koinéization. Koinéization is generally understood as the development of a new variety through contact between mutually intelligible varieties of a language (dialects). However, we have also seen evidence of the more complex situation of American Swedish, since also contact with English and bilingualism clearly has influenced the development. In this section, we consider features that might be viewed as an established part of American Swedish spoken by early immigrants and their descendants, and which in other words are not only idiosyncratic features of the language use of individual speakers in a contact situation. We return to questions of bilingualism, acquisition and attrition in Section 5.

It is obviously often difficult to determine whether features from English should be seen as direct borrowing by the individual speaker, or not. However, in many cases lexical and syntactic traits that occur systematically, and not only in individual speakers, can be viewed not as direct transfer or borrowing, i.e., not as an ongoing process, but as involving "a kind of language change whereby a new, intermediate, system is created by a bilingual from elements of both languages. The resulting system is distinct from either as spoken by monolinguals" (Ameel et al. 2009: 271, cf. also Pavlenko 1999). It is the features that are part of this system that we focus on here. The discussion will necessarily be kept brief, and phonological and morphological features are left aside.[9] Sections 4.1–4.2 discuss lexical and functional vocabulary, and Section 4.3 briefly comments on syntactic features of American Swedish. Section 4.4 concludes the section and briefly discusses what is left of the variety among the (somewhat) younger American Swedish speakers.

9. Hasselmo (1974) discusses also phonological features of American Swedish.

4.1 The lexicon

The establishment (and loss) of an American Swedish variety in the speech community can first and foremost be observed in the lexicon. The lexicon is obviously also the area where we most easily can observe conventionalization, and the area that is most easily affected by transfer.

American Swedish is typically characterized by lexical borrowing from English. This has been observed in previous studies (in particular Hasselmo 1974), and American Swedish is in this respect similar to, e.g., American Icelandic (see Arnbjörnsdottír 2006: 53) and American Norwegian (see Haugen 1969 [1953], cf. Johannessen and Laake 2012). For instance, American Swedish speakers use the forms *buildingarna* 'the buildings' for Sw. *byggnaderna* and *putta* 'put' for Sw. *sätta* (examples from recording of Anders Källman born 1881, AM79). In examples like these, an English root is combined with regular Swedish inflection (see Åfarli this volume). This type of transfer seems rather more common in old recordings than in the present-day, where inflection is also typically transferred (i.e., it is a question of code-switching rather than lexical borrowing; cf. Section 5). However, this remains to be investigated in detail. At the level of the individual, it clearly matters how Swedish was acquired, and which language is the strongest (see Section 5).

As noted in previous studies, borrowed forms are sometimes established as part of the American Swedish lexicon. When Konrad (born 1933 in Minnesota, 2nd gen., L1-Swedish) says *visita mej* 'visited me' for Sw. *besökte mej* he most likely uses the only word for 'visit' he knows, and the form he learnt as a child. In a conversation in Karlstad, Minnesota, between Lilian (born 1929) and Elaine (born 1920), two second and third generation speakers with Swedish as their first language, Elaine cannot remember the word for English *walk* and Lilian therefore supplies *travla*; see Example (7). The Standard Swedish word for *travla* is *gå* (cf. American Norwegian which also has the word *travla* 'walk,' discussed in Johannessen and Laake 2012 and forthcoming, and Section 4.4).

(7) E: *vi vi vi eh # walked #*
we we we eh walked
'We walked'

L: *travla*
travla
'walked'

E: *vi travla med barnen från andra plasser nära oss*
we travla with the.children from other places near us
'We walked with the children from other places near us'

Lilian, 2nd gen., born 1929
Elaine, 3rd gen., born 1920

In American Swedish, the meaning of the word *gå* has converged with English *go* (cf. Annear and Speth this volume and, e.g., Clyne 2003 and Ameel et al. 2009 for a discussion of convergence). With few exceptions, the speakers in the recordings we have examined say that they *går till Sverige* 'go to Sweden,' where Standard Swedish would use *åka* 'go,' *fara* 'go' or *resa* 'travel' when the transportation is not by foot.

Although some of the borrowed words and semantic convergence, e.g., of *gå* with English *go* can be viewed as part of the older American Swedish variety, it is a natural development in a contact situation. Many of the features of American Swedish are of this type. Another similar example is the adverb *just* which in Standard Swedish has a temporal meaning 'just now,' but is used with the meaning 'only' (Sw. *bara*) by many of the speakers (including Mrs. Friesendahl), both in the new and old recordings. Very similar examples can be found also in Heritage Icelandic (Arnbjörnsdottír 2006), German (Boas 2009) and Norwegian (Annear and Speth this volume).

That words like *visita* or *travla* (and *gå* meaning 'go') are established in American Swedish perhaps becomes particularly clear when American Swedes come in contact with Standard Swedish. One speaker, Shirley (born 1941 in Minnesota, 2nd gen.) comments explicitly on the American Swedish vocabulary. When she was around 20 years old and returned from her first trip to Sweden, she tried to teach her parents (first generation immigrants) that the Swedish word for English *stove* is not *stov* but *spis*, and that the sidewalk is not called *sidewalken* but *trottoaren*. She says that her parents "wouldn't learn," but Shirley herself does not say *stov* or *sidewalken* but uses the Standard Swedish words. She does in other words not fully speak the old American Swedish variety (see further below).

The observed lexical changes are, as noted, partly an automatic consequence of contact with English. However, they can also be explained by the rapidly changing society and the growing industrialization at the time of the settlement. As pointed out by Hedblom (1974: 54), the Swedish word *spis* 'stove' generally meant 'fireplace' for the early emigrants. When they first encountered an iron stove, they called it something else, namely *stov.* As we have seen, also the koiné situation has clearly affected the development of the American Swedish lexicon. Dialect-specific words that were not understood by all speakers are avoided, and exchanged with a different Swedish word or a word borrowed from English.

4.2 Function words

Semantic convergence can be observed also in the use of function verbs and prepositions, as for instance in time adverbials (again, as in Icelandic, German and Norwegian). This holds even for first generation Swedish Americans. In Example (8), Mrs. Hansson uses the preposition *för* 'for' with the complement *många år* 'many years.' Standard Swedish has the preposition *i* 'in' in durative adverbials. Similar examples are attested also for several speakers in the new recordings; one example is given in (9).

(8) *pappa hade gikt för många år innan han dog*
father had gout for many years before he died
'Father had gout for many years before he died.' Mrs. Hansson, 1st gen. born 1893 in Resele, Ångermanland Recorded by Folke Hedblom, 113B_m

(9) *ja var där för lite granna*
I was there for little bit
'I was there for a little while.' Edward, 2nd gen., born 1921c.

In Standard Swedish, the complement of *arg* is a prepositional phrase with *på* 'on.' In American Swedish, the complement preposition used is instead often *med* 'with' in convergence with the English expression *angry with*, see (10).

(10) *och va va min far va arg med va det att*
and what what my father was angry with was that that
'What my father was angry with, was that
farfar när han söp […]
grandfather when he drank
my grandfather, when he drank, […]' Konrad, 2nd gen., born 1933

Also when it comes to location adverbs, American Swedish contrasts with Standard Swedish, and looks more similar to English. One example is the use of the adverbs *här* 'her' and *där* 'there.' In English, *here* and *there* include a meaning of general proximity and distance relative to the speaker, as well as a more specific meaning of direction towards or away from the speaker. Standard Swedish *här* 'here' and *där* 'there' have a narrower meaning, and are used only to express general proximity/distance, while other adverbs, *hit* 'hither' and *dit* 'thither,' are used to express directionality. The distinction between locative and directional adverbs seems to have been partly lost in American Swedish:

(11) *dem kom just här – till den här trakten*
they came right here to this here neighborhood
'They came right here to this neighborhood' Theodor, 3rd gen., born 1922

Also with respect to relative adverbs American Swedish converges with English. Almost all Hasselmo's (1974) consultants accept sentences like (12), with the proximal *where*. Standard Swedish has the distal locative *där* 'there.'

(12) *det var stan var han var född*
it was the.town where he was born
'It was the town where he was born.'

Examples corresponding to (12) are not uncommon in the recordings, as in (13).

(13) *så han hade plats var han kunn leva*
so he had place where he could live
'So he had a place where he could live' Vaughn, 3rd gen., born 1930
L1-Swedish

4.3 Syntactic constructions

It is well known that syntax is less readily affected by contact than lexicon and morphology, and this is also noted by Hedblom (1974) (e.g., Argyri and Sorace 2007, Sorace and Serratice 2009 and references cited there for discussion of syntactic transfer). Nevertheless, both Hedblom and Hasselmo (1974) show that there are constructions where English constructions has influenced American Swedish. One such example is VP-ellipsis. Hedblom (1974: 39) provides the example in (14) below.

(14) *Så han jeck te Maple Hill skolan; dom allihop gjorde, tänker jag*
so he went to Maple Hill school; they all did think I
'So, he went to Maple Hill school; they all did, I think.'

Here, the object pronoun *det* is missing in the clause *dom allihop gjorde* 'they all did.' This is grammatical in English, but not in Standard Swedish, nor in the speaker's home dialect, according to Hedblom (1974). Standard Swedish requires a VP-anaphor *det* 'it' with the pro-verb *göra* 'do.'

Also the use of passive forms appears to be affected by English (cf. Hasselmo 1974, and Putnam and Salmons 2013 on loss of passives in American German). American Swedish has eventive passives with *vara* 'be' + participle; see (15) where Standard Swedish would have a morphological passive (or possibly a periphrastic passive with *bli* 'become'). In Standard Swedish, *vara* is only used in stative passives (e.g., Engdahl 2006 on Swedish passives).

(15) *De var byggd här så vi kunde ha en präst ifrån Sverje*
it was built here so we could have a pastor from Sweden
'It was built here so that we could have a pastor from Sweden'
Vaughn, 3rd gen., born 1930

In (14) above, a quantifier intervenes between the subject and the finite verb, as in the English translation. Standard Swedish has a verb second (V2) requirement, and the quantifier must therefore follow the verb, if the subject is sentence-initial. As we will see in Section 5, V2 has however not been systematically lost in American Swedish, but is still often the rule (cf. Eide and Hjelde 2015 for Norwegian). Note for instance that there is a case of subject-verb inversion in (14) (*tänker jag* 'think I'). Hasselmo's (1974) consultants generally judge sentences with V2-violations as ungrammatical. With respect to word order, there seem to be little reason to distinguish the American Swedish variety from Standard Swedish. Instead, variation depends on incomplete

acquisition, or attrition in the individual (see Larsson and Johannessen forthcoming a, forthcoming b for embedded word order). We return to this in Section 5 below.

4.4 Intermediate summary

In this section, we have seen examples of features that distinguish American Swedish from Standard Swedish that are a consequence of contact with English. In many cases it is not possible to distinguish established features from spontaneous direct transfer. However, particularly in the lexicon we can find evidence of a different kind of contact, namely between different speakers of American Swedish, where also features transferred from English become part of the American Swedish koiné. Similar developments can be noted for other immigrant groups (e.g., Johannessen and Laake 2012, forthcoming).

In other words, both types of contact discussed (contact between dialects and contact between Swedish and English) are factors in the development of American Swedish, and they are clearly interrelated. As noted in Section 3, Swedes who spoke a dialect with low status often switched to English, and dialect words that were not shared by the entire community were sometimes replaced by an English word. It is in fact not always immediately clear which factor is at play. As pointed out by Johannessen and Laake (2012 and forthcoming), the verb *travla* (cognate with English *travel*, from French) exists in Norwegian dialects. It also occurs in dialects in Sweden (e.g., in Södermanland and Uppland, according to Rietz 1962), where it means 'tread and trample down' or 'wade in snow or sand.' That this word was established as part of American Swedish, with a slightly modified meaning, is in other words not necessarily due to transfer from English, although the fact that *gå* 'walk' has converged with English *go*, and the fact that English has a word *travel*, probably has had some influence.

In comparing old and new recordings, we have noted that the standard-like American Swedish has largely disappeared since the 1960s, and that the variation between speakers is not of the same kind as 50 years ago. In the discussion of the lexicon, we also saw that the particular American Swedish vocabulary is to some degree disappearing. Speakers like Shirley do not, as noted, use words like *travla* or *stov*. We have suggested that these changes relate to the fact that Swedish has lost the public domain, and that present-day American Swedish speakers have more varied and more limited input (and output) of Swedish. This clearly affects the language of these speakers in other ways than through direct transfer. In the next section we turn to the role of bilingualism at the level of the individual.

5. Bilingualism at an individual level

We have seen that both the old and the new recordings contain features that distinguish American Swedish from Standard Swedish, both structurally and lexically, and these features are shared by many of the American Swedish speakers. There are examples of lexical transfer and semantic convergence, deviations from Standard Swedish in the use of prepositions and adverbs, but also what can seem to be more sporadic examples of V2-violations. Clearly not all features are an established part of an American Swedish variety at the level of the speech community. We have observed considerable variation between speakers, with respect to dialect features, English influence as well as features that can perhaps rather be understood as a consequence of the specific contexts of language acquisition and use for the heritage speakers. In this section we turn to the fact that all of our consultants are to a considerable degree bilingual and that some of the variation and distinctive traits of their linguistic production may actually be due to this. In this section, we address the fact that, on an individual level, bilingualism affects language in more ways than through transfer (and the role of transfer for the grammars of bilingual speakers is in fact debated, Odlin 1989, Larsson and Johannessen 2015b and references there). Here, we focus on questions of incomplete acquisition and language attrition in heritage language speakers.

5.1 Sources of impact on American Swedish

As the Swedish language communities in America are getting smaller and more and more scarce, Swedish is reduced to a language spoken primarily within the family. Since normative resources such as newspapers and social events are absent, and since Swedish is no longer used in church, we expect contemporary American Swedish to be more diverse than it was in the old enclaves. Today's Swedish speakers can also, to some extent, be more influenced by Standard Swedish through the Internet and contacts with relatives in Sweden, although this holds only for a small minority of our consultants. In Section 3 above, we suggested that this new linguistic situation – the loss of the public domain – explains the fact that speakers like Gerald and Albert have more dialect features than standard-like speakers in the old recordings. We also noted that Gerald sometimes deviates from the Standard Swedish V2-rule. The question then is to what extent V2-violations are actually deviations (non-target-like), and what, in that case, the origin for the deviation is.

It is known that most heritage language speakers share some features with L1-speakers and some with L2-speakers (Montrul 2010: 11). Typical of L1 acquisition is that it has taken place in a naturalistic setting at the earliest possible age of onset (from birth). Many of the American Swedish speakers' backgrounds leave no reason to believe otherwise than that this is how they started to acquire Swedish. At the same time, deviations from standard grammatical structures are typical for both heritage speakers and L2-speakers. L2-acquistion of V2 in Swedish is much discussed

(e.g., Ganuza 2008), and it has been noted that it is so typical of L2-speakers and interlanguage speakers (Selinker 1972) that it has gained an almost symbolic migrant-language status in Sweden (Källström 2011).

We noted in Section 4.3 above that Hasselmo's consultants generally judged examples with V2-violations as ungrammatical, and that V2-violations are hardly a systematic characteristic shared by a majority of American Swedes in the recorded material. Rather than being part of American Swedish, the V2-violations could thus be a typical L2-speaker feature, or a consequence of incomplete acquisition. Normally, we would perhaps expect only L2-speakers to show signs of incomplete acquisition, but under some circumstances, when the learner receives limited (and conflicting) input, it is possible even for L1-speakers to acquire an incomplete linguistic system (and then, normally acquire a complete system of another language, in this case generally English). Montrul (2008, 2010) argues that even early bilinguals can show signs of incomplete acquisition, if language input is reduced before the "closure of the critical period" (2010: 20). Larsson and Johannessen (2015a, b) argues that embedded word order is incompletely acquired by American Scandinavian heritage speakers.

Most of our American Swedish L1 speakers have had somewhat reduced Swedish input even before beginning school, and after early childhood the input is restricted further. The American Swedish heritage speakers have for instance not been schooled in Swedish; and attending school (in English) is the most prominent activity of their youth, before they the start their own families, often with non-Swedish speaking spouses and children. The question is whether the lack of formal Swedish instruction in school will reduce the input of speakers that grew up in Swedish enclaves enough to even affect a certain domain (such as the academic one). As noted, many families in the Swedish enclaves read Swedish newspapers and attended church in Swedish, circumstances that might be enough to make up for the lack of formal training of a more 'official' or cognitively more demanding (compare Cummins' (2000) BICS- and CALP-distinction) proficiency of Swedish. In this way, the Swedish-speaking community differs from most of the other heritage language speakers that arrived in the USA and lived in ethnic and linguistic enclaves at about the same time as our consultants grew up. The Swedish migrants were all literate from a very early point in the migration history (cf. Section 3.1). Reading even complicated matters, political and religious texts etc., was in other words possible for the Swedish migrants, a fact that often rendered them a reputation in the USA of being well educated, which facilitated the process of getting employed in the new country. Literacy in a heritage language has also been shown to have impact on the production of some grammatical structures in other languages (Rothman 2007). The effects of reduced input and the role of literacy clearly varies between different linguistic domains, and even between different linguistic tasks (e.g., Montrul et al. 2008).

Another (interrelated) possibility is that what might be considered part of American Swedish or a result of incomplete acquisition may rather result from language attrition. Speakers such as Gerald may at one point have acquired Swedish fully, but at a later state started to lose some of its features, hence the V2-violations.

However, attrition is generally not assumed to affect core grammar (Lubinska 2011, Montrul 2008), and Hedblom's observation that American Swedish syntax is more resistant to English influence than the lexicon may in fact reflect this. The first signs of language attrition are normally instead a lack of accessibility, and lexical retrieval delays – a speaker has to look for words. On the other hand, Seliger and Vago (1991) claim that attrition can also affect grammatical features of a language, usually in terms of simplifications, and then V2-violations could be such a simplification. Seliger and Vago (1991) distinguish two different kinds of attrition: external, that has to do with the influence of the L2 on the L1, and internal, that has to do with typologically marked structures of the L1. In the case of V2-violations, both external and internal attrition could affect the word order of Swedish in America, since English is not a consistent V2-language, and since V2 is typologically marked. Hence, we cannot completely overlook the effects of possible attrition, even when considering grammatical properties in the linguistic production of our consultants. As argued by Larsson and Johannessen (2015b), V2-violations are in fact typical of speakers who show other signs of attrition (lexical retrieval delays, morphological reductions) and who have not used their L1 Scandinavian regularly for many years (cf. Eide and Hjelde 2015, for a similar view).

To recapitulate, differences between American Swedish and Standard Swedish can be explained in many ways. They could be an inherent part of an American Swedish variety, but they could also be due to incomplete L1-acquisition or to attrition of the L1. It is also possible that a language that has been forgotten can be reacquired by the adult speaker, and then for that reason look like an L2. To further complicate matters, we do not know exactly what input the speakers have been subjected to. When trying to pin down what may be traits originating in American Swedish (which, of course, itself is a result of language contact), linguistic clues are clearly not enough. By combining them with sociolinguistic variables, however, the various explanations are easier to tease out. In the following, we therefore look in more detail at linguistic production of two speakers: Edward and Shirley, with partly different sociolinguistic backgrounds.

5.2 Edward and Shirley: Acquisition or attrition?

Edward was born in Mora, Minnesota, in 1921 to two Swedish-born parents. He has Swedish as his L1, and learned English at the age of six, when starting school. Edward says that, apart from school, he lived in an entirely Swedish-speaking community (enclave). His family and friends always spoke Swedish, and activities outside the home (shopping and church-going, etc.) were also in Swedish. The family had access to Swedish newspapers.

Shirley was born in the Minneapolis area in 1941 to two Swedish-born parents. Her L1 is Swedish, but English was spoken in her home as well, and could be considered her second L1. Swedish seems to have been first and foremost a family language. Activities outside the home took place in English, and this was sometimes even the

case within the family, especially since one of Shirley's sisters found it difficult to speak English only in school. English was spoken more and more frequently in the family in order to help the children accommodate to that language.

Generally, Shirley deviates from Standard Swedish more often than Edward. She produces V2-violations, agreement violations and gender violations. For instance, she says *många född i Sverige* 'many born in Sweden' with the participle *född* in singular (common gender) and not the Standard plural *födda*. She also says *en program* 'a program' with the common gender indefinite article *en*; in Standard Swedish *program* is neuter (*ett program*). Shirley also shows more codeswitching than speakers like Edward, an example is given in (16).

(16) S: *ja ja va i skolan ja*
yeah, yeah, was in school yeah
'Yeah, (I) was in school, yeah,

skulle vara (.) *köks* (°*skol*°) *lärarinna*?
should be kitchen school teacher
(I) was supposed to be a home economics teacher.'

INT: *ah*

S: *home economoics teacher heter de här*
home economics teacher is.called it here
'That's what they call it here.'

INT: *ha*

S: *å de va mestan sying- sying*?
and it was mostly sewing sewing
'And it was mostly sewing,

inte så mycke koking (.) *kokning*
not so much cooking cooking
and not that much cooking.' Shirley, 2nd gen., born 1941

Here, Shirley uses English words in an otherwise Swedish context (*home economics teacher heter de här* 'home economics teacher it is called here'). She also has grammatical codeswitching, and uses English suffixes with Swedish roots (*kok-ing*, *sy-ing*). When talking about her career, Shirley has obvious difficulties in finding Swedish words and switches completely to English, but she switches back to Swedish when leaving this particular topic. It seems, then, that Shirley has some domain loss (or she has not acquired Swedish for all domains); topics that are related to contexts outside of everyday language and family language, are not easily accessible to her in Swedish.

Edward, who used Swedish in a wider variety of settings during his upbringing, shows no sign of a domain loss. He speaks readily about any subject in Swedish, even about his career and adulthood. Moreover, he does not produce any V2-violations, gender violations or congruency violations. However, Edward does use some English words and semantic convergence (see Example (9) above). These deviations from Standard Swedish can be accounted for in terms of the difference between Standard

Swedish and the American Swedish variety that Edward presumably acquired as a child, and they are not signs of incomplete acquisition or attrition. Judging from our knowledge of Edward's background, we have no reason to doubt that he has at one point fully acquired Swedish (with some possible exceptions, see Larsson and Johannessen 2015a, b).

The same patterns as Edward's can be found in other older speakers who have grown up in other Swedish-speaking enclaves, as we saw in Section 4. As noted, Albert, born in a Swedish enclave in 1921 to two Swedish-speaking parents, has both dialect features and features that are most likely due to contact. As we have also seen, it is not always easy to separate the two kinds of influence, and it is possible that they are interrelated. When Albert says *de va ingen te prate me* 'there was no one to talk with,' the structure differs from Standard Swedish in two ways. First, in Standard Swedish, the verb *va(r)* 'was' is less common in existential sentences of this kind than the verb *finnas* 'to exist, to be present.' Second, in Standard Swedish the infinitival marker is *att* and not *te* (a dialect form of the standard preposition *till* 'to'). Both deviations could originate in language contact, since English uses the copula *be* in existential sentences, and since the preposition *te/till* corresponds to English *to*. However, both deviations are also present in non-standard varieties of Swedish: some dialects use *vara* 'be' more in presentation sentences, and many dialects introduce infinitives with *te/till* (see Hagren 2008).

It is in other words often impossible to distinguish effects of language contact from effects of dialectal contact in the individual cases, and the two can reinforce each other. In any case, we can conclude from the material that existential sentences have the verb *vara* 'be' and *te/till* in the American Swedish of speakers born in Swedish-speaking enclaves in the 1920s or before that. By combining linguistic factors with sociolinguistic factors, we can in other words identify an American Swedish variety, used by speakers like Edward and Albert, but hardly by Shirley. At the same time, there is, as we saw in Section 3 above, considerable variation also among speakers like Albert and Edward. As we have seen, this is largely due to the fact that American Swedish has been reduced to a family language. Speakers like Edward and Albert do generally not speak Swedish to each other, but use their stronger language, English.

6. Conclusion

We have compared present-day American Swedish (in recordings from 2011) with Swedish spoken in America 50 years ago (in recordings from the 1960s), and with Standard Swedish. We have observed several different sources for the particularities of American Swedish, and they are intertwined in rather complex ways, reinforcing each other. One is the dialects, and the mixture of dialects in Swedish America: some dialect features are retained (or reintroduced) by individual speakers, but, e.g., dialectal vocabulary has been lost. We have also noted reading pronunciations, which most

likely originate from the Book Swedish of the Church and religious congregations. We argued that the tendencies towards a spoken standard in Sweden ('the common speech') affected the direction of the development, directly or indirectly. Attitudes surely influenced which dialect features were lost. Changes like that from dialectal *pära* to standard *potatis* 'potato' are expected: *potatis* was the word used in 'the common speech,' and speakers from southern Sweden would not necessarily have recognized the northern dialectal form.

A second source is English, and the bilingualism of the heritage speakers. We have given examples of lexical and grammatical transfer from English and suggested that in some cases, the transferred forms have become part of American Swedish. On the other hand, transfer and convergence are natural processes in contact situations, and the features of American Swedish often have direct parallels, e.g., in American Icelandic, American German and American Norwegian.

We have also noted changes in American Swedish since the 1960s. In the older recordings, we observed variation between dialect speakers and speakers of a more standard-like variety. In the new recordings, we find no evidence for alternations between varieties. Instead, there is more inter- and intra-individual variation, and we suggested that this is due to the fact that Swedish has lost the public domain. The effects of bilingualism are different, and somewhat younger speakers in the recordings rather behave like L2-speakers. Clearly, language acquisition and language attrition, the social status of the Swedish language in the community, as well as patterns of communication, must be taken into account. Some instances of leveling and simplification in the linguistic system can be attributed to incomplete language acquisition or attrition (rather than koinéization). The comparison between two speakers, one typical of the inhabitants of Swedish enclaves in Minnesota, and one typical of a somewhat later, urban bilingual family, shows that the importance of continuous and diverse input and output of the heritage language is important in order for the individual to acquire and maintain a native-like Standard Swedish proficiency. It also shows that the American-Swedish is disappearing, and that it is no longer fully acquired by children.

References

Ameel, Eef, Barbara C. Malt, Gert Storms and Fons Van Assche. 2009. "Semantic Convergence in the Bilingual Lexicon." *Journal of Memory and Language* 60(2): 270–290.

Andréasson, Maia, Ida Larsson, Benjamin Lyngfelt, Jenny Nilsson and Sofia Tingsell. 2013. "I jakt på amerikasvenskan". In *Svenskans beskrivning 32*, ed. by Björn Bihl, Jessica Eriksson, Peter Andersson and Lena Lötmarker, 83–93. Karlstad: Karlstads universitet.

Argyri, Efrosyni and Antonella Sorace. 2007. "Crosslinguistic Influence and Language Dominance in Older Bilingual Children." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 10(1): 79–99.

Arnbjörnsdottír, Birna. 2006. *North American Icelandic. The Life of a Language*. Manitoba: The University of Manitoba Press.

Bailey, Guy. 2002. "Real and Apparent Time." In *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, ed. by J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes, 312–332. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Boas, Hans. 2009. *The Life and Death of Texas German*. Durham, NC: American Dialect Society.

Clyne, Michael G. 2003. *Dynamics of Language Contact: English and Immigrant Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Columbus, Samuel. *En swensk ordeskötsel*, ed. by Sylvia Boström, 1963. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Cummins, Jim. 2000. *Language, Power and Pedagogy. Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual matters.

Dahlstedt, Karl-Hampus and Per-Uno Ågren. 1980. *Övre Norrlands bygdemål : berättelser på bygdemål med förklaringar och en dialektöversikt.* Umeå: Vetenskapliga biblioteket i Umeå.

Eide, Kristin Melum and Arnstein Hjelde. 2015. "V2 and Morphological Paradigms in Norwegian Varieties Spoken in the American Midwest." In *Heritage Languages in the Americas: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Findings*, ed. by Richard Page and Michael Putnam.

Engdahl, Elisabet. 2006. "Semantic and Syntactic Patterns in Swedish Passives." In *Demoting the Agent*, ed. by Benjamin Lyngfelt and Torgrim Solstad, 21–45. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/la.96.04eng

Fraurud, Kari and Sally Boyd. 2011. "The Native-Non-Native Speaker Distinction and the Diversity of Linguistic Profiles of Young People in Multilingual Urban Contexts in Sweden." In *Young Urban Swedish. Variation and Change in Multilingual Settings*, ed. by Roger Källström and Inger Lindberg, 67–88. Gothenburg: Department of Swedish language.

Ganuza, Natalia. 2008. *Syntactic Variation in the Swedish of Adolescents in Multilingual Urban Settings. Subject-Verb Order in Declaratives, Questions and Subordinate Clauses*. Stockholm, Sweden: Stockholm University dissertation.

Hagren, Kristina. 2008. *Hur märks infinitiven? Infinitivkonstruktioner i svenska dialekter med fokus på infinitivmärket*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

Håkansson, Gisela. 1995. "Syntax and Morphology in Language Attrition. A Study of Five Bilingual Expatriate Swedes." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 5: 153–171.

Hasselmo, Nils. 1974. *Amerikasvenska. En bok om språkutvecklingen i Svensk-Amerika*. (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska språknämnden 51). Stockholm: Essellte studium.

Haugen, Einar. (1953) 1969. *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hedblom, Folke. 1963. "Om svenska folkmål i Amerika. Från Landsmåls- och Folkminnesarkivets bandinspelningsexpedition 1962." *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv 1962.*

Hedblom, Folke. 1970. "Amerikasvenska texter i fonogram. 1. Hälsingland. Bergsjömål. Utskrift och kommentar." *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* 1969 92: 1–52.

Hedblom, Folke. 1974. "Svenska dialekter i Amerika. Några erfarenheter och problem." *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala. Årsbok* 1973–1974.

Hedblom, Folke. 1978. "Hälsingemål i Amerika." *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv 1977*.

Hedblom, Folke. 1982. "Swedish Dialects in the Midwest: Notes from Field Research." *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv 1981*.

Hedblom, Folke. 1992. "Dialekt och språknorm i Svensk-Amerika. Värderingar och attityder från 1960-talet." *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv 1992.*

Hof, Sven. 1753. *Swänska språkets rätta skrivsätt*, ed. by Mats Thelander. Uppsala Universitet: Institutionen för nordiska språk.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi and Piotr Garbacz. 2011. "Fältarbete med Nordic Dialect Corpus." In *Studier i dialektologi och språksociologi. Föredrag vid Nionde nordiska dialektologkonferensen i Uppsala 18–20 augusti 2010, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 116*, ed. Lars-Erik Edlund, Lennart Elmevik, and Maj Reinhammar, 169–176. Uppsala: Swedish Science Press.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi and Signe Laake. 2012. "Østnorsk som norsk fellesdialekt i Midtvesten." *Norsk Lingvistisk tidsskrift* 30(2): 365–380.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi and Signe Laake. Forthcoming. "Eastern Norwegian as a Common Norwegian Dialect in the American Midwest." *Journal of Language Contact*.

Källström, Roger. 2011. "Multiethnic Language in Reviews of the Novel *Ett öga rött*." In *Young Urban Swedish. Variation and Change in Multilingual Settings*, ed. by Roger Källström and Inger Lindberg, 125–148. Gothenburg: Department of Swedish.

Karstadt, Angela. 2003. *Tracking Swedish-American English. A Longitudinal Study of Linguistic Variation and Identity*. [Studia multiethnica Upsaliensia 16]. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Kerswill, Paul. 2002. "Koineization and Accommodation." In *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, ed. by J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes, 669–702. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Larsson, Ida. 2004. *Språk i förändring. Adjektivändelserna -a och -e från fornsvenska till nysvenska*. [MISS 49]. Göteborg: Institutionen för svenska språket.

Larsson, Ida and Janne Bondi Johannessen. 2015a. "Embedded Word Order in Heritage Scandinavian." In *New Trends in Nordic and General Linguistics*, ed. by Martin Hilpert, Janet Duke, Christine Mertzlufft, Jan-Ola Östman and Michael Rießler, 239–269. Berlin: Linguae et Litterae, Mouton de Gruyter.

Larsson, Ida and Janne Bondi Johannessen. 2015b. "Incomplete Acquisition and Verb Placement in Heritage Scandinavian." In *Moribund Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Findings*, ed. by Richard Page and Michael Putnam. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Lubinska, Dorota. 2011. *Förstaspråksattrition hos vuxna: exemplet polsktalande i Sverige*. Stockholm: Center for Research on Bilingualism.

Lundquist, Björn. 2013. "*Bliva* and *varda*." In *The Nordic Atlas of Linguistic Structures Journal Online* 1: 270–269. http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nals

Lyttkens, Ivar Adolf and Fredrik Wulff. 1889. *Svensk uttalsordbok*. Lund: Gleerup.

Montrul, Silvina. 2008. *Incomplete Acquisition in Bilingualism: Re-examining the Age Factor*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/sibil.39

Montrul, Silvina. 2010. "Current Issues in Heritage Language Acquisition." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 30: 3–23. DOI: 10.1017/S0267190510000103

Montrul, Silvina, Rebecca Foote and Silvia Perpinán. 2008. "Gender Agreement in Adult Second Language Learners and Spanish Heritage Speakers: The Effect of Age and Context of Acquisition." *Language Learning* 58(3): 503–553. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9922.2008.00449.x

Nilsson, Jenny. 2011. "Dialektal anpassning i interaktion." In *Interaktionell dialektologi*, ed. by Gustav Bockgård and Jenny Nilsson, 223–250. Uppsala: Institutet för språk och folkminnen.

Noreen, Adolf. 1903. *Vårt språk: nysvensk grammatik i utförlig framställning*. Band I. Lund: Gleerup.

Nützel, Daniel and Joseph Salmons. 2011. "Language Contact and New Dialect Formation: Evidence from German in North America." *Language and Linguistics Compass* 5(10): 705–717. DOI: 10.1111/j.1749-818X.2011.00308.x

Odlin, Terence. 1989. *Cross-Linguistic Influence in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9781139524537

Pavlenko, Aneta. 1999. "New Approaches to Concepts in Bilingual Memory." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 2(3): 209–230. DOI: 10.1017/S1366728999000322

Petri, Laurentius. 1571. *The Swenska Kyrkeordningen*. Stockholm.

Putnam, Michael and Joseph Salmons. 2013. "Losing Their (Passive) Voice: Syntactic Neutralization in Heritage German." *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* 3(2): 233–252. DOI: 10.1075/lab.3.2.05put

Rietz, Johan Ernst. 1962. *Svenskt dialektlexikon. Ordbok öfver svenska allmogespråket*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups förlag.

Rothman, Jason. 2007. "Heritage Speaker Competence Differences, Language Change, and Input Type: Inflected Infinitives in Heritage Brazilian Portuguese." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 11: 359–389. DOI: 10.1177/13670069070110040201

SAOB = Svenska Akademiens ordbok över svenska språket, 1893–.

Schmid, Monika S. 2002. *First Language Attrition, Use and Maintenance. The Case of German Jews in Anglophone Countries*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/sibil.24

Seliger, Herbert W. and Robert Vago. 1991. "The Study of First Language Attrition: An Overview." In *First Language Attrition*, ed. by Herbert W. Seliger and Robert Vago, 3–15. New York: Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511620720.001

Selinker, Larry. 1972. "Interlanguage." *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 10: 209–241. DOI: 10.1515/iral.1972.10.1-4.209

Sorace, Antonella and Ludovica Serratrice. 2009. "Internal and External Interfaces in Bilingual Language Development: Beyond Structural Overlap." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 13(2): 195–210. DOI: 10.1177/1367006909339810

Sundgren, Eva. 2002. *Återbesök i Eskilstuna: en undersökning av morfologisk variation och förändring i nutida talspråk*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

Tingsell, Sofia. 2013. "Reflexive Binding in Heritage Language Speakers of Swedish in the USA." Manuscript.

Widmark, Gun. 1998. *Stora vokaldansen: om kvantitativa och kvalitativa förändringar i fornsvenskans vokalsystem*. Uppsala: Gustav Adolfs akad.

Widmark, Gun. 2000. "Boksvenska och talsvenska. Om språkarter i nysvenskt talspråk." In *Boksvenska och talsvenska. Ett urval uppsatser samlade till författarens 80-årsdag 31 juli 2000*, ed. by Gun Widmark, 19–56. Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk. [Reprinted from *Språk and stil* N.F. 1991, 1: 157–198.]