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Language, identity and cultural continuity

A study of language maintenance and shift amongst
Norwegian migrants in Lake Telemark, New Jersey

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Abbreviations

BUL	Bondeungdomslaget
EV	Ethnolinguistic vitality
INLC	Individual network of linguistic contact
L1	First language
LMS	Language maintenance and shift
L2	Second language
SEV	Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

1 Introduction

1.1 Topic and context

This thesis addresses the issue of language and identity and the phenomena of language maintenance and shift (LMS) in an immigrant context. The concept of LMS is explored by examining variables that may have influenced language choice among a group of Norwegians who immigrated to the USA after World War II, before settling in the vicinity of Lake Telemark in New Jersey during the 1950s and 60s. A study conducted in October 2012 of a sample of 14 of these migrants resulted in the data upon which this thesis is based.

The Norwegian ethnic community in Rockaway Township emerged in the 1930s. Initially, Lake Telemark was established as a vacation resort for Norwegian immigrants living in Brooklyn, New York City, which then evolved into a permanent settlement. The community developed a unique Norwegian atmosphere by maintaining close relations to the home country and its culture. Ethnic organisations and institutions were established early on, and for several decades they helped foster the vitality and cultural continuity of the settlement through various activities and events. Albeit somewhat faded, remains of this legacy are still evident in today's multicultural Lake Telemark community; over the course of time the Norwegian immigrant settlement became a part of the American fusion.

One of my aunts immigrated to the USA in 1953. My choice of topic and social context for this project are inspired by the decision she made 60 years ago to leave Norway for a life on the other side of the Atlantic. Like so many others, she arrived in Brooklyn. She stayed there for a few years before moving out of the city to the neighbourhood of Lake Telemark to settle permanently. Her social network centred on the Norwegian colony. From the 1980s onwards, I have been introduced to her friends - mostly first generation Norwegian immigrants - during my repeated visits to meet my aunt and her family. Besides clearly being incredibly proud of their Norwegian background, they were remarkably dedicated to maintaining traditions and keeping up their perceptions of a Norwegian historical and cultural heritage. However, I was struck by the fact that they never seemed to speak Norwegian. Has the Norwegian language no part in their concept of a Norwegian identity? The majority of these immigrants were adults when they arrived in the USA and many had no knowledge of English; they acquired the language in due course. Their accents still betray to a large extent which part of Norway they come from despite the fact that they have spent most of their lives in America.

Nevertheless, encountering these immigrants in social contexts, I have always found that they

communicate exclusively in English, and I have yet to meet anybody who has passed on the Norwegian language to their children. Being a teacher with a particular interest in language acquisition, my observations prompted the following questions:

- Why do they not use their first language (L1) when everybody present is Norwegian?
- When and why did they make a shift to English as the preferred language of communication?
- Why is the mother tongue not considered a core value of their identity as Norwegians?

Indeed, migration from Norway to the USA required either the acquisition of English as a second language (L2) or more extended use of existing English language skills in a wide range of contexts and domains. English did not become a mandatory subject in Norwegian primary education until 1959 although it was introduced and taught in most urban schools prior to this date. In the period between 1945 and the 1960s, lack of formal training in English is likely to have placed immigrants with a rural background at a disadvantage in the new country. To what extent were immigrants affected by this unequal starting point? Did their differing L2 proficiency influence their immigrant experiences and language behaviour in any way?

1.2 Objectives and research question

The study aims to collect information about the respondents' immigration history as well as first-hand accounts of their immigrant experiences in America in order to detect factors that may have influenced their language choice. Another target is to record the respondents' own reflections on and explanations of their language behaviour, especially in terms of what they see as causes for their L1 maintenance or shift. In addition, insight is sought into the respondents' perception of their ethnic identity and whether or not the Norwegian language is embodied in their concept of a Norwegian cultural heritage. The advanced age of those studied provides access to perspectives developed over a long period in the context of social, political and historical changes in American society. The study is not primarily designed for hypothesis testing but rather as an exploratory type of investigation using a phenomenological approach. However, for the sake of refining the scope of the thesis, the following research question has been formulated as a focus for analysing the respondents' accounts:

Why is there a disjunction between maintaining Norwegian culture on the one hand, and Norwegian language on the other, among first generation Norwegian immigrants settling in the Lake Telemark area during the 1950s and 1960s?

1.3 Hypothesis

The research question is assumed to shed light on factors contributing to the group's relatively rapid shift to English and thus on possible causes for the lack of continuity in maintaining the Norwegian language and failure to pass it on to later generations. Among several plausible explanations, I choose to focus on a perspective reflecting the ethos of the American Dream according to which prosperity, success and social mobility are achieved through the virtue of hard work. Hopes of a better life and improved living conditions were probably among the main motives for migrating in the first place. As a minority immigrant group aspiring to become successful and integrated members of American society, they realised that employment was fundamental to self support. It is a reasonable assumption that good English language skills would have led to better opportunities in the labour market and thus to prospects of economic success and social recognition. The importance of English language proficiency may have been experienced first-hand in work related- as well as other contexts. In order to improve their L2 competence, a shift to English may have been perceived as a better strategy than keeping up the Norwegian language. Moreover, such a shift may indicate underlying attitudes and can be seen as a measure taken to become Americanized.

Considering language proficiency a key to integration in society and wanting to be seen as Americans rather than foreigners may have played a role in the immigrants' choice not to pass on the language to their descendants. In general, parents have no higher wish than for their children to succeed, and in this setting, success was seen as depending above all on mastering the English language. It should be added here that the benefits of being bilingual were not common knowledge at the time.

The group's maintenance of Norwegian cultural representations other than language suggests that their adherence to these symbols, activities and traditions posed no threat to the processes of becoming part of American society. The pressures to assimilate into the American matrix and the rewards associated with Americanisation were equally strong incentives. In this picture, L1 maintenance might represent a potential conflict or impediment. However, the respondents' language choice may simply have been a pragmatic one, based on practicalities

rather than on a sense that the old ethnic and cultural identity should be left behind. In the aftermath of WWII, the USA was an indisputable superpower. The country symbolised liberty and prosperity, and the persistent American image of opportunities for the self-made man prevailed. Embracing the positive values attributed to the USA probably outweighed any perceived disadvantages of giving up the Norwegian language on behalf of themselves and their children.

1.4 Theoretical perspectives on language maintenance and shift

The study of language maintenance and language shift examines the dynamics of contact between languages in an immigrant context: the impact of the dominant language on other languages and factors involved in this process. In the endeavour to understand language behaviour in immigrant settings, research on the phenomenon of LMS has developed into an interdisciplinary field between structural linguistics, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics (Clyne 2003). The works of Fishman in the mid 1960s provided much of the basis for developing LMS as a field of research. Today, there is no universal and unified theory to explain language maintenance or shift, as demonstrated by the various approaches to the field. However, there seems to be consensus that ‘interrelationships hold the key to the understanding of how and why people use language/s the way they do’, and that a range of partly related group and individual dynamics constitute factors in the processes of LMS (Clyne 2003:1). Individual factors may include age at the time of migration, exogamy, gender, socioeconomic mobility and English proficiency; while community size and cultural distance from or close contact with the home country may represent group factors. Moreover, general factors such as time and place of migration may also affect the dynamics of language shift.

This thesis applies several theories to explain the dynamics of LMS which represent different perspectives on the phenomenon. These theories emphasise different variables involved in the process of LMS related to pre- and post migration experiences of immigrants mediated through culture. In Giles, Bourhis and Taylor’s (1977) ethnolinguistic vitality model, attitudes and identity are seen as crucial. The model explains language shift in terms of ‘the relative value of accommodating to the mainstream group as opposed to preserving the integrity of one’s own group’ (Clyne 2003:55). The future of the group’s existence depends on its vitality and ability to ‘behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations’

(Giles et al. 1977:308). In a dominant language context, members of a minority language group do not act as isolated individuals; they rely on each other. Thus, the result of language behaviour depends on the community's collective action. Ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) depends on several components within three categories: status factors, demographic factors and institutional support factors. The model emphasises that the factors are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive.

Another concept employed to explain outcomes of language contact situations is Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal's (1981) framework of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV). While in EV the vitality factors are seen as objective dimensions for determining a language's chances of survival, in SEV the speakers' perception of the vitality factors is considered fundamental. The individual group members' subjective assessments of the variables of demographics, institutional support and status are seen as equally important as the objectively assessed EV variables in explaining interethnic language behaviour. Allard and Landry (1986) developed the model further by adding vitality-related beliefs to the factors predicting bilingual language behaviour. These beliefs refer to perceptions of sociological factors and the behaviour of oneself and others which may affect a community's EV. Or more specifically, beliefs regarding the vitality of each language individual migrants encounter on daily basis. In most cases, the languages concerned are L1 and L2, where the latter is the dominant language. Furthermore, these beliefs relate to the relative strength of the individual's desire to be a part of each linguistic community, and to ethnolinguistic identity. The relationship between the individual and society is considered to be interactive and complementary, leading to different types of bilingualism. Allard and Landry's (1987, 1992, 1994) model of additive and subtractive bilingualism is used to explain the language attitudes and behaviour of the ethnic community in terms of their first language use and their motivation to learn and maintain L1. Additive bilingualism develops when conditions favour L1 maintenance while acquiring L2. In contrast, subtractive bilingualism occurs when learning L2 is associated with loss of one's L1 and culture (Allard and Landry 1992).

Concerning the relation between identity and language, Edwards (2009) focuses on the symbolic rather than the communicative functions of language. The function of language is an emblem of groupness, he argues, and must be seen in the context of a social and political setting. Furthermore, individual and group identities embrace each other, and continuity is the connection between the two. In groups where the ancestral language is used on a daily basis, the instrumental and symbolic functions of language coexist. On the other hand, a language

that has lost much of its communicative function can still retain a symbolic value for a longer period; hence we can distinguish between the communicative and symbolic functions of language. From Edwards' point of view, languages are not intrinsically stronger or weaker; their existence depends on human society and culture as it is their users that decide whether a language is maintained or lost. Nevertheless, the loss of a language's communicative role will eventually lead to a language shift.

The theory of language as a core value (Smolicz 1981, 1992, Smolicz and Secombe 1990) attempts to understand language behaviour from the perspective of language serving as a symbol of a group's identity by virtue of being a distinct element of their culture. The central aspect of this model is that immigrant groups have specific cultural values fundamental to the groups' continued existence. Language is such a cultural core value for some groups. When the language is considered a core value to an ethnic minority the theory predicts greater chances of language maintenance. However, ethnic groups attribute different significance to L1 as a marker of identity, and encounters with the cultural values of the dominant and other groups, may reshape their concept of symbols defining their own group identity. The theory states that a minority group's ability to maintain its language and culture depends on its ability to interact with the cultural input of the host community.

2 Background information and historical context

2.1 Norwegian immigration to the USA

2.1.1 The mass exodus: Norwegian emigration to the USA between 1865 and 1915

Norwegian immigration to the USA after World War II must be seen in the context of, and as a continuation of, earlier immigration. On 9 October 1825 the ‘Restauration’ arrived in New York with the 53 pioneer immigrants from Norway. By 1915 more than 750 000 Norwegians had crossed the Atlantic Ocean. This emigration has been attributed to a combination of demographic conditions in Norway and favourable economic conditions in America (Lovoll 1999). Most likely, the tides of migration were caused by interaction of several factors on both sides of the Atlantic. Regardless of the possible push or pull factors, however, Norwegian emigration to the USA must be seen as voluntary; emigration was largely an individual or family decision based on a weighing of advantages and disadvantages. Throughout the history of Norwegian emigration to America, America was a dream country, ‘the promised land’: it represented the hope of a better life and improved future prospects (Lovoll 1999, Østrem 2006). In general, this underlying positive attitude to America had great implications for the immigrants’ motivation to immigrate, adapt and assimilate into American society.

According to Norway’s first census, the total population was 883 487 in 1801. Despite the mass emigration taking place between 1865 and 1915, it had reached 2 391 782 by 1910. A majority of the immigrants prior to World War I came from rural areas, and were mostly cotters, farmers and labourers. In the last two decades of the 19th century, emigration from urban areas increased. Many of these emigrants were craftsmen, but there were also engineers, technicians, intellectuals, artists and other professionals among them. The immigrants arriving in the first part of the mass exodus tended to settle around the Great Lakes or in the rural and agricultural regions of the Midwest and upper Midwest. Norwegian settlement followed the general westward movement, and eventually ethnic communities emerged on the Pacific coast. Around the turn of the century larger urban settlements and Norwegian colonies developed in places such as Chicago, Minneapolis, and New York.

The composition of the emigrant body changed in the course of the mass migration period. Whereas family emigration dominated in the beginning, a shift towards individual departures

occurred in the 1870s. In the latter part of the period, there was a marked change towards youth migration, as almost two thirds of the emigrants were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five (Lovoll 1999). The number of male immigrants had consistently increased and by the end of the mass exodus era, there were more than twice as many male as female Norwegian immigrants to the USA. The young immigrants turned out to be more mobile and less permanent than their predecessors; many returned and resettled in Norway. Official Norwegian statistics indicate that of those who emigrated after 1881, close to 25% returned to Norway between 1891 and 1940 (Lovoll 1999). After 1905 Norwegian authorities requested the emigrants' reasons for leaving. Between 1905 and 1915, 80-90% of the men and 60-75% of the women reported that their departure was due to the lack of profitable employment in Norway and the favourable work prospects in America (Lovoll 1999). Thus an expanding American economy providing job opportunities constituted a significant pull factor for Norwegian emigrants at the time.

2.1.2 The end of an era: Fading Norwegian emigration to the USA

The massive Norwegian overseas emigration was brought to an end by American immigration restrictions and a national origin quota system introduced in the 1920s. From 1929, Norway was granted an annual quota of 2 377. In addition, the depression during the 1930s and WWII also contributed to the sharp decline in emigration. The war prevented potential emigrants from crossing the Atlantic. Combined with difficult post-war conditions of shortage and hardship in Norway, this may explain, at least in part, the increased Norwegian migration to the USA in the aftermath of WWII. It peaked in 1952, when close to 3000 emigrated. This year also marks the end of an era in Norwegian immigration to the USA: since 1952, there has been a significant decline in the rate of emigration although, it has never entirely ceased. The US Immigration Act of 1965, effective in 1968, had an immediate impact on Norwegian emigration. The numbers dropped from 1 574 in 1968 to 434 in 1969. The Act abolished the national origin system and replaced it with other restrictions on immigration. The priority given to family unification and the preference for occupational skills needed in the USA were probably among the measures responsible for the decrease in Norwegian immigration to the USA. According to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalisation Service, post-WWII Norwegian immigration to the USA was as follows:

Table 2.1: Post WWII Norwegian immigration to the USA for decades 1941-1995.

Decades:	Number of immigrants:
1941-1950:	10 665
1951-1960:	22 935
1961-1970:	15 484
1971-1980:	3 941
1981-1990:	4 164
1991-1995:	3 037

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (Dinnerstein and Reimers 1999:220).

According to Lovoll (1999) the post WWII immigration from Norway is characterised by marked mobility and large return migration. However, those who settled prior to 1960 had a greater tendency than later immigrants to remain in the USA (Lovoll 1999). As the socio-economic conditions in Norway improved, the USA lost some of its pull factors. Most of the emigrants were still labourers, but there were more skilled workers than before (Lovoll 1999). From the mid 1950s to the early 1960s, American industry and the health sector attracted highly educated and professionally trained Norwegians, and many Norwegian students attending American educational institutions remained in the country after graduating. However, there was no Norwegian ‘brain drain’ emigration: the number of scientists, engineers, health personnel and other types of university graduates that migrated was never significant, and certainly not sufficiently high to merit such a term.

After World War II, there was a fairly even balance between male and female emigrants. The trend from the 1930s of a rising percentage of married male immigrants who settled permanently in the US and brought their families over continued. Hence, to some extent the emigration immediately before and after WWII can be considered a family phenomenon.

2.2 Brooklyn: A Norwegian immigrant colony in New York

Most Norwegian immigrants on the East Coast settled in urban areas, and the main concentration of Norwegians was found in Greater New York City. Initially they clustered in

Lower Manhattan, but in the 1870s Brooklyn, and more specifically Bay Ridge emerged as the core region of Norwegian settlement. However, in the 1880s a permanent Norwegian urban colony appeared on Staten Island as new shipyards attracted Norwegians seeking employment. By 1930, the New York metropolis had the largest urban concentration of Norwegians outside Norway, with a Norwegian population of nearly 63 000 of whom 60% had been born in Norway (Lovoll 2007).

The Norwegian community in Brooklyn has been described as ‘the colony that rose from the sea’ (Lovoll 2007:17) to illustrate its historic connections to maritime activities. The early settlement consisted mainly of Norwegian seamen who signed off in New York to seek better paid jobs on American ships, or were tempted by the opportunity for employment in the shipyards, on the docks, or in other jobs on-shore. The colony’s largest expansion occurred from 1900 to 1930 (Lovoll 2007), and at its peak the community supported a thriving ethnic-centred social and cultural life. Apart from various clubs, societies and lodges, several Norwegian churches were established among these a Norwegian seamen’s church. A hospital and other welfare and care institutions aimed at the elderly and orphans were set up or supported by the colony. Norwegian shops, restaurants, bars and other businesses dominated the scene on Fifth and Eighth Avenues. The latter was known as ‘Lapskaus Boulevard’ among Norwegian-Americans from the word ‘lapskaus’ which refers to a traditional Norwegian stew made with leftovers from the Sunday roast. The press was another significant part of the community’s enterprises. Publications and newspapers in Norwegian were printed on a monthly, weekly or daily basis, providing the settlement with written L1 input. The Norwegian language was actively maintained by the colony and its institutions and dominated the speech communities in the Norwegian neighbourhoods.

Brooklyn was an important harbour for international shipping and served as a point of arrival and transfer for immigrants of different nationalities. Its function as a destination for Norwegian shipping ensured regular communication and contact with Norway. Thus, sustaining a closer connection to the home country was easier in Brooklyn than in other Norwegian immigrant settlements in the USA. The trans-Atlantic logistic facilitated frequent visitors from the old country whether these were relatives, friends, or Norwegians visiting in an official capacity. Prominent Norwegians were often guests in the colony’s different clubs, organisations and institutions taking part in festivities, celebrations, or cultural and educational programs. This exchange probably enhanced the colony’s bonds to Norway and generated a sense of proximity to Norwegian culture. The fact that many temporary migrants,

or ‘birds of passage’, resided in the Brooklyn colony may also have underlined the community’s ethnicity, contributing to cultural and social maintenance of its Norwegian character. The colony’s strong vitality eased the arrival and transition for Norwegian immigrants as newcomers were able to get by without knowing the English language. On the other hand, the numerous English language courses offered in Brooklyn during daytime or in the evenings made it possible to acquire English relatively fast. Thus, the community of the colony, its networks and structures of formal and informal institutions, may have accelerated the process of adaptation and assimilation into American society for those who intended to settle permanently in the USA.

The colony in Brooklyn followed the same trend as other Norwegian neighbourhoods in Greater New York by gradually dissolving as a result of the movement towards the suburbs. In addition, many of the post World War II immigrants who lived in the Norwegian section of Brooklyn returned to Norway in the 1960s and 1970s (Ringdal 2007). The Norwegian community in Brooklyn is no more, and today the streets south of Sunset Park are the domain of people of other cultural backgrounds.

2.3 The BUL cabin: From recreational venue to a cultural hub

2.3.1 ‘Bondeungdomslaget in New York’ (BUL)

The Norwegian American ‘bygdslag’, or societies, in the USA are organisational developments initiated by Norwegian immigrants inspired by the Bondeungdomslag organisation and its culture which mushroomed in Norway during the 1880s. A major motivation of the Norwegian American ‘bygdslag’ was to create immigrant networks in local communities in order to preserve ties to the past and to maintain Norwegian history and cultural heritage, including language, customs and traditions (Lovoll 1999).

‘Bondeungdomslaget in New York’ was initiated on 26 November 1925 in Brooklyn, New York, and constituted in Acme Hall in Brooklyn 15 December. Besides elections to fill different functions in the organisation, decisions were made about organising the society in accordance with the spirit, guidelines and rules of the Bygdslag movement in the home country. The first rule of BUL New York states that the organisation will actively seek to maintain the Norwegian language, and that any writing in the organisation has to be in Norwegian, and in the version of ‘landsmål’ (Skavlan 1935). (Appendix 1)

BUL grew rapidly and gained momentum as a centre of Norwegian cultural activities and performances. As Skavlan (1935) writes in BUL's 10th anniversary booklet (Appendix 2), the organisation considered itself an established institution in the Norwegian colony in Brooklyn from 1927. Apart from offering members participation in various activities such as folk dance, classical- or traditional music, and drama, and editing the magazine 'Bondeguten', BUL arranged excursions, sports competitions, and celebrations of Constitution and other national holidays and traditions. BUL's programmes from different types of meetings and events reveal that a Norwegian-centred focus permeated the declamation of literature and poetry, lectures by members or guests, speeches by prominent politicians, professors, scientists or ambassadors and concerts by professional musicians and singers (Skavlan 1935). While guest lecturing at Harvard, the Norwegian Professor Halvdan Koht spoke at a BUL meeting on 15 January 1931 in Imatra Hall on the topic of 'Dei norderlendske folka i verdshistoria' (Nordic peoples in world history). This performance was described as one of the most remarkable moments in BUL's history (Skavlan 1935). Not only was it an interesting topic presented in an intriguing manner; according to the journalist in *Nordisk Tidende* it was an unsurpassed Scandinavian history lesson on American ground: '[...] det var en time i skandinavisk historie, som ingen har opplevd make til, ialfald her i Amerika....Foredraget formet sig paa mange punkter som en intens historisk forkyndelse [...]' (Skavlan 1935:18). (It was a lesson in Scandinavian history the like of which has never been experienced, at least not here in America.... At many points the lecture took the shape of intense preaching of history). The euphoria of these comments combined with BUL's many cultural activities suggest that the Norwegian identity constructed by the society in the new country was founded on a strong national romanticist sentiment in the relationship to the home country and its historical and cultural heritage.

2.3.2 BUL's cabin in Lake Telemark: Accommodating a recreation and vacation retreat

The idea of starting a 'kaffistove' (coffee shop) was frequently addressed and discussed in BUL, but could not materialise until sufficient funding was established. In the meantime, a performance by BUL's folk dance group at the opening of the Norwegian immigrant brothers Bergdal's recreational estate Lake Telemark in New Jersey on 7 July 1929 is said to have altered the plan (Skavlan 1935). Obviously, very taken by the dancers and their performance, the two entrepreneurs offered BUL a plot of land in a letter dated 19 August 19: 'We will be

very glad to turn over a piece of ground free for a bungalow for Bondeungdomslaget. As to size and location it would be best if you could send a committee out to inspect the property' (Skavlan 1935:34). The letter was discussed at BUL's meeting on 5 September, and four representatives were chosen to take a closer look at the matter. After inspecting the estate in Lake Telemark together with the Bergdal brothers, they endorsed the project and recommended that BUL accept the offer and build a summer house by the lake. The building committee (Appendix 3) of what was later to become Nor-Bu Lodge in Lake Telemark, New Jersey, was set up in John Aske's home in Brooklyn on 25 September 1929. In addition to Aske, this first meeting had five participants: constituent members Gunnar Skavlan, Per Skylstad, Asmund Gøytil and Martin Gjerde, as well as the President of BUL, James Teigland, who led this first meeting (Skavlan 1929). The committee's mandate was to work out plans for, and be in charge of, building a cabin in Lake Telemark to accommodate BUL members in New York for vacation and weekend retreat purposes. The committee agreed on five premises for the project amongst these was the decision to build the cabin in Norwegian log style design (Appendix 4). They set up a budget for the venture and estimated the costs to be \$1 760. Raising the money to finance the project would prove a major challenge during the Great Depression. However, Aske, the elected Chairman of the committee, was authorised to negotiate and set up a contract with the Bergdal brothers. As a result, Stephen and Hallvard Bergdal generously donated two lake front lots to BUL with a contract signed in October 1929.

The architecture of the lodge was seemingly an important issue for the building committee, as they announced a contest. They received eight drafts, and a jury was set up. Skavlan represented the building committee, and other jury members included the Norwegian architects Tvedt and Schelderup. The jury chose two sketches, 'Heimlaus' (Aske) and 'Tømmerhus' (Christie), and asked architect Christie to combine these and work out the final architectural drawings of the cabin. These drawings and the plans for the project were consequently presented and approved at a party for BUL members in Brooklyn on 6 March 1930. Prominent guests such as the Bergdal brothers and the participants in the architectural contest were invited, as well as the two Norwegian newspapers in Brooklyn: *Nordisk Tidende* and *Norgesposten*. The newspapers played an important role in generating financial and practical support for BUL's project in Lake Telemark by disseminating information and creating interest for the venture among their Norwegian readers.

When the ground was broken for the cabin (Appendix 5) on Sunday 30 March 1930 the event was covered by *Nordisk Tidende* and filmed by photographer *Leirvik*. BUL members received personally addressed circulars from the building committee and were encouraged to actively contribute in the construction of the cabin (Appendix 6). The Norwegian immigrants supported the project whole-heartedly, and the lodge was officially and solemnly handed over to BUL on Sunday 27 July 1930 (Appendix 7) According to the minutes, approximately 400 people were gathered in Lake Telemark for the consecration of the cabin, and the Bergdal brothers and architect Christi were appointed Honorary Members of BUL New York. The realisation of the project, crowned with the grand opening of the cabin, was a significant moment that marked a shift in BUL's history (Skavlan 1935).

In spite of rapid the construction of BUL's lodge in Lake Telemark, the financing of the project did not go according to plan. BUL members had donated money as gifts or interest-free loans, but due to the depression it was proving difficult to collect the \$1400 promised as loans from the members. Correspondingly, it was practically impossible to get credit in banks for this type of project. After the inauguration there were still unpaid accounts of approximately \$615. Eventually, the building committee was compelled to hand over the case to BUL's board, where the problem was solved by selling season cards granting priority in renting the cabin to the members.

2.3.3 The BUL cabin: A hearth of Norwegian culture in Lake Telemark

BUL's cabin in Lake Telemark developed into a centre of cultural activities and events for the club members and other Norwegian immigrants. According to BUL's annual report of 1931 the club festivities and celebrations of Norwegian traditions and memorial days like 17 May, Olsok and Jonsok at the location. Also, they set up various summer and winter sports competitions and activities. Some of these were traditional Norwegian winter sports such as cross country skiing, ski jumping or speed skating. In addition to lectures revolving around Norwegian politics, society, history or culture, other regular features at the BUL events were traditional music, folk dance, traditional songs, plays and presentations of Norwegian literature and poetry. These events gathered up to 700 people (Botnen 1931).

Improvements were made to the BUL cabin during WWII. Its facilities were expanded and changes were made for the sake of better comfort and more practical solutions. In 1943 BUL purchased 35 acres of land adjoining the property of the cabin (Gjerde 1950). The new

property was named 'Norway Park' and some of it was developed into a sports field open to all residents of the community. After the war and during the 1950s, the local community in Lake Telemark became more involved in the running and improving of the cabin and the surrounding property, as suggested by this statement by Linda Gjerde in BUL's anniversary journal dated November 1950: 'Today there is the second generation Norwegians who are carrying on the tradition of its [the cabin] founders and enjoying the club life of Bondeungdomslaget'.

2.4 Lake Telemark: A Norwegian settlement in Rockaway Township, New Jersey

2.4.1 The Bergdal brothers' idea of creating an image of Norway in the USA

Stephen Bergdal (1890-1950) from Telemark in Norway immigrated to the USA in 1913. He served in the American army during WWI and was granted American citizenship in 1918 due to this service. After the war, he started a land development business in Verona, New Jersey, and built over 100 houses in that locality. During the Depression he purchased land in Hibernia Hills, New Jersey, from the Arthur D. Crane Company (*Lake Land News* 1952). The scenery was surrounded by hills and many small ponds and creeks. Together with his brother Hallvard Bergdal he dammed Hibernia Brook, thus creating Lake Telemark a name chosen in honour of their birthplace Telemark in Norway. Their dream was to establish a vacation resort for their fellow Norwegian immigrants living in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn (Mason & White 2010). Since the area in Hibernia had many similarities to scenery found in Norway, the Bergdal brothers believed Norwegians would find the place attractive. The Bergdals' idea was well received and many Norwegian immigrants in Brooklyn bought property and built cabins and summer homes there. In 1929 Stephen Bergdal opened Lake Telemark as a summer colony. Several streets in the resort were named after famous Norwegians, Norwegian historical events, or cities and sites in the old country. Examples of such names are Oslo Drive, Bergen Hill Road, Leif Ericksen Road and North Cape Trail. To stimulate interest in the vacation community, the brothers donated the two lake front lots to BUL in Brooklyn on which the lodge was built.

2.4.2 From recreational resort to permanent settlement

Over the years Lake Telemark developed from being a summer colony to becoming a year-round settlement. The Norwegian immigrant and newspaper columnist Magny Landstad Jensen (1956) and her husband built a dwelling in the vicinity in 1929, but soon made it their home as they moved up from Brooklyn to live there permanently from 1936 to 1965. In a letter dated 16 May 1956 addressed to a sixth grade class in Madison, New Jersey, who were conducting Scandinavian studies of their neighbouring area, Landstad Jensen suggests that people moved to Lake Telemark for reasons other than scenic surroundings: 'But the story behind the scenes-which no article can tell-the colony really was founded by "Refugees from Depression" during the very hard and trying days of eviction and unemployment' (Landstad Jensen 1956:1). People moved with their families from the grim realities in the city to their plain cabins and summer houses at the resort. Others who had already bought lots by the lake now built new homes. Many of the men were carpenters and painters trying to find employment in the area. By 1940 things eased up with war emerging: industries opened up and manpower was called for. Men in Lake Telemark could again find work and the community grew in size and prosperity. According to the article 'Jersey Norsemen' by John W. Rae in *Newark Sunday Times* 14 December 1947, there were 80 year-round and 200 summer homes in Lake Telemark at the time. Five years later, there were 1200 inhabitants in the community and approximately 75% of these were of Scandinavian descent. The number of houses in the settlement had increased to 350 of these 200 were used year (*Lake Land News* 1952). The boost in growth was mainly due to children of the original settlers building their own homes there too.

The community in Lake Telemark retained a marked Norwegian ethnical flavour throughout most of the 1950s. Evelyn Barth, a Lake Telemark resident, describes the sociology of the community in her assignment 'Lake Telemark', dated 7 January 1950 and written while she was a student of Urban Sociology at The Lutheran University in Minnesota:

Truthfully, I feel there are no strong social classes or groups in the community. The people all have the same Norwegian background, with a few exceptions, and all are engaged in making a [sic] honest living and supporting their families. There are a few non Norwegian families, namely one Italian, three Irish and a few native American families, but they have all been accepted by the others and are just as active in social affairs as anyone else. They attend their own churches and maintain some of their own customs, but have adopted some Norwegian customs, such as folk dancing and eating certain foods.

However, the settlement soon adapted to and became a part of the American amalgam, as described by Landstad Jensen: ‘[...] the [LT] community, that once had a population of about 98% Norwegian-born residents, now is probably more than 50% Americanized, and in time will be absorbed in the American scene, which is as it should be’ (Landstad Jensen 1956:2).

2.4.3 Organisations and institutions in the settlement

The majority of the Norwegians in Lake Telemark were members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The church body was organized in 1939 and the services were held in the Methodist Church in Hibernia. There was a Sunday school, a Ladies aid organisation, and a confirmation class held under church sponsorship (Barth 1950). However, the congregation was also responsible for other social activities in the community. In 1952, they started a campaign to build a church of their own; a process which resulted in the Holy Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church on Greenpond Road being completed in 1968. Upon the congregation’s request, the BUL sold 10 acres of its land at far below market value in 1966 to provide the site for the church building.

The Lake Telemark Country Club was another of the early establishments in the community. Its members built a club house by the lake between 1929 and 1930 for the residents to gather and socialize. Through the years the organisation has provided a variety of social activities for the people in Lake Telemark (Mason & White 2010).

On 19 September 1942, Norseman Lodge No. 427, Sons of Norway was organised in Rockaway, New Jersey. It recruited most of its members from Lake Telemark, but also from Norwegian people living in towns nearby (Barth 1950). Sons of Norway emerged during the depression of the 1890s among workers in the Norwegian colony in north Minneapolis, and may have been inspired by their knowledge of workers’ unions and societies in Norway (Lovoll 1999). The organisation was officially founded on 16 January 1895. It was initially organised as a fraternal order and held to be a secret society analogous to the Masonic Order. The brotherhood began as a society for mutual aid and paid out unemployment benefits and expenses for funerals to its members. Later, it was transformed into a fraternal insurance company. In 1911, the order came to the East Coast where Færder Lodge was organised in Brooklyn (Lovoll 1999). Sons of Norway became the largest secular organisation of Norwegian immigrants in the USA. By 1914, it had 12 000 members in 155 lodges distributed across the entire country. In time, many Norwegians joined the Sons of Norway to socialise

with fellow countrymen, and for various other reasons than the opportunity to purchase insurance as suggested from the figures from 1914 showing that 47% of the members did not opt for this advantage. It was common for lodges to have male choirs and drill teams, and to offer various activities and contests in relation to sport. Winter sports and skiing were particularly popular activities. At gatherings and conventions, lectures by well-known Norwegians visiting America were frequent features. A key purpose of Sons of Norway was 'to foster and preserve the Norwegian language among our members' (Lovoll 1999:292). However, in 1919 English-speaking lodges were approved, and by 1942 all official reports from Sons of Norway were written in English (Lovoll 1999). Women were granted membership in the organisation on par with men in 1950.

2.4.4 Nor-Bu Lodge: Taking on a wider perspective and function in the local community of Lake Telemark

The two Norwegian organisations in Lake Telemark the BUL Club and Norseman Lodge Sons of Norway merged in 1978 and took the name 'Nor-Bu Lodge No 427 Sons of Norway'. With the BUL cabin as a focal point, Nor-Bu Lodge has continued to promote and maintain the legacy of Norwegian history, culture and traditions in the community by providing descendants of Norwegian immigrants with the opportunity to learn about their heritage through various activities such as folk dancing, rose-painting ('rosemaling'), Norwegian cooking and Norwegian language classes. However, the organisation also actively engages in charitable tasks which benefit the community at large without regard to ethnicity and religion. Thus, Nor-Bu Lodge aims to facilitate the well-being of the entire community in Lake Telemark (Karlsen 1990). The organisation's role and esteem in the neighbourhood became apparent when the BUL cabin was completely destroyed by fire on 4 January 1989. The incident was a significant setback for the Lodge, but the determination to rebuild the log cabin, thus endorsing the centre and focal point for Norwegian culture in Lake Telemark, attracted immense support in the community. Fundraising and building concepts committees were formed and plans were made for the funding and organising of the reconstruction. Economic and practical challenges were eventually solved, and the process of rebuilding the cabin started in the spring of 1990, intensifying as the autumn progressed (Karlsen 1990). The brunt of the work was carried out by volunteer labour, crucial in the entire process of realising the reconstruction of the cabin. As a result of the Lake Telemark community's joint effort, Nor-Bu Lodge held its Grand opening of the new BUL cabin on 22 November 1991.

2.5 Host society policy and attitudes to non-English immigrant languages

2.5.1 The dominance of English in the USA

English has never been the only language in the USA, but since the early stages of the European colonisation of North America the language has been dominant among those in political and economic power. Non-English colonists who settled before or along with the English and had emigrated due to religious or cultural persecution, maintained particularly cohesive communities. They established religious and educational mother tongue institutions which helped them retain a sense of unique cultural identity and pass on the language. Nevertheless, they never posed serious challenge to the dominant position of the English language, and neither did the influx of non-English speakers to the USA in later centuries. The precedence of English was maintained through political and sociological processes reinforced by the dominance of British settlers; an Anglo-American system of government; and an Anglo-Saxon ideal (Conklin & Lourie 1983). And yet, English was never designated as the official language by the founders of the USA. The possible reasons for this could be that the dominance of English was self-evident and that an official policy was therefore superfluous, or that linguistic diversity and minority rights were respected (Wiley 2004). Regardless of these plausible explanations, English has functioned as if it were indeed the official language throughout US history and has thus possessed the status as such.

2.5.2 English and Scandinavian immigrant languages

In the 1850s speakers of colonial languages continued to enter the USA and these were joined by considerable numbers of Scandinavians. Pioneer Scandinavian immigrants were strongly attracted to land ownership and moved quickly through the eastern states to the frontier land grant areas to create rural communities in the Upper Midwest. Swedes and Norwegians, who accounted for almost 90% of the Scandinavian immigrants, gradually clustered in the Midwest, but remained largely rural in their settlements. These immigrants were conscious about maintaining their ethnic cultures in America and established religious institutions and parochial schools in attempts to preserve their native languages, which thrived well into the 20th century (Conclin & Lourie 1983). A large proportion of the Danish immigrants also settled in the Upper Midwest, but in contrast to the Swedes and Norwegians, they were less rurally oriented and tended to assimilate rapidly into the English-speaking environment. Many

Finns settled in Minnesota and Michigan, but Finnish-speaking communities also emerged in Massachusetts and the New England region.

New waves of Scandinavian immigrants continued to arrive in the USA up to and immediately after World War I. Unlike previous patterns of settlement, the 20th century immigrant Swedes tended to take up residence in urban areas. Swedish Americans succeeded to a large extent in maintaining the Swedish language until the 1930s, but from this point onwards the number of Swedish speakers declined rapidly (Conclin & Lourie 1983). The Finnish Americans were the most language-retentive of the Scandinavians according to Conclin and Lourie (1983), who suggest that this could be due to the fact that the Finnish language is unrelated to other Scandinavian languages. Despite the small number of Finnish immigrants, they assimilated at a slower rate, and the language was still spoken in ethnic communities in the 1980s (Conclin & Lourie 1983).

2.5.3 Americanisation and assimilation: Language policies and attitudes to non-English mother tongues

Between 1880 and 1920 the greatest numbers of new Americans came from southern and eastern Europe. During this period, immigration became an industry with headquarters in New York City, which served as the port of entry for nearly all new immigrants. Many remained here or in other Northern cities, which now offered the greatest economic opportunities. These immigrants faced urban life without any urban experience from before, as many were peasants and came from village societies. Many of them dealt with this situation by maintaining close-knit ethnic neighbourhoods in which their Old World language persisted for several generations (Conclin & Lourie 1983). Despite the surge of non-English immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, English consolidated its position as the prominent language. Numbers and political dominance continued to favour English speakers; conditions which stemmed from long-term conscious public policy to Americanise immigrants. In 1818 Congress legislated that no nationality could establish a new homeland within the borders of the United States. This implied that no part of the country could be exclusively reserved for a distinct group of people. However, the legislation did not prevent large groups of one ethnicity from settling in the same district. Although no ethnic enclaves could become independent or self governing in any way, this policy effectively preserved

English as the common language at the local as well as the national level (Conclin & Lourie 1983).

The federal government took measures which promoted the English language more directly in relation to immigrants seeking citizenship in the USA. From 1906 naturalisation laws required that anyone accepted for citizenship had to be able to speak and understand English. Moreover, in 1952 the ability to read and write English was added to the requirements for obtaining American citizenship. These laws were strong signals to potential and future citizens that English was considered a necessary tool of American life, to put it mildly. English language and literacy requirements have also served a gate-keeping function in immigration, and provided legal sanction for political discrimination: immigrants lacking literacy skills were prohibited from voting. With the adoption of The Voting Rights Act 1965, literacy and education provisions were forbidden, and since this point U.S. immigration laws have remained neutral with regard to racial, national and linguistic background.

Public policy in education also contributed to the adoption of English by immigrants. By 1870 every state in the union had committed itself to compulsory education. As a result of massive immigrant arrivals from the 1880s and beyond, thousands of non-English speaking children became a public responsibility. Especially in the larger cities, educational institutions responded to this challenge by setting out to americanise their foreign-born students (Conclin & Lourie 1983). While some schools sought to erase all traces of immigrant culture, others tried to support selected ethnic traits. Above all, they all agreed that the new Americans needed to learn English. As a result, immigrant children studied English at school, and their parents were encouraged to attend evening classes sponsored by their employers or public schools. The percentage of foreign-born immigrants unable to speak English dropped significantly from 31% in 1910 to 15% in 1920 and 8.5% in 1930. It is assumed that the educational effort guaranteed the continuation of English primacy even in an era when vast numbers of non-English speakers entered American cities.

In addition to official policies targeted to assimilate immigrants, Americans developed an ideology which emphasised the positive aspects of assimilation and the negative impact of remaining culturally or linguistically different. The philosophy of the 'American dream' promised, for example, that 'anyone' could become 'a fully acculturated American by simply adhering to a certain attractive set of abstractions: liberty, democracy, equality, free enterprise' (Conclin & Lourie 1983:69). Apparently, these ideals are not restricted to a

specific ethnicity, but appeal to people of different backgrounds without seemingly threatening to cause a loss of ethnic identity. Adapting to these ideals is associated with promise of achieving the economic and social rewards of upward mobility. Because most immigrants to the USA have hopes of a better life, assimilation to American values has been considered beneficial and in this process, learning English has been a fundamental ingredient. In contrast, the negative aspects of cultural difference are echoed in the history of American nativism, which addresses the fears rather than the hopes associated with newcomers. The doctrine of Anglo-Saxon superiority dates back to American colonisation and asserts that ‘the virtues of individual liberty and self-government belong uniquely to the Anglo-Saxons (or English) and by extension to the American “race”’ (Conklin & Lourie 1983:70). American nationalists elaborated this concept and considered it a duty to impose Anglo-American virtues, and the institutions that sustained them, on other cultures. The English language represented this superiority and the adoption of English by immigrants demonstrated their conversion to the Anglo-American ideal. Those who were unable to convert, or who chose not to, became targets of American nativism and experienced escalating pressure to demonstrate their American patriotism, especially in the two first decades of the 20th century.

There has often been strong anti-immigrant sentiment in American society at times when large numbers of newcomers have challenged the American norms of appearance, behaviour and speech (Fillmore 2004), but the language of instruction was not mentioned in laws of public schools until the late 19th century. Hence, teaching in non-English languages was practised. However, in response to massive immigration and an increasing antipathy towards foreigners, states started to pass laws requiring that English must be used as the language of instruction in schools in the early 1900s. By 1923 such laws had been enacted by 34 states. This prohibition against languages other than English in schools continued until the 1960s, when minority groups successfully claimed that their languages and cultures should be endorsed in the classroom. Their initiative led to the federal Bilingual Act of 1968, which provided funding for states and local districts to develop bilingual education programs aimed at children from low income families with limited English language skills. A combination of instruction in their first language and English was provided during the first years of school to ease the transition into receiving instruction in English only. The Bilingual Education Act was refined and expanded in the 1970s. School districts were now made responsible for introducing programs to ensure equality of educational opportunity for students from non-English backgrounds. These changes were acclaimed by educators and those who saw

bilingual education as a useful approach to educating students who did not know English, or who lacked sufficient English proficiency. However, they were criticised by others, who viewed bilingual education as tantamount to abandoning the ideal of the USA as a melting pot, and schools as the arenas where linguistic and cultural diversity were eliminated and immigrants transformed into English-speaking Americans (Fillmore 2004). Furthermore, it was argued that immigrants had previously acquired English quickly and successfully without such facilitation. The fact is that many past immigrants failed in school, but at the same time, it was quite common not to finish high school in the USA during the 1940s and 50s. There was a large and varied demand for labour, and the prospect of starting to earn a living early on was a competitive alternative to education. Due to the economic boom in the post WWII decades, there were job opportunities even for people with poor English language skills and little formal education. Thus the great need for labour provided easy access to the labour market and enabled immigrants to support themselves and earn a living despite educational failure in the USA.

Bilingual education is said to be the ‘bellwether’ of attitudes and policies concerning non-English languages in the USA, and Fishman (1988) describes bilingual education as the largest and most omnipresent non-English-language effort undertaken by the Federal and various State governments. Regardless of bilingual education programmes, however, the majority of people in the USA support English as the common language. An upturn in attitudes favouring non-English languages from the late 1960s and largely throughout the 1970s, was succeeded by a reversal from the 1980s to the trend towards official recognition and protection of English, and restrictions and minimal linguistic accommodation of other languages (Wiley 2004).

2.5.4 Language change and the rewards of assimilation

The litmus test of successful U.S. language policies is strongly linked to the extent of opportunities for social mobility in American society (Wiley 2004). For many years the traditional image of the USA with regard to immigrants was that of the ‘melting-pot’, which described a process in which ethnic groups downplayed their ethnicity and assimilated into the mainstream of American society. Except during periods of economic and political unrest, there has not generally been any official pressure upon immigrants to abandon linguistic and cultural aspects of their ethnicity (Edwards 1977). Rather, as suggested by Fishman (1966),

what has caused the rapid Americanisation of immigrants is the relative openness of American society, and the evident economic and social rewards associated with full participation in American life. This suggests that people were willing to give up certain aspects of their previous lifestyle in exchange for access to economic advantages and social mobility. In this light, an immigrant whose first language is not English may consider everyday use of her/his first language an impediment to full participation in the values associated with assimilation into American society. As a result, the perceived advantages of a language shift to English may outweigh the perceived disadvantages.

Despite the fact that the USA is constantly recomposing itself as a 'nation of immigrants', immigrant languages are not recognised as great natural and national resources (Fishman 2004). Throughout the course of U.S. history, Americans have conducted their public life as if they were a nation of monolingual speakers. English is widely considered the language of mainstream America, and it is still the language required to achieve social mobility and public influence. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the process of language shift has been a dominant immigrant experience in the USA. In the past, it generally took one or two generations for an immigrant language to be lost. At the beginning of the 21st century, this process has accelerated: in our day and age, many first generation immigrants have lost their L1 before fully mastering English (Fillmore 2004). Therefore, in the USA today multilingualism normally marks fairly recent immigrant status.

3.0 The thesis and its framework of relevant theories and research

3.1 Approaches to the Study of Language Maintenance and Shift

The study of language maintenance and language shift examines the dynamics of contact between languages in an immigrant context. More specifically, it explores the impact of the dominant language on other languages and the complexity of factors involved in this process. In order to understand how and why people use language the way they do, language contact research has developed into an interdisciplinary and multidimensional field that includes interrelations between structural linguistics, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics (Clyne 2003). According to Clyne (2003:2), the different approaches to language contact all start from the premise that language fulfils four major functions, namely that it is:

1. The most important medium of human communication.
2. A means by which people can identify themselves and others.
3. A medium of cognitive and conceptual development.
4. An instrument of action.

Languages being in contact results from people or communities of different language backgrounds being in contact, according to Clyne (2003), who describes the linguistic behaviour in such contexts as ‘both an expression of multiple identity and a response to multiple identity. It also constitutes the satisfaction of a need to communicate and act in particular situations and follows an understanding of language as a resource’ (Clyne 2003:2). An alternation between, or a differentiated use of, two languages in contact may therefore be practised in migrant communities. The host community’s language may be used in some domains, often school and workplace, while the first language is maintained in other domains, such as the home or during social and religious events.

Fasold (1984) identifies the processes of LMS as ‘the collective results of language choice’ (213). Language shift implies that a community gives up a language in favour of another, while in language maintenance, ‘the community collectively decides to continue using the languages it has traditionally used’ (Fasold 1984:213). The phenomenon of language shift can therefore be defined as the shift from the use of one language to the use of another, while language maintenance involves keeping up one’s first language. In contrast, Weinreich (1964)

defined language shift as the change from *habitual* use of one language to another. He argued that language shift could be analysed by referring to the subjective experiences of the speaker, which in turn were ‘conditioned by social relations in the community in which they live’ (Weinreich 1964:4). Fishman (1966) shared the idea that LMS is a societal phenomenon consisting of processes determined by the language attitudes and practices of individuals. The motivation to learn the host community’s language may depend on instrumental and integrative reasons such as employment and career prospects and an ambition to become an integral part of the host society’s culture. Fishman suggests that the study of LMS must be concerned with the interaction of psychological, social and cultural factors to succeed at understanding the processes and problems of language maintenance and shift. The significance attributed to the different factors or variables influencing LMS varies according to the specific nature of the study, and the researchers’ emphasis and identification of such variables. To illustrate this point, Weinreich (1953) for example, lists geographic factors, cultural or ethnic group membership, religion, social status, age, and rural versus urban residence as important variables. Haugen (1956) adds, amongst other factors, political affiliation and education; while Kloss (1966) sees time of migration, religio-societal insulation, patterns of settlement, and language islands as significant variables influencing LMS. However, it is the intricate interaction of many of these factors such as the community’s demographic pattern of migration and settlement, and their attitudes regarding their cultural identity that plays a vital role in determining the extent of LMS. To reveal the determinants of LMS requires investigation both of an individual’s orientation towards languages, and of the social and cultural issues relevant to the community’s ethnic and national identity. A framework which takes into account the complex relationship between many factors involved in LMS is the Ethnolinguistic Vitality model.

3.2 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

The Ethnolinguistic vitality model examines the status of minority languages by assessing language behaviour in majority contexts (Hamid 2011). Language vitality is a measure of a language’s chances of survival in ‘a language contact situation in which there are other languages and language users’ (Hamid 2010:54). The notion of vitality was first introduced into the ethnolinguistic arena by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), according to whom:

The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes the group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations. From this, it can be argued that ethnolinguistic minorities who have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as a distinctive group. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context. (308)

From this perspective, the members of a group rely on each other and act collectively in terms of language behaviour rather than operate as isolated individuals. Giles et al. (1977:208-9) consider the three structural variables of status and demographic and institutional support to be the essential components most likely to influence the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups sharing a common environment, and they argue that these variables are interconnected. The concept of EV became a tool for analysing language shift, language attitudes and inter-ethnic communication. The framework has later been developed by researchers to facilitate analysis of a broad range of issues related to language, ethnicity, bilingualism and inter-group communication.

3.2.1 Status factors

In EV status variables relate to a linguistic group's social and historical status and the prestige of its language and culture. The more status a community enjoys as a collective entity, the more vitality it is said to possess according to Giles et al. (1977).

The economic status of a group can affect language maintenance and shift. According to research (Paulsen 1981, Baker 1993), groups who are financially independent and in control of their economy are able to maintain their first language to a larger extent than communities suffering unemployment and low incomes. Obtaining economic success through hard work is highly valued and strongly associated with prestige, status and social success in American society. Hence, employment is an obvious motivation and reason to learn the English language. Consequently, a situation like this encourages bilingualism but it does not necessarily mean abandoning L1, i.e. language shift. However, in predominantly monolingual countries advocating a policy of assimilation as is the case in the USA, migrants have been expected to conform and shift to the English language irrespective of economic status.

Another factor considered important in determining a group's vitality is socio-historical status, which concerns periods in which linguistic groups have struggled to defend, maintain or assert their rights to exist as a collective entity (Giles et al. 1977:308). Historical instances

may acquire symbolic significance and inspire and manifest a group's strength and identity, thus contributing to language maintenance. On the other hand, groups who reflect negatively on their past are likely to reduce their vitality by hiding their linguistic identity, which may in turn, result in language shift.

Language status refers to the status enjoyed by the language spoken by a group both within and outside the linguistic community. According to Giles et al.'s concept of EV, this variable is significant because the minority group's attitude towards its languages may be an indicator of language vitality (Giles et al. 1977:312). In groups where the minority language is valued and seen as an important symbol of ethnic and cultural identity, its vitality is likely to increase. Positive attitudes reinforce efforts to use the minority language in various domains and contribute to enhance the group's ability to resist pressure from the majority group to use their language. Likewise, it is assumed that linguistic minorities whose language enjoys international status and importance within the media, technology, business, culture and science, are likely to be advantaged in terms of group vitality. However, language status may differ in different domains, and advantages in one may be cancelled out by disadvantages in the other. Still, minorities whose languages are more prestigious than that of the dominant majority are believed to have more vitality as group entities compared to minorities whose languages are less prestigious than that of the dominant culture (Giles et al. 1977).

3.2.2 Demographic factors

Demographic variables can increase or decrease the vitality of a linguistic minority group. These variables relate to factors such as the number of people in the ethnolinguistic group in proportion to the numeric concentration of the host community, to geographical distribution, and whether the minorities are found in rural or urban areas. Numeric factors also involve the group's birth rate, exogamy or endogamy, and patterns of emigration and immigration.

Some studies (Li 1982, Gardner 1995) emphasise the importance of demographic patterns of migration and settlement in migrant communities. Ethnic minority groups concentrated in geographically confined areas tend to develop stronger networks, thus creating a sense of linguistic and cultural identity. A robust network can empower a group's ability to resist linguistic and cultural pressures from the outside and hence increase the chance of language maintenance. In contrast, if communities are widely dispersed geographically it may be difficult to develop a distinct cultural and linguistic identity. This is likely to decrease the

vitality of a minority group's language. Similarly, the chances of L1 survival are reduced if members of a community migrate individually or in small groups, whereas chain migration may reinforce the linguistic group's vitality. However, a simple increase or decrease in the number of members in a migrant community does not indicate an immediate change in the vitality of their language. Emigration caused by economic or social conditions seems to reduce the number of in-group speakers in the linguistic community because learning and mastering the majority language is considered vital to sustainability and success in the new country. In turn, this motivation affects the vitality of the group. In urban areas, the language spoken at work is likely to be the dominant majority language. Hence, maintenance of minority languages may prove more difficult in urban surroundings than in rural settlements.

In demographic terms, inter-ethnic marriages can influence the number of speakers maintaining the minority language and thus gradually change the linguistic pattern of a migrant community. Here, it is the language with the higher status which normally has the best chance of survival and that assumingly dominates as the spoken language in the home. Language use in the home is a good predictor of LMS, and large scale censuses in many countries confirm that if a language is not transmitted in the home domain, it is not likely to survive for another generation.

Williams (1992) criticises the importance ascribed to numerical strength in the demographic factor by Giles et al.'s (1977) EV model because it does not consider that a numerical minority can be a majority in terms of power and dominance. On the other hand, Harwood et al. argue that strength in numbers can sometimes be used as a legitimising tool to empower groups with 'the institutional control they need to shape their own collective destiny within the intergroup structure (Bouhris 1984a, Wardhaugh 1987)' (Harwood, Giles and Bouhris 1994:167). Thus, demographic factors may represent the most fundamental asset of ethnolinguistic groups whether the power dimension is mobilised and gained through numerical strength or not.

3.2.3 Institutional support factors

Institutional support factors refer to a linguistic group's representation in the institutions of a nation. The institutions can range from a national to a local level, and represent areas within the mass media, finance, industry, culture, government services and education. To what extent minority languages are supported through language policies and used in education is

considered to be of crucial importance (Landry and Allard 1994). Moreover, institutional support may be formal or informal, distinguished by a group's ability to directly or indirectly influence decision-making in the various institutions mentioned. Ethnolinguistic groups with strong institutional control of state and private institutions are in a better position to safeguard and enhance, and thus uphold, their vitality as a collective entity than ethnolinguistic groups which lack institutional control in the different domains described (Harwood et al. 1994).

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) concept of language vitality to explain interethnic behaviour has been criticised. Partly, this criticism targets the model's assumption that the structural variables of status, demography and institutional support are independent entities. The critics object that these variables are inter-related in a complex manner, and that it is the evaluation of the combined effects of these variables which makes it possible to determine the relative vitality of the ethnolinguistic group (Husband and Khan 1982). Moreover, the model's failure to accommodate the subjective qualities determining language vitality is criticised. Williams (1992) argues that some of the objective variables, such as social, economic, language and socio-historic status, also have a subjective quality. Thus, some of the variables used in determining language vitality can be assessed both objectively and subjectively. Williams claims that the EV model fails to provide a link between objective and subjective dimensions and argues that objective structural variables do not explain how subjective vitality is developed 'whether it is through an individual's own experience or through contacts with ethnolinguistic groups' (Hamid 2011:61).

3.3 Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality

A step forward in the ethnolinguistic vitality theory is provided by Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal's (1981) framework of Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality. While the description of vitality factors is seen as crucial objective dimensions for determining the vitality of a language in EV, in SEV the perception of the vitality factors by the speakers is regarded as fundamental. Bourhis et al. (1981) measured the SEV of ethnolinguistic groups by investigating how the members perceived the EV variables in relation to other groups of users. They believe the members' subjective assessments of factors constituting the demographic, institutional support, and status variables to be as crucial as the objectively assessed vitality variables in explaining interethnic behaviour, language use and language attitudes. A combination of both objective and subjective vitality information was proposed as

a more sensitive method for predicting ethnolinguistic behaviour by Giles and Johnson in 1981 (Harwood et al. 1994). The combined notions of subjective and objective vitality have proven useful as conceptual tools for analysing language behaviour in ethnolinguistic language research and in developing the theoretical concepts of ethnolinguistic vitality frameworks.

Based on the SEV concept, Allard and Landry (1986, 1992, 1994) developed a model of vitality-related beliefs to further improve the ability to predict language behaviour, particularly in relation to language use indicating assimilation or bilingualism. These beliefs relate to perceptions of sociological factors and the behaviour of oneself and others which may affect a community's EV (Allard and Landry 1994). The model is used to explain language attitudes and behaviour of the ethnic minority community towards L1 use and their motivation to learn and maintain L1. The link between objective factors (sociological level) and the subjective perceptions (psychological level) of an individual is provided by the individual's experiences with the other members of the ethnolinguistic group (socio-psychological level). The set of beliefs in Allard and Landry's model of additive and subtractive bilingual development are based on the theory of cognitive orientation (Keitler and Keitler 1976, 1982), which states that 'human behaviour changes either consciously or unconsciously in response to the stimuli it receives' (Hamid 2011:62). Individuals attach meaning to the stimuli they receive and this affects their language behaviour; consequently, changes in stimuli can lead to changes in behaviour. Landry and Allard argue that their model attempts to 'develop a relationship between the individual and society and the processes involved in this relationship is "interactive" and "complementary" leading to different types of bilingualism' (Hamid 2011:62). Additive bilingualism develops when the conditions favour L1 maintenance while learning L2, whereas subtractive bilingualism occurs when acquiring L2 is associated with loss of L1 and one's culture (Allard and Landry 1992). According to Allard and Landry (1994), it is in the social environment providing the individual's network of linguistic contacts (INLC) in L1 and L2 that s/he lives the totality of her/his ethnolinguistic experiences. Opportunities for linguistic contact can occur in a variety of formal and informal contexts and with varying frequency, and includes both oral and written communication.

3.4 Language, identity and cultural continuity

3.4.1 A perspective on the connection between identity and the symbolic function of language

The way language is used in different contexts provides information about social relations in a community and about how people convey and construct aspects of their social identity (Holmes 2013). Through language, we can give indications of who we are, where we come from, and possibly also signal what social experiences we have been subjected to.

John Edwards (2009) approaches the connections between language and identity with a focus on the symbolic and what he calls the ‘marking’ functions of language rather than on the communicative ones; he differentiates between language as ‘an instrumental tool, and language as an emblem of groupness, as a symbol, a psychosocial rallying-point’ (Edwards 2009:55). It is crucial that these functions of language be seen in the context of a social and political setting, he argues. In discussing the ambiguous term of identity, Edwards makes reference to Groebner’s (2004) definition as he outlines three main interpretations of the term: ‘Identity can refer to an individual’s own subjective sense of self, to personal classification ‘markers’ that appear as important, both to oneself and others, and also to those markers that delineate group membership(s)’ (Edwards 2009:16). He emphasises the identity markers and attributes of ‘groupness’, arguing that identity must be seen in a context, and that personal and group identities embrace one another as elements of individual identity are drawn from ‘some common social pool’ (Edwards 2009:2). Personal characteristics derive from socialisation within groups, which form the context in which one’s identity can be constructed. Thus, we may possess a multiplicity of identities depending on circumstances and contexts.

Consequently, identity markers may come and go. In Edwards’ view, the pivoting connection between individual identity and ‘groupness’ is continuity: ‘At a personal level, this is what reassures me of my own on-going integrity; at the level of the group it is a connectivity born in history and carried forward in tradition’ (Edwards 2009:19).

Concerning the connection between language and identity, Edwards claims that it is the very symbolic charge that language carries which makes it an important component in individual and group identity. And about the symbolic representation of language he says the following (2009:63):

[...] the potency of language-as-a-symbol, the degree to which deep psychological and social wells are being tapped, and the obvious conclusion that most discussions of what could be termed ‘the social life of language’ are, in their essence, not really about language at all. They are about identity.

However, the function of language as an identity marker at a group level may vary significantly across speech communities. Edwards suggests that the reason for this can be found in the distinction between the instrumental and symbolic roles of language, which in turn depend on the needs of the speakers and the time span of a language shift. In majority-group cultures and in groups where the language in daily use is also the ancestral language, the communicative and symbolic roles of language coexist. Edwards argues that we can distinguish between these two functions of language because a language that has lost most of its communicative function can still retain some symbolic value for a period of time. He points out that language embedded in a cultural continuity, and thus maintaining its symbolic role, can be observed in immigrant groups in the USA. Also, it can be seen in examination of language use and attitudes in minority groups who have undergone a language shift or who are in the process of language shift. Edwards confirms the importance of the time aspect if a language is to maintain its symbolic status and continue to be a part of a group’s cultural heritage, but without estimating a time frame. From his perspective, the span of linguistic existence is granted by human society and culture as it is the speakers who decide whether or not a language is maintained or lost. In other words, different languages are not intrinsically stronger or weaker, but inevitably contingent on their users. Edwards concludes that although the symbolic aspects of language can long outlast a language shift, the loss or abandonment of a language’s communicative role will eventually lead to dilution and disappearance of its symbolic function.

3.4.2 Language as an ethnic core value

Smolicz (1981) regards core values as the fundamental components which constitute the culture of a group and which act as identifying values symbolic of the group and its members. When people feel that there is a direct link between their identity as a group and what they regard as the most distinguishing element of their culture, this element becomes a core value for the group (Smolicz 1981). Core values play an important role in patterning the social life of the group.

The theory of language as an ethnic core value attempts to analyse and understand language behaviour from the perspective of language as a symbol of identity (Smolicz 1992). In the maintenance of a group's cultural identity, some symbols become more salient than others. Often, these are aspects of the traditional culture that will unite the group and be useful in promoting the group's interests as they recreate a distinctive collective identity and autonomy (Hamid 2011). In addition to the language, the cultural values of a group may include national dances, religion, food, traditions, family structure, and attachment to the land of origin. Not all of these values are of equal importance for identifying oneself as a member of a particular ethnic group; some values can therefore be given up without putting the group's vitality and integrity at risk (Smolicz 1992). In contrast, removal of core values through external pressures 'would result in the edifice crumbling to pieces', as these values constitute the cultural foundation of the group's social system (Smolicz 1992:279). In situations where groups need to defend symbols that identify their distinctive cultural entity, cultural life becomes more important, and culture with its core elements becomes a fundamental value. This is especially the case in migrant communities exposed to pressures and influences from a dominant majority advocating a policy of cultural assimilation (Vecoli 1979). Smolicz (1981) argues that ethno-cultural groups differ in their emphasis on L1 as core value, and that the political and cultural significance of language as a marker of identity depends on the language's importance in maintaining a specific ethnic identity. Encounters with the cultural values of other groups may reshape the concept of symbols that define a group's identity, which is more likely to happen when the contact is with the values of the dominant culture. Thus, in migrant societies where there is a pooling of cultural resources and values by minority groups and the majority, minority languages can be maintained by accepting bilingualism at the individual and group levels (Smolicz 1992). However, in societies where the majority subscribes the ideology of linguistic monism, maintaining an ethnic language becomes problematic and a shift to the dominant language is the rule rather than the exception.

3.5 The study and relevant empirical research

3.5.1 A study of language shift among Dutch migrants who arrived in New Zealand between 1950 and 1965.

In 2010 Ineke Crezee published a study of past and current language use of a group of elderly bilingual Dutch migrants in New Zealand. The 30 respondents in Crezee's research arrived in

New Zealand between 1950 and 1965, and were aged between 18 and 35 years at the time. Most of them (70%) had received some English instruction before immigrating, and all of the respondents had acquired English or improved their English through immersion in New Zealand. At the time of the interview, the respondents were between 65 and 92 years old. The recorded interviews took place in the respondents' homes and they were asked questions about their language use and experiences since their migration. Based on data from this study, Crezee published an article in the *International Journal of Bilingualism* in 2012 where she focused on the respondents' comments about their motivation and reasons for either maintaining their first language or shifting to their second language in the home domain. Previous studies from New Zealand (Hulsen 2000, Roberts 1999) report high rates of language shift among L1 Dutch migrants. Crezee examines some of the findings in her own research in the light of these studies, particularly to evaluate the possible impact of host society attitudes held in the decades between 1950 and 1970. At the time, Dutch migrants met expectations to assimilate and adapt to the ways of Anglophone New Zealanders.

Whether or not the first language is spoken in the home domain has proven to be a good predictor of future use and maintenance. If a language is not transmitted in the home, it is unlikely to survive another generation (Clyne, 2003; Fishman 1991, 2001). In Crezee's (2012) research, only a small proportion (7%) of the respondents reported having spoken Dutch 'all the time' at home initially. Within a few years, a majority (18/30) of the respondents stated that they had shifted to using English at home, while 40% reported that they had maintained Dutch. The study revealed that the shift to English occurred in relation to the children's school attendance. The overwhelming reason for the language shift was the parents' desire to secure the children's participation in 'the dominant mode of education and culture' (Crezee 2012:534). In most cases (14), the shift to English had followed advice given by New Zealand professionals: a teacher (12), a nurse (1), and a doctor (1). From their positions of authority, they had cautioned the parents about the risk that their children might lag behind academically if they failed to speak English to them at home. Two respondents described the shift to L2 in the home domain as a strategy to prevent their children from being bullied at school because of having a foreign accent or in any way sounding different to the English-speaking New Zealanders. Another two respondents explained that the language shift occurred when older siblings attending school started to speak English to their younger siblings at home. These responses seem to show that the primary concern of the Dutch immigrants' in their language choices was to act as responsible parents and in the best interest of their children; they chose

to assimilate for the sake of their children's future (Crezee, 2012). Hence, Crezee's study (2012) confirms findings in other studies of a very quick shift to English in the home domain among Dutch migrants in New Zealand. Crezee comments that several of the respondents who had not maintained their L1 at home expressed regret at this fact. Concerning changing attitudes in New Zealand towards migrants maintaining L1, 21 of the respondents perceived New Zealanders as more tolerant at the time of the interview (2006-2007) than at the time of their own immigration. Due to the government policy of prioritising Anglophone migrants in the 1940s and 1950s, most people in New Zealand were monolingual at the time of the respondents' arrival. What is more, the government pursued a policy in the 1950s of dispersing the Dutch migrants throughout the country. This reduced the opportunity to use their mother tongue in a social setting outside the home. Figures in Crezee's study show that 12 respondents spoke very little Dutch with friends at the initial stage of immigration, whereas three informants spoke no Dutch with friends shortly after arrival. With regards to communication in the work domain, the respondents had primarily used their L2 even when speaking with compatriots. The majority of interviewees (20) said that they felt that the New Zealanders wanted them to speak English all the time, the private sphere included. If they spoke Dutch, New Zealanders expressed suspicion that they were talking about them. Despite these experiences and attitudes, and the general pressures from the host society to assimilate, most respondents reported they had received invaluable help and support from New Zealand friends and colleagues at the initial stage of immigration. Finally, the respondents in Crezee's study reported that they had tried hard to assimilate and become New Zealanders, but that their accent always revealed their immigrant background. However, after 50 years of trying to blend in, they had come to terms with being viewed as foreigners by the New Zealanders, and eventually they were proud of being Dutch.

3.5.2 Studies of language behaviour among Norwegian immigrants in the USA between 1936 and 1953

Studies of the Norwegian language in the USA are largely seen from a historical perspective and related to the immigrants' linguistic behaviour and their efforts to preserve 'the old language' by maintaining it in religious and various secular institutions established during the latter part of the 1800s and the first decades of the 1900s. Due to lack of contemporary research into language maintenance and language shift among Norwegian migrants in the USA from a sociolinguistic perspective and within the framework of ethnolinguistic vitality

theories, I concentrate on reviewing relevant highlights of the findings in Norwegian-American linguist Einar Haugen's (1969) comprehensive research about Norwegian migrants and language behaviour, conducted between 1936 and 1953 and described in *The Norwegian Language in America A Study of Bilingual Behaviour*. My intention is to establish what Haugen found out about the status of the Norwegian language in terms of maintenance or shift, and to look at how he explains possible factors involved in the process at the time. Among these factors, my emphasis will be on what he says about language use in the home domain, institutional support, and demography.

Haugen comments that ever since the beginning of the great Atlantic migration, the need for survival caused most non-English-speaking immigrants to learn as much English as was necessary to make their way in the new environment. Still, the majority of them continued to use their old language whenever possible, and many immigrants passed on their first language to their children, thereby making them bilingual. However, very little prestige has been attached to bilingualism in American society. Rather, the tendency has been to take it for granted that immigrants should acquire English, and a failure to do so 'was evidence by implication of a kind of disloyalty to the principles of American life' (Haugen 1969:2). In the aftermath of World War I, Americanisation and immigration restrictions spurred the American-born or hyphenated Americans to abandon their special traditions in order to fully assimilate into American society. This situation also brought a shift in the Norwegian-American ways of life. Immigrant institutions, such as the church, rapidly turned to English, and immigrant newspapers gradually lost strength. Nevertheless, these institutions had fuelled a strong sense of national pride among Norwegian-American groups and communities. They therefore continued to seek company with their fellow countrymen, and persisted in maintaining memories, customs and traditions that represented the legacy of the old country's culture. Hence, although most of them associated directly or indirectly with Americans and other ethnicities in the work domain, their social life was not integrated in the American matrix to the same extent.

The degree of bilingualism in the Norwegian settlements varied greatly according to their size and their contact with the outside world. Haugen (1969) observes that only a few of the informants in his study were completely L1 monolinguals, and that these were farmers living isolated lives in remote rural areas where life revolved around the farm, the Norwegian Lutheran church and their Norwegian neighbours. It is apparent from Haugen's analysis, that in addition to demography, he considers institutions established by the immigrants as

important factors in maintaining the Norwegian language in America through their provision of L1 input. Of these institutions, Haugen identifies the Norwegian Lutheran Church and its persistence as crucial. Apart from the fact that it practiced a Norwegian liturgy, the religious and social life in the communities revolved around activities initiated and organised by the church which meant that it created venues for practising the Norwegian language. Moreover, Sunday schools gave their instruction in Norwegian, and parochial schools' taught Norwegian writing to students up to the age of 13.

The establishment of educational institutions by the pioneer immigrants played its part in maintaining the Norwegian language, creating an opportunity for American-born generations to study and acquire the formal aspects of the Norwegian language. In the spirit of the Norwegian Latin School, Luther College was founded in 1861 to provide Norwegian language training and linguistic competence for pastors and laymen in the local congregations. Establishment of other schools and colleges followed, amongst these St. Olaf College which had a Norwegian faculty. Courses in Norwegian were also established in American state universities.

Another factor affecting the continuation of the Norwegian language in immigrant groups was the immigrant press. Its newspapers, journals, magazines and periodicals were published in Norwegian or in a combination of Norwegian and English. The various religious and secular publications gained increased significance as the written word met the need for information about the old as well as the new world. The press kept Norwegian Americans in touch with compatriots throughout the country and functioned as a vehicle for exchanging points of view among immigrants, as well as a medium for literary entertainment. The educational impact of the press made it a central social and cultural institution in the Norwegian-American communities.

Furthermore, Haugen (1969) mentions the potential influence on Norwegian language maintenance by the countless numbers of local, regional and national societies. In stemming the tide of cultural erasure, these organisations had many purposes, but 'most of them contained as one plank in their platforms the 'preservation of the Norwegian language' (Haugen 1969:238). Secular societies like the 'Bygdelag' and Sons of Norway had statutes obliging them to actively maintain the Norwegian language in oral and written form. Through a variety of cultural activities and social events, both organisations contributed towards maintaining Norwegian culture and language in America. Of course, the time aspect must not

be forgotten here, as many of these institutions faded out or gradually lost their influence prior to, or in the aftermath of, World War II. Besides, the fact should also be considered that institutions and societies adapted their concepts in different ways to accommodate changes taking place in the Norwegian immigrant communities, changes that were brought about by interaction between internal desires and external pressures from the larger American society to assimilate.

Haugen (1969) appears to stress the importance of L1 use in the home domain for maintaining the Norwegian language in America. He attributes great importance to parents' desire to pass on their first language to their children and writes about 'the authority of the parents over their children' in resisting the pressure from outside to use English (Haugen 1969:234). Haugen assumes that the migrant's age at the time of emigration matters, and observes that parents who emigrated as adults 'had little desire to adopt English as the family language' (Haugen 1969:234). He explains this by the socio-cultural aspects of language learning and the parents' wish to transfer elements from their own childhood to their children. Nursery rhymes, songs, prayers and stories which were only available to the parents in their mother tongue were examples of such elements. Haugen concludes that immigrants living in a Norwegian-speaking community have a greater chance of transferring L1 to their children because there will be less social pressure on the children to use English than in a dominant host community. Whenever immigrant children were in active contact with English-speaking children, as was often the case in urban communities, or when they entered the monolingual American public school, the pressure to shift to English in the home increased. However, Haugen finds no significant difference with regard to language use in the home domain between urban and rural communities once these 'grew sufficiently Americanized' (Haugen 1969:235). In due course, when the social pressure from the environment combined with strong resistance from the children to learning Norwegian, the parents eventually succumbed to using English.

Interestingly, Haugen alleges that the relationship between Norwegian and English has contained an element of controversy throughout the history of the Norwegian-American communities. The Language Question was a hot topic of discussion in private and public spheres whenever Norwegian immigrants settled in sufficient numbers to constitute a self-contained group. From Haugen's perspective, this controversy was rooted in the steady pressure on the immigrants by the dominant American environment to assimilate. When referring to the census of 1940 where 21 996 240 white Americans reported that the language of their childhood home was not English, Haugen claims that it reflects the writings of 'an

eminent rural sociologist [Ferenczi]’ who indicated that: ‘in many instances the melting pot has never reached the melting point’ (Haugen 1969:3). In other words, the optimistic American attitude that all immigrants would inevitably be assimilated into one great social structure had somehow failed to materialise. However, in the preface to the second edition of *The Norwegian Language in America*, dated 21 October 1968, Haugen states that the Norwegian language is slowly receding, observing that ‘it is nourished by only a slight trickle of immigration and home use by a small number of traditional-minded people’ (Haugen 1969:X). In addition to identifying continued immigration as a factor reinforcing the use of Norwegian, Haugen finds that the length of time spent in the new country affects the ethnic group’s ability to maintain L1. The longer the time spent in the USA, the less likely it is for the first generation immigrants to retain their mother tongue and to pass it on to the next generations. Haugen assumes that the trend of linguistic assimilation he describes is not unique for Norwegian immigrants as similar developments could be observed in other immigrant language groups in the USA, with the exception of immigrants whose L1 was English. However, at the time of Haugen’s study, no facts or comparative research existed to objectively support his assumptions.

4 Methodology

4.1 Method of data collection and procedures

4.1.1 A qualitative approach

The aim of the study conducted in a group of first generation Norwegian immigrants who settled in the Lake Telemark area during the 1950s and the 1960s is to explain the respondents' language choices and possible variables involved in the process by examining, as formulated in the research question, why there is a discrepancy between maintaining Norwegian culture on one hand and the Norwegian language on the other. The eclectic methodology used in approaching the issue reflects the interdisciplinary nature of the thesis, which combines civilisation and linguistic studies. The data was gathered using the procedures of structured recorded interview and questionnaire (Appendix 8), i.e. by means of a qualitative approach. The intention is to quote and report the subjective experiences and reflections provided by the respondents through their answers for the purpose of illuminating the research question. However, the collected data will also be presented in tables displaying frequency counts and percentages. Hence the respondents' perspectives provide the primary source of information in this study, and thus the empirical basis for understanding and analysing the dynamics of their language behaviour.

4.1.2 Tools

The choice of interviews as the primary method of collecting information for the project was considered the most viable option for several reasons. As the target group consisted of first generation Norwegians who immigrated to the USA during the 1950s and 60s, it was obvious that most of the respondents would be fairly advanced in years by now. For this reason, it was assumed that the majority were insufficiently familiar with computer technology to fill in an extensive questionnaire. Furthermore, answering a comprehensive questionnaire by hand would probably be time-consuming and demanding. Similarly, if a questionnaire distributed to all the respondents for filling in and returning was to be chosen as the only method of collecting data, information might be lost due to problematic terms and unclear or difficult questions, or fewer forms might be submitted. In contrast, the dynamics of an interview situation may to a larger extent facilitate interaction, dialogue and opportunities to adjust responses or clear up problems related to questions asked. Furthermore, the interview setting

makes it easier to pursue and elaborate on interesting and unique information about the interviewees and their stories. Besides, investing in meeting the respondents in person is likely to bring the student researcher closer to the project and the insider perspective. On the other hand, using oral and anecdotal evidence as primary sources may raise reliability questions. In this case, both the respondents' age and the time aspect suggest a potential risk of memory loss, selective memory, or reconstruction of the past, with a possible impact on the accuracy and validity of the research. And although the interviewer's presence means that misunderstandings may be cleared up, the respondents' perception and understanding of the questions may still cause ambiguity, leaving it up to the researcher to interpret their answers. The role of the researcher is challenged when respondents encounter issues they have never reflected upon and therefore find it difficult to produce a response to. Ethical considerations need to be made in order to decide if or when it is appropriate to intervene, whether it is to impose an answer or to interrupt digressions. The atmosphere during the interviews is significant for the nature of the elicited answers. Mutual respect, good contact, and taking the time to build a feeling of confidence with the respondents are factors of great importance. If respondents become anxious or uncertain, they might tend to give answers tailored to what they perceive as the interviewer's expectations. Regardless of the measures taken, the researcher will encounter the problems of bias, contradiction and interpretation, and must continually evaluate the reliability of statements and self-reported information.

4.1.3 The design of components in the interview and questionnaire

The 78 questions in the interview and the questionnaire are identical. The questionnaire was made in both digital and paper versions. The questions were constructed after reviewing literature and research within the fields of immigration and sociolinguistics. However, as a student specialised in civilisation, my knowledge of sociolinguistics was rather limited at the time of designing the questionnaire. This fact combined with time restrictions, contributed to the comprehensive content of the questionnaire. Moreover, as I had only one week to organise and carry out the fieldwork in the USA, the questions had to cover a broad range of topics in order to ensure that the information needed for my subsequent work on the project was collected. Both open and closed questions are included, seeking data about the following factors:

- Personal information
- Family and background
- Emigration history
- Immigrant experience: Life in America
- The Dream about America
- Relation to the home country (Norway)
- Cultural identity
- English language skills and learning history
- Language use in various contexts

The presented research findings will not include data from every question asked, but all of the components described above will be represented. The data considered of greatest relevance for shedding light on, or possibly providing answers to, the research question will be emphasised in the presentation of findings.

4.1.4 Practical procedures

The tools were used according to this distribution among the 14 respondents:

Tools:	Number:	Procedure:
Interview:	8	Answers recorded by interviewer on a Philips Voice Tracer digital recorder.
	1	Answers taken down as notes by interviewer due to the extended time needed for the interview to accommodate the respondent's hearing problems.
Questionnaire:	2	Filled in digitally by respondent.
	3	Filled in by hand, one by respondent, and two by the respondents' offspring.
Total:	14	

The informants in the study were presented with a written document (Appendix 9) about the project, outlining its purpose and objectives and documenting the Norwegian Social Science Data Services's approval. The information underscored that taking part in the research was

voluntary, and that even if they had agreed to take part, they could refrain from answering all questions or withdraw from the interview altogether without giving any explanation. The information from two of the respondents was gathered after I had returned to Norway. The information about the project and conditions of participation was mailed out to them along with a tailor-made letter, the paper version questionnaire, and a self-addressed stamped envelope. These respondents had called to set up interviews while I was in Lake Telemark, but unfortunately I had run out of time. Since I had no internet access during my stay in the USA, the two respondents who used the digital questionnaire were also sent (emailed) the information about the study upon my return to Norway. All informants had to give their consent in order to take part in the study.

The interviews were conducted from 3 to 10 October 2012. Six interviews were recorded at my aunt's house, and two in the respondents' own homes. One respondent, a former Lake Telemark inhabitant, was visiting a niece in Lake Telemark and this interview took place at her house. On one occasion, a third person was present in the interview setting. Of the nine interviewed respondents, I had met all but one previously. Hence, 'ice-breakers' were not necessary as conversations flowed easily before the interviews started. The atmosphere during the interviews was very friendly and relaxed. The eight recorded interviews lasted between 27 to 78 minutes (27, 35, 38, 50, 69, 72, 78, and 78). The difference in interview length can be attributed to the fact that some of the questions were irrelevant for some respondents, but also to the fact that some respondents were more articulate and elaborate in their answers than others. The interview situation was expected to be intense and demanding on the respondents. Thus, refreshments and food were served before or after the interviews conducted at my aunt's house. Likewise, the hospitality of respondents being interviewed in their own homes was impeccable. The interviewees seemed to appreciate the interest taken in their immigrant stories and some made great efforts to participate in the study.

Some of the questions were left unanswered in the two questionnaires submitted online. This will be pointed out when presented in the findings; thus it will not affect the validity of the presented data.

After returning to Norway, I set about transcribing the interviews. Relevant data from the interviews and questionnaires had to be coordinated and structured. While working on the processing and systematising of the information, I noticed differences in the answers arising from different expectations tied to the gender roles of the time. This especially concerned

work outside the home once women had established families. Gender differences will be pointed at in the presentation of results. However, the theoretical basis for the thesis does not include how gender theory intersects with LMS. Consequently, comments made on gender differences in the findings are seen merely in the historical context and understood against the backdrop of the clearly divided roles between women and men at the time.

4.2 The sample

4.2.1 Selecting respondents

This project was spurred by my experiences during visits at my aunt's in Marcella, near Lake Telemark. Before my departure for New Jersey to do the fieldwork, my aunt and I discussed my ideas for the project in several phone calls. In a letter, I asked if she might assist in providing information about Post WWII Norwegian immigrants living in the area, and if she had any knowledge of written sources about the settlement in Lake Telemark or of organisations or persons that could provide relevant information on the topic. Her social network and her former job at the library in Rockaway helped make her a particularly valuable resource for my project work. Upon my arrival in New Jersey, I called acquaintances considered potential respondents. The response was overwhelmingly positive, and interviews were arranged. During my stay, I attended a Sunday service in The Holy Lutheran Trinity Church in Lake Telemark, and a Memorial Service in The Reformation Lutheran Church in West Long Branch NJ in memory of 70 Norwegian immigrants who had passed away between 2011 and September 2012. Both events resulted in new respondents for the project. Later, at the funeral of a Norwegian immigrant in the church in Lake Telemark and the subsequent wake in Nor-Bu Lodge, further respondents were recruited. The random enrolment of respondents is perhaps best illustrated by how noticing the Norwegian accent of a man refuelling my aunt's car at the Gas Station in Lake Telemark produced another respondent: Upon spontaneous request, he volunteered to take part in the study. All in all, 16 respondents enlisted. However, two respondents never returned their online questionnaires. Hence, the sample in the study consists of 14 respondents, eight women and six men.

4.2.2 Description of the sample

All respondents but one are post WWII Norwegian immigrants to the USA. This particular respondent was born and raised in the Norwegian colony in Brooklyn by first generation Norwegian immigrant parents. Norwegian is her first language and English the second: ‘I learned no good English until I went out in the streets’, she said in the interview. Thus, all 14 respondents have Norwegian as their first language and English as the second. As shown in Table 4.1, the respondents were born between 1922 and 1951. The sample’s 13 first generation migrants immigrated to America between 1945 and 1965, and their ages at the time of migration varied between 8 and 43. The fact that 61.5% (8/13) of the respondents emigrated between 1950 and 1954 corresponds with the Norwegian post WWII immigration peaking in 1952, a year that represents a turning point in Norwegian migration to the USA (Section 2.1.2). All the emigrants (13) except one crossed the Atlantic by boat and arrived in New York City or Brooklyn. Of the eight who disembarked in New York City, five continued immediately to Brooklyn, whereas one went straight to Lake Telemark. ‘We all stopped in Brooklyn and spread out after that’, a respondent commented. The respondent who travelled by airplane landed at Idlewild International Airport NY, which was renamed to John F Kennedy Airport in 1963 in memory of the President.

Table 4.1:
Demographic composition of sample.

	Female	Male	All respondents
Year of birth: A total of 14 respondents			
1920-1924	1	1	2
1925-1929	3	2	5
1930-1934	3	0	3
1935-1939	1	0	1
1940-1944	0	1	1
1945-1949	0	1	1
1950-1954	0	1	1
Immigration cohort: A total of 13 respondents			
1945-1949	0	1	1
1950-1954	5	3	8

1955-1959	1	0	1
1960-1964	0	2	2
1965-1969	1	0	1

Age on arrival (years): A total of 13 respondents.

5-9	0	2	2
10-14	0	1	1
15-19	1	1	2
20-24	2	0	2
25-29	3	1	4
30-34	0	1	1
35-39	0	0	0
40-44	1	0	1

Age at the time of interview (years): A total of 14 respondents

60-64	0	1	1
65-69	0	1	1
70-74	0	1	1
75-79	2	0	2
80-84	2	1	3
85-89	3	2	5
90-94	1	0	1

In the sample, there are two couples. One couple was married and had children before immigrating to America, while the other met in Brooklyn and married after migration. Of the married, divorced or widowed female respondents, four (4/6:-66.6%) are or were married to Norwegian L1 speaking partners, whereas two of the male respondents (2/5:-40%) are married to Norwegian L1 speaking partners. See table 4.2 for the marital status of the respondents.

Table 4.2:

Marital status.

	Female	Male	All respondents (14)
Married:	3	5	8
Divorced:	1	0	1
Widow/er:	2	0	2
Single:	2	1	3

The sample consists of two women (2/8:-25%) and one man (1/6:-16.6%) who do not have children, while the other respondents (10/14:-71.4%) each have from two to five children. See table 4.3 for further details.

Table 4.3:

Children.

	Female	Male	All respondents (14)
0	2	1	3
1-2	3	0	3
3-4	3	4	7
5-6	0	1	1

All respondents in the sample have close ties to Lake Telemark and its once thriving ethnic community established by Norwegian immigrants and their descendants. Some of the respondents were introduced to the area by friends or relatives in Brooklyn who spent weekends and holidays in their cabins by the lake; others joined BUL members or BUL's organised trips from Brooklyn to the BUL cabin for recreational purposes or to take part in activities and arrangements. At the time of the research, all of the informants except one lived in Morris County NJ. This respondent, who immigrated as a child and settled in New Jersey together with his family, had lived here for 47 years before moving to the West Coast in 2000. The males in the sample have lived in Lake Telemark or the surrounding area for between 22 and 55 years, while the corresponding figures for the female respondents range from 14.5 to 61 years. Some of the respondents settled in the area due to work opportunities for themselves

or their partners, whereas 64.2% (9/14) report that they bought houses and moved to the area to join the social networks of close family or relatives. Within this majority, some established themselves in Lake Telemark because they had found their partners in the ethnic community. Moreover, one respondent reports having ended up in Lake Telemark by coincidence:

Believe it or not... it was by accident. We were looking to get out of Brooklyn to get better schools for our children and we were on a weekend holiday to Pennsylvania, and our automobile broke down. We found out we were 3 miles from Lake Telemark, took a drive there and fell in love with it...6 months later we moved [sic].

Unanimously, the respondents explicitly expressed their liking of the area, its scenery, and the social networks available here as factors influencing their decision to settle in the Lake Telemark area. Table 4.4 shows the figures on the respondents' reported reasons for settling in Lake Telemark.

Table 4.4:

Reasons why informants settled in Lake Telemark.

	Female	Male	All respondents (14)
Work:	2	2	4
To join family:	6	3	9
Other:	0	1	1

4.3 The study and its analytical framework

The theoretical perspectives on LMS adopted in the study and in the analysis of the findings related to the research question reflect in the construction of frameworks within Ethnolinguistic Vitality, embodying the concepts and theories of Objective (Giles et al. 1977) and Subjective Vitality (Bourhis et al. 1981, Allard and Landry 1986). The latter includes the elaboration of the SEV framework described by Allard and Landry (1994) in their model of additive and subtractive bilingualism. These levels of description are not treated as isolated entities; rather, they are considered in an interactional manner that combines objective evaluation and subjective perception of the variables influencing the language behaviour and choices of the respondents from the Norwegian immigrant community in Lake Telemark. Variables relevant to the study undertaken include political, social, psychological,

demographic, cultural and linguistic factors. These factors are further differentiated and described in the presentation of the research findings and their subsequent analysis. The theoretical perspective of language as a symbol of cultural identity is represented by Smolicz's (1992) concept of language as an ethnic core value that helps explain a group's resilience in maintaining their first language. Furthermore, the analysis of the Norwegian community's language vitality draws on Edwards's (2009) perspective of identity markers as psychosocial symbols seen in a social and political context.

The historical context described in the background to the study is also taken into account in the analysis of the research. American policies concerning Americanisation of immigrants, preservation of English as the common language, and other political incentives to assimilate in order to encourage immigrants to take part in economic and social rewards and the promise of upward mobility, frame conditions of structural variables likely to have influenced EV. In turn, these may play a significant role in the combination of variables determining LMS. The historical context also includes the description of how the Norwegian settlement in Lake Telemark was established, and the potential role played by *Bondeungdomslaget*, *Sons of Norway* and *Nor-Bu Lodge* in maintaining the community's Norwegian culture and identity.

The thesis and its research findings will be compared with the results from Crezee's (2010) and Haugen's (1969) research referred to in section 3.5. There are a number of converging factors between Crezee's research and my own study from Lake Telemark. These relate to the time (1950-1965) and age (18-35) spans of the respondents' arrival in the countries, and their age (65-92) at the time of the interview. Furthermore, there are similarities in terms of the historical contexts. Both New Zealand and the USA were immigrant countries in which English was the dominant language, and where migrants were met by expectations to assimilate. The possible influence of host society attitudes on the respondents' language choice, and their reasons for either maintaining or abandoning L1 in the home domain, will be the central aspects of comparison. Haugen's studies of language use among Norwegian migrants in the USA will be considered. The main focus will be on his analysis which concerns the respondents' language use in the home domain and factors related to the impact of institutional support and demography. Despite the fact that Haugen's research was conducted between 1936 and 1953, his findings may still be applicable in terms of variables affecting first language maintenance among the Norwegians in my study. His works also remain, to my knowledge, the only relevant and comprehensive research on language shift among Norwegian immigrants in the USA.

5 Presentation of research findings

5.1 Findings related to pre-migration factors

5.1.1 English language proficiency

One of the questions raised in the introduction concerns the respondents’ pre-migration English language skills and whether these affected their early immigrant experiences with regard to communication and language behaviour. The respondents’ pre-migration formal education in English can be assumed to have varied according to their age at the time of migration as well as their area of origin as English only became a national compulsory subject in Norwegian primary education in 1959. For respondents who were determined to settle in the USA prior to migration, language proficiency is likely to have eased their integration in the new world, providing work opportunities and better prospects of self-support, thus catalysing a more rapid shift to English. Table 5.1 gives an overview of the respondents’ (13) geographical background (rural or urban), while table 5.2 indicates their pre-migration formal education in English (number of years).

Table 5.1:
Sample’s geographical origin (rural/urban).

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
Rural:	4	6	10
Urban:	3	0	3

Table 5.2:
Sample’s pre-migration formal education in English (number of years).

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
0:	2	5	7
1:	0	0	0
2:	2	1	3
3:	2	0	2
4:	1	0	1

As described previously, (see table 4.1), 76.9% (10/13) of the respondents were adults at the time of migration and arrived in the USA before 1959. The figures in table 5.1 and 5.2 seem to confirm a correlation between growing up in a rural environment and lacking formal training in English. Of the 76.9% (10/13) who grew up in rural surroundings, 53.8% (7/13) received no formal teaching in English whatsoever prior to migration. The figures also show a substantial difference between female and male respondents, to the detriment of the latter.

When asked to describe their English language skills at the time of emigration, self-reports vary from 'good skills' to 'no knowledge'. Some of the informants who had received formal instruction in English tend to be positive in their reports and one woman explained: 'I had English since [sic] fifth grade!', indicating that her language skills were good; while another respondent said: 'Knew quite a lot of English-both grammar and vocabulary. Had a brilliant English teacher who was educated at Oxford.' Other female respondents with formal competence in English seem to be more modest in their narrative: 'Well, my English was nothing to brag about, I had 3 years of English and managed quite well, although New York English was quite different [sic] from what we learned in school.' Having been taught English was not necessarily synonymous with proficiency. When asked to describe her skills, the respondent laughs a bit and recounts with irony: 'Not too much. Well you know, I was lucky to know English in school.' The fact that English was not taught through a communicative approach in those days is perhaps revealed by this comment: 'The first year I could understand English but not speak in full sentences.' Two male respondents remark they had no knowledge of English prior to migration, while both male and female respondents characterise their skills as poor; they knew only single words and phrases like 'Yes', 'No' and 'Thank you'. Two respondents mentioned English acquisition in informal contexts prior to migration. One female respondent with no formal education in English explained that she learned some English by listening to the radio, while the only male respondent with formal schooling in English also gained knowledge of the language in the merchant navy.

Clearly, the respondents' self-assessment of their English proficiency prior to migration has limited validity as people with similar skills may respond differently. However, their self-assessment gives a fairly good indication of confidence level in English. Lack of confidence in their English skills may have been a factor in the respondents' language maintenance, at least at an early time of immigration.

5.1.2 Motivations for immigrating to the USA

Causes for migration may reveal expectations of life in the new country and the extent to which the migrant intends to become integrated in the host society. Likewise, motivations for migration can include both positive and negative connotations towards the country and the culture of origin. These attitudes may in turn affect the immigrant's cultural identity and their language choice in terms of maintenance or shift. According to Fishman (1966), LMS is a societal phenomenon that consists at the same time of processes determined by the language attitudes and practices of individuals. In line with Fishman's ideas, my respondents' motivation for learning or improving their skills in the English language may have depended on instrumental and integrative reasons such as improving their employment and career aspects and their prospects of becoming a part of American society and culture.

The 13 respondents were asked if they had intended to stay temporarily or permanently in the USA at the time of departure from Norway. Table 5.3 shows a substantial difference between female and male respondents in this respect. The figures show that 28.5% of the women and 83.3% of the men left Norway with the intention of settling permanently in the USA. As shown by table 5.2, 83.3% (5/6) of the men had no pre-migration formal education in English. This fact in combination with their high score for wanting to stay permanently in the USA, can be assumed to have had considerable impact on the men's motivation to acquire the English language, and on their general language behaviour, from their very arrival in America.

Table 5.3:

Intended duration of stay in the USA at the time of departure (temporarily/ permanently).

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
Temporarily:	5	1	6
Permanently:	2	5	7

When asked about their motivation for immigrating to the USA, some respondents mentioned more than one reason. Table 5.4 shows the different categories of reasons based on their answers, shown according to the scores for female and male respondents.

Table 5.4:

Motivations for immigrating to the USA.

	Female (7)	Male (6)
Travel:	3	0
‘America fever’:	1	0
Join parents:	1	3
Join spouse:	1	0
Work:	1	1
To learn the English language:	1	0
To visit family, but not immigrate:	1	0
Other:	0	3

The responses indicate that several males (50%) and one female mentioned joining parents as a cause for immigration. The elaborations of the answers show that ‘parents’ means fathers who had immigrated years before the rest of their families and were established in jobs in the new country. The respondents in question were young children or teenagers who did not make the decision to migrate themselves. In addition to these youngsters, one female respondent immigrated to reunite with her husband. These figures indicate that 38.4 % (5/13) of the immigrations among the sample were motivated by family reunion. Based on the fact that all family members were ethnic Norwegians and had established a Norwegian identity prior to migration, one can assume that conditions conducive to L1 and cultural maintenance in the home domain were present in these families. The men found in the category ‘other motivations’ for immigration, have in common that they were sailors. One informant explains that he was a frequent visitor to the USA during WWII. During these visits he experienced that people in America were ‘very friendly, hard working, innovative, prosperous and free’. He adds that housing was another motivation for immigrating; housing was unavailable to him and his family in Norway in the aftermath of the war, he claims. Another sailor, who regularly signed off in New York between shifts, relates that he spent most of his spare time in movie theatres in New York or doing extra work in The Norwegian Seaman’s House in Brooklyn. As he puts it: ‘I was flabbergasted by New York, movies and life in America.’ The last of the three sailors signed off after making his first trip to New York in 1945. The ship

returned to Norway, but he chose to remain in the USA. The respondents in this ‘other’ category share a genuinely positive attitude to, and even fascination for, America based on impressions and experiences which became crucial for their decision to immigrate.

In sum, there is no clear indication in the respondents’ reported motivations for immigrating that their decision was caused by social and economic conditions in Norway. However, given the timing of their emigration, these factors are likely to have been an implicit part of their motivation even if not explicitly expressed.

The respondents were also encouraged to describe their expectations prior to immigration in terms of hopes and dreams. Clearly, this question is similar to the one about motivations and causes. The purpose was to encourage elaboration of inner motivations and reflections about migration, and to compare their answers with responses on their American identity and immigrant life in America. Expectations and attitudes can constitute psychological factors that affect measures taken to succeed in the new country. These efforts may relate to the informants’ approach to assimilation and language use. Table 5.5 illustrates categories of reported anticipations about immigrating to the USA.

Table 5.5:

Reported expectations prior to immigration.

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
A better life and prosperity:	2	3	5
No expectations:	5	3	8

The ‘no expectations’ group includes informants who travelled to the USA for reasons other than immigration. However, as one respondent who was to stay on permanently but had no expectations puts it: ‘I did not have any dreams, but my father had dreams of streets paved with gold.’ In the group that expected a better life in America, one who immigrated as a child says enthusiastically: ‘I really wanted to come [to America] - it was an adventure number one! You know, they had different things in America than Karmøy - they even had televisions here!’ The comment from one of the women expresses the gist of the respondents’ expectations of immigrant life in America: ‘I wanted something better than I had.’

All in all, the respondents reported motivations for immigrating, and their expectations of life in the USA, seem to describe a modest image of America, while confirming that the country was associated with hope of a better life and improved future prospects. These aspirations are likely to have implications for the immigrants' motivation to adapt to American society, consequently challenging their awareness of Norwegian identity and their attitudes to maintenance of language and culture. The findings in the study which show that 38.4% (5/13) of the respondents had hopes of a better life and improved future prospects in America are consistent with former research (Lovoll 1999, Østrem 2006) explaining the motivation and causes for Norwegian immigration to the USA.

5.2 The challenge of being a language minority in a majority context

5.2.1 Being immersed in English

Despite varying levels of English language proficiency, no respondents (13) report great communication problems at the initial stage of immigration to the USA. To a large extent, this can be explained by their context of arrival, with access to Norwegian language speakers. All respondents arrived in greater New York City and were picked up either by Norwegian relatives or by representatives of the Norwegian Seaman's Church in Brooklyn. Except for one who immediately continued on to Lake Telemark to join family, all the respondents stayed in the Norwegian colony in Brooklyn for a shorter or longer period of time. They explain that there were so many Norwegians in Brooklyn that there was 'always someone who could speak for them' if needed. One respondent recounts:

We really did not have many [communication] problems. When we first arrived we lived in Bay Ridge Brooklyn, which was at the time a very Norwegian area. Most stores, restaurants all had someone there who spoke Norwegian, so it was never really necessary to speak English. My father learned and used his English at work, I learned and used it in School, but my mother never really did learn it. She never went to work, never went to school and rarely socialized outside of the family [sic].

Although several adult respondents were indecisive about settling permanently in the USA at the time of their arrival, everyone (13) seemed very determined and eager to acquire English or to develop their oral and written skills. The American setting and the environment the respondents found themselves in were perhaps in themselves inspiring and motivating to learn English. Moreover, they experienced the importance of mastering English for communicative purposes in the majority community. In addition, their motivation to learn English and to

develop their proficiency may have depended on educational and employment aspirations, and a desire to become integrated into American society. The adult respondents who intended to stay only temporarily in the USA also needed a job to sustain them while residing. Thus, even this group needed English in order to gain access to the labour market.

5.2.2 L2 learning contexts

The process of acquiring a second language in the L2 context provides input which is likely to enhance and increase the learning outcome. The informants' responses to the question of how they developed their English language skills after immigration indicate that the learning contexts were both formal and informal, or a combination of the two. Informal learning contexts include the respondents' workplaces or other social settings where English was the mode of communication. The respondents also mentioned learning English by reading newspapers, watching television, and by listening to friends or others speaking English. Six of seven female respondents were employed within a short time of arriving in the USA. They state that their workplace was an important arena for acquiring the English language and that the methodology of 'learning by doing' enabled learning at a fast rate. With poor English skills on arrival but nonetheless motivated to improve her proficiency, one female respondent took a job as a domestic servant in a well-to-do family. However, she reports that she did not learn much English because she spent most of the time alone in the house. The family was at work and at school, and says: '...and then there was just me and the dog.' The informant was later employed at a bakery where she worked until she retired at the age of 87.

In order to map formal learning contexts, the respondents were asked about the education they received in the USA. In this context, formal education is defined as an extended period of structured teaching ranging from English language courses to university education. Table 5.6 illustrates different levels and types of education and the scores for each category. The respondents could give more than one answer to this question. One female respondent had no formal education after migration.

Table 5.6:

Education received in the USA.

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
Elementary school:	0	2	2
High school:	0	3	3
College:	2	1	3
University:	0	1	1
Language course:	4	0	4
Other types of education:	1	3	4

It was clear from the responses in the interviews and the questionnaires that 12 of the 13 informants had received some form of post-migration formal instruction in English. The category ‘language course’ in table 5.6 refers to courses in Brooklyn ranging from six weeks to two semesters which could be attended both during daytime and in the evening. As table 5.6 shows, only female respondents attended these language courses. The reasons for this are unknown, but they may be related to the fact that 71.4% (5/7) of the female respondents did not intend to stay permanently in the USA; they may therefore have preferred these relatively short and intensive language courses. Also, the flexibility offered by these courses made it possible to combine them with work. Although some of the courses were run by ethnic Norwegians such as Mrs. Moe from Nordland, most courses were organised by middle schools or colleges.

The Norwegian community in Brooklyn had a well established system to accommodate the various needs of new immigrants and consequently, it played an important role in the respondents’ first encounter with America and in their introduction to immigrant life. The respondents recount being encouraged by Norwegian immigrants in Brooklyn to actively speak English shortly after arrival and report that L1 Norwegian speakers often communicated with each other in English. English was often easier to understand than the various Norwegian dialects, they explain. Most informants with some knowledge of English prior to immigration report using English as their main language of communication from the moment they arrived in the USA. Based on the informants’ descriptions, the community in Brooklyn in the 1950s and 1960s seems to have emphasised the importance of the new

immigrants learning English and actively using it as the general language of communication at an early stage. This encouragement to make a rapid language shift may have depended on instrumental and integrative reasons, and on seeking to maintain a reputation of Norwegians being an ethnic group of successful immigrants in America. The monolingual policy practised in the USA and the expectations from the wider society to adapt probably increased the pressure to language shift. Speaking good English was regarded as a sign of successful assimilation, and at the time this was associated with abandoning L1.

5.2.3 L2 challenges during the first years as immigrants

The respondents were asked about L2 challenges and experiences in the early period of immigration. These questions seek to identify what they considered most difficult in the process of acquiring English, and to elicit an estimation of how long it took to become fluent speakers of the language. Furthermore, this section includes anecdotes about responses from L1 speakers of English to the respondents' L2 proficiency during their first years in America. At the initial stages of migration, oral communication in the host community's language will generally give away the fact that the immigrant is an L2 speaker, since their accent, intonation and pronunciation are likely to differ from those of native speaker. In a sense, the immigrant's 'otherness' is revealed in the communicative context of using L2. The attitude to immigrants held by L1 speakers of the host society language may be demonstrated in their responses to the immigrants' communicative ability and L2 proficiency. In turn, these attitudes may influence the immigrants' language choices. The validity of the presented results must be considered against the background that the data is based on the respondents' self-assessment.

Concerning the respondents' experience of challenges of learning English, the questions of the study distinguish between acquisition of oral and written skills. The respondents could only choose one category from each of the two sets of skills (oral and written) listed in tables 5.7 and 5.8.

Table 5.7:

What the respondents found most difficult in acquiring English oral skills.

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
Vocabulary:	1	0	1
Conversation/Speaking:	2	2	4
Flow:	3	0	3
Listening comprehension:	1	1	2
Reading:	0	1	1
No difficulties:	0	2	2

In the category ‘speaking’, one female- and one male respondent specifically mentioned pronunciation as problematic. The data show that 30.7% (4/13) of the respondents experienced speaking and maintaining a conversation the most challenging aspects in the process of acquiring English oral skills. One respondent describes it thus: ‘In the beginning it was a little hard-the first year. I could understand but I couldn’t speak - make sentences.’ In this context, making sentences is understood as talking coherently and not as the grammatical aspect of syntax. Interestingly, 42.8% (3/7) of the females mentioned flow as the main challenge, whereas none of the male respondents identified this as the main challenge. This gender difference may be attributed to differing levels of self-assessment or confidence. Speaking fluently is commonly seen as a sign of advanced oral proficiency in language acquisition. If the categories ‘speaking’ and ‘flow’ are seen together, speaking fluent English represents the respondents’ most challenging aspect of acquiring oral skills as these categories have the two highest scores.

Table 5.8:

What the respondents found most difficult in acquiring English writing skills.

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
Spelling/orthography:	4	2	6
Grammar:	1	1	2
Idiomatic language:	1	1	2
No difficulties:	1	2	3

These results illustrate that 46.1% of the respondents experienced spelling as the most difficult part of developing English writing skills. One respondent puts it in the following words: 'Sometimes I got words confused as so many words sounds the same, but [with] different spellings, but people I worked with were very kind and helpful, and when I did funny mistakes I was able to laugh with them' [sic]. However, the results regarding English writing skills are ambivalent and probably closely related to the respondents' perception of the written skills needed for employment and educational purposes in the USA. Several respondents did not need specific writing skills to do their job, or the proficiency required did not include mastering advanced or formal language conventions. In contrast, respondents who enrolled into the educational system of the USA were faced with higher requirements in terms of linguistic competence. For respondents who immigrated as children and attended primary school in the USA, the lack or loss of written competence in L1 probably played a part in the process of language shift.

Table 5.9 shows the respondents' estimates of how long it took from their arrival in the USA until they were able to speak English fluently. The time aspect is of potential interest because the sooner the respondents had a sense of mastering English, the greater the competition faced by L1 from L2 is likely to have been. Reaching a certain level of English proficiency may encourage immigrants to use the majority language in a wide range of domains allowing it to eventually develop into the preferred language of communication. Thus, good English communicative skills can be a significant factor in relation to language shift.

Table 5.9:

The self-reported time it took the respondents to speak fluent English.

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
0-1 year:	2	1	3
2-3 years:	2	1	3
4-5 years:	2	3	5
Other answers:	1	1	2

Obviously, the answers depend on a multiplicity of interacting factors such as the respondents' prior knowledge of English, their age at migration, or motivation based on instrumental and integrative reasons to learn English. Table 5.9 shows that 38.4% (5/13) of

the respondents report that it took them approximately 4-5 years to become fluent in English. One informant claims to have achieved fluency within two months of arrival in the USA. This respondent immigrated at the age of seven and relates that he refused to speak Norwegian the moment he set foot on American soil. He finds it difficult to explain his behaviour, but says: 'I was an American- I really don't know why'. Both of his parents were Norwegian and communicated to each other in their mother tongue only.

Other remarks on the estimated time it took to become fluent speaker of English reveal that fluency is a relative term. As one of the respondents in the category 'other answers' puts it:

I have been here 53 years, and have a college degree, and I still have not Mastered the English Language. But it did not take long to learn enough to get by. I had only been here 2 years when I won the Spelling Bee for the entire school [sic].

As mentioned, the informants were encouraged to share responses to their English language skills received from Americans and L1 speakers of English during their first immigrant years. These could be episodes, experiences or comments remembered for some reason. It was assumed that these recounts would include descriptions covering a wide range of experiences: positive, negative, humorous and embarrassing. Surprisingly, only one of the 13 respondents reported negative feedback related to their English language skills. This informant's experience was from classroom context, where he had been made fun of when reading English: 'kids laughed [sic] when I read'. Another male respondent also comments on the school context, but in a positive light: 'The teachers at school were so attentive'. This remark is equivalent to several informants' descriptions of receiving verbal encouragement and positive support from Americans to speak English. Of course, many of these people were L2 speakers of English themselves and as one respondent writes:

Working at Chase Manhattan Bank in NY, I was exposed to all nationalities + colors and had no problem, they loved to hear me talk and sometimes made fun of me because of my accent and sometimes I mispronounced words, but it was all in good fun, and I was able to laugh with them![sic]

The multicultural aspect of American society is also seen in this comment: 'Americans are very tolerant when it comes to languages, as so many here has [sic] accents, this country is made up of immigrants'. In fact, a number of informants mentioned receiving comments about their accents from dominant language speakers but in a positive mode: ' [The

Americans] Loves [sic] our accent. Majority of people were having same experiences-very positive'. One of the more humorous narratives goes like this:

One time I was in the office working on something- I don't know- typewriting maybe- I made a mistake and said: 'Oh shit'! Everybody heard me and I shouted: 'WAIT- it's only Norwegian shit'! Everybody was laughing! So that taught me! [sic] ['Shit' is a fairly common expression in Norwegian; it is not considered a swear word or a vulgarity in any circumstance.]

It is important to bear in mind that the reliability of these self-reported responses from L1 speakers on the immigrants' English language skills is questionable. At the same time, these recounts reflect what the respondents chose to convey, regardless of the correctness of these memories and the potential reconstruction of the past involved.

The perception of being supported and encouraged when using English is likely to be conducive to a shift to English. Respondents in Crezee's (2012) study reported that they had felt a certain pressure from members of the host society to speak English most of the time. At the same time, '[...] most respondents reported having received invaluable help and support from New Zealand friends and work mates early on [...]' (Crezee 2012:532). The findings from the study conducted in Lake Telemark suggest a correlation with Crezee's (2012) study with regard to the respondents' experiences of receiving support from the host society. At the same time, a contrast between the findings is that the respondents in the Lake Telemark study did not explicitly express having felt any pressure from the host society to speak English. Most likely, the dominant position of the language in American society and the status it represented made such pressure superfluous. In addition, the American ideology of emphasising the positive aspects of assimilation probably represented incentives which made the choice of language quite obvious for most immigrants.

5.3 Language maintenance and shift

5.3.1 Language use in different domains

In predominantly monolingual cultures and societies, the pattern of language use among language minorities gradually shifts to the language of the wider society. The rate and order of domains in which language shift occurs may differ between individuals and between groups. In the USA, the phenomenon of high rates of language shift among immigrants has been noted in many studies (Fishman 1966, 2004). Previously, the dominant immigrant

experience of a rapid shift to English used to take one or two generations, but in the early 21st century the process seems to have accelerated as many first generation immigrants lose their L1 before fully mastering English (Fillmore 2004).

The respondents in this study were asked about L1 use in different contexts during their early years as immigrants. The questions did not involve communicative functions, intentions or topics discussed in the various social situations. ‘The contexts’ refer to the home domain, the work domain, the community they live in, and social settings with friends. The home domain is further differentiated into Norwegian spoken in the household (to parents, in-laws, siblings), to spouse, and to children. Three of the male respondents were youngsters when immigrating; some of the questions are therefore irrelevant to them. However, two of them later had children of their own, and have answered the question about language used in communication with children. This also applies to the question of language use in the work domain: their answers do not concern L1 use at an early stage of immigration. One male and two female respondents are single and have no children. Among the married respondents in this part of the study (10/13), 60% (3/5) of the women and 40% (2/5) of the men were married to Norwegian L1 speaking partners. In addition, one female respondent (1/5:-20%) was married to an L2 speaker of Norwegian.

5.3.1 A) The home domain

Table 5.10:

L1 spoken in the home domain during the initial years in America.

	Female	Male	All
In the household:	3 (7)	3 (6)	6 (13)
To spouse:	4 (5)	2 (5)	6 (10)
To children:	1 (5)	1 (5)	2 (10)

The table does not give any indication of to what extent the respondents used L1 in the home domain during their initial years as immigrants. However, their elaborations of the question show that the amount of Norwegian spoken varied from ‘some’ to ‘100%’ in the different categories. In the household, 14.2% (1/7) of the female and 33.3% (2/6) male respondents

spoke Norwegian only. 20% (1/5) of the women communicated with their spouses exclusively in Norwegian, 40% (2/5) said they sometimes spoke Norwegian to their husbands, and 20% (1/5) reported initially using Norwegian approximately 50% of the time when talking to their husbands, but added that they had made a shift to English once the children arrived. One male respondent (20%) reported speaking 100% Norwegian to his wife while another (20%) said he spoke mostly English to his wife. In terms of speaking L1 to their children, only 20% (2/10) of the respondents report having spoken 100% Norwegian. These respondents are a couple who were married and had children prior to migration. They have been consistent in maintaining their mother tongue in the home domain from their very arrival in the USA which has resulted in their children being bilingual speakers of Norwegian and English. One female respondent declares that her children learned Norwegian during their summer holidays in Norway. On these occasions she spoke Norwegian to her children, but never in the USA. Table 5.10 shows substantially lower figures for L1 communication in the home domain between parents and children than for Norwegian spoken between spouses. This is especially notable for the female respondents, 80% of whom are married to either L1 or L2 speakers of Norwegian.

As an extension of the question of L1 use in the home domain, the respondents were asked about their attitude to passing L1 on to their children, and of any attempts to do so. The purpose was to detect possible reasons for why they had chosen to maintain L1 or make a shift to English. The question is only relevant to 11 of the respondents in the sample as one male and two female informants do not have children. Table 5.11 shows the distribution of the respondents' efforts to transfer Norwegian to their children.

Table 5.11:

The respondents' attempts to transfer the Norwegian language to their children.

	Female (6)	Male (5)	All (11)
Never:	3	3	6
Tried:	2	1	3
Taught them Norwegian:	1	1	2

As the figures in table 5.11 indicate, the majority (54.5%) of the respondents never tried to transfer their mother tongue to their children. They explain that the main reason for this

choice was the desire to ensure that the children were proficient in English before starting school at the age of five. English was the mode of communication and teaching in school; a good command of English was therefore important for the children's learning outcome, but also an insurance against being targeted for bullying and intimidation for sounding 'foreign'. One informant said that 'some teachers could be cruel to children with accents and lack of good English skills'.

Another reason mentioned for not transferring L1 to the children was having a partner of a different nationality than Norwegian, who favoured English as the common language in the home. One respondent in this category said: 'I never actually thought of teaching them Norwegian. However in hindsight, I wish I had.' Some of these comments may reflect lack of information or knowledge at the time about the beneficial aspects of bilingualism. Hence, one cannot expect to find among the sample anyone with a conscious attitude to L1 maintenance in the home for the sake of facilitating children growing up as bilinguals. Another informant explained that 'it was easier to speak English as all the other children in the neighbourhood spoke English', a remark which reveals the dominance of English in their community. The indisputable position of the majority language and the expectation of submitting to it can be seen in this account: 'They were here [in America] and that [English] was their language.' This respondent had experienced the importance of English competence related to education and employment and therefore considered language aptitude crucial for his children to succeed in American society.

The essence of the respondents' reasons for not transferring L1 to their children is probably reflected in the parental desire to ensure their children's participation in the dominant society in terms of education, employment or career aspects and culture. These structural and socioeconomic reasons hold the key to the rewards of being successfully integrated in American society. Thus a shift to English testifies to the immigrants' motivation and will to assimilate for the sake of their children's future.

In the group of three respondents (27.2%) who said they tried to teach their children Norwegian, the efforts seem to have been limited to teaching them some Norwegian words and phrases. Interestingly, one of these informants hints at her cultural background as a motivation for passing on her mother tongue: 'I tried to teach my children some Norwegian because I felt they should know the language I was brought up with.' Another informant explains that she took the children to Norway in 1968 hoping they would learn Norwegian,

but to no avail, because: ‘...everyone spoke English there.’ One respondent also experienced active resistance to learning Norwegian from the children: ‘...they blocked me out, but today they blame me for not teaching them Norwegian.’ Whether they did or did not try to teach their children Norwegian, several respondents mention that their offspring picked up words and phrases of the language during summer holidays in Norway. The children understood some Norwegian, but were incapable of taking part in conversations. Another respondent recounts how her daughter’s curiosity to read the weekly letters from the grandmother in Norway evoked an interest in learning some Norwegian.

Among the respondents who did teach their children Norwegian, we find the couple who had children prior to migration and who actively chose to maintain L1 in the new country. The children who were born in America also learned to speak Norwegian when it was the established language of communication in their home. These respondents were not interviewed, and unfortunately did not explain in the form why they chose to maintain Norwegian in the home domain. However, their choice of retaining L1 confirms theory and research about factors important to minority language survival in a dominant language context as all their children are bilingual speakers of English and Norwegian.

As seen above, that a language is spoken in the home domain is considered vital in relation to language maintenance and survival (Fishman 1991, 2001). Tables 5.10 and 5.11 show that only a small proportion of the sample maintained L1 in the home even during the early years of living in the USA. This is particularly evident in the parent-children relationship, where a minority of 18% report consistently using L1 in contrast to the majority of 54.5% who communicated exclusively in English. The majority’s main reason for this shift is a genuine desire for their children to take part in the dominant cultural and educational mode. Haugen’s (1969:234) assumption that adult immigrants’ wish to maintain L1 as ‘the family language’ does not comply with the major findings in my study. However, his suggestion that there is an increasing pressure to shift to English when children enter the monolingual American public school is compatible with the respondents’ explanations for their shift to L2. Likewise, the parents’ most important reason for shifting corresponds with the reports described in Crezee’s study in New Zealand (2012). Not having maintained L1 in the home domain even during the initial stages of immigration points towards a fairly rapid shift to English for a majority of the sample of my study.

5.3.1 B) The work domain

In the sample of 13 respondents who immigrated to the USA, everybody but one female informant has been in paid employment. Shortly upon arrival, the adult immigrants worked to support themselves. Initially, most of them had different types of jobs compatible with their language skills and personal qualifications. With time, the immigrants expanded their qualifications through education and practical training, or by working their way up in different companies. Among the male respondents, 50% (3/6) established their own businesses. When the sample talk or write about their work relations and experiences in the USA, it becomes evident that employment has been the central preoccupation of the female respondents who did not have children, and of all male respondents whether they established families or not. Through hard work, they managed to make a good life for themselves and their families. In socio-economic terms, the respondents define themselves as belonging to the middle or upper middle class. The four female respondents who were employed before starting a family all stayed at home when their children were small, and two of them never returned to work outside the home. Still, more than half (57.1%, 4/7) of the female respondents had long working careers, retiring between the ages of 62 and 87 (62, 68, 70, 87). At the time of the interviews, 33.3% (2/6) of the male respondents were still working; the rest had retired between the ages of 66 and 69.

In response to the question of language use in the work domain during the initial years as immigrants, all respondents reported speaking only English from the very start. English served as the lingua franca in the immigrants' work spheres and was the language used even between Norwegian colleagues. As one respondent puts it: 'Wasn't much [Norwegian] because there were other than Norwegians and we wanted to show respect so we didn't do it [speak Norwegian].' The sample's uniform practice of using the majority language at work parallels the findings in Crezee's study (2012) of Dutch immigrants in New Zealand. However, the practice of applying the host language in work domains may not be equally important to different communities or to all members of the same community (Fishman 1972).

5.3.1 C) Language use in the community and in social settings with friends

The ethnic community centred on the Norwegian settlement in Lake Telemark was described in section 2 of the background information and historical context of the thesis. In the 1950s

and 60s the community appears to have been ethnically centred and focused on maintaining a Norwegian historical and cultural legacy. Incentives to maintain Norwegian culture through various activities and events were especially initiated by the club at the BUL cabin and by the congregation of the Lutheran church. The majority in the sample belong to both of these institutions, which may indicate that they support what these organisations or societies represent. 62.5% of the female and 50% of the male sample are members of The Holy Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, whereas 75% of the women and 83.3% of the men are members of what is now Nor-Bu Lodge. When asked to describe their social life in the community during the 1950s and 60s, 50% (4/8) of the female and 83.3% (5/6) of the male respondents report having had an active social life. One of the male respondents described his social life in the community in the following way: 'Part of a friendly, close Norwegian American community-busy life w/children-school-sports-music-church-travel-cultural experiences-always a wide range of activities etc.' [sic]. The one respondent who did not consider his initial immigrant years as socially active explained why: 'In the beginning I worked so much that I didn't have time for social activities, but later it picked up.'

Table 5.12 shows the sample's answers to the question of how much they used Norwegian in communicative contexts in the community in the first few years after migration.

Table 5.12:

The amount of L1 used when interacting in the community.

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
All the time:	0	0	0
Some:	4	2	6
None:	3	4	7

The sample's responses to the question about amount of L1 used when interacting in the community show that 57.1% (4/7) of the female and 33.3% (2/6) of the male respondents used 'some' Norwegian during their early years as immigrants. Specifications of the term 'some' vary from 'not much' to '50/50'. These respondents explain that they sometimes used L1 when communicating with other Norwegians in the Lodge, or: 'If any others spoke Norwegian, I would too.' In contrast, 42.9% of the female and 66.7% of male respondents

used English consistently as the language of communication in the community. As one respondent perceptively remarked: 'Don't speak Norwegian even though they're all Norwegian.' The diverging figures in L1 use between men and women can perhaps be ascribed to the composition of the male sample and their age at the time of migration. As 50% of the males immigrated as youngsters, they were immediately exposed to the monolingual American school system. Most likely, schoolmates were included in their social network, making it more differentiated and less Norwegian-centred. However, the high rate of L2 use in the community by males is consistent with their reports of a rapid shift to English, which was their preferred language of communication almost from the very moment of their arrival in the USA.

In order to follow up the request about language choice when communicating with friends during the initial stages of migration, the respondents were first asked to describe their networks of friends in terms of nationalities. The results show that nobody socialised only with Norwegians. Most of the sample had friends of mixed national background, although Norwegians constituted the largest single group. The figures show that 57.1% (5/7) of the female and 50% (3/6) of male respondents described their social network as including a mixture of nationalities. A marked gender difference is found as 33.3% (2/6) of the male respondents report having social networks consisting mostly of other nationalities than Norwegian, whereas no females report the same. This discrepancy is however consistent with the findings in the amount of L1 used when interacting in the community (table 5.12), and can probably be explained by the same reasons related to age at migration and a social network of schoolmates.

Against the background of the sample's description of their social networks it is to be assumed they would have used a fair amount of L1 when communicating with friends during the first years following their migration. However, questions on L1 use in communicative contexts with friends produce results that are quite similar to the ones presented in the community context, as illustrated by table 5.13.

Table 5.13:

The amount of L1 used in communication with friends.

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
All the time:	0	0	0
Some:	4	3	7
None:	3	3	6

The scores indicate that 57.1% (4/7) of female- and 50% (3/6) of male respondents used some Norwegian when speaking with friends. Further comments show that the estimated amount of L1 spoken varies from '50/50' to 'mostly English'. One respondent says that she would speak Norwegian if other Norwegian friends took the initiative to use their mother tongue; another writes: 'Although most of my friends were Norwegian we spoke English mostly, since we came from all different parts of Norway and so many dialects [sic].' Surprisingly, the quote seems to suggest that the various Norwegian dialects posed a greater challenge to the immigrants than the English language. The question of L1 use in a social context with close friends resulted in this spontaneous reply expressed with an embarrassed gesture: 'Did we ever speak Norwegian?' As table 5.13 clearly demonstrates, 42.9% of the female and 50% of the male respondents communicated in English with friends even though most of these were L1 speakers of Norwegian.

The findings concerning the sample's use of the Norwegian language in social contexts related to home, work, community and friends confirm that active steps to maintain their mother tongue after migration were taken by a minority of 15.3% (2/13). For the majority who did not consciously or actively maintain L1 in these contexts, a shift to the host community's language is almost inevitable. Their strategy of making a rapid language shift to English is most likely based on aspirations of social and economic success in American society on behalf of themselves and their families. According to Holmes (2013), '[r]apid shift occurs when people are anxious to 'get on' in a society where knowledge of the second language is a prerequisite for success' (61). We see that the advantages of a shift to English took precedence over L1 maintenance among the sample in the study. Thus, my findings are in line with former research showing high rates of language shift among immigrants in the USA.

5.3.2 When L2 becomes the main language of communication

In order to investigate the time aspect involved in the transition from using L1 to using L2 as the main language of communication, the respondents were asked to identify at which point in this process they preferred speaking English rather than Norwegian. In hindsight, I realise that I should have chosen the verb ‘use’ rather than ‘prefer’: the respondents did not understand ‘prefer’ as the choice they made in terms of using either L1 or L2, but interpreted it more in terms of liking.

Table 5.14:

Respondents’ stipulation of how long it took from their arrival in the USA until they preferred speaking English rather than Norwegian.

	Female (7)	Male (6)	All (13)
Rapidly:	1	2	3
After a few years:	0	2	2
Never felt a preference:	6	2	8

Within the category who made a rapid shift to English after migration, two of the male respondents who immigrated as children said they almost immediately preferred using the English language. The one female respondent in this group added that she always used L1 at home in the USA when speaking to her mother. The majority (61.5%) of the respondents explain that they never preferred one language to the other, but switched between the two languages. Most of them specify that they used Norwegian when talking to their parents, who were also immigrants in the USA, but with this exception they used English early on. Based on the respondents’ comments it thus seems that the two languages are used for different communicative needs in different situations motivated by the relationship between the participants. One of the two respondents in the category ‘a few years’ reported that five years had passed before he chose to use English rather than Norwegian as his main language of communication. Time to develop a certain level of proficiency is necessary in order to achieve a feeling of mastering L2 on a par with L1.

The findings related to the amount of time it took the respondents to make a shift to L2 are congruent with the results described in section 5.2 relating to respondents with knowledge of

English prior to migration who reported using mostly English from the moment of arriving in the USA. Likewise, the results parallel the findings on language use in different domains during the first few years following immigration according to which the host language takes precedence over the migrant's ethnic language. This is particularly substantial in the home arena, where only 20% (2/10) of the migrant parents maintained L1. Thus, the findings that a fairly rapid language shift occurred among the respondents in this study are compatible with former research that points to trend of rapid language shift among immigrants in the USA and in other monolingual host societies.

5.3.3 The respondents' current use of L1

The final question posed to the sample was to what extent they currently (2012) use their mother tongue in oral or written communication. All informants claimed still to use L1 but to varying degrees ranging from on a weekly basis ('often') to just a few times a year or less ('rarely'). The respondents were also asked to identify situations in which they employed Norwegian.

Table 5.15:

Amount of current L1 use.

	Female (8)	Male (6)	All (14)
Often:	1	1	2
Sometimes:	6	3	9
Rarely:	1	2	3

A minority of 14.3% (2/14) say that they use L1 often, which gives an indication of L1 maintenance. The fact that a majority of 62.3% use L1 sometimes and a further 21.4% rarely communicate in Norwegian is a significant representation of language shift. Most of the sample's communication in L1 is oral, but 62.5% (5/8) of the female respondents still write Christmas cards or letters in Norwegian. When asked to describe the communicative contexts of current L1 use, most of the respondents indicate that this happens 'When talking to Norwegian friends and family in Norway.' Usually this is a matter of phone-calls to or from Norway. However, respondents who still travel to Norway speak Norwegian when they visit

friends or relatives. Some respondents mention using Norwegian when they have visitors from Norway or occasionally when talking to other Norwegian immigrants in the community. The American-born respondent whose L1 is Norwegian does not speak much Norwegian anymore, but says: ‘I would speak more Norwegian if the other immigrants did it!’

Considering the respondents’ long residency in America and the early language shift to English for most of them in most contexts, their Norwegian language skills seem to be quite intact. However, loss of terms or vocabulary is indicated in a comment by one of the male respondents, whose use of L1 is limited to the telephone conversations with his sister in Norway. He explains that he sometimes uses English when ‘he gets stuck’, that is, when he cannot find the right word in Norwegian. The following comment by another respondent probably sums up the relationship of many of the informants to L1 and their preference for L2 as the main language of communication:

If I have a choice I will always speak English...I will speak Norwegian when I am in Skudenes, however when I travel outside of that area, like Oslo or Bergen, then I will pretend to be the American Tourist and speak English [sic].

5.4 Language and cultural identity

As described previously in the presentation of findings, most respondents in the study made a language shift to English at the early stages of migration. Only two of the 13 migrants have maintained L1 in the home domain and passed it on to their children. The language shift implies that the Norwegian language has lost most of its instrumental or communicative function for the majority of the group. My research question implicitly indicates that there is a disjunction in the sample’s cultural maintenance, which surprisingly does not seem to include the Norwegian language, and asks why this is so. Does the language still have a symbolic value to the respondents, however, and if it does, to what extent and how? These questions require investigation of the respondents’ concept of Norwegian culture, and of which parts of the Norwegian cultural heritage they have considered it important to maintain in the new country. The notion of Norwegian culture is linked to the individual’s perception of ethnic identity, but these issues must be seen in context of the immigrants’ integration in American society and culture: their interaction with the host society is likely to shed light on their reconstruction of established cultural concepts and the development of new identities.

5.4.1 Ethnic identity and relationship to Norway

The sample's attitudes to their home country and the cultural values it represents may have affected which parts of their ethnicity they have chosen to maintain in the new country, and to what extent. When the respondents were encouraged to describe their Norwegian identity, 85.7% (12/14) used the expression 'proud of being Norwegian' while 14.3% (2/14) expressed themselves in more neutral terms, referring to Norway as their country of birth. The concrete responses to the question of cultural identity varied greatly, but food, traditions, and holidays were frequently mentioned. In contrast, only 14.3% (2/14) of the sample mentioned the Norwegian language as part of their ethnic identity, although an additional informant referred to her L1 with the following comment: 'I feel Norwegian because I have strong ties to Norway, I also have a Norwegian accent!'

The degree and frequency of contact with the homeland may contribute to cultural continuity and L1 maintenance provided that the language is considered an important symbol of the ethnic identity and that there is a community supporting these attitudes and values. When the respondents describe their relationship to their native country, it is exclusively in positive or neutral terms such as 'I love it!' or 'My homeland'. Most respondents have taken active measures to maintain close ties with Norway after migration by regularly travelling back to visit family and friends, by keeping in touch via telephone, by writing letters, and by using various types of media for information about events and news. In the past, the long voyage between the two countries and the lack of good infrastructure in Norway made travelling more challenging than it is today. Naturally, the journey also required an economic effort. For some respondents, these travels have now ceased because of aging and health problems, or because close relatives in Norway have passed away. In response to the question about the informants' contact with Norway in terms of travelling, everybody reports frequent revisits with one exception. Table 5.16 stipulates the sample's number of travels to Norway after migration for 13 respondents. The fourteenth respondent included in the figures is the American-born respondent, who regularly visits the country to keep in touch with her Norwegian ancestors.

Table 5.16:

Estimated frequency of travels to Norway.

	Female (8)	Male (6)	All (14)
1-2 times a year:	3	0	3
Every two years:	1	1	2
11-15 times in total:	1	2	3
6-10 times in total:	2	2	4
5-1 times in total:	1	1	2

The female respondents who travelled once or twice a year to Norway had parents living there, but when they passed away the visits became somewhat less frequent. The figures show that 35.7% of the respondents travelled regularly and frequently to Norway. Some of those who estimated that they had made the journey up to 15 times also went back regularly, but with longer intervals between trips. It is evident from the figures, that the vast majority of the sample maintained close contact with Norway. One can assume that this contact stimulated the cultural continuity of the group, and that the need to communicate in Norwegian during these frequent visits enhanced its ethnolinguistic vitality.

Table 5.17 gives an overview of the respondents' accounts of means other than visits to maintain contact with people, news or events in the old country, and its culture. The category 'media' includes various magazines, newspapers and journals, the internet, and Norwegian TV. Most of the publications on paper are written in a combination of English and Norwegian, or only in English. Internet-based sources referred to by respondents are largely Norwegian pages such as local and national newspapers. Some informants also used to listen to a Norwegian radio station that was broadcasting in the USA in the past.

Table 5.17:

Means used to maintain contact with the old country and its culture.

	Female (8)	Male (6)	All (14)
Media:	7	6	14
Telephone:	7	3	10
Literature:	5	1	6
Emails/Facebook:	2	1	3
Letters/cards:	2	0	2

In the ‘media’ category, 66.6% (4/6) of the men reported using the internet on a daily basis while none of the women mentioned this source of information, although two reported of occasionally using email. Most of the respondents who reported reading Norwegian literature are women. The comments show that all read the English translations except one, who writes: ‘I read in Norwegian as well as English. I love to read and have some Norwegian novels.’ Another respondent explains that she used to read literature in Norwegian, adding: ‘but I find it difficult to read Norwegian now when they changed it from Riksmål.’ (Riksmål: the most widely used version of the Norwegian written language was revised in the mid 1900s.) The only male respondent who reported reading Norwegian literature explains why he prefers to read in English: ‘I have read several books by Norwegian Authors. But I read the English version. My knowledge of the written Norwegian Language is limited to what I learned up to a 3rd Grade Education’ [sic].

The respondents’ accounts of their relationship to the old country and the expressed pride in being Norwegian reflect attitudes consistent with findings presented in section 5.1.2. These largely indicate that their motivation for migrating was not based on any negative relationship to the country or to the culture that they left behind. The vast majority of the respondents have maintained close contact with Norway and its culture by actively using various media for information to keep up with events and news; by using different channels of communication to stay in touch with friends and family; by frequently visiting Norway; and by hosting Norwegian visitors. This relatively extensive contact is associated with active use of L1, which has preserved a certain level of proficiency in their native language among these immigrants. At the same time, we have seen that the majority of respondents committed a

fairly rapid language shift to the host language. As L1 is mentioned by only two of the 14 respondents (14.3%) as constituting a part of their ethnic identity, the Norwegian language does not seem to represent a cultural symbol in its own right for the majority of informants. However, when encouraged to describe concrete representations of Norwegian culture which they found it important to maintain and, for those who are parents, to pass on to the next generation Norwegian phrases, songs and prayers were mentioned by two additional respondents. These elements of ethnic values, and using of L1 for such specialised functions, are symbolic aspects of language that may long survive the loss of the communicative functions of a language.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the majority of respondents do not seem to include the Norwegian language as a core value in their concept of Norwegian culture. This is supported by the findings of only a small proportion of L1 maintenance in the home domain presented in section 5.3.1.A, and the limited current use of L1 described in section 5.3.3. The findings confirm the rapid language shift, reported by this sample to have taken place within the first few years of immigration, by which L1 lost its communicative function in the American context to most of the respondents. The rapidness of the shift seems to eliminate any connection between L1's lack of symbolic value in relation to the migrants' cultural identity and the duration of their residence in the USA. Research has shown that language as a core value is at its most effective when the language is linked to other core values, such as religion, which require use of the language for a particular purpose (Clyne 2003). It is therefore relevant here that the liturgy of the Lutheran church in the Lake Telemark community has never been Norwegian for as long as these respondents have lived in the area. Neither is Norwegian commonly spoken in the club at Nor-Bu Lodge, or at the events and activities arranged at the Lodge. According to the theory of core values (Smolicz 1992), a minority group's resilience in maintaining their language and culture also depends on the degree to which they can interact with the cultural input of the host community. The encounter with the dominant culture may thus reshape the group's concept of symbols defining their identity.

5.4.2 Changing concepts of identities: Mostly American or mostly Norwegian?

The questions about identities seemed problematic for many respondents, especially when asked to describe their American identity. From their reactions, it seemed that the issue had not been a subject of reflection. For some, the term 'identity' was difficult to understand to

begin with, and sometimes it was necessary to rephrase the question into: ‘What makes you feel that you are American?’ Some respondents may have felt that these questions challenged their loyalty to the countries involved; or perhaps they simply found identity a complex topic to explain and share. One respondent did not answer the questions related to descriptions of identities. Based on the received responses related to American identity, the informants can roughly be divided into two groups: those who seem to be aware of their American identity, and those who seem more hesitant or indefinite about having an American identity. Respondents with a conscious awareness of their American identity described their Americanness in the following ways:

-‘The kids make me feel American.’

-‘I’m an American citizen. I love America.’

-‘In one way I feel American because I like everything here. Everything is easy here and the people are friendly.’

-‘Happy, satisfied, bright outlook.’

-‘I’m here!’

-‘I think we are helpful, outgoing, accepting and trusting. I’m glad to be American.’

These quotes are responses from informants seemingly reluctant to identify themselves as having an American identity:

-‘Gee, that’s a good question...is there a real American?...I don’t know!’

-‘I have never thought of it that way...I have always thought of myself as a Norwegian: I am an American Norwegian!’

-‘I feel I’ve been here so many years and I feel it’s strange having moved away from Norway. I don’t define me as an American but I feel most American. But I’m still a Norwegian at heart.’

However, when the informants were asked whether they felt mostly American or mostly Norwegian, they seemed to be more decisive, and were able to elaborate their answers to a larger extent. Table 5.18 gives an overview of the number of respondents who feel mostly American, mostly Norwegian, or neither one nor the other.

Table 5.18:

How the respondents feel about their identity: Mostly American, mostly Norwegian, or neither one nor the other.

	Female (8)	Male (5)	All (13)
Mostly American:	7	3	10
Mostly Norwegian:	0	1	1
Neither one nor the other:	1	1	2

The results clearly show that a majority, 76.9% of the sample, ‘feel’ mostly American or define themselves as Americans today. One respondent explains why in writing: ‘Norwegian will always be a part of me, but I am an American citizen, Norway is the country of my Birth, I spent my childhood + teenage years there up to 18. But I have lived in USA 61 years!’ [sic]. The time lived in the USA is mentioned by several respondents as the main reason for why they feel mostly American today. Another comment illustrates this too, but from a slightly different perspective: ‘This is my country now. I feel strange when I go over there [Norway]. Everything has changed so much over there.’ One of the two respondents who cannot define themselves as more American than Norwegian or vice versa says: ‘I’ve never thought of it. I will never say that I don’t feel Norwegian. Over here I say I am Norwegian.’

As the results and comments in this part of the study underline, markers of identity are subject to change according to the contexts they interact with; consequently they may come and go (Edwards 2009). Although the respondents’ ethnic identities do not seem to have changed at the same rate as the majority’s shift to English, they evidently sought a positive identity in assimilating into the host culture to obtain the benefits it had to offer. According to the respondents’ self-reports, they adapted quite rapidly and easily into American society and gradually became Americanised. Only one female informant reported intentions of returning to Norway (and she did indeed return to Norway in the spring of 2013). Without exception, the respondents confirm that their expectations about America have been fulfilled, but the reliability of this assessment and the accompanying anecdotes needs to be considered as the result conflicts with the fact that 61.5% (table 5.5) of the sample reported having had no expectations about immigrating to the USA. When the respondents explain in what ways their expectations have been met, they emphasise that they have had a good life and felt free in

America. One respondent remarked the following about expectations being fulfilled: 'I believe so. At that time [1953] it was a whole different life here because of the advancement. Things always seemed easier here. I feel freer here. Not that much government involvement.' Another respondent also hints at the contrasts in the 1950s between Norway and the USA in terms of industrial development and consumer and material welfare, and concludes: 'Before there was more possibility in the USA.' References to elements of 'The American Dream' can be seen in this reply: 'Oh yeah... yes, I think so. If you work hard...you can do [achieve] whatever you want' [sic].

6 Conclusion

Findings reveal that a large majority (84.6%:11/13) of Norwegian migrants included in this study made a shift to English within the first few years of immigration, whereas only a small minority maintained the Norwegian language by using it consistently as the main language of communication in the home domain. These results confirm findings in other studies: a rapid shift to English as the dominant immigrant experience has been observed both in the USA (Fishman 1966, 1981, 2004) and in other predominantly English-speaking cultures and societies (Clyne 2003, Crezee 2010, Hamid 2011).

In contrast to their rapid language shift, these Norwegian migrants have made a point of maintaining what they perceive as their Norwegian cultural heritage. In search of explanations for this contrasting behaviour, potential factors related to the respondents' cultural identity and pre- and post-migration experiences have been examined. Individual and subjective experiences have thus been contextualised as conditioned by factors found in the community and society at large. The search for potential determinants of language maintenance or shift has been based on the model of additive and subtractive bilingualism (Landry and Allard 1994), and objective (Giles et al. 1977) and subjective (Bourhis et al. 1981) vitality assessment of languages. The examination of the connection between language and identity has focussed on the symbolic functions of language (Edwards 2009), and language as a core value in forming a group and its members' cultural identity (Smolicz 1981).

The investigation of pre-migration factors considered relevant to the respondents' language choice sought to uncover English language proficiency prior to migration, and motivations for emigrating. Good communicative skills in the host language were assumed to have eased the transition for the immigrants in the new country, especially related to employment and social integration. In order to establish their English skills at the point of immigration, the respondents' degree of formal education in English was examined in terms of the year and their age at migration and whether their background was rural or urban. English was not a mandatory subject in Norwegian primary education until 1959, although it was taught in most urban schools prior to this date. As shown, 76.9% of the respondents were adults who emigrated before 1959 and of these 53.8% had received no formal teaching of English. It is reasonable to assume based on these figures that a majority of the respondents had a disadvantageous starting point for communicating in English when arriving in the USA, and

that this fact would favour continued use of L1 and consequently slow down the process of language shift.

Regardless of the respondents' formal education in English or lack of such, their self-reports rating their proficiency prior to migration reveal a range spanning from good skills to no knowledge of the language. The reports of formal education history and self-assessed skills in English do not provide accurate measures of their proficiency, of course; they merely indicate confidence level in relation to the language. However, confidence level might have been a significant factor in determining their language choices. High confidence in their English proficiency may have increased the respondents' use of the language, thus accelerating the process of language shift. Research has not established a complete correlation between low English language proficiency and low community language shift, but immigrant groups with a large proportion of speakers reporting low proficiency are generally those who have a low rate of language shift (Clyne 2003). Formal education and self-assessed level of language proficiency in English are clearly ambiguous variables requiring analysis within a broader context of interacting factors.

Despite the group members' different levels of competence in English and their varying degrees of confidence in their own proficiency, no respondents reported having had any communicative problems at the initial stage of immigration. This can be explained largely by the contexts surrounding their arrival and early settlement: Norwegian speakers could be accessed to assist the newcomers if needed. They all arrived in greater New York City. With one exception, they lived for a period of time in the Norwegian immigrant colony in Brooklyn before moving on to the vicinity of Lake Telemark. At its peak, the community in Brooklyn had a strong social and cultural profile centred on Norwegian ethnicity. The facts that the Norwegian language dominated the speech communities, and that the colony's various organisations, societies and institutions actively promoted and maintained Norwegian, indicate that it was considered a core element of the community's cultural values prior to WWII. During the 1950s, when most of respondents arrived, the colony was still a thriving ethnic community, but the respondents report being encouraged to use English as the main language of communication even when speaking to fellow Norwegians. Apart from signalling the importance of English in 'the new world', this encouragement may have been motivated by instrumental and integrative concerns, but also by a wish to maintain the reputation of Norwegians as an ethnic group of hard working and successful immigrants in America. Thus,

the immigrants' exposure to 'pressures' of language shift did not just come from the wider American society, but also from the Norwegian colony in Brooklyn.

Educational institutions in Brooklyn gave English language courses at various levels, and the easy access to and flexibility of these courses enabled the respondents to combine them with work. 92.3% (12/13) of the sample attended formal courses in English post migration (Table 5.6). This testifies to the importance of the language to the immigrants, and their attitude to acquiring and developing their English skills. The support provided by educational institutions in Brooklyn gave the respondents in my sample ample opportunities to learn or develop their proficiency in the host language shortly upon arrival. At the same time, the very presence of these numerous institutions signalled the great importance and status of the English language in American society. These facts, combined with the encouragement of the ethnic community that the respondents actively use English as the general language of communication, probably helped speed up the process of language shift. This would particularly have been the case for the 53.4% of the informants who arrived with a determination of settling permanently in the USA - a decision which in itself probably influenced their language behaviour towards shift. However, respondents who planned to stay temporarily in America were also highly dedicated in their acquiring of English. To these, the language was important for communicative purposes and employment possibilities in the host society.

The respondents' motivation for migrating may have involved both push and pull factors, in turn affecting their attitudes to social and cultural integration in the USA. 38.4% of the sample reported that family reunion was the purpose of their immigration, but the rest gave no clear indication of causes for migrating. Yet, the socio-economic prospects were far better in the USA than in Norway at the time, and responses reveal hopes of a better life and improved prosperity in the new country among 38.4% of the sample (Table 5.5). Such motivation is consistent with research explaining incentives for Norwegian immigration to the USA throughout history (Lovoll 1999, Østrem 2006). However, the majority claimed to have no particular expectations about immigrating. Hence, the results give the impression of a group of people who were relatively modest and realistic in their anticipations about immigrant life in America. Attitudes and aspirations are psychological factors that can affect measures taken to 'succeed' in the new country. The motivation to adapt and assimilate into American society is likely to have challenged the respondents' awareness of their ethnic identity and their

Norwegian cultural and language maintenance. These subjective factors are therefore worth considering in the context of seeking explanations for the group's language behaviour.

Regardless of the variations in English language proficiency at the initial stage of migration, only one respondent reported negative feedback or comments from native speakers of English. The majority described Americans as tolerant of English varieties, and had experienced being encouraged to speak English irrespective of skills. The reliability of these self-reports can be questioned, but the respondents' subjective perception of being met with positive attitudes and support of their use of English from the host society is likely to have helped bring about a rapid shift. In contrast to what Crezee (2012) found in her study from New Zealand, the respondents in Lake Telemark never expressed having felt any pressure from the host society to speak English. This may be explained by the dominant and obvious status enjoyed by the language in American public life. Moreover, the American ideology of emphasising the social and economic rewards of assimilation is likely to have presented incentives in which the English language played a key role. Thus, the advantages of a shift to English were likely to take precedence over L1 maintenance.

One of the significant variables in determining language vitality concerns maintenance in the home domain (Fishman 1991, 2001). A minority language not being spoken at home predicts a fairly rapid shift to the dominant language and is commonly associated with language loss within a generation. Conversely, L1 maintenance in the home domain is a condition for bilingualism and facilitates language survival at the community level. However, the phenomenon of high rates of shift among immigrants in the USA has been noted in many studies (Fishman 1966, 2004), and the majority of my respondents in the study conducted in Lake Telemark fit into this paradigm. Despite the fact that the partners of 80% of the married women and 40% of the married men in my sample were L1 or L2 speakers of Norwegian, the majority no longer maintained their mother tongue in the home domain after a few years in America. Those who reported speaking Norwegian occasionally to their partners, made a complete shift to English once they had children. The parents' key argument for this shift was to ensure that the children were proficient in English before attending the monolingual American public school system. Good command of English was important for the children's learning outcome, but also to prevent bullying for sounding 'foreign'. Language aptitude was considered crucial to ensure the children's participation in American education, employment and culture. These structural and socioeconomic factors were felt to hold the key to the

rewards of successful integration in American society. Thus, the language shift proves the parents' motivation and desire to assimilate for the sake of their children's future.

At the time, the beneficial aspects of bilingualism were not common knowledge. Therefore, finding anyone in this group with a conscious attitude to maintaining L1 in the home in order to help the children grow up as bilinguals was not to be expected. The respondents' reasons for making a language shift in the home domain correspond with findings in other studies (Crezee 2012, Haugen 1969). Among the informants with children, 18.1% (2/11) kept Norwegian as the main language of communication in the home, thus transferring it to the next generation. The two respondents in question were married to each other, and were already parents at the time of their migration. Today, all of their children – Norwegian or American born - are bilingual speakers of Norwegian and English, thus confirming theory and research about the importance of the home domain factor to minority language survival in a dominant language context.

The community centred on the Norwegian settlement in Lake Telemark was based on a shared ethnicity and kept a high profile with regard to upholding Norwegian history and culture during the 1950s and 60s. The club at the BUL cabin and the congregation of the Lutheran church were especially active forces in this endeavour. Both of these contexts counted a majority of my respondents among their members. Despite the fact that the social life of most of my respondents was closely linked to the settlement, L1 was only marginally used when interacting in the community. The same trend was seen in communicative interaction in their networks of close friends, although most of these friends were also Norwegians. Institutional support for maintaining the Norwegian language at the local level in the Lake Telemark community was practically absent by the time most respondents settled there in the 1950s and 60s. In fact, when these immigrants arrived in the USA, the instrumental function of the Norwegian language had been lost for decades in ethnic institutions such as the Lutheran church and organisations such as the BUL and Sons of Norway. Hence, despite the settlement's demographic concentration of approximately 1200 first and second generation Norwegians (Barth 1950, Landstad Jensen 1952) in the early 1950s (*Lake Land News* 1952) and its strong focus on Norwegian cultural maintenance, English was the every-day and dominant language of communication in the community. Thus, given that no collective action was taken to maintain the Norwegian language, acting as a distinct and collective entity in this matter does not seem to have been a concern of the community. The individual members of the settlement operated independently in relation to

L1 maintenance, which resulted in only a small minority (15.3%, 2/13) of my respondents taking active steps to maintain L1 after migration. To the majority of my respondents', L1 soon had lost most of its communicative function in the American context.

Although the majority of the respondents made an early shift to English, they continued to uphold other aspects of Norwegian culture such as food, holidays, traditions, crafts, traditional music and folk dance. In the research question I ask why there is a discrepancy between the cultural and L1 maintenance among the respondents, as it seems natural to assume that the Norwegian language would be an important part of a Norwegian cultural identity. The sample's attitudes to their ethnicity, their relationship to the home country, and their perceptions of important Norwegian cultural values were examined as factors with a potential influence on their language behaviour in America. A majority (85.7%, 12/14) of the sample expressed immense pride in their ethnic identity, while the minority used more neutral terms, e.g. by referring to Norway as their homeland. The respondents referred to a variety of cultural symbols, mainly related to food, traditions and holidays, as representing values they, as immigrants, found it important to uphold. Remarkably, only 14.3% (2/14) of the sample mentioned the Norwegian language as part of their cultural identity. This indicates that the Norwegian language was not considered to be a core value in the majority's cultural identity, or to represent a distinct symbol in their concept of Norwegian culture. However, elements of Norwegian culture which necessitated use of L1 for specialised functions, such as phrases, songs and prayers, were cited by two respondents. This is consistent with former research showing that such symbolic aspects of language may long survive the communicative loss of language.

The immigrants' degree and frequency of contact with the country of origin is also considered among the factors that can contribute to cultural continuity and L1 maintenance. Most of the respondents in the study have taken active measures over the years to maintain in close contact with Norway and its culture. The measures include using various media for information about current events and news, using different channels of communication to stay in touch with friends and family (Table 5.17), regularly visiting the country (Table 5.16), and hosting revisits. It is reasonable to assume that such frequent contact has contributed to the respondents' cultural continuity. Moreover, these situations created a need to communicate fairly regularly in L1, thus ensuring that the respondents retained a certain level of proficiency in their first language. Yet, in the American context the vast majority of respondents did not maintain L1's communicative function. For this to have happened, the informants would have

needed the support of their community and social networks to actively choose and use L1 for communication. There was no such support: the Norwegian language does not seem to have been part of the cultural continuity of the Lake Telemark community. Hence, even the symbolic value of the Norwegian language had most likely been lost before the Norwegian immigrants in the study settled among their compatriots in Lake Telemark. Interaction with input from the majority American culture probably gradually reshaped the community's concepts of symbols defining their cultural identity, for, as Edwards (2009) points out, markers of identity are subject to change according to the contexts with which they interact.

Although the respondents' ethnic identities do not seem to have changed at the same rate as the majority's shift to English, it is evident that the respondents sought a positive identity by assimilating into the American culture to obtain the benefits it had to offer. According to the sample's self-reports, they adapted quite rapidly and easily into American society and gradually became Americanised. Today, 76.9% (10/13) of the sample define themselves as Americans, arguing that their reason for feeling mostly American is that they have lived there for much of their lives. Unanimously, they confirm that their expectations about immigrating to the USA have been met, although 61.5% (Table 5.5) initially claimed not to have had any specific expectations about migration. When elaborating on this issue, they emphasise the rewards of hard work in terms of successfully establishing a good life for themselves and their families. All respondents consider themselves middle or upper middle class. Several respondents also reported that they had felt a sense of freedom in America.

The study presented in this thesis is not designed purely as a linguistic project, but rather as a combination of sociolinguistics and civilisation (as defined by Norwegian universities), with a strong focus on the history of the Norwegian settlement in Lake Telemark. It is therefore debatable whether the theoretical frameworks chosen to analyse the respondents' language behaviour, thus to shed light on the disjunction between cultural maintenance and the majority's shift to English at an early stage of migration, are fully comprehensive. Nevertheless, I believe that in combination, they make a significant contribution towards explaining the group's language shift.

The factors examined as potential explanations for the rapid language shift among the majority of the group represent the structural variables of status, demographic and institutional support. The EV model considers these components as essential influences on the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups sharing a common environment. My findings from the Lake

Telemark study indicate low ethnolinguistic group vitality. No active and collective measures were taken to maintain the mother tongue in the community, unlike the cultural maintenance of other symbols and concepts of Norwegian culture. Hence, language maintenance was up to individuals. Furthermore, the demographic and status profiles of the group favoured language shift. The values associated with adapting to the main culture took precedence over preserving L1. The Norwegian language represents a small nation and few people, with little international status and prestige. There was no institutional support for maintaining this minority language on a state level or in Rockaway Township, and English was the language of instruction in educational institutions in the Lake Telemark area. Informal institutional support for maintaining the Norwegian language had also ceased when the respondents settled in the area. Norwegian was not used as the medium of communication at events and gatherings in the community. Thus, the status of L1 in the community was low in terms of its instrumental value. The change in attitudes towards maintaining Norwegian was also observed in the Brooklyn colony, where my respondents were encouraged to actively use English from the very start. As the Norwegian language did not serve an instrumental function in the Lake Telemark community or in the informants' networks, most respondents lost daily contact with L1 except from the two who maintained Norwegian in the home domain, and whose children became bilinguals. These two respondents provide the only indication of subjective perceptions differing from those of the community, and from the other informants' attitudes and behaviour towards L1 use and maintenance.

However, the majority's language shift has not resulted in L1 loss; nor has it excluded a continuation of their ethnic culture. Although L1 was not mentioned as a defining symbol of their ethnicity by these respondents, they maintained their L1 proficiency through close contact with Norway. The informants' language use adapted to situational contexts reported by these informants, who apply 'Norwegian in Norway and English in America', may reflect dual identities that are separate rather than interactive parallels. The minority maintained L1 because they considered it a core value of their Norwegian ethnic identity. Thus, the relationship to their mother tongue may differ between individuals within the same ethnolinguistic community, and their interaction with the host culture may reshape their concepts of symbols defining their identity in different ways.

The informants are all proud of their origins and it has been important for the whole group to maintain symbols that represent their ethnic culture. Some of these symbols are collective, while others are expressed individually. The respondents have, whether consciously or not,

mediated between the Norwegian and American cultures. This interaction is a constant process which over time will be subject to considerable variation and change in relation to the respondents' perceptions of values that are important symbols in defining their identities, and thus in conditioning their language use. Consequently, explaining the immigrants' language choice requires a combination of social, structural and psychological factors.

As to answering the research question on the disjunction between the group's maintenance of Norwegian culture and simultaneous abandonment of their mother tongue, the results of the study show that the respondents considered the English language to be crucial for education, employment and social integration in American society. Thus, the rewards of assimilation took precedence over L1 maintenance for the vast majority of the group. The respondents' maintenance of symbols other than language representing Norwegian culture, did not conflict with obtaining these rewards. The cultural continuity of the Lake Telemark community, largely centred on Nor-Bu Lodge, strengthened the social network of the settlement and provided a link to their ethnic past. This social community united the immigrants and created an atmosphere of preserving the best of the old country in the new context. However, the context, i.e. American society, policies and culture, has shaped the cultural as well as the linguistic profile of the Norwegian migrants. Thus, the findings from the study seem to confirm my hypothesis about causes for the disjunction between cultural maintenance and lacking L1 maintenance among my respondents.

The findings of my study contribute towards explaining the language shift among the group of respondents from the Lake Telemark community in New Jersey. Thus the study and its results comprise a contribution, albeit small, to research on language maintenance and shift in migrant communities. The validity of the findings may be questioned as the data is based on relatively few informants. At the same time, however, the validity of my research is supported by the fact that the results correspond with those of other studies conducted in the USA on language survival in immigrant communities (Fishman 1966, 1981, 2004); and furthermore by the consistency of my findings with Crezee's (2012) findings from New Zealand with regard to the respondents' rapid language shift and their reasons for not maintaining L1 in the home domain.

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Appendix 1

BUL in New York laws

(Skavlan 1935)

LOVER FOR BONDEUNGDOMSLAGET.

1. Bondeungdomslaget vil samla norsklynd ungdom til samvære og til arbeid for norsk mål, sed og skikk og elles bygga på det beste i norsk kultur. Norsk (landsmål) skal brukast i skrift.
 2. Lagsmenn kan dei verta som vil fremja laget sine formål og legg 3 dalar fyreåt for halvåret. Søknad um upptaking skal sendast styret og må vera tilrådd av 2 lagsfolk som kjenner søkjaren frå fyrr. Styret kan gjera undantak um det trengst.
 3. Fire månader etter ein er uppteken har ein røysterett på årsmøtet og i dei saker som krev skriftleg røystring. Um nokon lagsmann skadar laget, kan styret stryka han av lagslista. Lagsmenn som er skuldig årspengar for eit år, skal strykast av laget.
 4. Rusedrykk og usømeleg framferd vert ikkje tolt der laget kjem saman og på laget sine eigedomar.
 5. Laget skal ha 7 styresmenn med 2 varamenn. Minst 5 styresmenn må vera landsfødde. Formannen vert fyrst vald og for eitt år. Dei andre vert valde for 2 år — soleis at 3 gjeng ut kvart år. Varamennene vert valde for eitt år. Styret vel seg imillom for eitt år varaformann, skrivar, kassestyrar og målsmann i lagsbruksstyret. Ein umbodsmann kan segja frå seg attval for ein valbolk. Finn laget det turvande, kan det tilsetja lønt kassestyrar utanum styret.
 6. Styret er avgjerdsført når minst 5 er tilstades og skal føra opprit frå lags- og styresmøte til upplesing i laget. Styret skipar til møte og har rett til å gjera framlegg i alle lagssaker. Styret er ansvarleg for at laget sine verdebrev, midlar og eigedomar som ikkje er lagde inn under nokon annan, vert styrde på beste måte og at god orden og sømeleg framferd råder der laget samlast. Styret legg fram for årsmøtet ettersedd rekneskap, årsmelding for året som er gått og framlegg til budsjett for laget.
 7. Formannen skal setja iverk alle vedtak styret eller laget har gjort, når ikkje noko anna er fastsett. Ved røystringar gjer ordstyraren utslaget, um røystene står likt. Ordstyraren bør ikkje vera med i ordskiftet.
 8. Laget har møte minst 2 gonger um månaden i vinterhalvåret med foredrag, ordskifte, spelstykke, handskrive blad og anna av ålvor og gaman som det kan høva seg. Elles kan det vera festar, utferder og andre samkomor, når laget ynskjer det.
- 63
9. Årsmøte skal haldast i januar. På årsmøtet vert årsmelding og rekneskap framlagde, lagsstyre og 2 ettersynsmenn med varamenn vert valde. I særskilde høve kan ein halda unframt årsmøte. Alle saker som vedkjem vanleg eller unframt årsmøte skal utlystast på siste lagsmøte fyreåt.
 10. Når ikkje anna er utlyst, kan folk utanum laget koma inn på møte og festar mot å leggja dei inngongspengane som er fastsette.
 11. Dans kan ein ikkje ha på vanlege møte. På festar og andre samkomor kan ein bruka dei vanlege leikar og dansar. Foxtrot, charleston og liknande vert ikkje tolt.
 12. Pengeløyvingar som ikkje gjeld drifti av laget, serlagi eller målsaki krev 4/5 fleirtal. Løyvingane må ikkje gjelda lenger enn eit år og kan ikkje fremjast på same møtet som framlegg vert gjort, når summen er meir enn 50 dalar. Når styret gjer framlegg i pengespursmål, kan eit benkeframlegg på høgare sum ikkje fremjast på same møtet. Saki skal sendast attende til styret og avgjerast på komande eller neste lagsmøte. Pengesaker på mindre enn 20 dalar til lagsdrifti kan avgjerast av styret.
 13. Innan laget kan skipast serlag, men lovene for desse lagi må vera i samhøve med denne lovi og godkjende på årsmøtet.
 14. Lagsbruk skal drivast av eit styre på 5 menn med 2 varamenn. Ein av styresmennene skal vera frå lagsstyret. (Janiår bolk 5 i denne lovi). Dei 4 andre vert valde på årsmøte for 2 år, soleis at 2 gjeng ut kvart år. Varamennene vert valde for eitt år. Lagsbruksstyret vel seg imillom formann, varaformann, skrivar og kassestyrar. Lovene for lagsbruk skal vedtakast på same måten som lagslovene. Lagsbruk kan ikkje avhendast utan på årsmøte der minst 2/3 røystar for.
 15. Denne lovi kan berre brigdast på årsmøte der minst 2/3 røystar for brigde. Bolk 1, 4, og 15 kan berre brigdast ved samrøystet vedtak.
 16. Laget kan berre verta oppløyst på eit årsmøte der minst 4/5 av dei som då er lagsfolk, røystar for det. Vert laget oppløyst, skal eiga umgjerast i pengar og sendast Noregs Ungdomslag, og dette laget fær bruka pengane på beste måte.



Appendix 2

BUL in New York's 10th anniversary journal (frontpage) written by Gunnar Skavland (1935).



SKRIFTNEMND:

Gunnar Skavlan: Sogeskrivar.

Mons Breidvik }
Per Hoffshagen } Bilettilfang og utstyr.

Martin Vala. Tore Lauvdal.

Mons Breidvik har teikna umslaget.

1935.
KNUDSEN PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO., Inc.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Appendix 3

The BUL cabin building committee and the Bergdal brothers (Skavlan 1935:33).



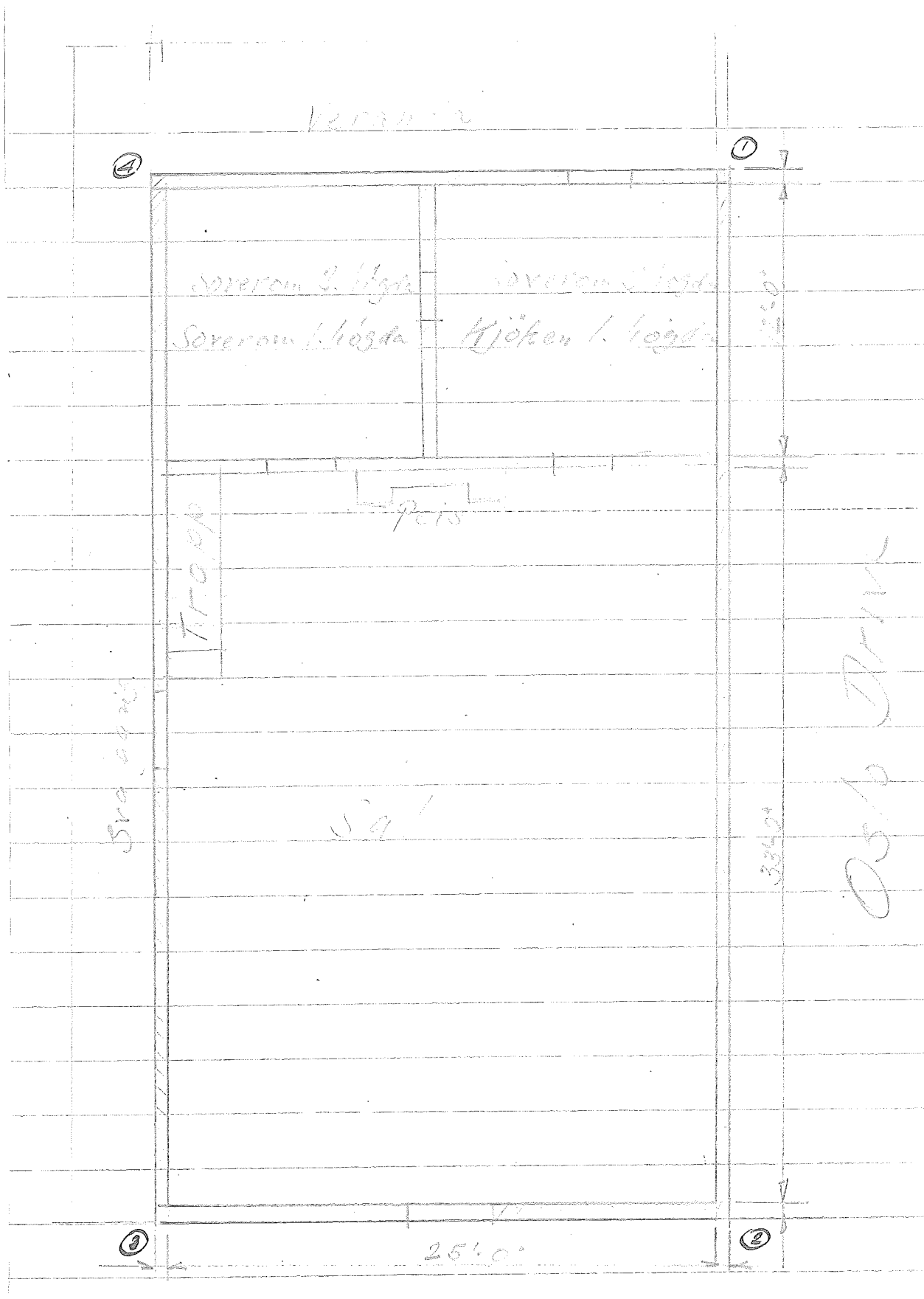
TOMTENEMNDI I 1929.

(Foto Aske)

I forgrunnen frå vinstre: Skylstad, Skavlan, Aske (tomtenemndi) og Teigland. I bakgrunnen frå vinstre: Hallvard og Stephen Bergdal.

Appendix 4

The first sketch of the BUL cabin (Skavlan 1929, minutes dated 25 September).



Appendix 5

The first sod is taken for the BUL cabin in Lake Telemark (Skavlan 1935:35).



FYRSTE SPADETAKET.

(Foto Aske)

Appendix 6

Circulars requesting BUL members to contribute in the construction of the cabin in Lake Telemark (Skavlan 1930, minutes dated 20 May).



Ver med og bygg ditt eige hus.

Til.....

Før har lagsfolk i Bondeungdomslaget ikkje visst kvar dei skulde møtast naar sumarferien kom, men dette er det no slutt med. Møtestaden er Lake Telemark, der arbeidet med aa reisa ei lagshytte for Bondeungdomslaget no er i det beste gjenge. Lat oss møtast til arbeid der no, so kann vi seinare møtast der til fest og gaman.

Med dette bed vi deg om aa vera med aa gjera ditt til aa reisa denne hytta. Ta med arbeids- og sengkler og møt paa hyrna av 54. gt. og 5. ave., Brooklyn, kl. 8 fredag eller laurdag kveld, so lenge som arbeidet paa hytta varer.

Der vil alltid vera nokon som veit vegen og vil syte for at du kjem der ut. Eiler gjer ein avtale med formannen i nemnda, Johan Aske, om naar det høver deg aa reisa so vil der bli sytt for reisehøve. Hans telefon nr. er Sunset 8875 J.

Alle som arbeider paa hytta fær fri reis, mat og hus, men vi ventar daa at dei paa desse vilkaar arbeider ein heil dag. Snikkarar vil me beda om aa ta med øks, sag, water og tumestokk. Me vilde vera serleg takksame om dei som har bil eller kann skaffa bil vilde melda seg til nemnda. Dei som køyrer vil faa ein dollar for kvar mann som dei køyrer. Dei som legg ut pengar til billet fær attende det dei har lagt ut ved aa venda seg til Thv. Jaathun.

Har du kjenningar utanfor laget so ta dei med. Dei er sjølv sagt velkomne paa same vilkaar som lagsfolk.

Gøym dette brevet.

Lat oss lyfte i flokk.

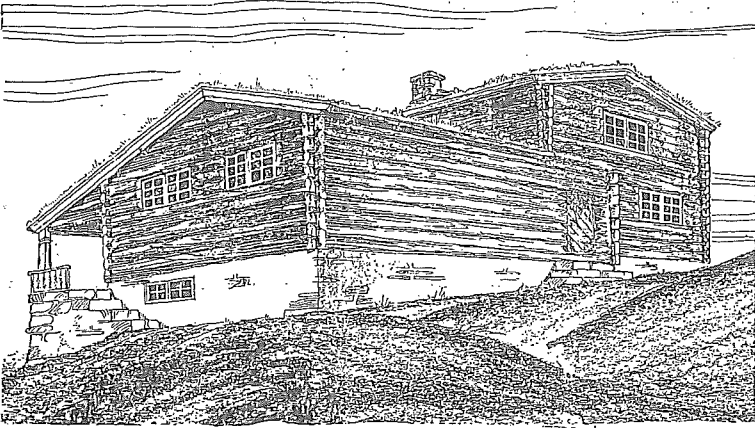
.Byggjenemnda.

Appendix 7

Front page of programme at the grand opening of the BUL cabin in Lake Telemark (Skylstad 1930, in minutes dated 16 July).

Bondeungdomslaget
New York

Olsoke-Stemna med Vigsling av Hytta
Sundag 27. Juli, kl. 11
Lake Telemark, Hibernia, N. J.



PROGRAM :

Velkome-helsing ved form. i laget, James Teigland. — Høgmessa ved Sjømannsprest Aadne Høiland — Overlevering av hytta ved form. i byggjenemndi, Johan Aske. — Middags-ykt.

Tale av generalkonsul Wilhelm Morgenstjerne. — Nordmændenes Sangforening, dir. Ole Windingstad. — Song av Ester Habestad og B. Høiland.

Hardingfela: Nordgard og Frøyso. — Heidershird, 40 menn i vikingbunad. Leikar-ringen syner fram song- og turdansar.

Stemne-lyden 'vert' filma av ingeniør Leirvik.

Ta mat med; kaffi og soda m. m. tilsals paa Stemnestaden.

Bussar gjeng frå 54th St. og 5th Ave., Brooklyn, kl. 8.30, kl. 11.30 og kl. 3.

ALLE ER VELKOMNE **INNGANGSPENGE \$1.00**

Billetter utlagde hjå C. A. Hanssen & Bro., 4711 - 5th Avenue og T. Jensen, 4801 - 5th Avenue.

Appendix 8



NTNU – Trondheim
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

Questionnaire:

- **PERSONAL INFORMATION:**

1. What is your name?.....
2. When were you born?.....
3. Where were you born?.....
4. What is your marital/civil status? (married, single, divorced, widow/er).....
5. Do you have any children? (If 'Yes', how many?).....
6. Do you have any grandchildren? (If 'Yes', how many?).....
7. Do you have any great grand children? (If 'Yes', how many?).....
8. Where do you live now?.....
9. How long have you lived here?.....
10. Have you lived other places in the USA? If 'Yes', where and for how long?.....
11. Why did you settle in Lake Telemark/Marcella/Rockaway?
.....

- **FAMILY AND BACKGROUND:**

12. Could you give a brief description of the place you grew up in Norway, please? (Rural/urban?).....
13. Could you describe your family background in Norway, please? (The number of siblings?).....

14. What type of education did you have in Norway?

.....

15. Did you have (skilled) work before emigrating? (If yes, which type of job was this? If no, how did you support yourself before immigrating to the USA?)

.....

16. How was your social situation at the time of emigration? (What was your marital status at the time of emigration?)

.....

17. What expectations (hopes or dreams?) did you have about immigrating to the USA?

.....

18. What were your motives for emigrating?

.....

19. Did you intend to stay temporarily or permanently in America at the time of departure?.....

20. What did your family and friends think about your decision to emigrate?

.....

21. What type of immigration procedures did you have to go through before travelling to the USA?

.....

22. Did the host country set any requirements for your arrival in the USA?

.....

23. How did you provide the ticket for the USA?

.....

● **EMIGRATION HISTORY:**

24. When did you immigrate to the

USA?.....

25. How did you travel to the USA?

.....

26. *If you travelled by boat, could you describe some memories from the voyage?*

.....

27. Why did you immigrate to the USA in particular?

.....

28. Did you consider immigrating to other countries? In case of yes, which countries?

.....

From emigrant to immigrant: Arrival – First impressions:

29. Where in the USA did you arrive?.....

30. What type of immigration control or customs did you go through at the arrival in the USA?.....

31. Did you have any arrangements made upon your arrival in the USA? (Did anybody meet you when you arrived in the USA/disembarked?)

.....

32. Did you have any communication problems upon the arrival in the USA? (In case of 'Yes' , how did you solve these?)

.....

33. Did you experience any difficulties when disembarking?

.....

34. Could you describe your first impressions upon your arrival in the USA, please?

.....

• **IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE: LIFE IN AMERICA**

Education - Work/self support:

35. How will you describe your (first) encounter with America and American society? (What surprised you? Were you disappointed about anything?)

.....

36. How did you support yourself at the beginning of your stay in the USA?

.....

37. Have you had any formal education in the USA? (If 'Yes', which?)

.....

38. A) If you have been employed, could you describe your work relations in the USA?

(What was your first job? What type of work have you had? For how many years did you work? How old were you when you retired?)

.....

B) Have you experienced any work related difficulties or challenges? (In case which?).....

Social life/relations and network:

39. How will you describe your social life in America?

.....

40. Have there been shifts (changes in the level of activities) in your social life while living in America?

.....

41. Which social activities have you been engaged in/taken part in?

.....

42. Have you been a member of a particular society/club/church? (If 'Yes', what is/was it called and why did you become a member of this church/club, society? Did you take on any specific responsibilities or tasks in these?)

.....

43. Which nationalities have you socialised/been friends with?

.....

44. How will you describe your social integration in America?

.....

• **THE DREAM OF AMERICA:**

45. How will you describe the process of adapting to and becoming integrated in the American society?

.....

46. Have your expectations about America been fulfilled?

.....

47. Did you have to give up anything by becoming an American citizen?

.....

48. Have you ever considered returning to Norway? (Why? Why not?)

.....

• **RELATION TO HOME COUNTRY- NORWAY:**

49. How will you describe your relation to your native country Norway?

.....

50. Do you use media like television, radio, newspapers, magazines or the internet to keep up with news and events in Norway?

.....

51. Do you read literature from Norway? (If 'Yes', is this written in Norwegian or translated into English? What type of literature is this?)

.....

52. How often do/have you visit/ed Norway?

.....

53. Do you keep up the contact with your family in Norway? (If 'Yes', how and how often are you in touch with them?)

.....

54. Do you get visitors from Norway? (If 'Yes', are these friends, family or both?)

.....

55. What do you miss the most (if anything) about your native country?

.....

- **CULTURAL IDENTITY:**

56. What is 'Norwegian' to you?

.....

57. What ideals and values do you appreciate in the Norwegian culture and society?

.....

58. Which of these values and ideals have been important for you to maintain?

.....

59. How will you describe your Norwegian identity? (What makes you feel a Norwegian?)

.....

60. Which parts of Norwegian culture and heritage have been important for you to maintain and pass on to the next generation? (Why?)

.....

61. What is 'American' to you?

.....

62. What ideals and values do you appreciate in the American culture and society?

.....

63. Which of these values and ideals have been important for you to maintain?

.....

64. How will you describe your American identity? (What makes you feel American?)

.....

65. Do you feel mostly Norwegian or mostly American? (Why?)

.....

- **ENGLISH LANGUAGE SKILLS AND LEARNING HISTORY:**

66. How will you describe your English language skills at the time of departure for the USA?

.....

67. Did you have any formal teaching of English before you immigrated?.....

68. In case of 'Yes' to question nr. 67: How much (years?) and where did you get this education?

.....

69. In case of 'No' to question nr. 67: How did you learn English?

.....

70. How long did it approximately take for you to become a fluent speaker of English?

.....

71. Which part of the process in acquiring (learning) English did you find most difficult/challenging?: (Tick out/mark/number)

A) Oral skills:

a) Vocabulary (to learn new words):

b) Conversation/speaking:

c) Reading:

d) Listening comprehension/understanding:

e) Flow (to speak fluently):

B) Writing skills:

a) Grammar:

b) Orthography (spelling):

c) Idiomatic language (specific expressions, to use words in a way that sounds natural to native speakers of English):

72. Try to describe some of the challenges, obstacles or difficulties you experienced (if any at all) as an immigrant and non-native (second language) speaker of English the first immigrant years in America:

.....

73. How did the surroundings (the Americans) respond to your English skills during the first immigrant years?

.....

74. Can you remember any specific episodes (funny, humorous, awkward, embarrassing etc.) linked to your English language use or lack of understanding English?

.....

• **LANGUAGE USE IN VARIOUS CONTEXTS:**

75. To what extent did you speak Norwegian within the first years of immigration in these contexts/situations/to these persons:

- a) Household:.....
- b) Spouse:.....
- c) Children:.....
- d) Work:.....
- e) Community:.....
- f) Friends:.....

76. If you have any children, did you make any attempts to teach them Norwegian? (Why? Why not?)

.....

77. At which point did you prefer to speak English to Norwegian? (How long did you live in the USA before you started preferring the English language to the Norwegian?)

.....

78. To what extent (and in which situations) do you use your mother tongue now? (Speaking? In writing?)

.....

Appendix 9

Nina Strømskag,
Bjerkalivn. 13
6522 Frei, Norway
Phone: 0047 95725235/0047 71523272
Email: nina.stromskag@gmail.com
stromska@stud.ntnu.no



NTNU – Trondheim
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

Request about interview.

I am a student at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim, Norway working on a master thesis about language and identity of Norwegian immigrants to the USA in the 1950s. My intention is to explore the relation between language use and cultural identity of Norwegian immigrants in the districts of Marcella and Lake Telemark in Morris County, New Jersey.

In this work, I need volunteers to take part in interviews and I would like **you** to be one of my respondents. The questions will concern your emigration history, life in America, relation to Norway and Norwegian culture, the English (American) language and your learning history and language use. The interview will be recorded and the data confidentially dealt with. You are guaranteed complete anonymity and the research is notified to Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste (NSD). You are free to withdraw at any time during the interview without giving any reason.

My advisor at NTNU is Associate Professor Daniel Weston at the Institute of Modern Foreign Languages. He is available on phone nr. 0047 73596812 and can be reached by email: daniel.weston@ntnu.no or mail address: NTNU, Dragvoll, 7491 Trondheim, Norway.

I **do** hope you are willing to participate in my research as it is essential for the result of my master thesis. Thank you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

Nina Strømskag



CONSENT FORM

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information for the above described study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

I agree to the interview being recorded.

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in the publication/ the master thesis.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

