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**Disertační práce**  
**Doctoral thesis**

*Proměny psané norštiny a jejich odraz v tisku na území Spojených států během 19. století a první poloviny 20. století*

*Changes of the written Norwegian and their reflection in the press published in the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century*

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**Declaration:**

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work and that I wrote it independently using only duly listed and properly cited sources and references; and that it has not been submitted in connection with any other university course or fulfilment of the requirements of the same degree or of any other.

*Prague, December 6, 2017*

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## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis presents the development and changes of the Norwegian written standard in the United States during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The research is based on the material from the newspapers published by the Norwegian immigrant community in the United States. For the purpose of the analyses, three leading Norwegian written newspapers (Decorah-Posten, Skandinaven, Minneapolis Tidende; commonly known as The Big Three) were selected. The development of Norwegian is documented from the perspective of language management and its theory. The first part of the analyses deals with the influence of English as the dominant language of the area on the written Norwegian. Morphological and orthographic integration of English loanwords as well as the most affected fields of the immigrants' lexicon are discussed in this part. The second view monitors the impact of the spelling reform codified in 1907 in Norway on the written standard of the immigrants in the United States and its extent. Features such as voiced/voiceless occlusives, plural and preterite forms, use of double consonants and font are studied in the newspaper material. The individual research points give a general view on the topic of the written Norwegian as used by the immigrants in their press.

## **KEY WORDS**

Norwegian emigration to the United States, immigrant press, English loanwords, reforms of the Norwegian language, Norwegian newspapers, language management

## **ABSTRAKT**

Disertační práce je zaměřena na vývoj psané norštiny na území Spojených států amerických v období druhé poloviny 19. století a první poloviny 20. století. Jako výchozí materiál pro dokumentaci jazykových změn byla použita periodika vydávaná norskými imigranty. Pro výzkum byly vybrány tři nejvýznamnější norský psané deníky vydávané v USA (Decorah-Posten, Skandinaven, Minneapolis Tidende), souhrnně označované jako The Big Three. Vývoj norštiny na území USA je monitorován z perspektivy jazykového managementu a jeho teorie. První část analýz se zabývá vlivem angličtiny jako dominantního jazyka v dané oblasti na psanou norštinu. Výzkum mapuje objem anglických výpůjček, nejvíce zasažené oblasti slovní zásoby a postup morfologické a ortografické integrace anglických slov do psané norštiny. V druhé části výzkumu je sledováno, jakým způsobem a v jaké míře se byla v daných novinách reflektována jazyková reforma přijatá v Norsku v roce 1907, která kodifikovala nové pravopisné a morfologické tvary. Mezi prvky, které byly analyzovány v materiálu z novin, byly zařazeny tvary pro množné číslo a préteritum, užívání dvojitého konsonantů, typ písma a další specifika psaného jazyka daného období. Jednotlivě rozpracované výzkumné body podávají celkový pohled na norštinu užívanou imigranty v jejich tištěných médiích.

## **KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA**

norská emigrace do USA, imigrantská periodika, výpůjčky z angličtiny, pravopisné reformy norštiny, norské noviny, jazykový management

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AP	Aftenposten
DP	Decorah-Posten
MT	Minneapolis Tidende
SK	Skandinaven

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of the thesis is to examine changes of the Norwegian written language in the United States during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. The research focuses on two main types of changes. It compares the development of the Norwegian written language in Norway and the Norwegian language used in the United States<sup>1</sup>. The research also evaluates the influence of English on Norwegian in the United States. Moreover, the significance of the immigrant press among the immigrant groups in Northern America is discussed.

Newspapers written in the mother language of immigrants in the United States became a significant symbol of the community and their language became a symbol of the ethnicity. Both written and spoken languages of immigrants on the North American continent were confronted with English as the dominant language of the territory. Research on immigrant languages has generally focused on the oral language. The issue of the Norwegian spoken language in the US was broadly studied and documented by Einar Haugen (e.g. 1953, 1956 1966 and 1975). An extensive research project on the Norwegian heritage language (called ‘Norwegian in America’) was also started in 2010 at the University of Oslo.<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the above mentioned works, the aim of this doctoral project is to study solely written Norwegian and its changes in the United States.

The Norwegian immigrant press in the United States has become a topic of interest of Lovoll<sup>3</sup>. In his work he provides a comprehensive picture of the history, development and context of the Norwegian press in Northern America. The volume of newspapers printed by the immigrants in the US in the Norwegian language was large. In the period between 1847 when the first journal *Nordlyset* was issued until 1972 when the newspaper *Decorah-Posten* ceased publication, several hundred periodicals were established by the Norwegian immigrant community in the United States. For the purposes of this research, three leading Norwegian written newspapers in the Midwest (*Skandinaven*, *Decorah-Posten*, *Minneapolis Tidende*, known as *The Big Three*) were chosen as the primary material. Both the external influence of English on Norwegian and the changes of the Norwegian language itself were studied in the newspaper texts.

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<sup>1</sup> Also referred to as ‘American Norwegian’.

<sup>2</sup> The field work resulted in recordings that document the language of the Norwegian speakers and a corpus called CANS (Corpus of American Norwegian Speech). *Norwegian in America* [online]. Oslo. [accessed 2016-09-17]. Available at: <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/norskiamerika/english/index.html>.

<sup>3</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *Norske aviser i Amerika*. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2012. ISBN 9788230400838.

Publishing activities of the immigrant communities in Northern America became a significant sign of the gradual adaptation of the newcomers and their acculturation process. The linguistic and cultural development of the community is reflected in the newspaper in various manners and it makes the newspaper material that is worth deeper studying and winning a scholarly attention.

The topic of emigration to the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century can be handled from various perspectives. This thesis approaches the topic of migration linguistically from the perspective of the theory of language management. However, this perspective interconnects questions of management of language problems with aspects of communicative and socioeconomic management. Native speakers of the immigrant languages are an important source of information for researchers as their speech reflects linguistic changes. Moreover their language is also a source of information of a non-linguistic character. The speaker is a representative of his or her community and demonstrates its typical features through the way he or she behaves. And communication is undoubtedly a part of human behaviour. In the same way, newspaper contributions can be seen not only as material for linguistic analyses but they also bear sociological information. The presented topics, the layout, the amount of English borrowings, all these aspects create the final image that enrich our knowledge of the written language and culture of Norwegian immigrants in the United States. For the full context of the problem, the study offers an introduction into the historical background of the Norwegian immigration into the United States and the publishing activities of the immigrant communities in the US.

This research is a contribution to the field of language management. It supplements the existing works with a study case that focuses on the language development in the context of the comprehensive migration phenomenon that affected a considerable part of the European continent in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The aim of the thesis is to answer following two main research questions:

- How was the written Norwegian language in the newspapers of Norwegian immigrants in the United States affected by English?
- How did the written Norwegian language as used in the Norwegian-American press reflect the spelling reforms adopted in Norway?

The first part of the research deals with the influence of English on Norwegian in the selected newspapers. The Norwegian language in the United States was under constant influence of

English which played the dominant role of the prestigious language in this relationship. Such a language contact situation offers space for many questions that should be discussed. Were there any vocabulary fields that specifically experienced a massive ‘flood’ of loanwords from English? Did the volume of the transferred elements change during the time? How were the loanwords treated morphologically and orthographically? The other goal is to evaluate language forms that the readership of the Norwegian-American newspapers was facing in the published texts. In 1907 a language reform was launched in Norway that introduced some innovations both in orthography and morphology. The question discussed in this study is to which extent these changes were reflected in the Norwegian written newspapers in the United States. Were the editors aware of the linguistic development in Norway? Did they evaluate it positively or did they ignore it? Can their attitude be seen in the way how they edited the newspapers? Did the changes proceed equally in the selected newspapers? Did all the features of the reform win the same attention in the immigrant newspapers? This part of the analysis is limited to the linguistic features that were subjected to the reform of 1907 in Norway. The following reforms which appeared in Norway later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were not taken into consideration because they did not have any significant effect on the linguistic changes of Norwegian in the United States.<sup>4</sup>

The thesis opens in Chapter 1 with a theoretical part that introduces language management as the theoretical tool of this research. The specifics of contact linguistics are presented in Chapter 2. The socio-historical background of the Norwegian migration process to the United States is given in Chapter 3. The function and significance of the immigrant press and publishing activities of the Norwegian immigrant community in the United States is described in Chapter 4. The leading editors of the selected newspapers are briefly introduced in this part, too. The empirical part opens with Chapter 5 where an overview of the primary research material and the research techniques are specified. It is followed by Chapter 6 where the attitudes to linguistic features that are subjected to the analyses are discussed. Chapters 7–9 deal with detailed analyses of the primary material. Finally, summarising conclusions are presented in Chapter 10.

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<sup>4</sup> HJELDE, Arnstein, JANSSON, Benthe Kolberg. Language Reforms in Norway and their Acceptance and Use in the Norwegian-American Community. In: BARSTAD, Guri Ellen, HJELDE, Arnstein, KVAM, Sigmund, PARIANOU, Anastasia, TODD, John (eds). *Language and Nation: Crossroads and Connections*. Münster: Waxmann, 2016. ISBN 978-3830934974. P. 299.

# 1. LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

The methodological base of the study is the field of language management. It has developed alongside the language planning theory but its scope is much broader and much more complex. The concept of language management does not exclude the micro perspective of language planning. Contrary to it, the concept of language planning focuses on the planning on the macro level and the problems that should undergo the process of the planning are identified by professionals, i.e. competent language planners.

Newspapers with a large circulation should be considered as important actors in language management. Editorial boards do not possess the same power and competences in language management as the national institutions and academies. Their norms are binding just for the group of the reporters and collaborating contributors. On the other hand, provided that the newspaper is spread among a large readership, the effect of the internal language management can be extensive in the community.

## 1.1. Language planning

The concept of language planning became a topic of interest in the 1960s. It was provided with a theoretical background (for more details see the works of Rubin/Jernudd 1971, Rubin/Jernudd/DasGupta/Fishman/Ferguson 1977). From the perspective of this framework the main role in language planning was attributed to language planners who carried out the necessary steps. Even though the extra-linguistic factors and their impact on language planning were considered, the question of ideology in language planning was excluded.<sup>5</sup> Language planning was regarded “as rational problem-solving, as weighing up the advantages and disadvantages of various alternatives in specific social, economic and political contexts”<sup>6</sup>. This concept of language planning was a tool of the state.

The ground principles of language planning were formed by Einar Haugen. He defined a fourfold model of language planning<sup>7</sup>:

1. Selection of norm
2. Codification of norm

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<sup>5</sup> NEKVAPIL, Jiří. From language planning to language management: J. V. Neustupný's heritage. *Media Komyunikeshon kenkyu / Media and Communication Studies*. Sapporo: Hokkaido University, Research Faculty of Media and Communication, 2012, (63), pp. 5–21, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. The implementation of corpus planning: Theory and practice. In: FISHMAN, Joshua A., COBARRUBIAS Juan (eds.). *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*. Berlin, New York: Mouton Publishers, 1983, pp. 269–290. ISBN 902793388X. Pp 270–275.

3. Implementation of function
4. Elaboration of function

The first and the third stage of the model (selection and implementation) are related to the society while the second and the fourth stage of the model (codification and elaboration) are related to the language. The stages can also be categorized according to their focus on the norm and its establishment (selection and codification) and on the extension of the linguistic function (implementation and elaboration). This is shown in the following table<sup>8</sup>:

	<i>Norm</i>	<i>Function</i>
<i>Society</i>	selection	implementation
<i>Language</i>	codification	elaboration

The first stage of language planning is preceded by an occurrence of a language problem, i.e. presence of conflicting norms.<sup>9</sup> It comprises both selection of a new norm and modification of an old norm.<sup>10</sup> This selection/modification can be made either by institutions or by individuals and can concern single language units as well as bigger language units.<sup>11</sup> Under codification the selected norm gets an explicit form. Linguistic experts on orthography, phonology, morphology and lexicology are involved in this phase because they are regarded as the competent actors who determine the development of the language through the codification. Planning process should be based on data from research work of experts at this stage. The implementation phase covers a wide range of activities with a collective aim to integrate the selected and codified form into the discourse of the language users. As language planning – as it was understood in the 1960s – deals mainly with written language, these activities are manifested in book publishing and textbook publishing where the form is introduced, and consequently it may appear in other printed material such as newspapers. The form is also spread through the educational institutions and other channels to the public and can become a subject of prescriptive regulations. The fourth stage of the language planning process is called elaboration by Haugen. However, there is a variation in the terminology. Terms such as

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 270.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 270

<sup>10</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. Dialect, Language, Nation. *American Anthropologist*. Blackwell Publishing, 1966, 68(4), 922–935, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. The implementation of corpus planning: Theory and practice. In: FISHMAN, Joshua A., COBARRUBIAS Juan (eds.). *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*. Berlin, New York: Mouton Publishers, 1983, pp. 269–290. ISBN 902793388X. P. 270.

‘Ausbau’ (used by Bernstein) and ‘cultivation approach’ (suggested by Neustupný) appeared for this phase of language planning, too.<sup>12</sup> Elaboration is understood as the functional development of the language and it is basically manifested as continuation of the implementation phase so that the new norm fulfils the requirements of the modern world.<sup>13</sup>

In his paper of 1983, Haugen presented a revised model of language planning. It is strongly based on the fourfold model introduced above but several innovations were incorporated into it. Haugen specified the individual phases of language planning more in detail. Despite the improvements in the model, Haugen himself remarked the imperfections of the model as there still were questions that are not covered by the model.<sup>14</sup> The adapted version of the language planning model by Haugen is presented in the following table<sup>15</sup>:

	<i>Form (policy planning)</i>	<i>Function (language cultivation)</i>
<b>Society</b>	<i>Selection (decision procedures)</i>	<i>Implementation (educational spread)</i>
<i>(status planning)</i>	a) Identification of a problem	a) Correction procedures
	b) Allocation of norms	b) Evaluation
<b>Language</b>	<i>Codification (standardization procedures)</i>	<i>Elaboration (functional development)</i>
<i>(corpus planning)</i>	a) Graphization	a) Terminological modernization
	b) Grammatication	b) Stylistic development
	c) Lexication	

One of the most substantial weaknesses of the model of language planning and its application for the study of the language use in the Norwegian-American newspapers is the fact that the main purpose of it is the planning itself. It does not focus on the language in use and the actual language problems but the effort is rather put into language policy generation. This means that some of the agents and factors that are tied to the processes and developments

<sup>12</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *Blessing of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning. Problems and Pleasures*. Berling; New York; Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987. ISBN 978-3-11-086296-6. P. 61.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. The implementation of corpus planning: Theory and practice. In: FISHMAN, Joshua A., COBARRUBIAS Juan (eds.). *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*. Berlin, New York: Mouton Publishers, 1983. ISBN 902793388X. Pp. 274–276. The model is rather descriptive according to Haugen in regard with the activities of language planners and does not cover their intentions and their goals.

<sup>15</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. The implementation of corpus planning: Theory and practice. In: FISHMAN, Joshua A., COBARRUBIAS Juan (eds.). *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*. Berlin, New York: Mouton Publishers, 1983. ISBN 902793388X. P. 275

within the language are not considered in the framework of language planning. On the other hand, this is what the concept of language management enables and will therefore be used as a tool in approaching the language problems in the Norwegian-American newspapers.

## 1.2. Language management concept and theory

As language planning theories were not able to answer all questions about how language is regulated sufficiently, a new concept was developed in the 1980s. This is known as language management. This new model and the terminology innovation were introduced by Jernudd and Neustupný in their work ‘Language planning: for whom?’ in 1987.<sup>16</sup> They also formulated a theoretical background for language management (‘language management theory’) that will be described in the following paragraphs. According to Nekvapil, the term language planning should be used specifically for the language regulation processes in the 1960s and the 1970s as it showed some features that can be ascribed to that particular period and context.<sup>17</sup> Therefore there has been a significant shift in the concept and the terminology of the regulation of language and language behaviour since Haugen’s model of language planning was published.

Language management as an object of research can be defined as “manifestation of metalinguistic behaviour”<sup>18</sup> which is a paraphrase of Fishman’s often cited formulation “behaviour-toward-language”<sup>19</sup>. Generally seen, two processes can be distinguished in language use: the production of language that is manifested in speaking and writing and the management of the production such as reformulations, correcting of the used forms, discussions concerning the noted language problems, etc.<sup>20</sup> It is the second, metalinguistic approach, which language management focuses on. Particular language manifestations as produced by individual language users and their analyses of the interactions have become the topic of interest in language management. Behaviour towards language is approached in detail through language management theory.

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<sup>16</sup> JERNUDD, Björn H., NEUSTUPNÝ, Jiří V. Language planning: for whom? In: LAFORGE, Lorne (ed.). *Actes du Colloque international sur l'aménagement linguistique / Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Language Planning*. Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1987, pp. 69–84.

<sup>17</sup> NEKVAPIL, Jiří. From language planning to language management: J. V. Neustupný's heritage. *Media Komyunikeshon kenkyu / Media and Communication Studies*. Sapporo: Hokkaido University, Research Faculty of Media and Communication, 2012, (63), pp. 5–21, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> SHERMAN, Tamah. Language management and Language Management Theory [LMT]. In: LINN, Andrew. *Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and Agendas*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2016, pp. 192–199. ISBN 978-1-61451-895-2. P. 197.

<sup>19</sup> FISHMAN, Joshua A. *The sociology of language: An interdisciplinary social science*. Rowley MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1972. ISBN 0912066164.

<sup>20</sup> SHERMAN, Tamah. Language management and Language Management Theory [LMT]. In: LINN, Andrew. *Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and Agendas*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2016, pp. 192–199. ISBN 978-1-61451-895-2. P. 192.

Language management is performed at two levels:

- a) simple management (also called on-line management, discourse-based management): management that is performed within the particular interaction
- b) organized management (also called off-line management, institutional management): management that is based on repeated interactions and on more complex organized social networks of individuals

Both the simple and organized level of language management is reflected in the newspaper material. The individual editors, correspondents and other contributors performed at the level of the simple management. In this study simple management is manifested for example in the manner how lexical gaps were filled in by newspaper contributors, in graphical emphasising of English borrowings in the texts and in the morphological and orthographical treatment of the particular linguistic items. The editorial staff as an official body represented the organized management. They set the norms of the language use and codified them in their own newspaper language policy. In the large and well established newspapers proofreaders were available who check that the published texts were in accordance with the newspaper language standard and eventually adapted the contributions to a form that fitted the language policy of the given newspapers. The overall design and layout of the newspapers (e.g. preferred font, use of capital initial letters for nouns) must be seen as a manifestation of organized management. The editors expressed their values and preferences implicitly through the graphical form of the newspapers. It was therefore a significant indication for readers that showed which attitudes and opinions they could expect in the newspaper. The interaction between simple and organized management will reflect how flexible the editorial policy of the individual newspapers was and how much the contributors were bound by the general norms of the newspapers. This will be shown in the qualitative analyses in Chapter 9.

One of the characteristic features that distinguish language management theory from the earlier theories of language planning is the fact that language management theory does not presume any hierarchy of actors participating in language management.<sup>21</sup> Both individual language users and institutions are considered as important performers in the process of language management. The social networks where language management occurs are therefore of a various size and include various interests of the performing groups and individuals. The networks can be as comprehensive as state organizations but they can also be formed by particular schools, media houses, cities/towns/villages, companies, clubs, neighbourhoods,

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 197.

etc. And they involve individual language users, too. Linguistic interests that are claimed by the various participants in the discourse are more or less connected with some of their economic, social, political and/or cultural interests and their mutual competition is also reflected in the language management process.<sup>22</sup> The factor of the interests played also a significant role for language management and the editorial policy of the newspapers. It mirrored interests of their publishers and editors. Periodicals that were issued by different interest groups varied in their style, morphological and orthographical treatment, rhetoric and topics. The whole set of such features belongs to language management of a given newspaper. The impact of some of the interests that were shared among the publishers of The Big Three will be illustrated in Chapter 6.

From the view of the language management theory the language serves a wide range of functions that should be reflected in the activities that belong to management of the language.<sup>23</sup> Therefore language management does not deal only with linguistic matters but it covers various aspects of the whole communicate act, too.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, language management includes the consideration of management of communicative and sociocultural problems.<sup>25</sup> Any language problem has to be placed in the appropriate sociolinguistic context to reveal the relation between the individual levels of the problem. These three types of management have a close interconnection with each other and are of a hierarchic character according to Neustupný and Nekvapil.<sup>26</sup> Successfully managed sociocultural problems (including socioeconomic questions) are a precondition to successful communicative management and subsequently lead to an accomplishment of language management. The interconnection of these levels is documented in the development of the written standard language in the Norwegian immigrant community, too. The education system that children of the immigrants were subjected to in the United States, the role of the church in the community and the specifics of the available textbook and other educational material affected doubtless

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<sup>22</sup> JERNUDD, Björn H., NEUSTUPNÝ, Jiří V. Language planning: for whom? In: LAFORGE, Lorne (ed.). *Actes du Colloque international sur l'aménagement linguistique / Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Language Planning*. Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1987, pp. 69–84, pp. 72–73.

<sup>23</sup> SHERMAN, Tamah. Language management and Language Management Theory [LMT]. In: LINN, Andrew. *Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and Agendas*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2016, pp. 192–199. ISBN 978-1-61451-895-2. P. 193.

<sup>24</sup> The set of the aspects comprises: situation, variety, function, settings, participants, content, frames, channels and performance. This model is based on the Hymesian model of communicative competence. NEUSTUPNÝ, Jiří V. A theory of contact situations and the study of academic interaction. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*. 2004, 14(1), pp. 3–31, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> SHERMAN, Tamah. Language management and Language Management Theory [LMT]. In: LINN, Andrew. *Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and Agendas*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2016, pp. 192–199. ISBN 978-1-61451-895-2. P. 194.

<sup>26</sup> NEUSTUPNÝ, Jiří V., NEKVAPIL, Jiří. Language management in the Czech Republic. *Current Issues in Language Planning*. 2003, 4 (3&4), pp. 181–366, pp. 186–187.

the written standard of the Norwegian-American newspapers. This factor is explained more in detail in Chapter 6.

### 1.3. Phases of language management

Language management is performed in several phases. They are defined as<sup>27</sup>:

1. noting
2. evaluation
3. adjustment planning
4. implementation

The language management theory assumes that every single language management begins with noting of a deviation from the norms of expectations in the communication. This claim was already formulated by Neustupný<sup>28</sup>:

“I shall claim that any act of language planning should start with the consideration of language problems as they appear in discourse [...]. “

The range of aspects that can be noted by the participant(s) in the interaction is very wide and includes e.g. use of an informal language item in a formal context, use of a word of a foreign origin, switch to foreigner talk, etc. If the deviation is noted, it may undergo an evaluation. Until recently, only the negatively evaluated deviations have been considered as a topic for language management. However, the positively evaluated deviations have become a question of interest for linguists, too. In this case the term ‘gratification’ is used. In case of a negatively evaluated deviation or inadequacy the speaker is facing a language problem. Subsequently, an adjustment plan to treat the language problem may be developed as a part of the language management process. Both an individual language user and institutions of various sizes may participate in this stage of the process. Finally, the selected adjustment plan may be implemented by using it in the discourse. This presented model may be regarded as an ideal course of the language management process. However, several points are necessary to be mentioned here. Firstly, the process of language management can cease at any of the four stages. If the speaker notes a deviation, he/she does not need to evaluate it. A negative evaluation of a phenomenon is a precondition to the following phase of the adjustment design

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<sup>27</sup> NEKVAPIL, Jiří, SHERMAN, Tamah. An Introduction: Language Management Theory in Language Policy and Planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 2015, 232, pp. 1–12.

<sup>28</sup> NEUSTUPNÝ, Jiří V. Problems of English contact discourse and language planning. In: KANDIAH, Thiru, KWAN-TERRY, John (eds.). *English and Language Planning: A Southeast Asian Contribution*. Singapore: Academic Press, 1994, pp. 50–69. ISBN 978-9812100474. P. 50.

planning but not an automatic trigger of it. The speaker may evaluate the noted element as an inadequacy but he/she may leave it without any attempt to improve it. Even if all the first three stages of the language management process are completed, the process does not need to lead to implementation of the adjustment design in the communication. Secondly, as Nekvapil remarked, the language management process can also get a cyclical form.<sup>29</sup> The implementation of the adjustment design may be noted by the communication partner(s) who may subject it to further evaluation and the process may continue again in the above mentioned four phases. Kimura supplemented the fourfold process of language management with a fifth stage, so-called 'post-implementation' or 'feedback'.<sup>30</sup> This finishing stage of language management may bring language users' own assessment of implementation of the adjustments.

The theory of language management deals with the interplay between the single management and organized management.<sup>31</sup> Language management which is performed on the organized level should be ideally derived from a repetitive single management occurrence. Jernudd remarks that organized language planning can only be successful if language planners deal with problems that were identified by the language users who are furthermore willing to accept adjustments of those problems.<sup>32</sup> Organized language management proceeds in similar phases as the basic simple management described above but it is more complex. Contrary to single management, organized management is always conscious. Moreover, it is inevitably accompanied by ideologies and theories. Organized language management is usually characterized by several features which are summarized by Nekvapil<sup>33</sup>:

- management acts are trans-interactional
- a social network or even an institution (organization) holding the corresponding power is involved
- communication about management takes place
- theorizing and ideologies are at play to a greater degree and more explicitly
- in addition to language as discourse, the object of management is language as system

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<sup>29</sup> NEKVAPIL, Jiří. Language Management Theory as one approach in Language Policy and Planning. *Current Issues in Language Planning*. 2016, 17(1), pp. 11–22, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> KIMURA, Goro Christoph. Language management as a cyclical process: A case study on prohibiting Sorbian in the workplace. *Slovo a slovesnost*. 2014, 75(4), pp. 225–270, p. 258.

<sup>31</sup> NEKVAPIL, Jiří. Language Management Theory as one approach in Language Policy and Planning. *Current Issues in Language Planning*. 2016, 17(1), 11–22, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> JERNUDD, Björn H. Language planning from a management perspective: An interpretation of findings. In: JAHR, Ernst H. *Language Conflict and Language Planning*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993, pp. 133–142. ISBN 978-3-11-088658-0. Pp. 136–137.

<sup>33</sup> NEKVAPIL, Jiří. Some thoughts on "noting" in Language Management Theory and beyond. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*. 2012, 22(2), 160–173, p. 167.

It was already mentioned that simple as well as organized level of language management in Norwegian-American newspapers was present. Even though there was no competent institution or authority in the United States that would possess the power to manage the language in the top-down direction (i.e. manifestation of language planning in the sense of Haugen's model), organized management with consequences for the written standard in the newspapers can be observed, too. Particular examples in the chapter 'Linguistic perspectives' (Chapter 6) illustrate the ideologies that became argumentation background of discussions of 'language managers' from various social and professional groups. The future role and position of the written Norwegian standard in the United States and the (ir)relevance of the Nynorsk as the written standard for the immigrants in the United States were among the topics.

Nekvapil described the ideal interaction between simple and organized management in the following pattern<sup>34</sup>: micro → macro → micro. This model interconnects the macro perspective and micro perspective of language management. It shows the whole cyclical process of the simple-organized management relationship when a problem noted by individual language users (micro level) undergoes a linguistic treatment undertaken by competent institutions or politically and economically empowered agents (macro level) and the final adjustment is subsequently implemented in the users' own language (micro level). However, as Nekvapil added, there are many cases when just a part of the cycle is carried out. He specifies four subtypes of the cycle<sup>35</sup>:

1. micro → macro: the process is ceased at the level of organized management; it is not possible to solve the noted problems or the developed adjustments are not implemented into the communication of individual language users
2. macro → micro: the problems that become the object of language management are determined independently of the problems that the individual language user are facing; despite it the adjustments are accepted by the language users
3. micro only: the process is performed on the level of the simple management only, the observed problems are solved within the particular interaction
4. macro only: the level of simple management is not considered when dealing with language problems, both at the stage of noting a deviation, i.e. formulating the language problem, and at the stage of implementation of the designed adjustments

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

To ensure the comprehensive overview of the language processes within the Norwegian-American newspapers, both the micro and macro perspectives are of significance in the research. Actual micro-management acts are shown in the qualitative analyses in Chapter 9 where the concrete language deviations in the newspaper articles and their treatment are commented. Not all of them became objects of the macro-level of language management; therefore there are instances of the whole cycle micro → macro → micro as well as only parts of it.

The management procedure can also be observed from the perspective when it takes place in relation of the interaction which it concerns<sup>36</sup>:

1. pre-interaction management: precedes the situation when a deviation is anticipated in the interaction
2. post-management: is executed after the deviation occurs

This model shows the dynamics of the language management process. It is based on Neustupný's model who spoke about 'pre-', 'in-' and 'post-management'.<sup>37</sup> In case of language management of Norwegian in the Norwegian-American newspapers there are evidences of both pre- and post-management. The organized pre-management resulted for example in publishing handbooks and textbooks introducing the preferred language forms. The post-management phase at the organized level of language management was carried out by editors and proofreaders of the given newspapers who accommodated the submitted contributions to the common spelling standard of the newspaper.

Although the above mentioned types of language management are presented as contrasting pairs (macro versus micro, pre- versus post-management) they do not occur in isolation in practice. When the framework of the language management theory is applied on a case of a more or less complex process of interaction(s) there is an evidence of interplay of the different levels and types. And it is just the interplay that demonstrates the dynamic character of the language management process. The detailed focus on the behaviour towards language from the various perspectives of theory of language management offers the possibility to explore the interconnections of the involved performers, their interests and acts in order to manage language including the consequences of their activities.

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<sup>36</sup> The Language Management Process. *Language Management* [online]. Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2013 [cit. 2017-08-11]. Available at: <http://languagemanagement.ff.cuni.cz/process>.

<sup>37</sup> NEUSTUPNÝ, Jiří V. A theory of contact situations and the study of academic interaction. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*. 2004, 14(1), pp. 3–31, p. 26. In-management is performed after the deviation occurred and the interaction has not finished yet. This point is not relevant for the current study due to the selected research material.

The particular language problems of the written form of Norwegian used by the immigrants in the United States are approached through language management and its theory in this study in the following chapters. In order to reconstruct language management strategies that were preferred in the newspapers of The Big Three the primary material, i.e. the original issues of the newspapers, as well as recorded attitudes and statements of the individual editors if available are collected and examined. The research is based only on the written material which brings some limits in the approach and methods. The widely spread method of the language management theory is the follow-up interview or, if this one fails, the interaction interview.<sup>38</sup> Neither of them can be applied in this study as it is dealing with historical material and those who are concerned in this matter cannot be interviewed any more. This means that some data about the ‘language managers’ of The Big Three who performed as ‘monitors’, ‘evaluators’ and/or ‘adjustors’ in the management process are lost, e.g. their social background and their language attitudes. There are biographies of the prominent editors that may reveal some facts from their lives. But it is hardly possible to find out more details about external contributors and subscribers whose articles were also published in the newspapers if they did not mention them explicitly or at least implicitly in their contributions. On the other hand, the attitudes to the changes and the development of the Norwegian written language in the United States were sometimes discussed as a topic of editorials and letters from the readers to the editorial board. It should be mentioned here that even though the volume of the examined primary material is relatively large (it will be specified in Chapter 5), not all issues of The Big Three and not all articles of the selected issues were investigated. It has to be admitted that some contributions with relevant data bearing some social or linguistic information that would fit into to the research may have not been included.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Methodology of Language Management Research. *Language Management* [online]. Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2013 [cit. 2017-08-11]. Available at: <http://languagemanagement.ff.cuni.cz/methodology>.

<sup>39</sup> In this respect it should also be mentioned that the Norwegian-American newspapers were scanned but not digitalized which does not allow any search in the material for example according to key words.

## 2. CONTACT LINGUISTICS

Besides the theory of language management, the study also builds theoretically on the principles and findings of contact linguistics belonging to the field of sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics is in the most general sense defined as a study of the mutual interaction and the relation between the language and the society<sup>40</sup> and covers a very wide area of subdisciplines.<sup>41</sup>

Contact linguistics<sup>42</sup> as defined by Winford is a discipline that studies “the varied situations of contact between languages, the phenomena that result, and the interaction of linguistic and external ecological factors in shaping these outcomes”<sup>43</sup>. Aspects of the language contact have been discussed by both linguists and social scientists. Research on the linguistic aspects gives an insight into the language system and into the mechanisms how they interact to produce new communication strategies. It also sketches the creativity of humans when adopting new inputs. The social perspective leads to an insight on group relationships and identities, and determines how they are formed by the processes of accommodation and divergence. The convergence of the linguistic and social approach has resulted in contact linguistics which integrates these two perspectives into one framework.<sup>44</sup> The methodology of contact linguistics involves various methods applied in sociolinguistics. Ivir emphasises the contrastive methods as an essential methodological approach to contact linguistics as it studies transferred words “in relation to both its giving-language original and its borrowing-

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<sup>40</sup> The definition of sociolinguistics has been a matter of many scholarly discussions. As Hymes remarks: “The term ‘Sociolinguistics’ means many things to many people, and of course no one has a patent on its definition.” HYMES, Dell. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974. ISBN 978-0-8122-1065-1. P. 195.

<sup>41</sup> Neústupný distinguishes four main subcategories of the sociolinguistics: sociolinguistics of relation between language and society; sociolinguistics of language variability; sociolinguistics of grammatical components of language; sociolinguistics of language problems. Language contact belongs to the first category of this overview. However, the theoretical basis of the thesis is not restricted only to that part and refers to the other categories, too. Language planning and language management, here discussed in the context of Norwegian spelling reforms, are classified as the category of sociolinguistics of language problems. Nevertheless, the research areas of the subcategories are highly interrelated. NEÚSTUPNÝ, Jiří V. Sociolingvistika a jazykový management. *Sociologický časopis/Czech Sociological Review*. 2002, 38(4), pp. 429–439. ISSN 0038-0288. Pp. 430–431.

<sup>42</sup> Theory of contact linguistics has become an object of interest of many researchers. For a detailed theoretical background of contact linguistics, see the following works: APPEL, Rene, MUYSKEN, Pieter. *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold, 1987. ISBN 0-71316491-3; THOMASON, Sarah, KAUFMANN Terrence. *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. ISBN 0-520-07893-4; WEINREICH, Uriel. *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton, 1953; WINFORD, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. ISBN 978-0-631-21250-8.

<sup>43</sup> WINFORD, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. ISBN 978-0-631-21250-8. P. 5.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

language native counterparts”<sup>45</sup>. A comparison of elements of any linguistic levels (morphology, phonology, semantics, syntax, stylistics) of two or more different language systems is the base of the analyses within contact linguistics. The method is applied to the analysed material from the selected newspapers.

Language contact can emerge from a wide spectrum of circumstances. Sankoff mentions conquest and immigration as two main phenomena that lead to language contact situations.<sup>46</sup> It is necessary to understand the social setting of the language contact in order to be able to interpret the nature of the given language change correctly. Therefore it is one of the goals of the contact linguistics to “uncover the various factors, both linguistic and sociocultural, that contribute to the linguistic consequence of contact between speakers of different language varieties”<sup>47</sup>. Winford divides contact situations into three main categories: language maintenance, language shift and creation of a new language.<sup>48</sup> The correct identification of contact situations is crucial for explaining the outcomes of the given language contact. Each of the contact situations has a set of features which distinguishes it from other situations. These involve among other directionality, agentivity and constrains that can occur in the language contact.

Language contact is formed by linguistic as well as extra-linguistic factors. Although some aspects of the contact situations are common and occur in every contact situation, the final outcome of the contact depends on the interaction of all the relevant aspects in the particular situation. There are both internal and external determinants that have to be considered while studying a language contact situation. The significance of extra-linguistic factors for the final outcomes of the language contact is indisputable. However, its extent has been a point of scholarly discussions. Weinreich emphasizes that: “A full account of interference in a language contact situation, including the diffusion, persistence and evanescence of a particular interference phenomenon, is possible only if the extra-linguistic factors are considered.”<sup>49</sup> The extra-linguistic factors (sometimes also referred to as sociocultural factors) comprise components of a very broad spectrum that reflect the

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<sup>45</sup> IVIR, Vladimir. Contrastive Methods in Contact Linguistics. In: IVIR, Vladimir, KALOGJERA, Damir (eds.). *Languages in Contact and Contrast: Essays in Contact Linguistics (Trends in Linguistic Studies and Monographs, No 54)*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991. ISBN 978-0899257143. Pp. 244–245.

<sup>46</sup> SANKOFF, Gillian. Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact. In: CHAMBERS, Jack, TRUDGILL, Peter, SCHILLING-ESTES, Natalie (eds.). *Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 2001, p. 642.

<sup>47</sup> WINFORD, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. ISBN 978-0-631-21250-8. P. 11.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11. New contact languages which can emerge in the language contact situations are usually referred to as pidgins, creoles, and bilingual mixed languages. This category of contact situations is not discussed further in this work because it is not relevant to the language contact of Norwegian immigrants in the US.

<sup>49</sup> WEINREICH, Uriel. *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton, 1953, p. 3.

interaction between languages and their environment. In language contact situations following extra-linguistic factors are usually observed: type of community settings, demographics of the groups in contact, patterns of the social interaction and attitudes that affect the language choice, degree of bilingualism, history and length of the contact and power relationships between the groups.<sup>50</sup>

## **2.1. Language contact between Norwegian and English in the United States**

This part deals with the specific sociocultural factors of the language contact situations that were identified in the Norwegian immigrant communities in the United States. For the Norwegian immigrant community in the US in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, English was the dominant and prestigious language that served as a donor language in the language contact situation. Norwegian was the minority language with the status of a recipient language. However, a language contact situation is usually not a one-way process. English has been enriched by immigrant languages, too.<sup>51</sup> But this study is limited only to the impact of English on Norwegian, not the converse process.

Based on the Winford's specification of contact categories mentioned in the previous section, the language contact between Norwegian and English in the US can be partly categorized as language maintenance and partly as language shift depending among other on which period of the Norwegian immigration is assessed. The attention will be aimed to these two terms in the following parts of the theoretical background.

Generally said, language maintenance is a situation when a speech community<sup>52</sup> preserves its native language. However, cases of maintenance may include some degrees of changes under influence of other languages, too. Such deviations in the lexicon are most often demonstrated in the vocabulary and are known under the term 'borrowings'. There is a large scale of meanings that are covered by the term borrowings and the term has been used for

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<sup>50</sup> WINFORD, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. ISBN 978-0-631-21250-8. P. 25.

<sup>51</sup> Typically, loanwords transferred into English from immigrant languages denominate traditional habits of the immigrant communities. Gastronomy is one of the vocabulary fields that is often enriched (e.g. kosher – Yiddish, margarita – Spanish, sushi – Japanese). However, the influence of immigrant languages on English in the US has always been of a marginal significance. It is English that holds the position of the dominant and donor language in this contact situation.

<sup>52</sup> Trudgill defines the term 'speech community' as: "A community of speakers who share the same verbal repertoire, and who also share the same norms for linguistic behaviour, including both general norms for language use of the type studied in the ethnography of speaking, and more detailed norms for activities such as style shifting of the type studied by secular linguistics." TRUDGILL, Peter. *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. ISBN 0-520-07893-4. P. 126. The emphasis is put not only on the linguistic component of the speaker's behaviour. The patterns how the language is handled are of importance, too. A speech community can be of a various size, from a limited number of people to a group consisting of the whole nation.

various phenomena.<sup>53</sup> It can stand for incorporated content morphemes that appear at a relatively low frequency as well as for instances of heavy borrowings when structural features of morphological, phonological, syntactic and semantic character are transmitted. Therefore it is necessary to specify how it is understood in this thesis. In this respect I refer to the definition introduced by Thomason and Kaufman. They use the term borrowing in the meaning: “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language”.<sup>54</sup> Borrowings are discussed in detail in the following paragraphs of this chapter. Besides borrowings, there are two more phenomena that are typical for language maintenance: code switching and structural convergence. The former is often identified in bilingual speech communities when the speaker uses elements of two language systems within one speech event alternately.<sup>55</sup> Structural convergence involves structural diffusion from one language to another one. This process leads to convergence of the two language systems.<sup>56</sup>

Language contact can also result in language shift defined as a “partial or total abandonment of a group’s native language in favour of another”<sup>57</sup>. Language development of immigrant communities often demonstrates the mechanism of language shift. The minority speech community usually shifts to the language of the dominant group in the area. The shift can be complete or partial. Practically seen, the shifting group transfers elements from its native language into its version of the target language<sup>58</sup>. Language shift can emerge in situations of colonisation and invasion, too. If language shift appears under such conditions, the original inhabitants either replace their native language by the language of the foreign dominant group of colonizers and invaders or adopt it as an extra language to their native language. The nature of the contact situation affects the attitude of the shifting community towards their new language and their willingness to acquire it.

In the context of language contact situations, Clyne uses the terms ‘transfer’ and ‘transference’ and mentions different types of transfer connected with language contact

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<sup>53</sup> Winford summarizes some of the definitions in his study: WINFORD, Donald. Contact and Borrowing. In: HICKEY, Raymond (ed.). *The Handbook of Language Contact*. New York: Willey-Blackwell, 2012. ISBN 9781444318166. Pp. 170–172.

<sup>54</sup> THOMASON, Sarah, KAUFMANN Terrence. *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. ISBN 0-520-07893-4. P. 37.

<sup>55</sup> MATRAS, Yaron. *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-53221-1. P. 101.

<sup>56</sup> ROMAINE, Suzanne. *Bilingualism*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1995. ISBN 978-0-631-19539-9. P. 75.

<sup>57</sup> WINFORD, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. ISBN 978-0-631-21250-8. P. 15.

<sup>58</sup> The term ‘target language’ is used for the language that is being learnt.

situations.<sup>59</sup> He defines transfer as “[...] the form, feature or construction has been taken over by the speaker from another language [...]”.<sup>60</sup> Transfer is presented as a product of the transference process. These terms are applied both on the transfer of lexical, semantic, phonemic, prosodic, graphemic, morphological and syntactic structures.

With the focus on the change in the lexicon of the Norwegian language in America, Annear and Speth specify three types of transfer that emerged in the case of the language contact between Norwegian and English in the US: semantic, phonemic and lexical.<sup>61</sup> Semantic transfer includes both loan-translations and loan-shifting. Transfer of phonemic structures can occur on its own or in combination with transfer of semantic structures as lexical transfer.

## 2.2. Borrowings

As already mentioned, language maintenance often involves the borrowing phenomenon. Loanwords are probably the most evident traces of a language interaction. The category of loanwords is very broad and can be subdivided according to several clues. Loanwords differ in the material which is transmitted from the donor into the recipient language, in the (in)existence of an equivalent in the recipient language and in the language domains that they are targeting on. Scholars define two categories of borrowings: lexical (material) and structural.<sup>62</sup> Structural borrowings hardly occur as a result of a direct transfer. They are usually mediated by other ways into the recipient language. They can either accompany lexical borrowings or they can occur as innovations introduced by bilingual speakers of the external source language which were adopted by speakers of the recipient language.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> CLYNE, Michael. *Dynamics of Language Contact: English and Immigrant Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. ISBN 0-521-78648-7. Pp. 76–78.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>61</sup> ANNEAR, Lucas, SPETH, Kristin. Maintaining a Multilingual Repertoire: Lexical Change in American Norwegian. In: JOHANNESSEN, Janne Bondi, SALMONS, Joseph C (eds.). *Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Acquisition, Attrition and Change*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015. ISBN 978-90-272-6819-8. Pp. 205–206.

<sup>62</sup> Among the most active promoters of this distinction are Thomason and Kaufman. They point out that structural borrowing can even be reflected in the replacement of entire grammatical systems (THOMASON, Sarah, KAUFMANN Terrence. *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. ISBN 0-520-07893-4). However this claim has been exposed to a lot of critique.

<sup>63</sup> WINFORD, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. ISBN 978-0-631-21250-8. P. 17. In this thesis, lexical borrowings will be the central interest of the analyses of the influence of English on the Norwegian language used in the US. An additional theoretical background for structural borrowings will therefore be presented only if necessary by the particular cases identified in the examined materials.

The topic of this research is focused on the written language which is a limiting factor for the type of transfer the research will be dealing with.<sup>64</sup> These are mainly material borrowings<sup>65</sup>. Material borrowings are further divided into two sub-categories: cultural borrowings that stand for objects which are new for the community, and core borrowings that represent the basic vocabulary.<sup>66</sup> The majority of English loanwords in the language of Norwegian immigrants belongs to the group of cultural borrowings. Kowner and Rosenhouse<sup>67</sup> identify three main motivation factors for the transfer of loanwords from one language to another:

1. necessity to denominate new objects, phenomena, situations
2. imitation of a dominant group
3. language as a characteristic feature of a closed group

Especially the two first mentioned factors played a considerable part in immigrant languages in the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first factor pushed immigrants to look for new words in order to complete their lexicon. Immigrants in the United States were exposed to unknown things, concepts, situations and environment. They had to cope with them linguistically, too. But the Norwegian lexicon did not always contain words which could be used for the new situations and objects that immigrants were exposed to in their new mother country. Borrowings were a relatively easy way how to fill in the gaps in their lexicon. Such loanwords made it possible to reflect the contemporary reality and environment where immigrants lived. In this case, English was the natural donor of the loanwords. The early loanwords from English into Norwegian reflected the domains where Norwegian immigrants came into a direct contact with speakers of English soon, e.g. business matters and administrative matters. Norwegian immigrants adopted words such as ‘sheriff’, ‘prairie’, ‘bargain’, ‘county’, ‘township’, and ‘settlement’ into their lexicon.

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<sup>64</sup> For the spoken Norwegian and its development under the influence of English I hereby refer to the comprehensive research and work of Haugen who studied this subject deeply. His findings are summarized in his essential works: HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, HAUGEN, Einar. *Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide*. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1956. ISBN 978-0817306267 and HAUGEN, Einar. *Norsk i Amerika*. Oslo: Cappelen, 1975. ISBN 978-82-02-03199-2.

<sup>65</sup> However, structural borrowings are not excluded. But the transfer of material borrowings, i.e. lexemes, affixes and phrases, is more common in this case.

<sup>66</sup> For further study see HASPELMATH, Martin, TADMOR, Uri (eds). *Loanwords in the World's Languages. A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009. ISBN 978-3-11-021843-5; MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol. *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. ISBN 0-19-829952-4.

<sup>67</sup> KOWNER, Rotem; ROSENHOUSE, Judith. *The Hegemony of English and Determinants of Borrowing from its Vocabulary*. In: KOWNER, Rotem, ROSENHOUSE, Judith. *Globally Speaking: Motives for Adopting English Vocabulary in Other Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008. ISBN 978-1-84769-051-7. Pp. 12–13.

The prestige position of English stimulated the borrowing process among immigrants, too. Immigrants tried to receive recognition in their new environment by their language adaptation. Borrowings sometimes serve as a distinguishing feature for a specific group of speakers. This is often monitored among groups of professionals and people who share a common interest. This factor is not regarded as the main motivation for immigrants to transfer words from a donor language into their own language. It is worth saying that English loanwords were a feature that clearly distinguished the language of Norwegian-Americans from the language of Norwegians in Europe. English linguistic elements were not integrated by immigrants with the aim to make their language different from European Norwegian but it had finally this effect.<sup>68</sup>

Linguistically, borrowings can be presented in the form of a continuum.<sup>69</sup> There is a limited number of lexical borrowings on one pole and heavy structural borrowings on the opposite pole of the continuum. From the Thomason and Kaufman's view, the extent of borrowings depends on the intensity of the language contact and the cultural pressure on the recipient language.<sup>70</sup> Winford specifies these two macro-sociolinguistic terms more in detail.<sup>71</sup> Intensity of the language contact covers demographic ratios, socio-political relationships between the groups, length of the contact, and degree of bilingualism across the groups. Cultural pressure involves social motivations for the adoption of features from a donor language. These are social and economic advantages for the recipient community (e.g. job and education opportunities, better social position). Last but not least, the borrowing phenomenon is affected by language attitudes of the speakers (prestige of the languages, loyalty of the speakers, (in)tolerance of foreign elements). They can both increase and reduce the amount of adopted features from the donor language.

Besides extra-linguistic factors mentioned above, linguistic constrains influence the borrowing process, too. Among them, hierarchy of borrowability is probably the most often discussed constrain. The theory assumes that items from open word classes (nouns,

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<sup>68</sup> There are records of contacts between American-Norwegians and European Norwegians which prove that Europeans disliked how the language of their compatriots in the US had changed. The influence of English emerged sometimes (in the spoken language) in an odd mix of Norwegian and English items: "Such Norwegian as they talk here! It is so mixed with English phrases that I was quite annoyed when I first arrived." HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian Language in America: A study in Bilingual Behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1953, p. 54.

<sup>69</sup> The borrowing continuum and scales have been proposed by various scholars, e.g.: MUYSKEN, Pieter. Half-way between Spanish and Quichua: The case for Relexification. In: HIGHFIELD, Arnold, VALDMAN, Albert (eds.) *Historicity and Change in Creole Studies*. Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1981; HOUT, Roland van, MUYSKEN, Pieter Muysken. Modelling Lexical Borrowability. *Language Variation and Change*. 1994, 6-1, pp. 39-62.

<sup>70</sup> THOMASON, Sarah, KAUFMANN Terrence. *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, p. 76. ISBN 0-520-07893-4.

<sup>71</sup> WINFORD, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. ISBN 978-0-631-21250-8. Pp. 38-39.

adjectives, verbs) are more easily borrowable than elements from closed word classes (pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions). Items from the open classes are less imbedded in the linguistic systems and are hence more likely to be adopted into a recipient language. The tighter and more complex bond between the language element and the grammatical system of the donor language exists, the more resistant the element is to the borrowing process. This theory can be applied both to morphology, phonology, syntax and semantics. Borrowings can also cause structural changes in the recipient language in each of the above named linguistic field.

Features transferred from a donor language into a recipient language interact with the domestic elements and system of the recipient language and usually undergo a process of integration to some extent. The incorporated English elements are integrated on several levels: phonological, morphological, orthographical, syntactic and semantic. Due to the fact that this study focuses only on the written material, phonological integration will not be discussed here. Detailed analyses of the integration process of English borrowings in the American Norwegian based on the elements identified in the studied material are presented in Chapter 6.

This paragraph presents a deeper insight into the incorporation of lexical transfers into the lexicon of a recipient language. As a consequence of the transfer of a new word into the vocabulary, various relations between the transferred word and the existing domestic lexicon can emerge. The new word can either fill in gaps in the vocabulary of the recipient language or extend the domestic vocabulary. Weinreich connects the first possibility with the early stages of the language contact. The latter mentioned is a departure point for development of further processes and results in specialisation of the meaning or in extinction of one of the words.<sup>72</sup> A long-lasting coexistence of the domestic and transferred word hardly occurs. In the contact situation between Norwegian and English in the US, English lexical borrowings especially from the early immigrant period can be classified within the first category as they did not often have any equivalent in Norwegian. In such cases there was no conflict with Norwegian words and therefore no semantic adaptations were necessary. The situation was different when an English loanword competed with an indigenous Norwegian word that had already existed in the immigrant's vocabulary. According to the Weinreich's model, such expressions sometimes co-existed and later specialized in the meaning. Sometimes the English word was adopted to denominate a specific thing or concept and the use of the English or Norwegian word was strictly separated. Haugen illustrates this by the English

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<sup>72</sup> WEINREICH, Uriel. *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton, 1953, pp. 54–55 .

loanword ‘beer’.<sup>73</sup> Although there is a Norwegian equivalent ‘øl’, immigrants adopted the English word. However, the use of the borrowing was limited to the products commercially made in the US while the Norwegian expression denominated the home produced drink. Items from the English lexicon were sometimes preferred even if a Norwegian equivalent existed but the meaning of the Norwegian word did not correspond to the context in the US. Haugen demonstrates this on the example of the word “store”. Norwegians, who grew up in the countryside, knew a place for shopping called ‘krambu’ from their rural experience in the fatherland. But this situation did not correspond with the American reality. The Norwegian word ‘butikk’ used for shopping places in the cities did not seem to be appropriate either. Therefore the word store was transferred into Norwegian and was used in the American context.<sup>74</sup>

Loanwords did not spread equally quickly through the different fields of the vocabulary. While some domains received a large number of them in a short time, other remained outside the English influence. Examples of the first category are words linked with the new life in America<sup>75</sup>: farming (ranch, farmer, prairie, acre), technology and equipment (cargo, tractor), political and administrative system (county, township, settlement, mayor) and lifestyle (cornflakes, picnic, sandwich). The latter category includes vocabulary close to the basic human needs, family life, religion and abstract expressions<sup>76</sup> (colours, size, shapes, and time and place expressions).

### 2.3. Language shift

As the Norwegian community developed further in the United States, more and more immigrants tended to change gradually from their native language to English. Language shift is a common phenomenon for immigrant groups. Speakers become bilingual in the language of the host society and sometimes even shift to it. According to Fishman, the process of shifting is usually accomplished by the third generation.<sup>77</sup> Children born in the third generation are subsequently considered as proficient native speakers of the host language.<sup>78</sup> Language shift can be strengthened or inhibited by both structural and non-structural factors.

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<sup>73</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *Norsk i Amerika*. Oslo: Cappelen, 1975. ISBN 978-82-02-03199-2. P. 51.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>75</sup> This point is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

<sup>76</sup> Generally, it is more difficult to acquire abstract expressions while learning a foreign language. In the case of immigrants, these expressions were not exclusively connected to the homeland or the new country. The speakers were thus not forced to learn English equivalents.

<sup>77</sup> FISHMAN, Joshua A. Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a Field of Inquiry. *Linguistics*. 1964, 9, pp. 32–70, pp.50–51 .

<sup>78</sup> Under suitable conditions the immigrant group can sometimes create its own version of the host language which bears its distinctive features and distinguishes it from the original language.

Some of these factors are identical with the factors discussed in the part devoted to borrowings. These are e.g. demographics of the groups in contact and economic and social settings of the communities. Moreover, the degree of bilingualism plays an important part in language shift. Proper knowledge of the whole socio-cultural and linguistic background of the given case of the shift is fundamental for the further interpretation of the outcomes of the language shift situation.

It is difficult to determine precisely the proportion of the extra-linguistic factors to linguistic factors and their impact in a language contact situation. Every language contact situation, regardless its character, is a unique interplay of factors of the speech communities in question and the socio-cultural view should be considered as well as the linguistic view.

### 3. SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE NORWEGIAN IMMIGRATION

This chapter introduces the socio-historical context of the Norwegian migration to the United States. According to its characteristic features Norwegian immigration to the United States can be defined as permanent. The initial stage of Norwegian migration is characterised as a group migration with a family as the basic unit. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it changed into mass migration where single individuals played the dominant role.

Migration is a phenomenon dating back to the roots of the human kind. The nature sources of each area are limited. If the population of the given area is growing and the sources are not able to satisfy the needs of this population, a part of the population is forced to leave the area in order to find a new place for living.<sup>79</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century migration reached a unique dimension and significance. Europe underwent a transformation process in many fields and the changes were reflected in its development. Emigration to the United States became a phenomenon that affected a large number of people without reference to their age, social status or family background. The history of both Europe and the United States was strongly influenced by the migration from the European continent especially due to its huge extent. It was the quantity of migrants and the origin of a new type of society and ethnic cohesion that made the European emigration to the United States exceptional. Diversity became a typical feature of this emigration. About 50 million people emigrated from Europe in the period 1815–1915. Approximately three quarters of them were heading the North American continent. European immigrants played therefore a significant role in the demographic development of the United States. The statistic data show that while the population of the US was 5.3 million in 1800, it rose to 105.7 million in 1905.<sup>80</sup>

Emigration is a complex concept. In order to understand it fully, all the various perspectives must be taken into consideration. When studying migration, several aspects such as demographic conditions, accessibility of land, migration tradition, political and religious situation should be included. It is a process that affects the whole society. The massive emigration from Europe was stirred up by various general, specific and also highly individual reasons which finally resulted in the individual's resolution to leave the homeland. As

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<sup>79</sup> RYSTAD, Görad. Immigration History and the Future of International Migration. *International Migration Review*. 1992. XXVI (4), Winter, 1168–1199. In: HOLMES, Colin (ed). *Migration in European History*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996. ISBN 978-1-85898 421-6. Pp. 559–560.

<sup>80</sup> COHEN, Robin. East-West in and European Migration in a Global Context. *New Community*. 1991. 18 (1). October, 9–26. In: HOLMES, Colin (ed). *Migration in European History*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996. ISBN 978-1-85898 421-6. P. 16.

Jackson and Moch emphasize, the individual perspective should not be underestimated as it still deals with an act of an individual:

“Finally, our view of migration will be impoverished if we neglect the fact that it is a human process – not the shuffling of economic atoms but rather the movement of historical actors embedded in systems of family, politics, religion, education, and sociability. If we ignore the experiences of ordinary people and attach ourselves instead to the passive implications inherent in the language of migration „flows“ and „streams“ of „push“ and „pull“, we will be neglecting an excellent opportunity to deepen our understanding of the historical process.”<sup>81</sup>

### 3.1. Migration as European phenomenon

The massive emigration from Europe resulted from fundamental structural changes in the society and was closely interconnected with development of the society. The “old continent” experienced a demographic boom with a doubling of population in the period 1750–1850.<sup>82</sup> Turbulent industrialization, modernisation and liberalization which became synonyms to the 19<sup>th</sup> century were the moving power of the crowds. As a consequence of the decline of the traditional models of agricultural life and the newly acquired freedom of movement, people became interested in the opportunities on the North American continent. The population was not so firmly bound to the land any more. Modernisation of all means of transport was another significant factor that facilitated the massive emigration from Europe. Moreover, local conditions on the other side of the ocean also played an important part. Large areas of free and relatively easily accessible land were available in Northern America at that time. There was a high demand for labour force, too. The development of the infrastructure made the US even a more attractive destination for new immigrants.

The motivation to emigrate is examined by the theory of so-called push-pull factors that was introduced in the 1950s and was expanded later by Jansen and Lee<sup>83</sup>. The theory builds on the presumption that the process of migration depends on the socio-economic unevenness between two areas. Some of the circumstances push people from the area of

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<sup>81</sup> JACKSON, James H. Jr., MOCH, Leslie Page. Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe. *Historical Methods*. 1989. 22 (1), Winter, 27–36. In: HOLMES, Colin (ed). *Migration in European History*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996. ISBN 978-1-85898 421-6. P. 9.

<sup>82</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. P. 4.

<sup>83</sup> JANSEN, Clifford. Some Sociological Aspects of Migration. In: JACKSON, J. A. *Migration*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1969.; LEE, Everett S. A Theory of Migration. *Demography*. 1966, 3 (1), pp. 47–57.

origin while other factors pull them to another area. Lee distinguishes four main factors that are a part of every act of migration<sup>84</sup>:

1. factors associated with the area of origin
2. factors associated with the area of destination
3. intervening obstacles
4. personal factors

The context of both the country of origin and the country of destination is essential for the migration process. The process is always influenced by the contemporary conditions in both of them. Factors associated with the area of origin and with the area of destination are similar for the whole society but they can have diverse impact on the individual's resolution to emigrate or not. The economic, political and religious situation can either encourage or strangle the migration. In every process of migration, intervening obstacles have to be considered. If it seems too demanding to overcome the obstacles the determination to leave the homeland can be weakened and the potential migrant can be discouraged. Finally, personal factors and personal background of every individual affect his or her resolution to emigrate or not, too.

Immigrants preserve some of their typical characteristics in their new destination. These are e.g. mother language, features from culture and lifestyle and ethnic heritage. But at the same time immigrants are exposed to the new environment and its local inhabitants. This means that the two groups exert influence upon each other. These changes are described by the processes of adaptation (mutual approximation of the immigrant group and the host society; the term covers both the strategies and the outcomes<sup>85</sup>), acculturation (changes in cultural models of one or both groups that are in continuous contact<sup>86</sup>) and assimilation (a process leading to a state when typical characteristic of immigrants and host society come to approximate each other<sup>87</sup>). The official attitude to the immigrants' presence in the US has changed, too. The United States of America are a prototypical model of a society formed by immigration and assimilation. Based on the American experience, three different theories how

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<sup>84</sup> LEE, Everett S. A Theory of Migration. *Demography*. 1966, 3 (1), pp. 47–57.

<sup>85</sup> BERRY, J. W. Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society. *International Migration*. 1992, 30 (June), pp. 69–85, pp. 72–74.

<sup>86</sup> REDFIELD, Robert, LINTON, Ralph, HERSKOVITS, Melville Jean. Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation. *American Anthropologist*. 1936. 38, pp. 149–152.

<sup>87</sup> Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process - migrationpolicy.org. ©2001–2016. *Migration Policy Institute - migrationpolicy.org* [online]. Washington, DC. [accessed 2016-03-17]. Available at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process>.

immigrants should be adjusted to the new society can be distinguished.<sup>88</sup> ‘Americanisation’ is the most radical approach from the immigrant’s point of view. It involves quick assimilation of immigrants into the host society and abandonment of their own characteristics.<sup>89</sup> According to the melting pot theory people with various national, cultural, religious and ethnical backgrounds create a new type of culture in the new environment by mixing their characteristic features together.<sup>90</sup> In case of the cultural pluralism theory immigrants preserve their unique characteristics and culture heritage and form ethnic subcultures in the new country.<sup>91</sup> However, they isolate themselves neither from other groups nor from the local inhabitants of the area. The idea of ethnically pluralistic United States based on the cultural pluralism theory has been endorsed since the 1960s.

### 3.2. Migration as a scientific field

The history of the European migration to the United States became an area of scientists’ interest in the 1920s. Not surprisingly the early initiatives came from the United States because the migration phenomenon is an inseparable part of the American history. However, the attention to it has gradually spread to the destinations of immigrants’ origin, too. In Norway, the research has been supported by the Norwegian-American Historical Association.<sup>92</sup> As the interest in the emigration was growing, the topic had an increasing impact in the other scholarly fields, too. The migration issue has become the central theme of some conferences and workshops, e.g. of the conference ‘Nordiske Historikermøde i

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<sup>88</sup> HALTER, Marylin. Ethnic and Racial Identity. In: UEDA, Reed. *A Companion to America Immigration*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. ISBN 978-0-631-22843-1. P. 171.

<sup>89</sup> The pressure on assimilation of immigrants in the US grew stronger especially in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Americanisation was supported by the official institutions through educational programmes for immigrants.

<sup>90</sup> The first introduction of the melting pot vision can be traced back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was mentioned by a French settler in New York J. Hector de Crevecoeur who imagined the United States as a place where people of a various national origin would melt into a new race. POSTON, Dudley L. Jr., BOUVIER, Leon F. *Population and Society: An Introduction to Demography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. ISBN 9780521872874. P. 330. The theory of the melting pot was later criticised as racist because it included predominantly West-Europeans while the non-European minorities (as well as East-Europeans) were often ignored.

<sup>91</sup> The concept of cultural pluralism arose as a reaction on strong assimilation tendencies that prevailed in the American society in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The idea was introduced by Horace Kallen (KALLEN, Horace. Democracy Versus the Melting Pot: A Study of American Nationality. In: *The Nation 100*. 1915, 2590 and 2591, 190–194 and 217–220). Cultural pluralism has been criticised mainly as a separatist concept of the nation.

<sup>92</sup> *Welcome to NAHA!* [online]. ©2000–2011, Northfield (Minn.) [accessed 2016-02-17]. Available at: <http://www.naha.stolaf.edu>; The Norwegian-American Historical Institution (NAHA) was established in 1925. The mission of NAHA lies in collecting, preserving and interpretation of the Norwegian-American migration material. NAHA is located on the campus of St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, and cooperates closely with this institution. In 1981 an independent institution called NAHA-Norge was founded. The goal of the Norwegian part of the organisation is to promote the interest in the Norwegian-American migration among scholars in Norway.

København' focused on Scandinavian emigration.<sup>93</sup> Since 2010, 'Workshop on Immigrant Languages in America' is organized every year with the aim to bring together scholars who do research on immigrant languages in Northern America and are interested in any aspects of the linguistics of heritage languages (generative, historical, structural, sociolinguistic, experimental).<sup>94</sup> Many of the researchers dealing with migration have a personal or family experience with this phenomenon. The leading expert in this field is Einar Ingvald Haugen, an American linguist with Norwegian family roots.<sup>95</sup>

### 3.3. Norwegian immigration to the United States

“The Norwegian immigrant came to the US because he wanted to come!”<sup>96</sup>

This sentence summarises the essence of the Norwegian immigration to the United States. As already mentioned above, the Norwegian emigration corresponds in many aspects to the general characteristics of the European migration process in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although the circumstances that induced the mass emigration from Europe are common for the involved countries, there are several specifics of the Norwegian immigration to Northern America<sup>97</sup> that will be pointed out in this section.

The beginning stage of the Norwegian immigration was not of a massive character. After 1825 when the first emigrants left Norway for Northern America a relatively long pioneer period followed. The mass emigration from Norway started in the 1860s and was recorded in three main waves. According to the statistics, 87% of the Norwegian emigrants

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<sup>93</sup> SEMMINGSEN, Ingrid. Emigration from Scandinavia. *Scandinavian Economic History Review*. 1972. (1), 45–60. In: HOLMES, Colin (ed). *Migration in European History*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996. ISBN 978-1-85898 421-6. P. 225; The contributions and conclusions from this conference are published in the book *Emigrationen fra Norden indtil 1. verdenskrig: Rapporter til det Nordiske historikermøde i København 1971. 9–12 august*. København: Fr. Bagge, 1971.

<sup>94</sup> The focus of the workshop has been extended on all heritage languages in Americas recently. Originally scholars from Scandinavian and Germanic departments played the predominant role among the speakers but the discussed topics also included languages such as Spanish, Russian and Polish in 2016.

<sup>95</sup> Einar Ingvald Haugen was born in 1906 to Norwegian parents from Oppdal in Norway. He worked at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and in 1964 he joined the Harvard University where he stayed until he retired. He cooperated with many institutions (such as the Linguistic Society of America, the American Dialect Society, NAHA, and the Society of Advancement of Scandinavian Study). His work is highly appreciated for his pioneer research in sociolinguistics and Norwegian-American migration. His books 'The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behaviour' (1953) and 'The Ecology of Language' (1972) belong to his publications with a very high impact. STRAZNY, Philipp (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Oxon: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2011. ISBN 0-203-31920-6. Pp. 444–445.

<sup>96</sup> HOVE, Haldor L. *Five Norwegian Immigrant Newspapers, 1870–1890: Purveyors of Literary Taste and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1962, p. 4.

<sup>97</sup> The United States of America became almost the exclusive overseas destination of Norwegian emigrants in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After the year 1900 there was a smaller number of Norwegians who settled in Canada. The other continents were affected by the emigration only in a very limited extent. The focus of the thesis lies on the immigrants in the US and their language. Therefore when referring to “Northern America” or the “North-American continent”, the United States are meant.

left between the years 1865–1930.<sup>98</sup> Since the beginning of the Norwegian emigration approximately 900,000 Norwegians have settled in North America.<sup>99</sup> Norwegians have never constituted a significant ethnic minority in the United States from the perspective of the total number of immigrants in the country. However, the comparison of the total population in the home country and the amount of immigrants in the United States makes Norway a country with the second highest percentage of emigrants. Moreover, the concentration of Norwegians in some parts was so intense that it could have influenced the development of the local community. According to the records from 1910 about 70% of Norwegian immigrants in the US were settled in the following six states: Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Northern and Southern Dakota.<sup>100</sup>

### 3.3.1. Norway in the period of the beginnings of the immigration to the US

What was the demographic and social situation in Norway before the initial stage of the emigration process? The answer is given by Lovoll in his work. The population of Norway in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was 880,000 inhabitants. The society was highly stratified and consisted of three main groups: higher society (officers, merchants, and landowners), middle class (craftsmen, farmers) and low class (the poor). Statistics show that more than 91% people lived in the countryside.<sup>101</sup> The country experienced turbulent political changes in 1814. Norway was a part of a union with Denmark up until 1814. As a consequence of the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte and his followers (among other countries it was Denmark, too) the union fell apart. In quest of acquiring independence, Norway accepted its own constitution in May 1814 and chose its new king in the same year. However the attempt did not finish successfully and the country was forced to enter a new union with Sweden soon.<sup>102</sup> Despite this fact, the year 1814 has become a significant milestone in the Norwegian history and is broadly commemorated until nowadays.

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<sup>98</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. P. 8.

<sup>99</sup> Regarding the total numbers of Norwegian emigrants one should consider the fact that until 1860 there was no official control over the people who emigrated. The laws from 1863 and 1869 codified the police as the body responsible for the control of emigrants. PETTERSEN, Silje Vatne. *Utvandring fra Norge 1971–2011*. Oslo: Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2013. ISBN 978-82-537-8722-0. P. 21.

<sup>100</sup> BAINES, Dudley. *Emigration from Europe 1815–1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. ISBN 0-521-55270-2. P. 29.

<sup>101</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. P. 9.

<sup>102</sup> The personal union with Sweden existed between 1814–1905.

### 3.3.2. The initial stage of Norwegian immigration

The very early emigration from Norway to Northern America is usually described as a religiously motivated migration. The religious movements and revivals that had appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century undoubtedly contributed to the emigration to the US.<sup>103</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Evangelic-Lutheran church was accepted as the official religion in Norway. The Constitution of 1814 confirmed the Evangelical Lutheran religion as the official state religion. Nevertheless, several other religious groups emerged in the country. The Haugean movement<sup>104</sup> and Quakers<sup>105</sup> are examples of such religious fellowships. Both of them formed an opposition to the authorities and showed their disillusion about the official state church. But the religious freedom for other Christian denominations was not allowed until 1845. The alternative religious groups felt that they were oppressed and persecuted. Devotees of such groups belonged therefore to the pioneer emigrants from Norway. The assumption that the early Norwegian emigration was religiously motivated is also based on the fact that the first Norwegians were in a close contact with the local community of Quakers from the beginning that facilitated the very first steps of Norwegians in the United States and provided them with land to settle down.

However, there were other reasons and stimulants leading to the early emigration from Norway to Northern America, too. The phenomenon of emigration was not unknown for Norwegians in their homeland. They had a chance to meet e.g. German emigrants in the city

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<sup>103</sup> Both Semmingsen and Lovoll present this view in their works (SEMMINGSSEN, Ingrid. *Norway to America: A History of the Migration*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978. ISBN 978-0-8166-0842-3. Pp. 12–14. LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. Pp. 11–13). However, scholars disagree on how strongly the final resolution to leave the homeland was really religiously motivated.

<sup>104</sup> Haugean movement is a pietistic lay reform movement which refers to its establisher, Hans Nils Hauge. Haugeans did not leave the Lutheran State Church but aimed on a renewal of Christian life within its framework. The goal of the Haugean movement was to bring new life and vitality into the state church of Norway which was criticised for being lethargic and formalist. Hauge was active not only in the religious field but he was also interested in the temporary social problems such as the economic situation or social oppress. He travelled throughout Norway to meet people, talk to them and introduce his ideas. The movement led to stronger tensions in the Norwegian society. Hauge and his followers were persecuted for their activities. FEVOLD, Eugene L. *The Norwegian Immigrant and His Church*. In: *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1967, 23, 8–16. [accessed 2016-03-18]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume23/vol23\\_1.html](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume23/vol23_1.html).

<sup>105</sup> Quakers are members of a movement called The Religious Society of Friends that was established as a new Christian denomination in England in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Quakers emphasize inner experience as the source of the religious truth. Other activities of the movement are linked to their belief in equality of all human beings. They are active on the field of human rights, social justice, and environmental issues. Norwegians came into contact with Quakers during the Napoleonic wars when some of them were imprisoned in Britain. When they returned home they started practising the Quaker faith. *Kvekersamfunnet – The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Norway*. [online]. Oslo. [accessed 2016-03-16]. Available at: <http://kveker.org/>.

of Bergen. As Semmingsen argues it is highly probable that the information about them spread further to other parts of Norway and inspired others to follow their example.<sup>106</sup>

Lovoll introduces Cleng Peerson (1783–1865)<sup>107</sup> as the prominent person of the initial stage of the Norwegian emigration. Peerson is considered to be the “father of the Norwegian emigration to the US”. He started travelling in Europe as a young man and learned English, French and German. In 1821 he set out for a journey to Northern America to explore possibilities for emigrants. He succeeded in establishing contacts with the local Quaker community and in finding an appropriate piece of land. After the first Norwegians had settled in the area in the 1820s Peerson served as an important mediator of communication between the Norwegian community and the local population. He still continued in looking for new locations for Norwegian immigrants in the US and encouraged them to move further to the Midwest of the country. Peerson discovered the Fox River area in Illinois; in the 1830s he established settlements in Missouri and Iowa.<sup>108</sup>

For the further development of the migration process, the situation in the United States was of importance, too. The growth and improvement of the infrastructure played a very significant part. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 is among the activities that reinforced the stream of immigrants. The canal was built as a water route from New York and the Atlantic Ocean to the region of the Great Lakes. It connected Albany on the Hudson River and Buffalo at Lake Erie. The water route facilitated the migration to the more Western parts of the US. These offered enough space for newcomers who came to seek some land where they would start their new life.

The early Norwegian emigration was of a family and group character. It was usually the whole family who left the country, adults in the age of 30–40 years together with their children. Norwegians used to settle down close to each other and created a network of compact settlements in the US. Mutual solidarity and helpfulness characterize relationships among the individual colonies.<sup>109</sup> The social structure of leaving groups started to change after 1865 when the family emigration shifted gradually towards a more individual emigration with a young unmarried man as the typical representative of the emigrating people. The

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<sup>106</sup> SEMMINGSEN, Ingrid. *Norway to America: A History of the Migration*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978. ISBN 978-0-8166-0842-3. Pp. 8–9.

<sup>107</sup> His name is sometimes spelled as Kleng Pedersson. ØSTREM, Nils Olav. Cleng Peerson. In: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* [online]. 2009. Oslo [accessed 2016-07-18]. Available at: [https://nbl.snl.no/Cleng\\_Peerson](https://nbl.snl.no/Cleng_Peerson)

<sup>108</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. Pp. 12–13, 43–44, 116.

<sup>109</sup> During the pioneer period the help was on a more or less individual level. Later it became more organized and different social and charitable institutions were established to help people in need.

increase in individual migrants can be demonstrated on a comparison of two peak periods of the Norwegian emigration. While young men made only one third of the emigrants in the period 1866–1870, it was three quarters in the period 1911–1915.<sup>110</sup> Geographically, the majority of Norwegian emigrants came from the fjord districts in West Norway and mountain valleys in East Norway. It was mainly due to the suitable location on the coast and an already existing mobility tradition. The typical values, folk habits and ethnic heritage of West Norway could be clearly traced in the Norwegian community in the US.<sup>111</sup>

### **3.3.3. Further development of Norwegian immigration**

During the following decades Norwegian immigrants moved further westward and founded new settlements. The best land in the surrounding of the first colonies had already been taken up and immigrants had to find other locations to settle down. The early established settlements served as mother colonies where newcomers were provided with service and information on their way to the Midwest. As immigrants moved westward, Wisconsin became the main destination of Norwegians in the 1840s. Norwegians contributed to the economic growth of the Midwest in that time.

Although Norwegian immigrants were primarily farmers, a significant Norwegian community was formed in the city of Chicago. Its strategic location facilitated a fast economic and industrial development and the city experienced a population boom during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Chicago also became a central point for immigrants in the Midwest who comprised a large percentage of inhabitants from various countries. The rapidly growing city offered enough work for immigrants who needed to earn money. Norwegians came to Chicago as soon as in the 1830s. They even became the third largest nationality in the city by the 1850s.<sup>112</sup> They succeeded in establishing a stable colony with a relatively strong position. Chicago remained an important immigrant city but the role of the unofficial capital of American Norwegians was gradually overtaken by Minneapolis in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Minneapolis became the commercial and cultural centre of the Norwegian community in the Midwest.

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<sup>110</sup> BAINES, Dudley. *Emigration from Europe 1815–1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. ISBN 0-521-55270-2. P. 39.

<sup>111</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. P. 127.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

### 3.3.4. Mass immigration to the United States

The pioneer stage of the Norwegian emigration transformed into the mass and regular emigration in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A slow increase in the number of emigrants from Norway can already be monitored from the 1840s. The economically successful 1850s in the US were followed by a crisis and the civil war in the 1860s. However, it was not until the second half of the 1860s that the emigration from Norway to the US became of a really massive character. The main waves of the Norwegian emigration to the US are manifested in following three periods<sup>113</sup>:

1. 1866–1873 (end of the civil war – economic crisis in the US)
2. 1880–1893 (the first direct transatlantic line from Scandinavia to the US – economic decline in the US)
3. the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (until the launch of quota system in the US)

These main stages overlap with the peaks of the European emigration to the US: 1854, 1873, 1883, 1907, and 1913.<sup>114</sup> It is natural that the number of emigrants was not constant during the whole time. The increase or decrease in the number of emigrants depended on external circumstances both on the American and European continent highly. The improvement of transport conditions over the time (especially from the 1860s on) is an example of such external conditions that stimulated the overseas migration. As the transport became more comfortable and the voyage less dangerous, more and more Europeans dared to set out for the journey. Moreover, the price of the ticket lowered which made the trip affordable to a broader population.<sup>115</sup> The first mass wave in the 1860s was stimulated by other factors, too. In 1862 an important document was published in America that was meant to encourage the colonisation of the American land. So-called Homestead Act is among the most important regulations linked directly to the increase in the number of immigrants in the US. According to this law every citizen was granted 160 acres of public land in exchange for a small fee provided he had never joined a military attack against the US government and had reached the minimum age of 21 years. The occupant had to pledge to cultivate the granted

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>114</sup> BAINES, Dudley. *Emigration from Europe 1815–1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. ISBN 0-521-55270-2. P. 1.

<sup>115</sup> The conditions of transatlantic transport improved gradually from the 1860s. The rapid increase in the number of immigrants in the US is clear from the comparison of number of registered immigrants in the US. While there were 7,000 people with a place of birth outside the US in 1860, in 1880 the number was five times higher. *Utvandringsstatistikk: Statique de l'émigration* [online]. Kristiania: Departement for sociale saker, 1921 [accessed 2016-05-25]. Available at: [http://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_vii\\_025.pdf](http://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_025.pdf).

land. After five years of continuous residence on the site the settler became the owner of the land.<sup>116</sup>

As the numbers of immigrants were rising, newcomers had to look for good agricultural land in other districts of the US. The earlier settlements in Wisconsin and Illinois were not able to accommodate any more farmers. Minnesota and Iowa were the areas where cheap and good land was still available. New colonies were founded there especially after the American civil war. In the 1880s North and South Dakota experienced a massive stream of immigrants from Norway.

Even though the Midwestern states were the main destination of Norwegian immigrants, some of the newcomers settled on the Pacific Coast, too.<sup>117</sup> They were originally attracted by gold rush but a more significant stream of immigrants was monitored from the 1880s when the transcontinental railroads were completed. Fishing, shipping and log driving were typical activities of Norwegians in the West of the United States.

### 3.3.5. Norwegian America

In the history of Norwegians in the United States, the period 1895–1925 is referred to as Norwegian America. The Norwegian immigrant community had already achieved a stable position in the American society by that time and could cultivate its activities. Various cultural, religious and economic associations were established.<sup>118</sup> They organised cultural events for the community, offered economic support and created a platform where immigrants could socialise. External circumstances such as the economic growth and the modern development in Norway strengthen the bloom of the Norwegian community in America.<sup>119</sup> One of the key features that most of the organisations had in common was a wish to preserve the Norwegian language. They shared a belief that a shift to English would mean a loss of their culture. The associations and clubs became a place where immigrants could foster their native language. But the concept of Norwegian America was reflected in many more ways.

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<sup>116</sup> Alternatively, the settler could buy the land from the government for \$1.25 per acre. By 1900 an area of about 80 million acres was distributed in accordance with the Homestead Act. Homestead Act: Primary Documents of American History (Virtual Programs & Services, Library of Congress). *Collection Guide & Bibliographies (Virtual Programs & Services, Library of Congress)* [online]. 2015. Washington, DC [accessed 2016-03-16]. Available at: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Homestead.html>.

<sup>117</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. Pp. 232–235.

<sup>118</sup> Some of them exist even until nowadays (e.g. Sons of the Norway, established in 1895; *Sons of Norway* [online]. ©2016. Minneapolis. [accessed 2016-02-17]. Available at: <https://www.sofn.com/>).

<sup>119</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. P. 257.

The Viking-age became a glorified era of the Norwegian history with Vikings representing an idealised picture of Norwegians. The celebration of the national holiday on May 17<sup>th</sup> was the most prominent symbol of the Norwegian community and its activities.<sup>120</sup> The celebrations traditionally connected the individual organisations across the United States. The number of schools offering education in Norwegian increased in this period, too. So-called bygdela<sup>121</sup> movement is another phenomenon that belongs to the lifestyle of Norwegian-Americans. The bygdela community strived to preserve the original Norwegian patterns of living in the new country. In fact, as Lovoll points out, this movement tended to isolate immigrants from the American society and to inhibit the creation of new Norwegian-American identity.<sup>122</sup> Although the Norwegian immigrant community was very active in spreading the cultural heritage among the compatriots in the US it became gradually clear that the idea of Norwegian America, a small Norway within the United States, is a utopian vision. The decline of the strong Norwegian sub-culture in the US emerged largely as a consequence of a dramatic fall in the numbers of immigrants from the 1930s. Finally, Norwegian immigrants assimilated into the American society.

### 3.3.6. Decline of the migration process

The decline of the Norwegian emigration to the United States was caused by the launch of the immigrant quota-system in the 1920s. The main goal of the system was to limit the number of immigrants from the East-European and South-European countries but it had an impact on the whole migration. The system was codified by the Immigration Act of 1924 (also known as the Johnson-Reed Act). According to the document, two percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the United States as recorded in the 1890 national census was allowed to enter the United States yearly.<sup>123</sup> In case of Norway, the quota comprises 6,453 immigrants a year.

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<sup>120</sup> The Norwegian Constitution Day is an official national holiday celebrated on May 17<sup>th</sup> that commemorates the signing of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814.

<sup>121</sup> Bygdela is a Norwegian term for groups of immigrants from a specific area (called 'bygd' in Norwegian) in Norway regardless the district where they lived in America. LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. Pp. . 282–283.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>123</sup> However, the policy of restrictions in the US started even earlier. In 1917, the Congress accepted the first law concerning immigration restrictions. According to the Act of 1917, every immigrant older than 16 years was obliged to pass a literacy test to prove the reading comprehension in any language. In 1921 a quota system was introduced. The quota provided immigration visas to three percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the United States as registered in the 1910 national census. The annual increase in immigrants was limited to 358,000 persons in this way and decreased to 164,000 persons after the Immigration Act of 1924 had

Of course, emigration from Norway to the United States still occurs until nowadays. In the most recent census (from 2010), it was 4.6 million people in the US who stated a Norwegian origin. The vast majority of them is still concentrated in the Midwestern states. The total number of Norwegians who left for the US in 2010 is 1,165 persons. The records from the previous censuses document this steady trend during several last decades.<sup>124</sup>

According to the data of the office Statistics Norway (Statistisk sentralbyrå), it was about 30% of Norwegian emigrants who returned back home during the period of the massive migration (1881–1930).<sup>125</sup> In the pioneer period the number of re-emigrants was lower. Many people were discouraged by their painful memories of the tiring and long transatlantic journey. Moreover, the American continent became their new home. They had left Norway intentionally in order to settle down permanently in the United States and to start a new life there. Contrary to this early group of migrants, more seasonal migrants were coming later in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century with the aim to earn enough money and return back to their homeland.<sup>126</sup>

### 3.3.7. Image of America in Norway

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Northern America was generally seen as the “land of promise” offering its richness and a lot of opportunities for newcomers. It was the wish to improve the economic situation and to reach a better social status that motivated people to emigrate. The United States seemed to be the right destination to fulfil such ideas for many Europeans. They imagined the US as the country of freedom, democracy and equality which they often missed in their homeland.<sup>127</sup>

The general awareness of America in Norway was very limited before the emigration started.<sup>128</sup> It is assumed that the leading persons of political and social life were aware of the

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been passed. Milestones: 1921–1936 - Office of the Historian. *Office of the Historian* [online]. [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>.

<sup>124</sup> SSB [online]. ©2016. Oslo [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: <http://www.ssb.no>.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> The different background motives for emigration are obvious when comparing the emigration from the countries of Western and Northern Europe and the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe. While people from the first mentioned group left their homeland in order to settle permanently overseas, the latter countries show a higher percentage of seasonal migrants. BAINES, Dudley. *Emigration from Europe 1815–1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. ISBN 0-521-55270-2. P. 35.

<sup>127</sup> Nevertheless, emigration to America did not necessarily mean a guaranteed success for everybody. Newcomers had to cope with obstacles and problems that they were exposed to in the new country. Because of hard living conditions, diseases spread more easily and there was a high rate of infant mortality, too. Some of the attempts to start a new life crashed as a consequence of a lack of experience and poor management ability of the founder of the settlement. This is for instance the case of the colony Oleana established in Pennsylvania in 1852 by the Norwegian composer Olle Bull.

<sup>128</sup> SEMMINGSEN, Ingrid. *Norway to America: A History of the Migration*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978. ISBN 978-0-8166-0842-3. P. 8.

historical development and the fight for freedom in the US to some extent. The fact that the Norwegian constitution is partly based on the Constitution of the United States is a clear evidence of it. But it was not until the first Norwegian emigrants settled down in the US that the common Norwegian population became more informed about that part of the world.

The image of the US in Europe was formed through several sources. Letters written by the emigrants to their families and friends who stayed in Norway became a very rich and lively well of information. The letters offer an authentic testimony of the daily life of Norwegian migrants in their new country. They describe both joyful moments and troubles and worries that the immigrants in the US had to deal with. In spite of their subjective character the letters are accounted a historical source for the scholarly research in the field of the Norwegian immigration in the United States.

Other sources that could affect the Norwegian population, such as articles published in the Norwegian newspapers and materials written by the American institutions and commercial agencies, are more or less tendentious. The Norwegian papers showed the emigration from two sides: on the one hand positive messages about the migration process were spread by some editors. But at the same time articles discouraging Norwegians to leave their country were published, too. Material such as pamphlets and maps that was published by the American governmental and administrative institutions was clearly of a promoting character. Such documents usually stressed the good material resources and available free land in the US. The main goal of it was not to encourage migration to the US in general but to colonize the free land in the US as quickly and soon as possible. They tried to make the area attractive for immigrants. There were even offices that were founded in order to help with the promoting activities of the given state (e.g. the Wisconsin Board of Immigration)<sup>129</sup>. American institutions also hired agents that met people in person and spread information about possibilities to settle down in the given region.<sup>130</sup> The commercial agencies increased the impact of the published materials. But it is important to bear in mind that they followed their business plan and economic interests primarily. Ship operators and railway operators contributed to information spread among potential emigrants, too. Their activities were arranged by hired agents who usually got commissions from each sold ticket.<sup>131</sup> It seems difficult to measure the extent of the impact of such activities on the emigration as a whole.

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<sup>129</sup> American institutions such as *the Board of Immigration* and *the Immigration Commission* monitored the immigration and the impact of the published materials.

<sup>130</sup> CURTI, Merle, BIRR, Kendall. *The Immigrant and the American Image in Europe, 1860–1914*. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. 1950. XXXVII (2), September, pp. 203–230. In: HOLMES, Colin (ed). *Migration in European History*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996. ISBN 978-1-85898 421-6. Pp. 110–111.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

They could have stimulated the resolution to emigrate under some conditions but it is very doubtful that it would be the trigger for the emigration.

People in Europe were in touch with their compatriots in the US mainly through the letters. Statistics prove that there is a link between the number of sent letters to a given country and the increase of emigrants from that area.<sup>132</sup> Some of the emigrants also travelled back to their homeland (either for a short visit or as return migration). Although there was a group of emigrants who were not successful overseas, the stories of the happier ones were inspiring and encouraged others to follow the footsteps of the successful emigrants. From all the mentioned information sources, the direct contact with already experienced emigrants was probably the most effective stimulant of the emigration.

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., pp. 115–116.

## 4. IMMIGRANT PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

### 4.1. Function of immigrant press

The study of immigrant publishing activities can be approached from different scholarly fields, such as history, linguistics, ethnology, journalism, psychology and sociology. The broad spectrum of the issues makes it an interdisciplinary phenomenon. The overlap in the various fields is caused by a wide range of functions that are covered by the press of ethnic minorities in their new country. The significance of the immigrant press exceeds the basic role of newspapers substantially. Newspapers are generally considered to be a source of information and a platform for cultivation of public discussion and a platform for crystallisation of political, social and cultural opinions. Although the immigrant press can be seen as a channel providing the immigrant communities with information from both the new country and the country of their origin, the immigrants' confrontation with the new environment distinguishes it from the common national newspapers. Immigrants had to confront the language barrier in their new homeland. They usually came to the US without any prior knowledge of English. Therefore newspapers written in their mother language became such a significant and essential source of information. The press became an intermediary between the old and the new, a bridge between the immigrant's Norwegian past and the new life in the United States. Both the readers and the publishers perceived this unique function of the periodicals:

“It is actually our opinion that if the role and meaning of the Norwegian-American press should be characterised by one word, it has to be as a bridge.”<sup>133</sup>

Among others, Jaklová also emphasizes that the function of the press was much more complex than just an information channel.<sup>134</sup> The press was an important social and communication element. The immigrant press mediated interconnections across the society and continents. It connected not only the immigrant and his or her homeland, it also built links between newcomers and their new country and last but not least it also helped to create links across generations. From this point of view the function of the press can be described both as preserving and integrating.

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<sup>133</sup> A quotation of the editor Kristian Prestgard i Jubileumsutgaven September 5th, 1924 (translation by Pavla Bartásková): „Det er nemlig vor Mening, at skulle den Norsk-amerikanske Presses Opgave og Betydning karakteriseres med ett Ord, saa maatte de være som Brobyggere.”

<sup>134</sup> JAKLOVÁ, Alena. *Čechoamerická periodika 19. a 20. století*. Praha: Academia, 2010. ISBN 978-80-200-1810-6. Pp. 11–13.

The newspapers of the immigrant communities served as means of education, helped to acquaint with the new, unknown and culturally different society and familiarize with its values. Immigrants were directly exposed to the foreign culture, language and nature conditions and they had to cope with them. The published press facilitated the adaptation of immigrants.

The newspapers also played a significant part in the ethnic cohesion of the immigrant community. Due to the fact that the press was published in the native language of the group, it strengthened the feeling of the national identity and facilitated the mutual identification. It spread shared values and preserved the awareness of the cultural heritage from the country of origin. The press formed social connections among immigrants through stories about successful countrymen, announcements of events in the settlement, and news from the local community. The publishing activities contributed to a stronger position of the ethnic minority among both the indigenous inhabitants and other immigrant groups, too. Even though the journals were not meant for other ethnical groups their existence demonstrated the presence and active participation of the immigrant group in the American society.

The development and changes of the immigrant press reflect the gradual process of immigrants' assimilation in their new environment and open another perspective on the migration topic. Following parts of this chapter are devoted to the specifics of the Norwegian immigrant press in the United States. The unique position of the immigrant press is expressed in a greeting from congressman Halderson published in *Skandinaven*. He emphasized the meaning of the Norwegian written newspaper for his parents when they settled in the United States as farmers. His quotation mentions explicitly the newspaper *Skandinaven* but it could be related to any newspaper in the native language of the immigrants<sup>135</sup>:

“[...] and therefore the ‘*Skandinaven*’ became such a household necessity that, to use a common American expression, they “could not have kept house without it.” It was therefore through its columns they kept track of the religious discussions that created so much interest and at times excitement among the Norwegians of the Northwest during the years following the civil war, and politically the ‘*Skandinaven*’ was the guide in whose wisdom and patriotism they had so much confidence [...].”

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<sup>135</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land*. Minnesota: MHS Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-87351-796-6. P, 277.

According to Fevold the cultural life of the immigrant communities in the US was formed by two major forces from inside, the clergy and the church and the press.<sup>136</sup> They were initially closely interconnected. Many of the early journals were of a church origin and the content of this kind of press was strongly governed and influenced by the church. With the boom of the publishing activities of immigrants, the influence of the church on the press weakened and newspapers became a matter of business. The responsibility for the content, layout and general focus of the newspaper concentrated fully in the hands of the editors. Editors usually demonstrated some political tendencies in their journals. Although several newspapers without any clear political orientation can be found among the immigrant press in the US, editors oftentimes used it to favour one of the political parties.<sup>137</sup> The press was hence understood as a device to influence people.

#### **4.2. Norwegian press in the United States**

In the pioneer period of the Norwegian-American press, Norwegian immigrants did not have a lot of experience with newspapers from their home country before entering the American continent. Although freedom of press was codified in the Constitution from 1814, common people were not used to subscribe newspapers. They did not need them for their simple life in the rural areas. Besides, the subscription was an expensive matter for most of them. Press in Norway was a privilege of the higher, educated and intellectual classes of the society. Regular subscribers and readers of newspapers formed therefore only a very small group of the Norwegian society and a very low percentage among the early emigrants to the US. The situation changed in Norway during the late 1800s and early 1900s as a consequence of turns in the society and technical modernisation. The number of the newspapers published increased significantly and the press won a position of an important actor in the political struggles.

Newspapers were a natural part of the daily life for American citizens already in the time of the beginnings of the Norwegian immigration. Both small local periodicals for a specific settlement and periodicals with a large national coverage were published. In the eyes of immigrants, America was a land of newspapers. Newspaper issuing was an act of expressing the democratic values of the country. By starting the publishing business,

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<sup>136</sup> FEVOLD, Eugene L. The Norwegian Immigrant and His Church. In: *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1967, 23, pp. 8–16. [accessed 2016-03-18]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume23/vol23\\_1.html](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume23/vol23_1.html).

<sup>137</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in cooperation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999. ISBN 978-0-8166-3350-0. P. 179.

Norwegian immigrants shared this idea. The activity should therefore be seen as one of the indicators of integration of immigrants into the new society, too.

#### **4.2.1. Content of the immigrant newspapers**

As described above, the immigrant press in America was of a different character and function than periodicals printed in the homeland of the newcomers to the United States. That is why its form and content had to be adapted to the specific conditions on the North American continent. Newspaper contributions reflected all aspects of the immigrants' life and varied from reports on happenings in the US and Scandinavia to advice about farming and tips for the household. Of course, immigrant newspapers complied with the basic function of the press and brought recent and relevant news to their readers. Subscribers were informed about reports and events in the US as well as in Scandinavia and other parts of the world. All important economic, political and social issues were discussed. News and personal happenings from the local area made a significant part of the whole content. They helped to hold a bond among the compatriots even if they lived in different parts of the United States. Readers could learn about marriages and passings, about big anniversaries of Norwegians in the region and about joys and sorrows of everyday living of others. The advisory function of the newspapers was reflected in articles about cultivation of crops, tips how to increase the yield, recipes, experience with technical equipment, etc. The newspapers were open to contributions written by the readers who could tell their personal stories, express their opinions or ask for help. This section made the newspaper a very live medium of communication for the immigrants. Last but not least journals also entertained readers with novels on series and other literary works and jokes. Advertisements became a very noticeable and essential part of the newspapers. The periodicals were based on the principle of advertising journals which made it possible to distribute them for a reasonable price among subscribers. The early issues of the journals were very limited in content volume and advertisements filled a considerable part of it. As the journals extended in the amount of published articles, the proportion of advertisements decreased. But they were still present in every issue. The advertised products varied from typical Scandinavian food to books to travel offers from and to America.

#### 4.2.2. History of Norwegian-American press

The history of Norwegian-American newspapers started already in 1847 when the first newspaper in the Norwegian language in the United States was published in Muskego, Wisconsin. From the pioneer beginnings the Norwegian publishing activities developed into a successful business with a number of newspapers that existed for several decades. After the last peak period of the Norwegian emigration to the US at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the decrease in the number of new immigrants led to a gradual end of the printing activities of the Norwegian community which was completed after the world wars. The press underwent evolution which corresponded to the changes of and in the immigrant group.

The Scandinavian press in the US belonged historically to the oldest and the volume of the periodicals ranks Norwegian settlers among the most active immigrant publishers in the US. In 1920 Scandinavians produced the second largest number of newspapers in America.<sup>138</sup> The volume of published journals increased after the American Civil War in the 1860s. The growth copied the boom of the new mass migration waves from Norway into America. The high publishing activity was stirred up by the demand for journals among immigrants in the United States. The interest in such reading exceeded the demand in Norway significantly. The fact that the most subscribed newspaper in Norway had a circulation of 14,000 issues in the time when Decorah-Posten reached a circulation of 37,000 and Skandinaven approached 50,000 issues, illustrates the unique position of the Norwegian-American press.

The Norwegian immigrant newspapers lost their significance and function as Norwegians became more integrated in the American society and acquired English fully. During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Norwegian written newspapers ceased their publishing. Among the last issued journals in the Norwegian language were Western Viking (Seattle) and The Norway Times (New York). However, English written contributions outnumbered the Norwegian written articles in these papers during the final period of their publishing. Nowadays, there is one paper, called 'The Norwegian American', presenting itself as "the only Norwegian-American newspaper in existence, and it has been published continuously since 1889"<sup>139</sup>.

Despite some basic common features, the immigrant newspapers varied to some extent in their content, target audience, volume of published issues and even in language policy that

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<sup>138</sup> PARK, Robert E. *The Immigrant Press and its Control*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922, p. 320.

<sup>139</sup> *The Norwegian American* [online]. Washington. [accessed 2016-11-23]. Available at: <http://www.norwegianamerican.com/about/>. The volume of Norwegian written contributions in *The Norwegian American* is limited to one page in every issue. The paper provides news from Norway and from the Norwegian-American community in the US.

was set by the editorial staff. In general, the newspapers were published for the local settlement of immigrants. Norwegian immigrants initiated hundreds of newspapers in the US. However, a lot of them did not succeed in being published for a longer time and they finished soon. Although the average duration of publishing was approximately ten years, about one third of the periodicals did not survive more than one year.<sup>140</sup> Despite it, there is a number of Norwegian newspapers in the US that turned to become a successful business<sup>141</sup>: *Emigranten* (1852–1867; Madison, Wisconsin), *Fædrelandet* (1864–1868; La Crosse, Wisconsin)<sup>142</sup>, *Skandinaven* (1866–1941; Chicago, Illinois), *Budstikken* (1873–1894; Minneapolis, Minnesota), *Decorah-Posten* (1874–1972; Decorah, Iowa), *Minneapolis Tidende* (1887–1935; Minneapolis, Minnesota).

The role of the immigrant press in the development of the immigrant community will remain unchallenged. However, the newspapers were also subjected to critics due to the limits that resulted from their specifics. As an illustrating example a summary about the Norwegian-American press written by Cavling in 1897 can be mentioned.<sup>143</sup> The author found that the Norwegian immigrant press did not fully meet its function, i.e. provide people with the current news both from the homeland and from the United States. Cavling stressed financial problems that the publishers were dealing with and their effect on the published newspapers. He was even more sceptical about the function of the newspaper as a channel reporting on the world news. According to his observations the press was not up-to-date because the material needed to be translated first, many of the newspapers were not published daily and only a fraction of the volume of the stuff was placed in the Norwegian-American newspaper.

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<sup>140</sup> ANDERSEN, Arlow W. *Rough Road to Glory: The Norwegian-American Press Speaks Out on Public Affairs, 1875–1925*. Philadelphia, London: The Balch Institute Press, Associated University Presses, 1990. ISBN 0-944190-02-2. P. 214.

<sup>141</sup> An overview of the available newspapers in the National Library in Oslo including the period and place of their publishing can be found under following link: Norsk-amerikanske aviser/Norsk-amerikansk emigrasjonshistorie. *Nasjonalbiblioteket* [online]. Oslo [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [http://www.nb.no/sn/norsk-amerikanske\\_aviser.html#m](http://www.nb.no/sn/norsk-amerikanske_aviser.html#m).

<sup>142</sup> *Emigranten* and *Fædrelandet* merged together in 1868 under the name *Fædrelandet og Emigranten* (1868–1892, La Crosse, Wisconsin). It consolidated with *Minneapolis Daglig Tidende* in 1893.

<sup>143</sup> CAVLING, Henrik. *Fra Amerika: Del 2*. Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske boghandels forlag, P. Petersens bogtrykkeri, 1897, pp. 235–236. Cavling also summarized the history and development of the Danish press in the United States in the same work. Contrary to the points that are mentioned in his introduction to the Norwegian written newspapers in America he did not remark on the failing function of the Danish press as a channel of the latest news. But it seems very presumable that the situation was similar. Henrik Cavling was a Danish journalist, correspondent from abroad and writer. Among other works he published a book in two binds based on his stays in the United States where he deals with the history and social and cultural matters of both the Danish and Norwegian immigrant community. THOMSEN, Niels. Henrik Cavling. *Gyldendal - Den Store Danske* [online]. [cit. 2017-09-08]. Available at: [http://denstoredanske.dk/Samfund,\\_jura\\_og\\_politik/Massemedier/Kreative\\_mediefolk/Henrik\\_Cavling](http://denstoredanske.dk/Samfund,_jura_og_politik/Massemedier/Kreative_mediefolk/Henrik_Cavling).

### 4.2.3. Collection of Norwegian newspapers written in the US

A collection of Norwegian-American newspapers is located both in Norway and in the United States. The collection of Nasjonalbiblioteket (The National Library) in Oslo disposes of a special collection of sources concerning the Norwegian emigration to the US (officially called ‘The Norwegian-American Collection at the National Library in Norway’).<sup>144</sup> It consists of a selection of books, excerpts, articles, photographs and prints, radio excerpts and television broadcasts that offer various perspectives on the emigration to the US. The most important documents for this thesis coming from this collection are publications dealing with the press activities in the US and the collection of Norwegian written newspapers. The Museum of Migration (Migrasjonsmuseet)<sup>145</sup> is another source of information in Norway. It operates a library (The Ingrid Semmingsen Research Library) focused on the Norwegian transatlantic migration in all its aspects. Besides the collection of ca. 9,000 titles, it also has over 7,000 letters which were sent from America by the Norwegian immigrants (so-called ‘American letters’ or ‘Amerikabrev’ in Norwegian), photographs, emigration agent archives, private archives of several missionaries and social workers, tape-recorded interviews, church and census records and emigrant lists<sup>146</sup>. In the United States, the documents are accumulated at the universities and institutions that are located in the regions with a high concentration of Norwegian immigrants. A collection of primary as well as secondary material can be found in St. Olaf College Library in Northfield (Minnesota), Luther College Library in Decorah (Iowa), Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison (Wisconsin), South Dakota State Archives in Pierre (South Dakota), University of North Dakota – Chester Fritz Library in Grand Forks (North Dakota), University of Utah Library in Salt Lake City (Utah), Washington State Library and Washington State University Libraries (Washington), New York State Library in Albany (New York).

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<sup>144</sup> *Det løfterike landet: Norsk utvandring til Amerika og norsk-amerikansk historie 1825-2000* [online]. 2012. [accessed 2016-02-27]. Available at: <http://www.nb.no/emigrasjon/>; The collection was founded in 1958. The documents were donated by American institutions and individuals. However, the beginnings of the Norwegian-American cooperation in this field go back to the 1920s when the first attempts to establish a collection were made.

<sup>145</sup> *Norsk Utvandremuseum* [online]. Ottestad [accessed 2016-02-27]. Available at: <http://www.emigrantmuseum.no>.

<sup>146</sup> From 1867 the police was obliged to hold records of people who left the country.

#### 4.2.4. The Big Three

From the whole volume of the Norwegian-American press, three journals succeeded in winning an unofficial status of a regional and later even national newspaper. These overstepped the borders of their geographical territory and were spread in distant areas, too. The Big Three, as the newspapers Decorah-Posten, Skandinaven and Minneapolis Tidende are referred to, were subscribed across the Norwegian immigrants' community in the United States. Moreover, they also attracted Danish subscribers in America and a considerable number of subscribers even in Norway.<sup>147</sup>

##### Decorah-Posten

Decorah-Posten was presented in September 1874 by the editor Brynild Anundsen. He had already gained experience in the publishing business in America before he launched the first issue of Decorah-Posten.<sup>148</sup> The journal proved to be his great success. The paper reached its top in the 1920s when it became the largest Norwegian paper in the Midwest with 45,000 subscribers.

The newspaper is described as a democratic and conservative periodical without any intention to have a political influence. This was clearly stated by the editor in the first issue of Decorah-Posten both in English and in Norwegian<sup>149</sup>:

“I hereby present to you the first number of “DECORAH-POSTEN” and very respectfully ask a share of your patronage. The sheet is small in size, but shall be my

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<sup>147</sup> According to Prestgard (PRESTGARD, Kristian. *Fra Heidal til Decorah. Veien jeg gikk*. Oslo: Snøhetta forlag, 1996. ISBN 9788291375069. P. 159.), Decorah-Posten was subscribed by approximately five thousand Danish immigrants in the US. Danish-American newspapers were also available in the US but the total volume was lower than the volume of Norwegian-American press. Historical sources present about 100 Danish-American newspapers initiated in the US. The lower production was caused by the smaller number of Danish emigrants leaving for America. Lovoll adds that Decorah-Posten was also approaching one thousand subscribers in Norway. LOVOLL, Odd S. Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1977, 27, pp. 77–100 [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27\\_5.htm](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_5.htm).

<sup>148</sup> Among his early publishing attempts, the literary magazine “Ved Arnen: Et Tidsskrift for Skjønliteratur” should be mentioned. This magazine was issued from 1864 until 1870 and revived again in 1882 as a literary supplement to Decorah-Posten.

<sup>149</sup> The editorial text was written both in English and Norwegian (the English version is presented here as the first and in the original spelling, the Norwegian follows in translation by Pavla Bartásková). However, the two versions are not fully identical. The English version was addressed to potential American business partners. This fact is explicitly expressed in the title of the editorial ‘To the Business of Decorah and Vicinity’. The Norwegian version of the introduction text is aimed at readers. It is shorter and does not contain the information concerning the business matters. Anundsen presents the newspaper to his compatriots in the opening: “Hereby the first number of “Decorah-Posten” is presented to my countrymen i Winneshei Co.” (Translation of the original sentence: “Hermed forelægges mine Landsmænd i Winnesheik Co. det første No. af “Decorah-Posten”, Decorah-Posten, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1874) There is also a significant difference in the font. The Norwegian text was typed in the Gothic script (as the rest of the articles in the newspapers), while the English part was typed in the Latin script.

aim to make it interesting, and as the subscription price is small – only 50 cents a year, which about enough to pay for blank paper, - I hope in a very short time to have a subscription list larger than any paper in the County. The paper will contain no politics, but local and other news from the new and the old world besides Novels and other interesting reading matter, and a Song-Book of 416 pages that can be cut out and bound, containing several hundred of the most popular norwegian, danish, swedish and american songs. This book alone will be worth more than the subscription price. It must not be forgotten that in order to draw attention there will be anecdotes between every advertisement. 1 000 copies of the paper will be distributed weekly among the advertisers, until that number is filled by subscription, and my subscription books will be open for inspections at any time, so that my patrons know what they get for their money. By advertising in the “DECORAH-POSTEN” you will certainly reach a large class of readers that you have been unable to reach before, and I think you will find it to your interest to give this paper of your liberal patronage. If you do not think it will benefit you, please inform me so when I visit you on my canvassing tour for advertisements, and the present number of the DECORAH-POSTEN will be the last. I will be thankful for every favor shown me, and remain, Yours Respectfully, B. Anundsen”

“Hereby the first number of “Decorah-Posten” is presented to my countrymen in Winneshei Co. The newspaper is meant as an advertisement-journal and in order to reach a large subscription list as fast as possible the subscription price is set as low as it is, namely 50 cents per year. The paper will contain no politics, but local and other news from far and near, election reports from Winnesheik Co. and other that can be interesting for the county’s citizens, reports from Norway and various good, interesting, useful and entertaining content as well as feuilletons and a songbook which will fill 416 pages during the year and comprise the best and the most popular Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and American songs meticulously chosen so that it can be recommended to every house and will be on its own worth more than the subscription price. This songbook can be cut out and bound later. In hope that this effort will be admitted with an interest, Yours Respectfully, B. Andundsen.”

The statement of the editorial has to be understood as a proclamation of the editorial business policy of Decorah-Posten.<sup>150</sup> Norwegian immigrant press had already existed for several decades when Decorah-Posten was launched and Anundsen could learn a lesson from the failures of his predecessors. He chose to start a newspaper that would be reporting rather than commenting and took a cautious approach to the news from the controversial fields such as politics and religion. That made his paper more easily acceptable for a broader public.

Several scholars have pointed out predictability as one of the prominent features of the newspaper.<sup>151</sup> Both the content and the form of the newspaper were stable with no unforeseen and irritating changes. This corresponds to the expectations of the major group of subscribers of Decorah-Posten who belonged to already established immigrants in the Midwest. When reading Decorah-Posten, they were never exposed to any radical editorial opinions or disruptive textual forms. They could be sure that they always found what they were looking for. The newspaper became a kind of constancy in the changing lives of immigrants. It was characterised by one of its editors as: “a newspaper written for old people by old people“.<sup>152</sup>

The conservatism of Decorah-Posten can be applied to its linguistic form, too. The newspaper was established in the time when Norway and Denmark used the same written standard. It was therefore natural to publish it in this form of the language. Because of several reasons (discussed in Chapter 6), the newspaper did not undergo a significant linguistic development during its almost one hundred year lasting history. In 1926, i.e. several years after two spelling reforms had been accepted in Norway, the editor of Decorah-Posten commented the language issue:

“We recently look through the first volume of *Decorah-Posten* and found that the paper's linguistic form in 1874 was almost exactly the same as in 1926. And all other Norwegian papers in the Northwest are the same. But this has put us in the strange position that our papers have a dress that no longer exists either in the language of

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<sup>150</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land*. Minnesota: MHS Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-87351-796-6. P. 148.

<sup>151</sup> LOVOLL, Odd S. Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1977, 27, pp. 77–100 [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27\\_5.htm](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_5.htm); HAUGEN, Einar. *Norsk i Amerika*. Oslo: Cappelen, 1975, p. 81. ISBN 978-82-02-03199-2.

<sup>152</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, pp. 148–149.

Norway or Denmark. We have become something for ourselves between the two.”<sup>153</sup>

Despite being aware of the “old-fashioned” orthographical appearance, no major orthographical changes were undertaken. In 1939, the spelling rules of Decorah-Posten were adapted to the changes codified in the Norwegian spelling reform from 1907.<sup>154</sup> But the following orthographic changes codified in the reforms from 1917 and 1938 (that were even more extensive than the reform of 1907) were not reflected in Decorah-Posten.<sup>155</sup> Under the leadership of the editor Erling Innvik some more adaptations in the direction of the more current Norwegian orthography were undertaken. All contributions to the newspaper were adjusted to the editorial spelling policy before being issued. The possibly observable variations in the orthography among the articles and their authors are therefore limited.<sup>156</sup>

Regarding the content, the Decorah-Posten provided news both from the old homeland (and other Scandinavian countries, especially Denmark; news from Sweden were rather limited)<sup>157</sup> and from America with the focus on the happenings from the regions with Norwegian settlements. Big affairs were presented as well as stories of common people, their daily life and “adventures”. The journal took the role of a personal companion of the immigrant in the US and respected and followed his needs. Besides the information service, the newspaper also supplied its subscribers with entertaining reading in the form of literary works, and brought advice for farming, house-keeping and other aspects of the life in the new country. Advertising filled an extensive part of the newspaper.<sup>158</sup> The newspaper contained

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<sup>153</sup> LOVOLL, Odd S. Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1977, 27, pp. 77–100 [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27\\_5.htm](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_5.htm).

<sup>154</sup> The changes were incorporated by Kristian Prestgard. At first, they were introduced in the editorials and then they were slowly spreading to other columns in the newspaper. Visual adaptations were not included in the innovations. HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 149.

<sup>155</sup> LOVOLL, Odd S. Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1977, 27, pp. 77–100 [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27\\_5.htm](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_5.htm).

<sup>156</sup> However, it does not mean that the origin of the text should be without any interest. Although the editors conformed to their editorial language policy, no adaptations were applied to the vocabulary used in the contributions. It means that the personal choice of the words reflects the preferences of the individual correspondents and contributors. This is an interesting point for the research on English borrowings in the texts. The infiltration of English loanwords into the newspaper material is discussed more deeply in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

<sup>157</sup> The newspaper had a considerable number of correspondents in Norway who provided it with the news from the country. They reported on big issues as well as on local and even personal happenings.

<sup>158</sup> Generally, the proportion of the advertising was regarded as too high by the subscribers. The dissatisfaction of the readers with the volume of presented volume of advertisements led Anundsen to explain his motives in his journal. The relatively low price of the newspaper was his justifying argument for that. LOVOLL, Odd S. Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield

special parts devoted to children, young readers and women. Readers could contribute to the newspaper, too. Their articles and letters made the paper even more attractive for other subscribers. Sharing of experience and troubles among the readers helped them to cope with the difficulties of the immigrant's life. Readers' contributions reflected the personal perspective of the immigration in the US.

### Skandinaven

Skandinaven was founded in 1866 by three Norwegian immigrants: John Anderson, Knud Langeland and Iver Lawson. Originally it was issued as a weekly paper consisting of four pages. As the number of subscribers was growing, the range of editions extended, too. Weekly editions were expanded to semi-weekly twelve-page to sixteen-page editions published on Wednesday and Friday in 1898. There was also a daily evening issue of 8 pages and a Sunday edition of 16–24 pages which was launched in 1892. Due to its publishing in Chicago, it often became the first newspaper which Norwegian newcomers met on the American continent.<sup>159</sup> At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Skandinaven reached the largest circulation among the newspapers published in the Norwegian in the world.<sup>160</sup> In 1941 the paper merged with Decorah-Posten.

The journal followed a conservative editorial policy. However, the comparison with Decorah-Posten and Minneapolis Tidende reveals that Skandinaven contained some progressive features and it usually did not shun the problematic topics without comments.<sup>161</sup> Skandinaven supported the programme and ideals of the Republican Party in political affairs. In the church matters it was considered as an organ of the low-church Haugean movement. Similarly to Decorah-Posten, it also offered a literary monthly magazine, called 'Husbibliotek', in order to make the paper more attractive for its readers.

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Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1977, 27, pp. 77–100 [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27\\_5.htm](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_5.htm).

<sup>159</sup> The paper was distributed among immigrants free of charge at the Chicago station in hope to attract its future subscribers.

<sup>160</sup> The number of Skandinaven's subscribers was higher than the number of subscriber lists of any other Norwegian written journal even in Norway. The peak of circulation of Skandinaven was reached in 1912 with 53,742 issues of the semi-weekly edition and 24,540 issues of the daily edition. HANSEN, Jean Skogerboe. Skandinaven and the John Anderson Publishing Company. Norwegian. In: *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1979, 28, pp. 35–68. [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: <https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume28/Nor-Am%20Studies%20Vol%2028%20Article%20Two.pdf>.

<sup>161</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *Norske aviser i Amerika*. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2012. ISBN 9788230400838. P. 305.

The editors of *Skandinaven* started a special European edition in 1872 as a part of the business, too.<sup>162</sup> In contrast to the American editions, the issues for Norwegian and Danish markets did not involve any advertisements. It presented American news provided that they reported on personal happenings from the Norwegian-American settlements. The increasing demand of readers for the paper made it possible to extend the bi-weekly issue to a weekly issue. The European edition was ceased in the 1890s. Scandinavian readers gave finally preference to the regular editions published in the US which contained a wider range of news both from America and Scandinavia.<sup>163</sup> Nevertheless, the introduction of *Skandinaven* in Norway during the period of massive emigration to America had a positive effect on the growth of the number of subscribers in the US.

### Minneapolis Tidende

Minneapolis Tidende was published from 1887 in Minneapolis. It shared the main features of the previously mentioned journals, i.e. it was founded as a newspaper without any strong political or religious connections reporting on a wide range of topics both from the United States and the Scandinavian countries. It became popular for its literature reviews and contributions about Norwegian cultural events in the immigrant community. The paper reached its top in the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with a circulation of approximately 32,000 issues for the weekly edition and 6,500 issues for the daily edition. Minneapolis Tidende merged with Decorah-Posten in 1935.

Lovoll notices that contrary to the newspapers published in the rural areas of Northern America the content question of the journal was more demanding for the editors of Minneapolis Tidende. The newspaper was targeted on the Norwegian immigrant group in the urban district of the city of Minneapolis which consisted of various social groups and was much more complex than in other settlements.<sup>164</sup> The flourishing development and growth of the Norwegian immigrant community in Minneapolis resulted in the establishment of many Norwegian education, cultural and social institutions and organs including the Norwegian College and several schools in the city of Minneapolis and St. Olaf College in Northfield in Minnesota; Norwegian associations including the headquarter of ‘Sons of Norway’ in

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<sup>162</sup> No copies of the European issues of the immigrant press or detailed data about this publishing activity have been preserved. LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *Norske aviser i Amerika*. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2012. ISBN 9788230400838. P. 241.

<sup>163</sup> HANSEN, Jean Skogerboe. *Skandinaven and the John Anderson Publishing Company*. Norwegian. In: *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1979, 28, pp. 35–68. [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: <https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume28/Nor-Am%20Studies%20Vol%2028%20Article%20Two.pdf>.

<sup>164</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *Norske aviser i Amerika*. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2012. ISBN 9788230400838. P. 303.

Minneapolis; hospitals and business ran by the immigrants. Finding the right approach to the wide range of subscribers was essential for the success of the enterprise. The newspaper faced therefore a task of covering interest of a very wide spectrum and the editors had to show their talent for balancing the content of the journal.

### 4.3. Editors of the Norwegian-American newspapers

The role of the editor was quite different in Norway than in the immigrant community in the United States. While editors belonged to the elite and higher educated society in the homeland, the relation between them and readers of their newspaper in the United States was much more egalitarian. If the editors wanted to be successful in their publishing business, they had to identify with their readers. This was not a difficult obstacle for them because the majority of them had a rural background and experienced a similar life story as the subscribers of their papers. Many of them did not have any previous experience with publishing and editing from Norway nor received any special education. They had often been active as teachers and priests before they immigrated to the United States.<sup>165</sup> With the growing significance and influence of the newspaper business some of the editors gained a position of respected personalities of the Norwegian-American community. It was them who among others represented the intelligentsia. They were considered as promoters of the culture and opinion leaders. Following profiles introduce briefly the most prominent editors of The Big Three. They are ordered alphabetically.

**John Anderson** (1836–1910) immigrated with his parents to the United States at the age of nine and settled in Chicago. He experienced his first contact with the newspaper business when he worked as a carrier for the ‘Commercial Advertiser’ when he was twelve years old. Soon he also learned to set type. His formal education was very limited; he spent only one year at the Kinzie School. But this did not hinder him from becoming a successful and respected editor in the United States. In the 1850s and the 1860s he worked for several other newspapers. Finally, in 1866 he started *Skandinaven*.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> LOVOLL, Odd S. Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1977, 27, pp. 77–100 [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27\\_5.htm](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_5.htm).

<sup>166</sup> HANSEN, Jean Skogerboe. *Skandinaven and the John Anderson Publishing Company*. Norwegian. In: *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1979, 28, pp. 35–68. [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: <https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume28/Nor-Am%20Studies%20Vol%2028%20Article%20Two.pdf>.

**Brynild Anundsen** (1844–1913) was the founder of Decorah-Posten. He was born in a poor family in Norway where he also irregularly attended school. At the age of fifteen he started working in a printing shop where he learned the printer's trade. After he had immigrated to the United States, he got a job as a typesetter in a Norwegian-American newspaper. During the following periods he acquired the abilities of an editor, a printer and a publisher, too.<sup>167</sup> Gradually he became one of the most successful editors.

**Bernt Madssen Askevold** (1846–1926) became the first editor of Decorah-Posten after Anundsen's leadership. He was born in Norway where he also became active in publishing and teaching. Before he left Norway for America he had founded the newspaper 'Laksevåg Avis'. He believed that Norwegian written literature played an important role in the development of the Norwegian immigrant community and promoted both Norwegian and Norwegian-American writers in Decorah-Posten during his editorial leadership. Askevold himself wrote and published several stories, poems and religious books. His novel called 'Hun Ragnhild, a story of the Norwegian countryside' belongs to his most famous works.<sup>168</sup>

**Nikolai A. Grevstad** (1851–1940) became Scandinaven's fourth editor-in-chief in 1893. He spent his childhood in Norway where he also obtained a degree in law at the University of Christiania. Grevstad started his career as the editor in Dagbladet, one of the largest newspapers in Norway of that time. After he had immigrated to the United States in 1883, Grevstad worked for English-written newspapers in Minneapolis. He joined Skandinaven in 1892 and stayed till 1911. He edited the newspaper in its most prosperous period and enjoyed considerable influential power, too.<sup>169</sup>

**Thorvald Guldbrandsen** (1854) was born in Norway. After receiving education he came to Kristiania to get experience in book printing. After that he left for Hamburg and finally for the United States. He managed to use his previous experience and got a job as a typographer in American printing works. Later he joined the Skandinaven editorial staff for one year. After some time Guldbrandsen moved to Minneapolis where he started publishing Minneapolis Tidende. He proved to be a capable printer, publisher and businessman, too. Moreover he won position of a respected and renowned personality of the Norwegian-American cultural

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<sup>167</sup> NELSON, Olof Nickolaus. *History of the Scandinavians and successful Scandinavians in the United States*. Minneapolis, Minn.: O. N. Nelson & company, 1904, pp. 154–156.

<sup>168</sup> THORSON, Gerald H. First Sagas in a New World: A Study of The Beginnings of Norwegian-American Literature. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield, Minnesota, 1952, 17, pp. 108–129 [cit. 2017-09-14]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume17/vol17\\_5.html](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume17/vol17_5.html).

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

and social life. He tried to promote the Norwegian fatherland and nationality both by his own private activities and in the newspaper.<sup>170</sup>

**Carl G. O. Hansen** (1871–1960) immigrated as a ten-year-old boy with his parents to Minnesota. He was the last editor-in-chief of Minneapolis Tidende before the newspapers ceased its publishing. His newspaper contributions about music and especially the Scandinavian music gained great popularity among readers. The wide spectrum of his activities and functions are an evidence of his leading position in the cultural life in Minneapolis.<sup>171</sup> He participated for example in the activities of the organization ‘Sons of Norway’ as its educational director and the editor of its songbook.

**Knud Langeland** (1813–1886) was considered one of the most significant pioneer editors. He was born in Norway where he also received education. He spent several years teaching and working for the church and finally immigrated to the United States in 1843. Langeland edited several Norwegian-American newspapers but spent the longest period in Skandinaven. Under his editorial leadership the newspaper became a medium of heavy discussions about the current topics and matters in the society such as the slavery and church-controlled versus public education.<sup>172</sup>

**Kristian Prestgard** (1866–1944) was born in Norway and attended a folk high school both in Norway and Denmark. He started teaching in Denmark but later accepted a job in a newspaper editorial board in Norway. He came to America as a newspaper correspondent for an exhibition in Chicago and subsequently stayed in the United States. He continued his career as an editor in several newspapers in Minneapolis before he finally became a member of the editorial staff of Decorah-Posten; first as a co-editor and from 1923 he held the function of the chief editor.<sup>173</sup> Similarly to Johannes B. Wist, Prestgard also won social prestige among the Norwegian immigrant community and was active in other fields of activities, too. He wrote several books and co-founded organizations such as the Norwegian-American Historical Association.

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<sup>170</sup> WIST, Johannes B. (ed). *Norsk-amerikanernes festskrift, 1914*. Decorah, Iowa: Symra Co, 1914, pp. 105–107.

<sup>171</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land*. Minnesota: MHS Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-87351-796-6. P. 274.

<sup>172</sup> ANDERSEN, Arlow W. Knud Langeland: Pioneer Editor. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1944, 14, pp. 122–138 [cit. 2017-08-14]. Available at: [https://naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume14/vol14\\_6.htm](https://naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume14/vol14_6.htm).

<sup>173</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land*. Minnesota: MHS Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-87351-796-6. Pp. 150–151.

**Sigvart Sørensen** (1849) was born in Kristiania. He was educated at a private high school and then left Norway for Chicago with his parents. After his arrival in the US he started working for a bank company. In the following years, Sørensen became interested and engaged in journalism and was active in editorial teams of newspapers in the Midwest; among others Minneapolis Tidende. He was appreciated for his ability to formulate his opinions briefly and aptly.<sup>174</sup>

**Johannes B. Wist** (1864–1923) was born in Norway in a family of a farmer. He received education at a folk high school. Before he left for America Wist had worked as a private tutor and had even gained experience as a newspaper correspondent. Shortly after his arrival in the United States, he became engaged in the newspaper publishing business and started contributing to Norwegian written newspapers. In 1901 Wist joined Decorah-Posten and stayed there as the chief editor until 1923. During his editorship in Decorah-Posten he also participated in other projects, such as the establishment and redaction of the magazine ‘Symra’ and his own literary output.<sup>175</sup> Wist promoted the Norwegian-language culture in America. On the other hand he understood that the use of Norwegian as a written language of the immigrant community was just a transitional phase and one day English would completely substitute Norwegian in this function.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> WIST, Johannes B. (ed). *Norsk-amerikanernes festskrift, 1914*. Decorah, Iowa: Symra Co, 1914, pp. 108–109.

<sup>175</sup> LOVOLL, Odd Sverre. *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land*. Minnesota: MHS Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-87351-796-6, pp. 149–150.

<sup>176</sup> GULLIKSEN, Øyvind T. Johannes B Wist. In: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* [online]. 2009 [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: [https://nbl.snl.no/Johannes\\_B\\_Wist](https://nbl.snl.no/Johannes_B_Wist).

## EMPIRICAL PART

### 5. PRIMARY RESEARCH MATERIAL

There are several main material sources for the study of the Norwegian written standard and its development in Northern America. Common people did not use the written language very often, except for letters that were sent to their relatives and friends in Norway ('American letters'). Besides this personal source, the Norwegian written standard also appeared in religious books and textbooks, fiction and newspapers on the North American continent. Newspaper material shows the language form that was regulated by the policy of the editors but it reveals the personal input of the individual contributors, too. The latter can be examined in the sections devoted to the readers' contributions. These include greetings, questions, discussions about current topics and similar texts. Although Haugen points out that all articles from external contributors underwent proofreading by the editors and the spelling was corrected, the vocabulary was not adapted and can be therefore examined in the form as used by the immigrants.<sup>177</sup> This gives an interesting insight into the lexicon of the common people. The linguistic aspects of different levels of the newspaper material are analyzed in detail in following sections.

The volume of newspapers printed in the Norwegian language in the United States by immigrants is very extensive. In the period between 1847 when the first journal 'Nordlyset' was issued until 1972 when the publishing of the newspapers 'Decorah-Posten' was ceased, several hundred periodicals were issued by the Norwegian immigrant community.<sup>178</sup> According to Park, it was 458 Norwegian-American newspapers that were initiated in the period 1847–1918.<sup>179</sup>

For the purposes of the research, the three major Norwegian journals in the US were chosen: Decorah-Posten, Skandinaven and Minneapolis Tidende. The selection was motivated by several factors. The duration of their publishing and their national character are the prime ones. Besides, these papers circulated in the same region and partly overlapped in the geographical distribution. The choice of topics and the layout was also similar. The period

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<sup>177</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *Norsk i Amerika*. Oslo: Cappelen, 1975. ISBN 978-82-02-03199-2. P. 89.

<sup>178</sup> The full chronological overview of the Norwegian periodicals issued in the US can be found in NORLIE, Morgan Olaf. *Norwegian-Americana Papers 1847–1946*. Northfield: Eilron Mimeopress, 1946. Hansen and Wist (In: WIST, Johannes B. (ed). *Norsk-amerikanernes festskrift, 1914*. Decorah, Iowa: Symra Co, 1914.) discuss the journals and their editors. Andersen (ANDERSEN, Arlow W. The Norwegian-American Press. In: MILLER, Sally M. *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987. ISBN 9780313238796.) also divides them according to the place of publishing in his article.

<sup>179</sup> PARK, Robert E. *The Immigrant Press and its Control*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922, p. 322.

when these newspapers were published covers more than one hundred years, from the beginning of the extensive emigration from Norway in the 1860s until the point when the publishing of the individual papers was ceased (1972 for Decorah-Posten, 1941 for Skandinaven and 1935 for Minneapolis Tidende). The long period of existence of the journals ensures that enough material is available for the monitoring of gradual language changes and developments. This can be applied to both the external influence of English on Norwegian and the changes of the written Norwegian language itself. All these three journals were published for several decades after the launch of the fundamental orthographic and morphologic reform in 1907 in Norway, too. This fact enables to evaluate how the newspapers coped with the innovations in orthography and morphology in their texts.

The analyses are based on individual newspaper articles, written both by editors, foreign correspondents and external contributors from the reader base. The newspaper material is available on a microfilm in the National Library in Oslo. The first January issue and the first July issue of each of the newspapers in the respective year were studied. This gives a volume of 233 issues included in the analyses. The material consists of 109 issues of Decorah-Posten, 70 issues of Skandinaven and 54 issues of Minneapolis Tidende. The selected parts of the scanned material were transformed into PDF files for the research purposes.<sup>180</sup> The quality of the text depends on the quality of the initial scanning process. In several cases the scans were too dark or too light and could not be studied. However, in the total amount of the articles, the not included issues represent only a little fragment and have therefore only a negligible effect on the results of the research.

The choice of the particular articles was made as varied as possible. The selected items were divided into following content categories: Interior news (40.8% of the contributions); Foreign affairs (14.6% of the contributions); News from Scandinavia (30.3% of the contributions); Amusement and culture (2.1% of the contributions); Farm, house and kitchen (3.3% of the contributions); Readers' input (3.9% of the contributions); and Advertisements (5% of the contributions). None pure literary texts were included into the studied material. The aim of this wide coverage is to document the language on a broad spectrum of vocabulary fields without focusing on a specific category of the newspaper contributions. The content and topics of the issues from the individual newspapers repeated partly throughout the years. The January issues commented often the Christmas celebrations in Norway and in the US, evaluated the past year and discussed expectations of the starting year. The July issues

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<sup>180</sup> The material is not indexed which limits the possibilities of the fulltext search in the individual newspaper contributions. Several illustrating examples of the articles in PDF files from the three newspapers from different periods are attached as Attachment 1–6 .

included regularly reports on the celebrations of the Independence Day and harvest predictions. In this way some specific vocabulary appeared regularly in the contributions and its linguistic development could be observed. The selection of articles for the analyses was limited in some newspaper issues by the quality of the primary material. The best readable items in terms of quality of the stuff were used in such situations. It should also be mentioned here that the contributions that were published in the Norwegian-American newspapers were of a various origin. Editorials were produced and published by the editors of the respective newspapers. These reflected the opinions on and attitudes to the current issues in the society and politics of the newspaper or more precisely of the particular editor. A considerable part of the newspaper stuff was taken over from other sources. These involved extern correspondents in Scandinavia, service of news agencies and press releases of embassies. Not the whole material that appeared in the newspapers was originally available in Norwegian so it had to be translated first, too. This practice was common especially in case of interior American news and ‘foreign affairs’. Some of the published advertisements were written by the publishing company of the given newspaper but other advertisers were not excluded and their announcements appeared in the journals, too. Subscribers who sent their letters to the newspapers applied their dialects and idiolects to their writings. However, the different origin of the articles and contributions was not subjected to any special attention nor it played any role in their treatment in the analyses in the study because all texts underwent the common process of proofreading in the newspapers.

Each section of the Chapters 7 and 8 deals with a specific topic and the development of the feature is presented throughout the time of the publishing of the newspaper. The whole publishing era of the chosen Norwegian newspapers was divided into several periods covering usually 10–15 years. The periods involve all significant turns of the Norwegian history and changes in the Norwegian society to document the possible influence of social and/or historical events on the language development. The particular publishing periods of The Big Three were specified as follows: 1887–1899, 1900–1910, 1930–1945 and 1955–1972. The analyses start with the January issue of 1887 when the youngest newspaper of The Big Three, Minneapolis Tidende, was established. The first stage 1887–1899 covers the time of the massive increase in the Norwegian immigration in the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and presents the early beginnings of all the three newspapers. The second section 1900–1910 involves the launch of the significant spelling reform in Norway (the reform of 1907). The third period 1930–1945 includes the introduction of several other important spelling adaptations in Norway. During that time, all the Norwegian spelling reforms of the first half

of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (the spelling of 1907, 1917 and 1938) were already codified. The publishing of two of the newspapers ceased in this period: Minneapolis Tidende in 1935 (the last studied issue included in the research is from January 1935) and Skandinaven in 1941 (the last studied issue included in the research is from January 1941). Both newspapers were finally incorporated into Decorah-Posten.<sup>181</sup> The last period 1955–1972 covers the final stage of the Norwegian publishing activity in the United States. The Norwegian spelling in Europe in the post-war era was affected by the continuing idea of the fusion of Bokmål and Nynorsk. However, the American variety of the Norwegian language does not seem to be strongly influenced by the latest linguistic development in Norway.

The particular features of the analyses are studied in the three newspapers separately in the above stated periods with a final summary presenting the main points for all the three newspapers together. As an extension of the global analysis, a qualitative analysis of selected contributions from each of the newspapers and periods is presented with the aim to show the examination process more in detail, to underline its specifics and especially to put the linguistic features into a sociocultural context.

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<sup>181</sup> Minneapolis Tidende merged with Decorah-Posten in 1935; Skandinaven was taken over by Decorah-Posten in 1941.

## 6. LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES

Language heritage was a natural part of the cultural heritage that immigrants brought to their new homeland. In case of Norwegians coming to the US, it is necessary to point out the fact that there was a significant difference between the spoken and written language in Norway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As a consequence of the historical development of the country, there was no official written Norwegian standard. Instead, the Danish language was used as the written standard in Norway. The written language was mainly the language of officials, clergy, newspapers and institutions and it was taught at school. Contrary to it, Norwegian dialects of the respective areas were used for the daily spoken communication. The spoken language was regionally stratified and people from a given valley, fjord or district spoke their dialect with its distinctive features. The written and spoken forms of the language were strictly separated and were not mixed up. As Haugen sums up, the situation in Norway was a typical example of diglossia.<sup>182</sup> The oral language will be hereafter left aside and its further development will not be considered as the research focuses on the written form only.

### 6.1. Norwegian written standard and its development

The Norwegian written standard has undergone several substantial orthographic reforms since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its development resulted in two official written standards for Norwegian, so-called Bokmål and Nynorsk (originally known as respectively Riksmål and Landsmål; renamed in 1929). The main newspapers in the United States did not reflect Nynorsk in their spelling.<sup>183</sup> The ideological reasons that led to the creation of two Norwegian

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<sup>182</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *Norsk i Amerika*. Oslo: Cappelen, 1975. ISBN 978-82-02-03199-2. P. 77.

<sup>183</sup> According to Sunde (SUNDE, Arne. *A Minority within a Minority: The Promotion of Nynorsk in the United States, 1900–1920*. *Norwegian-American Studies*, 34, Northfield, Minnesota, 1995, pp. 171–199) several factors led to the weak position of Nynorsk in the United States. Most of the Norwegians who settled down in the US had been exposed to the Dano-Norwegian standard at school. In their new homeland, they established schools, church institutions and publishing houses that continued in this linguistic tradition. Any further development of Nynorsk in the United States was also limited by conditions that were different from the situation in Norway. The context of the Nynorsk movement was irrelevant for the immigrants in the US. Immigrants had to face English and the challenge to preserve one standard seemed demanding enough. Kristian Prestgard who favoured the Nynorsk-movement in Norway admitted that: “We are too busy keeping alive the language form which after all has become ours to think about transferring the Norwegian language controversy to America. That would be suicide.” (HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 176) Therefore supporters of Nynorsk in America formed a very small group of immigrants. Even though Hallaråken (HALLARÅKER, Peter. *The Position of Nynorsk in the Norwegian-American Press*. In: URELAND, P. Sture, CLARKSON, Iain (eds). *Language Contact across the North Atlantic: Proceedings of the Working Groups held at the University College, Galway (Ireland), 1992 and the University of Göteborg (Sweden), 1993*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996, ISBN 978-3-11-092965-2. P. 277.) mentions a few newspapers and magazines published in Nynorsk in the United States (‘Norrøna’, ‘Dølen’, ‘Ny verd’), the vast majority of the editors tried to target on as many subscribers as possible and therefore Bokmål was a natural choice for them.

written standards were not relevant for the Norwegians in the US. That is why only the reforms of Bokmål will be discussed in following paragraphs.<sup>184</sup>

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the written language in Norway underwent several substantial orthographic reforms which led to the forming of written Norwegian.<sup>185</sup> The first attempts of spelling regulation in Norway were launched in 1862. The adaptations approved in this reform were prepared by Knud Knudsen.<sup>186</sup> It was the first attempt to distinguish the written Norwegian from the written Danish.<sup>187</sup> The reform introduced three main innovations. It revoked double vocals used to mark the length of the vocals, e.g. Hus (Huus)<sup>188</sup>, Mil (Miil). The silent ‘e’ at the end of a word disappeared: faa (faae). Knudsen also regulated the spelling of some loanwords. Non-Norwegian letters were substituted by letters of a Norwegian origin: Karakter (Charakteer), Filosof (Philosoph).

The reform from the year 1907 became a significant break between the written Norwegian standard and the written Danish standard.<sup>189</sup> The main point of the reform was the introduction of Norwegian unvoiced occlusives *p/t/k* (skap, mat, kake) instead of the Danish

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<sup>184</sup> For a detailed overview of the reforms see the respective spelling handbooks: AARS, Jonathan. *Ordlister til norsk rettskrivning*. Kristiania: Fabritius & Sønner, 1907; AARS, Jonathan; HOFGAARD, Simon Wright. *Norske Rettskrivnings-regler med alfabetiske Ordlistor*. Godkjendte av Kirkedepartementet ved skrivelse av 25de juni 1907. Kristiania: W. C. Fabritius & Sønner A/S, 1907; HOFGAARD, Simon Wright. *En liten norsk grammatik ved S. W. Hofgaard, skolebestyrer*. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1909; *Den nye rettskrivning. Regler og ordlistor*. Utarbeidet ved Den departementale rettskrivningskomite. Kristiania: Det Mallingske Bogtrykkeri, 1918; *Ny rettskrivning 1938: bokmål: regler og ordliste, utarbeidd etter tiltak av Kirke og undervisningsdepartementet*. Oslo: Olaf Norlis forlag, 1938; *Ny læreboknormal 1959. Utgitt av Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet*. Oslo: Olaf Norlis Forlag 1959; St.meld. nr. 100 (1980–1981), bind 3f, *Endringer. i rettskrivningen og læreboknormalen for bokmål. Rettskrivningsendringer fra 1. juli 2005. Fastsatt ved brev fra Kultur- og kirke departementet 16. februar 2005*. Oslo: Norsk språkråd, 2005.

<sup>185</sup> The reforms are introduced by Haugen through the theory of language planning in his work ‘Language Conflict and Language Planning’ (1966).

<sup>186</sup> Knud Knudsen was a teacher. He saw the language problem as a pedagogical problem. Children found it difficult to learn a written language which was very different from both the official spoken standard (called den dannede dagligtale – “educated casual style”, urban upper-class speech) and dialects. Knudsen aimed for the phonemic orthography of Norwegian, i.e. the written form of a word should correspond with its pronunciation, and the gradual Norwegianization of the language. LUNDEBY, Einar. Knud Knudsen – riksmålets fader, bokmålets bestefar. In: *Språknytt* [online]. Oslo: Språkrådet, 1995 [accessed 2016-05-12]. Available at: [http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Publikasjoner/Spraaknytt/Arkivet/Spraaknytt\\_1995/Spraaknytt-1995-4/Knud-Knudsen/](http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Publikasjoner/Spraaknytt/Arkivet/Spraaknytt_1995/Spraaknytt-1995-4/Knud-Knudsen/). The term Norwegianization can be used in two different meanings: introduction of Norwegian elements into the language or effort to assimilate the Sami linguistically into the Norwegian society. The first meaning of the word is relevant for this study.

<sup>187</sup> Norway lost its written standard during the union time with Denmark (until 1814). Danish was used as the written standard instead. In 1814, Norway was forced to enter a union with Sweden (until 1905). During this union period, Danish continued to be used as the official written language and the language of the public administration.

<sup>188</sup> The former spelling is added in the parentheses.

<sup>189</sup> The paragraph is based on AARS, Jonathan; HOFGAARD, Simon Wright. *Norske Rettskrivnings-regler med alfabetiske Ordlistor*. Godkjendte av Kirkedepartementet ved skrivelse av 25de juni 1907. Kristiania: W. C. Fabritius & Sønner A/S, 1907 and BUNDLE, Oscar et al. *The Nordic Languages. An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005. ISBN 3-11-017149-X.

voiced occlusives *b/d/g* (skab, mad, kage) particularly after a long vowel.<sup>190</sup> The norm codified the coexistence of variable forms of some words (bok x bog, bot x bod, haap x haab), especially in the cases when the pronunciation of the words was varying in different regions. In compound words and derivatives, voiced consonants were preserved: hovedsagelig (x sak), indflydelse (x flyte), rigdom (x rik), skaber (x skape). The rule of voiced/unvoiced consonants was not applied to expressions of a foreign origin. To lower the number of homographs that emerged after this change, double consonants were introduced after a short vowel, e.g. sott (Sot). As the result of the reform, some words got a shortened form, i.e. far (fader), mor (moder), spar (spader). Morphology was revised in the reform of 1907, too. Norwegian suffixes for plural and preterite replaced the Danish morphemes<sup>191</sup>: hus (huse), pengere (penge), skolene (skolerne); kastet (kastede), svaret (svarede).

The innovations launched in the reform of 1907 were accepted relatively quickly. The Norwegian society was just in favour of patriotism after the union with Sweden had been dismissed in 1905. The language adaptations leading towards the establishment of a more Norwegian written standard were therefore introduced at the right moment as there was a high chance for their implementation due to the social context. The reform was officially regarded as accepted when *Aftenposten*, the most important newspaper in Norway of that time, applied the new orthography and the morphology adaptations to its spelling policy in 1923.

The next reform was launched ten years later, in 1917. The changes that had been presented in the reform of 1907 were assessed as insufficient. Moreover, the newly planned reform was meant as the start of so-called unification process of the two varieties of the Norwegian written language with “samnorsk” as the desired final result. The changes from 1917 were not based on the “educated casual speech” any more but on the speech of common people. Following elements were introduced to distinguish the written Norwegian standard from Danish more deeply<sup>192</sup>:

- Norwegian diphthongs (*au*, *ei*, *øi*) appeared in words describing the Norwegian environment: hauk (hak), bein (ben), eik (eg), lauv (løv)
- feminine gender was introduced in Old Norwegian words and in fauna and flora vocabulary: ei bru, ei geit, ei eik
- *aa* changed into *å*: båt (baat), håp (haap)

<sup>190</sup> The roots of this innovation go back to the work of Knut Knudsen who already suggested the shift of the Danish voiced consonants *b/d/g* to Norwegian unvoiced occlusives. But the change was officially codified in the reform from 1907.

<sup>191</sup> Danish forms are given in the parentheses.

<sup>192</sup> Based on *Den nye rettskrivning. Regler og ordlister*. Utarbeidet ved Den departementale rettskrivningskomite. Kristiania: Det Mallingske Bogtrykkeri, 1918.

- *nn/ll* substituted *nd/ld*: mann (mand), innflytelse (indflydelse), fylle (fylde), snill (snild)
- *e* replaced *æ* in many words: lenge (længe), menn (mænd)

The reform from the year 1938 was even more radical than the preceding ones. The main innovation of the reform was the introduction of a two-level optional system. The reform codified “equal forms” (also called “double forms”) on the one hand and “main forms” and “side forms”<sup>193</sup> on the other hand. The aim was to strengthen and accelerate the convergence process of Bokmål and Nynorsk. While both variants of the equal forms were permitted in all kinds of written material, the main form was compulsory for the administration and textbook standards. However, students and pupils were allowed to use the side forms in their writings. Many of the former optional side forms were lifted and the main forms became the only permitted forms in 1938. The main innovating points of the reform for Bokmål are the following<sup>194</sup>:

- obligatory forms with diphthongs: beite, fleis, løype, naue; especially words pertaining the Norwegian environment (nature, lifestyle, traditions) got a compulsory diphthong: breie, gauk (gøg) geit (ged), reinsdyr (rensdyr), staup, steinet (stenet)
- except for the obligatory forms with diphthongs a lot of words had a double form: alene/aleine, auke/øke, dauv/døv, fløyte/fløte, heit/het
- unvoiced consonants became compulsory in many words<sup>195</sup>: dåp (dåb), forlatelse (forladelse), kjøtt (kød), rikdom (rigdom), skip (skib), språk (sprog), vitenskap (videnskab), nyte (nyde)
- double consonants appeared in preterite and past perfect: breidde – breidd (bredte – bredt), snøydde – snøydd (snød – snydt)
- *ld/nd* in modal verbs changed into *ll/nn*: vill (vilde), kunne (kunde)
- pronouns mig/dig/sig changed into meg/deg/seg
- convergence forms of selected words were launched: fram (frem), nå (nu), etter (efter), snø (sne), språk (sprog)

<sup>193</sup> The side forms are also known as parentheses forms (‘klammeformer’ in Norwegian) because they were marked by parenthesis in the spelling list.

<sup>194</sup> Based on *Ny rettskrivning 1938: bokmål: regler og ordliste, utarbeidd etter tiltak av Kirke og undervisningsdepartement*. Oslo: Olaf Norlis forlag, 1938.

<sup>195</sup> The voiced consonant were preserved in the words where the consonants were followed by *d(e)r/l/m/n* such as dybde, bedre, koble, fedme, skjebne.

Several innovations of morphology were also included in the reform of 1938:

- approximately 1,000 substantives got the compulsory feminine suffix in the definite singular form: sola, fura, marihøna, pæra, fjødsla, flaska, pølsa, helsa, heksa, skjorta, krona
- the plural suffix *-a* was launched as obligatory for a group of neuter gender substantives: banda, beina, golva, staupa, vatna

The Norwegian spelling and its reforms remained the point of discussions during the whole second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The policy of the language convergence was stopped by the Bokmål reform in 1981. After that, a number of earlier lifted forms were permitted again. The development was completed by the most recent reform in 2005. Since that year, both Bokmål and Nynorsk have been regulated independently.

## **6.2. Language preservation in Norwegian-American newspapers**

It is generally concluded that because the language planning theory is limited in the scope for the studying of the language attitudes and ideology, the space is open for the application of the language management theory. As already mentioned the language management theory involves management of socio-economic problems, too. This perspective reveals some facts about the relationship to and the interest in the development of the Norwegian language in Europe as it was experienced by Norwegians in the United States and reflected in their real written texts. The textual material from the newspapers from The Big Three shows that the original Norwegian-Danish orthographical and morphological forms were continually followed despite the launch and implementation of fundamental spelling reforms in Norway. There are several reasons why they did so. The readers of the immigrant newspapers were conservative by disposition. They regarded the newspaper as something stable and unchangeable, as an invariable point in their new life. Any surprises and novelties were neither expected nor welcome. Immigrants struggled with acquirement of the English language and therefore it seems quite understandable that they did not want to hinder themselves by acquiring new forms of their own mother language.<sup>196</sup> Moreover, there were important ideological reasons for that practice. The written standard was a part of the heritage that connected the immigrants with their homeland. The inclination to the Norwegian-Danish written standard is a demonstration of the effort of building national identity and awareness through the language preservation in the immigrant community in the US. Language is a chief

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<sup>196</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *Norsk i Amerika*. Oslo: Cappelen, 1975. ISBN 978-82-02-03199-2. P. 89.

factor in forming of national identity. The importance of having a language for a nation became a topic in Prestgard's column called 'Gnister' ('Sparks' in English). He was considering the (dis)advantages of a world language. Even though such a concept might be useful according to him, he called it "the biggest disaster that would affect the mankind" at the same time.<sup>197</sup>

"A nation, because it is never too small, has a right to have its own language. The language is the most valuable possessions of the people. It is only in the language that the people created during a long period and in the environment they lived in, they can express their innermost and holly feelings, desires and thoughts. A people's language must be more than "a means of making oneself understandable" to strangers".<sup>198</sup>

The written standard of the Norwegians in the United States became an expression of their affiliation with the Norwegian ethnicity. When building the Norwegian-American identity it was natural for the immigrants to identify themselves with the 'old' variety of the written language that they had acquired before leaving their home country. A large portion of the Norwegian immigrants arrived in the period prior to the launch of the reform of 1907. This means that most of them were taught Danish as the written standard at school in the home country and understood it consequently as a part of their identity. In Norway, national building efforts were taking place at the same time. But the different sociocultural setting of these activities led to different actions and results. The goal in Norway was to create a language that would be used as a token of the Norwegian nation. On the other hand, the immigrants in the United States wanted to self-determine themselves as a national group towards the dominant English-speaking society. In this respect it was neither necessary, not desirable to distinguish their written language from the standard used in Norway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The editor of Decorah-Posten Prestgard summarized it in his book:

"It is natural to think that Norwegians everywhere they live and build are the same for people who live just where the Norwegian language arises and who see neologisms shooting up round them. They don't take into account that a colony society always falls behind the mother country. But the people here in the Northwest who came in the last half of the last century still live in the Norwegian linguistic

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<sup>197</sup> PRESTGARD, Kristian. Om Sprog og sligt. *Decorah-Posten*. Decorah, Iowa: Anundsen Publishing Company, January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1945, (18).

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

forms which they brought when they came from Norway in their youth. They did not have any share in the language home relocation in the old homeland.”<sup>199</sup>

The editors of the immigrant newspapers were probably aware of the readers’ conservative attitude and therefore contemplated any spelling changes carefully. The following example documents such language management. A negative reaction of the subscribers that was expected by the editors of The Big Three as a consequence of an updated spelling led to a proposal to implement some of the changes in all the three newspapers at the same time:

“Do you believe the time is come for the three leading Norwegian papers in this country to get a little more in line with the common usage in Norway in the matter of spelling and types?”<sup>200</sup>

This statement is an explicit illustration of an attempt of organized language management that was finally not completed. Although the editors *noted* that the graphic form and spelling of their newspaper did not correspond with the contemporary form in Norway and *evaluated* it as something old-fashioned and therefore as a negative feature, they decided not to change it, i.e. not to *plan any adjustments* in order to bring their style and spelling closer to the form used in Europe. Neither the stage of *adjustment planning* nor the *implementation* phase was carried out in 1929 when the question was discussed. It took several decades more before the spelling and types got “a little more in line with the common usage in Norway” to use the words of the editor of Skandinaven. However, by that time the form was old-fashioned again because it reflected the features of the 1907-reform but not the features of the more current reforms from 1917 and 1938.

Last but not least, an economic motivation factor strengthened the language preservation, too. If the spelling of Norwegian newspapers in the United States underwent progressive adaptations leading to the use of purer Norwegian forms, the newspapers would probably lose their Danish subscribers. This problem is discussed in the ‘Norsk-

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<sup>199</sup> PRESTGARD, Kristian. *Fra Heidal til Decorah. Veien jeg gikk*. Oslo: Snøhetta forlag, 1996. ISBN 9788291375069. P. 160. Translated by Pavla Bartásková from the original text: “For folk som lever nettopp hvor det norske sprog blir til, og ser det skyter opp nydannelser rundt omkring sig, er det naturlig å tro at nordmenn, hvor de een bygge og bor, er i samme kasus. De tenker ikke på, at et kolonisamfund, i forhold til moderlandet, altid blir liggende tilbake. Men folk her i nordvesten, som kom hit i den siste del av forrige århundre, lever ennu i de norske sprogformer, de hadde med sig, da de i sin ungdom kom fra Norge. De har ingen andel hatt i den sproglige heimflytting i det gamle heimland.”

<sup>200</sup> ØVERLAND, Orm. *The Western Home: A Literary History of Norwegian America*. Northfield Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1996. ISBN 0-252-02327-7. Pp. 372–373. The suggestion was made by the editor of Skandinaven, Nicolay A. Grevstad, in a letter sent in 1929 to the editor of Decorah-Posten, Kristian Prestgard.

Amerikanernes festskrift 1914'.<sup>201</sup> The Norwegian-American press was connected with Danish immigrants in the US since its early beginnings. There were Danish editors and publishers who worked for the Norwegian-American newspapers. And the Norwegian-American press spread through the Danish immigrant community, too. This is due to the fact that the Norwegian migration to America was more substantial already around the mid-1850s while the Danish migration started growing in the 1870s. There was thus a longer tradition of the Norwegian written newspapers and these were more attractive due to their richer content and their language did mean any linguistic barrier for Danes. Especially the largest Norwegian written newspapers were subscribed by Danish immigrants in America, too. The Norwegian leading newspapers reached several thousand Danish subscribers in the readers' base. Therefore the possible impact of spelling adaptations in the newspapers on the Danish readership had to be carefully considered by the editorial board, too. Wist mentioned this matter in his overview of the Norwegian press in the United States:

“The fact that the Norwegian newspapers have to count on a partially Danish audience makes the question of their transition to a newer Norwegian spelling to a not insignificant economic problem.”<sup>202</sup>

All these points were a part of considerations of the newspaper editorial boards when setting their internal language policies. Contrary to common language users that could implement some language items in the frame of their language management spontaneously, the process was fully conscious in case of the newspaper policy. In accordance with the language management theory, the process of language management begins ideally at the stage of the individual language users (subscribers and contributors of the given newspaper in this case). To summarize the above discussed language management performed by the editorial boards the main characteristics defined by Nekvapil (see pp. 19–20 in Chapter 1 of this thesis) can be applied here:

- The language policy results from the ideologies, (economic) interests and objectives of the newspaper: the ideology of nation identity played a prominent role in the

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<sup>201</sup> WIST, Johannes B (ed.). *Norsk-amerikanernes festskrift, 1914*. Decorah, Iowa: Symra Co, 1914, p. 80. The book was published on the occasion of the hundred anniversary of the Norwegian Constitution. Its editor Johannes B. Wist expresses in the preface that the book is meant as a contribution of the Norwegian-Americans to the celebration of the essential moment in the Norwegian history. He wishes to offer a presentation of some of the great deeds of Norwegian-Americans that would be an interesting reading for Norwegians on both sides of the ocean. A large proportion of the book was dedicated to the development of the Norwegian-American press.

<sup>202</sup> WIST, Johannes B., ed. *Norsk-amerikanernes festskrift, 1914*. Decorah, Iowa: Symra Co, 1914, p. 80. Translated from the Norwegian original by Pavla Bartásková.

preservation of the Norwegian-Danish written tradition as well as the commercial motivation of the publishers.

- The social network is wide and involves performers from the editorial staff, readership and language experts.
- The strategies of the management are discussed in the public and among the individual performers language management: the situation of the written standard was discussed both among the editors in their mutual correspondence and through their contributions to the newspaper that were meant to involve the readership.
- The language standard of the newspaper is managed as a system rather than management of every single linguistic item.

Nevertheless, there was also a factor that had an impact of a reverse character on the language development than the above mentioned. During the blossoming stage of the Norwegian press in the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was a constant stream of emigrants from Norway. All of them came to the United States with the contemporary version of the written language in Norway. The language of immigrants in Northern America was hence regularly updated by the newcomers. The editors who came to the US later were less bound by the Danish-Norwegian linguistic form than the older generation and their journals also reflected a more modern version of the Norwegian written standard.<sup>203</sup> It means that when reading the Norwegian-American newspapers from various periods, a wide range of language expressions and forms can be identified, from purely Danish forms to new Norwegian ones.<sup>204</sup> Lovoll also argues that the time factor is interconnected with geography. When the newspapers published in the Midwest are compared with newspapers published in the districts of a more recent immigration waves, a slight difference in the language forms can be monitored. The editors of the newspapers from the Midwest stayed more conservative in the spelling and continued in the tradition of the Danish-Norwegian spelling.<sup>205</sup> Haugen points out that it was mainly the smaller local newspapers that incorporated the new spelling in the post-war years but they were hardly able

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<sup>203</sup> LOVOLL, Odd S. Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1977, 27, pp. 77–100 [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27\\_5.htm](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_5.htm).

<sup>204</sup> In the thesis I will refer to the written language of Norwegian immigrants as to “Norwegian”. However, the Norwegian written standard did not exist when the emigration from Norway started. The beginning of the development of a modern Norwegian language dates to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Various names of the written form used in Norway before that can be therefore found in the corresponding literature (Dano-Norwegian, Danish, Rigsmaal).

<sup>205</sup> LOVOLL, Odd S. Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1977, 27, pp. 77–100 [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27\\_5.htm](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_5.htm).

to keep it consistent as they often could not afford to pay for a proper proofreading. Some of the published contributions were taken from the news service provided by the Norwegian embassy or from the press and news agencies from Norway and was not subjected to spelling adaptations in the Norwegian-American press. Moreover, the new forms seemed not to be very disruptive for the subscribers because many of them had already faced the new spelling in their home country.<sup>206</sup>

### 6.3. Attitudes to the development of Norwegian in the US

The form of the Norwegian language in the United States and its development became a topic of heavy discussions on various levels, too. The impact of English, future of Norwegian in the immigrant community and changes of the Norwegian written standard were commented by editors and other more or less linguistically competent people. The analysis is limited to question of the language standard in the press in this study but it is obvious that the same happened in other fields where the Norwegian language appeared such as literature and publishing industry, education and religion. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that are considered as a transitional period of the Norwegian-American immigrant community in the United States there were arguments both for and against the infiltrations of English and the increasing significance of English at school and at church, (non)integration of the then modern forms of the Norwegian spelling and the process of the Americanization self. In that time, it was already generally understood that Americanization of the Norwegians in the US is an inevitable process, including its consequences for the language. But various attitudes and approaches were taken to it. Nicolay Grevstad who was the editor of *Skandinaven* in the period 1892–1911 supported the idea of quick and thorough Americanization of the Norwegian immigrants while the best of their traits should be preserved. His persuasion was also demonstrated in the editorial work in *Skandinaven* when he regularly published some articles in English in each of the issues. The Danish journalist Henrik Cavling represented another opinion group. He was rather sceptic about Grevstad's vision of the Americanization of Scandinavians in the United States. According to Cavling Americanization should not be a forced process that would cause a loss of the best national features but rather a natural process that develops spontaneously.<sup>207</sup> Reverend J. N. Kildahl explained in his contribution published in the magazine 'Symra' the importance of

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<sup>206</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 148.

<sup>207</sup> CAVLING, Henrik. *Fra Amerika: Del 2*. Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske boghandels forlag, P. Petersens bogtrykkeri, 1897, pp. 241–243. Cavling also found Grevstad's contributions in *Skandinaven* written in the English language meaningless because they did not have any big target group of readers.

establishing Norwegian schools in the United States where the young could also gain a positive attitude to their fatherland. According to him the transition from Norwegian-Americans to Americans was a certain and inevitable process. But like Cavling, Kildahl emphasized the cautious, slow, sane and natural character of it.<sup>208</sup> In Reverend A. J. Hulteng's view a period will come in the far future when it is necessary to found Lutheran congregations where English is used as the language of communication because a part of the Norwegian immigrants will not understand Norwegian language any more. But he is of the opinion that Norwegian as the language of the church should be preserved as long as possible. The language bears some heritage values that would be at least partially lost when it would not be used any longer. Therefore it is the task of the teachers at the Norwegian schools to motivate students and make them enthusiastic about learning the language of their parents and grandparents.<sup>209</sup> One more supporter of preservation of Norwegian as the language of the church is pastor Kristen Kvamme. In his contribution to *Symra* he praised the Norwegian-American church for the activities that interconnected the immigrants in the new country. These were for examples schools founded by the church, books and newspapers published by the congregations and the influence in the education that the church enjoyed. Kvamme believed that Norwegian would remain the language of the church in the coming period, too.<sup>210</sup> On the other hand, Luth Jaeger who worked as an editor of the newspaper 'Budstikken' advocated that the Norwegian language did not have the "domiciliary right" in the United States.<sup>211</sup> He also found that the activities undertaken in order to preserve Norwegian at church, at school and in associations were forbidding immigrants to become a complete American citizen who would know not only his or her own rights but also the civic duties. Norwegian activities ('norskarbeidet' in the original Norwegian text) lead to confusion between the old and new, Norwegian and American. The language of the Norwegian youth in the United States is English in Jaeger's view. It is interesting to add one more polemic that

<sup>208</sup> KILDAHL, J. N. Lidt om hvad de norske i Amerika har udrettet for kirke og skole. *Symra: En aarbog for norske paa begge sider af havet*. Decorah, Iowa: Decorah-posten's trykkeri, 1905, (1), pp. 65–71, p. 70. 'Symra – An Annual for Norwegians on Both Sides of the Sea' was a periodical magazine published annually in the period 1905-1914. Kristian Prestgard and Johannes B. Wist were the editors. The magazine was started with the intention to interconnect Norwegians living in Europe and America but to interconnect compatriots living in the United States, too. The essays in *Symra* covered topics focused on the Norwegian heritage such as literature, language, church and history. LOVOLL, Odd S. Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper. *Norwegian-American Studies* [online]. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1977, 27, 77–100 [accessed 2016-08-13]. Available at: [https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27\\_5.htm..](https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_5.htm..)

<sup>209</sup> HULTENG, A. J. Norskarbeidet og kirken IV. *Symra: En aarbog for norske paa begge sider af havet*. Decorah, Iowa: Decorah-posten's trykkeri, 1913, (9), pp. 193–195.

<sup>210</sup> KWAMME, Kristen. Norskarbeidet og kirken II. *Symra: En aarbog for norske paa begge sider af havet*. Decorah, Iowa: Decorah-posten's trykkeri, 1913, (9), pp. 110–115.

<sup>211</sup> JAEGER, Luth. Norskarbeidet og ungdommen III. *Symra: En aarbog for norske paa begge sider af havet*. Decorah, Iowa: Decorah-posten's trykkeri, 1913, (9), pp. 171–173.

Jaeger took part in. In 1881 he strongly criticized another editor of the newspaper 'Folkebladet' (published in Minneapolis). The comment was focused on the way how Professor Sven Oftedal treated Norwegian in his writings. Jaeger found that Oftedal incorporated far too many English words into the Norwegian written language. In connection with his previously mentioned contribution from Symra from 1913, his statement from Budstikken from 1881 shows how much his opinion changed during the three decades. According to his older statement Oftedal should – from his position of the teacher, editor and professor of theology – always produce the best possible form of the Norwegian language that would be an example to follow for the young generation.<sup>212</sup> However, three decades later, English was seen as the language of the future for Norwegians in the United States, according to Jaeger.

Editors of the newspapers also regularly expressed their opinions in their editorials, like e.g. Kristian Prestgard did in his editorial in Decorah-Posten. He was dealing with the statement of an anonymous editor who called himself Botanicus<sup>213</sup>. Botanicus claimed that “[n]o one expects that Norwegian American speech should be free of mixture, but newspapers, which should be leaders in this field, ought to avoid to the best of their ability and as long as possible any turns of phrase that are too bad”<sup>214</sup>. Prestgard agreed with Botanicus and said that: “[...] far too many of those who work in the Norwegian language think in English when they write Norwegian or imagine they do, which may be something quite different”.<sup>215</sup> On the other hand, the necessity and usefulness of English loanwords if incorporated with moderation were stressed by an unknown editor of the 'Norsk-amerikansk Handbog for Skandinaven'. The loanword fits in some contexts better into the vocabulary gap in the immigrant's language than a neologism which would be hardly understood outside the community. Similarly, words from the native language with an extended meaning could cause misunderstandings.<sup>216</sup> Loanwords can be a suitable device in such situations.

Following statements and comments show the discussions and arguments focused on the changes of the Norwegian standard in the US. Prestgard belonged to the supporters of the language development in the line of the reform that had been accepted in Norway in 1907. He

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<sup>212</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *Blessing of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning. Problems and Pleasures*. Berling; New York; Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987. ISBN 978-3-11-086296-6. P. 35.

<sup>213</sup> Botanicus published his contributions in a column called Sprogets Vildblomster (Wildflowers of the Language) in the period December 1929 – April 1930. These were based on examples of language use as it appeared in the immigrant press. HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 134.

<sup>214</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 135.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

both wished and believed that the development would be reflected in the newspapers soon, too:

“It is only a question of time when the press – which oddly enough always comes last in these matters – gradually shall begin to reform its language. Certain Norwegian journalists have predicted that if the Landsmaal is introduced in Norway, Norwegian newspapers in America will have to take their Norwegian news from Danish newspapers. Such a situation already exists in part, not because of the “introduction” of Landsmaal, but because of the reforms in spelling of the Norwegian Rigsmaal. But such a situation is untenable.”<sup>217</sup>

Prestgard also enlightened the readership about the current linguistic development in Norway in his editorial texts. These reveal his positive attitude to the changes in the direction of a variety of Norwegian that would be more independent on the Danish language. For example, in a short text published in Decorah-Posten in 1945 he wrote:

“But so there has been a revolutionary *fornorsking* of Rigsmaalet in the last two generations. Whether it has been conscious or not for all parties, the result of this process has been to create Norway a language that was full-fledged Norwegian and neither Danish nor Swedish or anything else.”<sup>218</sup>

Criticizing comments on the ignoring position of the newspapers concerning the language problem were also coming from different experts dealing with language in other fields than the press. Peter J. Eikeland who was the head of St. Olaf College found that the efforts invested in the spreading of the new forms of the Norwegian language through education were heavily weakened by the attitude of the newspapers:

“Among the many and great hindrances which the teaching of Norwegian in this country has had to battle with in the last 20–30 years, the press is one of the very worst ... The schools have tried to keep up with movements in Norway, but the press has carried on the in the same rut ... The large newspapers have been the worst, and Skandinaven the *very* worst ... Now it appears that the press begins to feel that a

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>218</sup> PRESTGARD, Kristian. Om Sprog og sligt. *Decorah-Posten*. Decorah, Iowa: Anundsen Publishing Company, January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1945, (18). The term ‘fornorsking’ is nowadays used for the process when borrowed words from foreign languages are replaced by Norwegian items. In the context of Prestgard’s text it has to be understood as the process of changes and adaptations undertaken in order to mark the Norwegian written standard off from other languages.

change must take place, but now it is not easy. Now a great leap will be needed. If they had followed along gradually, they would not even have noticed the change.”<sup>219</sup>

Eikeland also wrote a two-part essay for the magazine *Symra* called ‘Retskrivning og vrangskrivning’ (‘Spelling and wrong spelling’) where he discussed the development of the Norwegian written language in the United States.<sup>220</sup> The printed material was a significant factor for preserving the mother language alive in the immigrant community in the US. Eikeland paid thus attention to its form as it appeared in books, text books and newspapers. He was among those who wished to follow the linguistic changes launched in Norway. He presented several arguments defending his attitude. Even though he was aware of the two varieties of the Norwegian written standard that already existed in that time, he suggested ‘Riksmåal’ as the starting point to work on in the US and leaving ‘Landsmaal’ (nowadays called ‘Nynorsk’) aside. The incorporation of the changes should ideally proceed gradually. Eikeland regarded books and newspapers and other printed material as a channel which can mediate the modern features of the language to the immigrants in the US. He mentioned mutual help between the actors in this process as an important factor for the success. And this is just what he was missing in the US. This disharmony was illustrated on the example of textbooks that were used for the higher education. While teachers introduced the newer form of the spelling, vocabulary and grammar to their students, the orthography of the available books by Norwegian classical writers were predominantly in the old Danish-Norwegian form of language. There was even an odder paradox in connection with the text books. According to the general practice, only books for the higher level of education reflected the modern forms of the language while pupils at the lower level of the education system were still facing the form from the 19<sup>th</sup> century in their textbooks. It should be natural and logical to publish all the textbooks and other reading stuff in the same form as in Norway. Eikeland saw the Norwegian written newspapers as another possibility how to keep the immigrant language alive and how to educate people linguistically provided that the reform of 1907 was applied to the newspaper contributions.<sup>221</sup> Eikeland also noted that hardly any teacher of the Norwegian language would start a direct polemic against the newspapers. But, as he added, anybody who

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<sup>219</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 144. It is a statement by Eikeland from 1913.

<sup>220</sup> EIKELAND, Peter J. *Retskrivning og vrangskrivning II. Symra: En aarbog for norske paa begge sider af havet*. Decorah, Iowa: Decorah-postens trykkeri, 1914, (10), pp. 58–67. The title of the essay is a word play in Norwegian: ‘rett’ means ‘correct’, ‘skrivning’ stands for ‘writing’ while ‘vrang’ means ‘wrong, converse’.

<sup>221</sup> Eikeland even added that the switch to the modern spelling in the newspapers could have a positive effect on the number of the subscribers. He supposed that the modern spelling would attract subscribers from the younger generation and the more recent newcomers.

was concerned about the language problem was engaged in an indirect polemic about the old-fashioned forms that appeared in the newspaper contributions. This statement can be regarded as an indirect evidence of simple language management that was practised by the Norwegian language users.

There is a documented evidence of the active organized language management performed by Eikeland and his colleague Rølvaag from St. Olaf College, too. They wrote a handbook on the Norwegian spelling ('Haandbok i norsk retskrivning og uttale til skolebruk og selvstudium') in 1916.<sup>222</sup> It is stated in the preface that this publication was the first of its sort that was published in the United States. The handbooks that had been available in the United States before this publication were written in Norway and did not reflect the difficulties and specifics of the Norwegian language in America. Eikeland and Rølvaag described and explained the rules for both the spelling and pronunciation in accordance with the reform that had been launched in Norway in 1907. The use of the unvoiced consonants as well as the double consonants and small initial letters of nouns were introduced in their handbook. The authors put extra stress on some features that could potentially be confusing for the students and language users in the United States because the practice in English differed from the rules in Norwegian, e.g. the spelling of compound words. Actual language problems were handled by the authors of the handbook that were noted by them and that (according to them) learners and users of Norwegian were exposed to. The whole process of language management is reflected in these cases with the single language problem that occurs regularly and its treatment proceeds at the level of organized management. Ideally, to complete the entire process of language management, the forms suggested in the handbook serve as a pattern for individual language users in their discourse. A special chapter was devoted to anglicisms in the handbook. An overview of the most typical instances of anglicisms was included that was compiled on the basis of the language use of students of Norwegian in the United States. The list of the examples shows that single words, word phrases as well as whole sentence construction were transferred from English. Obviously the authors were against any unnecessary infiltrations from English. This is their comment in a footnote from the chapter on anglicisms: "Words such as *fencet* (gjærdet), *fila* (aakren), *fork* (gaffel; hø-), *office* (kontor), *raaden* (veien), *storet* (butikken), *stoven* (ovnen) do not belong to indigenous Norwegian. We have good Norwegian words for all of them."<sup>223</sup> The last

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<sup>222</sup> EIKELAND, Peter J., RØLVAAG, Ole Edvart.. *Haandbok i norsk retskrivning og uttale til skolebruk og selvstudium*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

section of the book is a list of selected words of a foreign origin used (English, Latin, French, German) in Norwegian with their correct spelling and pronunciation.

To conclude this part several points discussed above will be summarized here. Language is understood not just as a means of communication, but it also bears a symbolical meaning for the community that speaks the language. From this point of view it plays an important role in the process of the nation-building that emerged in many European countries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The movements supporting the use of/creation of/restoring the language of the individual nations became a part of struggle for their identity. In the same way the language of immigrants in the United States belonged to their identity. Immigrants established various organizations and institutions that set up the preservation of the native language as their partial or full task. Some of them were already mentioned in the section introducing the period of 'Norwegian America' in the Chapter 3 of this thesis. However, the range was much wider. It was mainly the church that got involved in the education of the youth intensively. Besides the American educational secular system, children were also instructed at supplemental parochial schools that were run by the particular congregations. These were known as 'sommarkolen' ('summer school') as they were organized when there were holiday periods in the American school system. One of the goals of these schools was to provide the younger generation with the elementary skills in reading and writing in the language of their (grand)parents. The educators were limited in the sources that could have been used for their teaching. The available teaching material consisted of primers and readers in Norwegian. Initially, these were imported from Norway but as a consequence of high transportation costs and import taxes that were imposed on books, the immigrants began to reprint them in the United States and later even to publish their own. Additionally, this enabled to consider the special circumstances of the immigrant community and to create such material that was more suitable for the teaching purposes in the immigrant society.<sup>224</sup> The majority of the textbooks used in the United States were written in the form that corresponded with the written Danish language, i.e. without any reflection of the reform of 1907. From Eikeland's essay we already know that only the textbooks for the students at the higher schools reflected the modern Norwegian language. Generally the textbooks, both the imported ones and the ones published in the US, were used throughout several generations contrary to the situation in Norway where new teaching material was updated and published with the launch of each of the reforms. The Norwegian immigrant community did not have any official channel through

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<sup>224</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 108.

which the changes in the language would be spread to the public.<sup>225</sup> Once again, Eikeland's proposal for a better cooperation between the individual actors dealing with the Norwegian language in the United States stated in *Symra* can be repeated here. There were clear opposed trends in the treatment of the language among the immigrants in the United States. Each of the groups followed its interests and aims. The discussions led by various influential personalities in the magazine *Symra* such as editors of the Norwegian-American newspaper, professors at St. Olaf College and clergymen from the Norwegian congregations in the US reveal that the problem of the development of the Norwegian language in America was closely interconnected with other questions concerning the immigrants identity and their position in the American society.

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<sup>225</sup> HJELDE, Arnstein, JANSSON, Benthe Kolberg. Language Reforms in Norway and their Acceptance and Use in the Norwegian-American Community. In: BARSTAD, Guri Ellen, HJELDE, Arnstein, KVAM, Sigmund, PARIANOU, Anastasia, TODD, John (eds). *Language and Nation: Crossroads and Connections*. Münster: Waxmann, 2016. ISBN 978-3830934974. Pp. 306–308. However, there are several exceptions and a few examples of textbooks that reflect at least to some degree the innovations of the reform of 1907 can be found: *En kristelig ABC-Bok for Hjemmet, Søndagsskolen og Religionsskolen*. HVENEKILDE, Anne. *Hvad gjør vi saa med arven?: En studie av abc-er og lesebøker utgitt til norsk morsmålsundervisning i Amerika*. Oslo, 1992. Avhandling til graden dr. philos. Universitetet i Oslo. Institutt for lingvistikk og filosofi, Avdeling for norsk som fremmedspråk.

## 7. ANALYSES – ENGLISH LOANWORDS

The Norwegian language in the United States was under constant influence of English which played the dominant role of the prestigious language in this relationship. As a result of the contact between the Norwegian language and the English language, English loanwords appeared in the language of immigrants. The lexical transfer was the most striking demonstration of the English impact in the written language. The question investigated in this part of the study was formulated in the introduction: How was the written Norwegian language in the newspapers of Norwegian immigrants in the United States affected by English? In order to present an objective answer, the analyses focus on language management of several specific topics concerning the impact of English performed by the newspaper editorial board. The conclusions summarize results from the individual parts of the analysis. Following points are examined:

- Increasing/decreasing tendency in the use of English borrowings: On the basis of the research it should be proved if there was a direct proportion between the duration of the Norwegian-English language contact and the volume of English loanwords in the Norwegian newspapers or not.
- Vocabulary fields: Documentation of the various vocabulary categories offers another perspective on the impact of English. It should reveal which vocabulary fields were the most affected by English and which were the most resistant to the influence of English.
- Visual differentiation of English borrowings: The attention is paid to the visual integration as well as to any other special effects that were connected with the use of English loanwords in the newspapers.
- Morphological and orthographic integration: Any morphological and orthographic changes of English borrowings are monitored throughout the time of the existence of the selected Norwegian immigrant newspapers.

The presence of English elements in the Norwegian written standard is considered as a deviation here. However, it did not necessarily always have to be a negatively evaluated deviation. Not all the English borrowings were competing with established Norwegian vocabulary. It is easy to image that some of the English loanwords helped to fill in vocabulary gaps in the immigrants' lexicon when a Norwegian appellation was missing. Unfortunately,

the readers' attitudes to such cases of English infiltrations are hardly traceable if they did not express their opinions directly in their letters to the editors.

Before the analyses are presented a methodological note is necessary. Any study of borrowings has to cope with the problem of identification of loanwords. Some of the methodological difficulties are discussed in 'The Analyses of Linguistic Borrowing'<sup>226</sup>. Haugen evaluated the diachronic and synchronic approach with their positives and limits in this work. The first one is based on a comprehensive comparison process. Firstly, the different development phases of the examined language are compared with each other to reveal innovations. Subsequently, a comparison of the identified possibly borrowed items with forms of the language that is the suppositional donor language is undertaken. However, there are several limiting factors of this approach that have to be taken into consideration, too. Sufficient historical material for the diachronic analyses must be available. Moreover, it is obvious that English loanwords had appeared in the Norwegian language even before the first Norwegian immigrants entered the North American continent. Traders, shippers, sailors and tourists were mediators of the linguistic transfer from English to Norwegian. In this regard it is sometimes challenging to decide whether the loanwords were acquired by Norwegians after their arrival in the United States or whether the immigrants had already been familiar with them in their homeland. This problem was gaining its strength especially during the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the contact between Norwegian and English both inside and outside Europe was growing. Haugen was dealing with this question, too. He specified three areas where the moment and channel of the acquirement of the loanwords is highly disputable<sup>227</sup>:

1. pre-immigration loans: English words could enter the language of Norwegians through various channels. The influence of trade and shipping was already mentioned. Immigrants themselves could play a role in introducing and spreading English borrowing in Norway, too. Those who returned back home or visited the homeland spoke idiolects that could contain some English loans. Written materials sent to Norway both of personal (letters to families and friends) and more general (newspapers, printed material of various actors in the immigration process) character could also transmit some English words into the Norwegian lexicon in Europe.

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<sup>226</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing. *Language*. 1950, 26(2), pp. 210-231. ISSN 00978507.

<sup>227</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, pp. 384-387.

2. international words: This group includes words that are not attributed to one specific language in terms of origin but they are rather shared by many languages. Words such as ‘district’ and ‘section’ belong to this category. Some of the words were known at least passively while some very completely unknown for Norwegian speakers. Sometimes the socio-historical context can be a helpful tool to determine whether the loanword emerged as a consequence of the emigration. Appellations of objects and concepts that did not exist in Europe must have been acquired in America.
3. interlingual coincidences: Sometimes the pronunciation and meaning of a foreign word is very close to the domestic vocabulary. The similarity can work as an obstacle in judging if it should be treated as an instance of transfer or not.

The criteria of the synchronic approach were applied by Aasta Stene in her study of English borrowings in Norwegian from 1945. She introduced a set of features signalling the foreign origin of the given item. These included deviations from Norwegian orthography, morphology, pronunciation and semantics. Even though they can be a helpful tool for the identification of borrowings, there are some limits in their application, too. Words that are fully integrated into the language would be automatically excluded under this approach. On the other hand some domestic words would be evaluated as loanwords as they deviate in some of the characteristics.<sup>228</sup>

The borrowing process that is investigated in this study is a historical process. For this reason it is approached diachronically. The elements that are evaluated as possible deviations that emerged under influence of English are compared with world list presenting English words used in Norwegian immigrants in various settlements. These world lists were compiled by Professor Nils Flaten of St. Olaf College (‘Notes on the American-Norwegian with Vocabulary’<sup>229</sup>) and Professor George T. Flom (‘English Elements in Norse Dialects of Utica’; ‘English Loanwords in American Norwegian. As spoken in the Koshkonong Settlement’<sup>230</sup>). They are all based on the spoken language but they still mirror the most frequent English items that were detected by the authors. Flaten’s list presents 561 words that

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<sup>228</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing. *Language*. 1950, 26(2). ISSN 00978507. Pp. 210–231, pp. 229–230.

<sup>229</sup> FLATEN, Nils. Notes on the American-Norwegian with Vocabulary. In: *Dialect Notes: Volume 2*. New Haven, Conn.: American Dialect Society, 1904, pp. 115–126.

<sup>230</sup> FLOM, George T. English Elements in Norse Dialects of Utica. In: *Dialect Notes: Volume 2*. New Haven, Conn.: American Dialect Society, 1904, pp. 257–268.; FLOM, George T. English Loanwords in American Norwegian: As Spoken in the Koshkonong Settlement, Wisconsin. *American Speech*. Duke University Press, 1926, 10(1), 541–558.

were used by Norwegian immigrants in the region of Northfield in Minnesota. Flom dedicated his research to the Koshkonong settlement in Wisconsin. His work resulted in two lists; the first of 700 English words used by Norwegians launched in the Dialect Notes and the latter consisting of 1,025 English words adopted by Norwegian settlers into their language was published in *American Speech* in 1926. According to the authors, all the three lists were supposed to include only frequently used words. Neither Flaten nor Flom claimed his list(s) to be complete. They should rather be understood as an illustration of English words that penetrated the daily speech of the immigrants. The use of these lists in this study has its limits and problems that should not be forgotten. First of all, the collections present the use of English words only in a particular region/settlement/dialect and in a particular period. Most of the words are mentioned out of their context. In some cases the item is accompanied by an explanatory note or a phrase where it occurs but the vast majority is left without any comment. Both authors declared to present English words of the highest frequency in the concrete American-Norwegian settlement but no more details about how these were identified were given. The words in the lists are transcribed in their phonetic spelling with the correct English spelling as a supplement. This fact means that any subsequent use of the lists for the analyses of the development and variety of the written forms of the English words is impossible. Despite these limits the lists are used as a clue for the identification of English loanwords in the Norwegian language of the immigrants in the US. Except for Haugen's work 'The Norwegian Language in America' from 1953 no other comprehensive studies of the vocabulary of such character for American-Norwegian are available.

This paragraph serves as a brief guideline of general principles how the loanwords are treated in this study in the question of their origin. Concrete instances are commented in each of the defined periods. First of all their presence of the given word in Flaten's and Flom's list is checked. If a word is mentioned in one/more of the lists above, it is treated as a loanword of the American origin in the analysis and it is not provided with any further comment on its etymology in the most instances.<sup>231</sup> This is the first selection phase how to distinguish English loanwords. Another criterion is the perspective of innovations that the immigrants faced in America. If such concepts and things were connected with the lifestyle or environment of America and were unknown in Europe or specifically in Norway, they should be regarded as loanwords of the American character, too. Some of the loanwords were not appellations of entirely new things to the immigrants. But they were features typical for the new social,

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<sup>231</sup> The presence of a word on one of the list does not automatically ensure that it could not have been known by Norwegians before their arrival to the United States. But it shows that it was at least seen as a result of the American influence.

economical and political world that the immigrants entered. It is possible that such a word was a part of the passive vocabulary of immigrants in Norway and started being actively used after they had come into contact with the American environment. In this regard, their use by the immigrants has to be evaluated as impact of American English, too. Inventions such as the canning process spread from Europe to Northern America. Even though it was patented in Great Britain, canning of vegetables, fruits and meat was practiced in the US soon, too. It is thus possible that immigrants learned products as ‘canned beef’ and ‘canned vegetables’ on the North American continent. Loanwords referring to the administration and authorities in the United States were with the highest probability of the American origin. Although some of the terms were already known in Europe before the immigration had started, they were used in the American society, too. The words such as ‘sheriff’, ‘county’, ‘jury’, and ‘township’ did not correspond to the common terms in administration in Norway. Therefore it can be presumed that the Norwegian immigrants started using such vocabulary actively when they experienced personally the American administration system after their migration to the US. Some of the loanwords that are connected with the American lifestyle have a similar history as the administration terms. Despite their European roots they started being actively used as a consequence of the direct contact between the Norwegian and American culture in the US. A whole group of loanwords belong to the category of food and food industry. However, some of them come originally from English or more generally European culture. These are e.g. ‘muffin’, ‘pudding’, ‘canned beef’ and ‘ice cream’. In these cases it is disputable when and where exactly they penetrated the Norwegian vocabulary. The word ‘pudding’ is probably the least problematic of them because it regarded as a British invention and a typical British dish.<sup>232</sup> The situation gets more complicated with other mentioned loanwords. ‘Muffin’ has its early origins in Great Britain, too. But this product was quite different from what is understood under the name ‘muffin’ in North America.<sup>233</sup> The context of the word should be decisive in such cases. On the other hand ‘cornmeal’ is an example of a loanword of an American origin as it is a typical concept of the American agriculture. But there are certainly English names of concept that came into Norwegian as a result of language contact between Norwegian and European English. These are e.g. ‘shawl’, ‘yacht’, ‘sandwich’ and ‘sightseeing’. The words categorized as ‘technical novelties’ and ‘farming’ involve examples of names of things and concepts that were introduced as innovations for the immigrant

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<sup>232</sup> DAVIDSON, Alan. *The Oxford Companion to Food*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. ISBN 0-19-211579-0. Pp. 638–639.

<sup>233</sup> MARIANI, John F. *Encyclopedia of American Food and Drink*. New York: Lehar-Freidman Books, 1999, p. 211.

community (e.g. ‘boiler’, ‘elevator’). The archive of the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* is used as another tool how to determine if the particular anglicism was already known at least passively in the Norwegian lexicon. *Aftenposten* was selected because of its large circulation<sup>234</sup> and a long period of existence (established in 1860) that covers the whole existence of the immigrant newspaper, too. Moreover, some of the news in the Norwegian immigrant newspapers in the United States were based on the stuff from *Aftenposten* or even adopted from it. If a word is clearly a result of a borrowing process from the pre-immigration period or came into the immigrants’ lexicon through a different channel than the language contact between Norwegian and English in the United States, it does not exclude it from the analyses. All English loanwords are involved regardless their origin. English borrowings that were not acquired as a consequence of the immigration are provided with an additional comment on their historical background.

English words used as names of institutions, functions, companies and the like (e.g.: Federal Reserve Board, United States Steel Corporation, Highway 8, Minneapolis Municipal Band, Snowflake Ski Queen, Young Ladies Club) were excluded from the analyses. If the loanword is used as a general appellation of an object or a person and his/her function (e.g. manager, sheriff) it was included into the study.

## 7.1. Vocabulary

The language of Norwegian immigrants in the United States held the role of the less dominant language, i.e. the role of the recipient language in this language contact situation. The newcomers had to cope with the American environment and society. That process was reflected in their lexicon, too. It is understandable that some of the domains of its vocabulary were more exposed to the influence of English than others. On the basis of the newspaper research, several domains of the vocabulary can be identified as the most affected by English. Generally speaking, the more intensive contact of newcomers with the American society and lifestyle in a specific domain, the higher probability of loanword transfer from that particular field of the associated vocabulary. Throughout the time of the existence of the newspapers, following domains of the vocabulary proved to experience a strong influence of the English language<sup>235</sup>:

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<sup>234</sup> The circulation was e.g. 46,500 in 1915; 65,000 in 1920; 72,000 in 1925 and 79,528 in 1930. GUNNAR CHRISTIE, Gunnar Christie. *Aftenposten i hundre år: 1860–1960*. Oslo: Chr. Schibsteds forlag, 1960.

<sup>235</sup> All examples in the Chapters 7–9 come from my own analyses of the newspaper material. In the whole thesis, the original spelling (including capital initial letters, quotation marks, and the different types of font) and inflection (plural forms, preterite forms, determiners) of the examples as they were typed and used in the

- technical novelties and equipment: Elevator, boiler, steamer, Stoves, Tractors, “Dashboardet”, Hardware Store, “trailere”
- food: Ice-Cream, Pudding, Buttermilk, Muffins, corn meal, Candy, *canned beef*, *sweet Cider*, bacon
- administration: Sheriffen, Mayor, Juryen, Countyet, City Council, Township, clerk, settlement
- farming: Acre, Rancher, commercial fertilizers, Prairien
- American lifestyle: Picnic, Saloon, Beer, Department Stores, Settler, Broadcast, Boardinghouse, College, jobbe

A lot of the English loanwords were common for all the three newspapers. They appeared very frequently and sooner or later became a stable and inseparable part of the lexicon of the Norwegian immigrants. The domains of the vocabulary that were under the direct influence were changing during the time, too. At the early stage, English borrowings usually belonged to the category ‘administration’ and ‘farming’. As immigrants established a more intensive contact with the American society and learned its habits and routine, the repertoire of transferred words into Norwegian was manifested in a broader lexical spectrum, too. But this does not automatically mean that the total amount of English borrowings would grow extremely with the time. The quantity of loanwords is more or less constant during the whole studied period 1887–1972.<sup>236</sup> The table shows the volume of English borrowing in several years:

	<b>1887</b>	<b>1890</b>	<b>1905</b>	<b>1932</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1955</b>	<b>1970</b>
<b>DP</b>	0.91%	0.78%	0.96%	0.67%	1.02%	0.76%	1.19%
<b>SK</b>	0.87%	1.13%	1.22%	0.64%	0.94%	---	---
<b>MT</b>	1.32%	0.81%	1%	0.87%	---	---	---

The prevailing majority of the borrowings in the Norwegian written newspapers are substantives. Immigrants had to cope with the urgent need for appellations for objects and activities that were new for them in their new homeland. This explains the dominance of nouns among the loanwords. In all the three newspapers nouns comprise more than 90% of the English borrowings in the material. Words from other open word classes (adjectives,

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newspapers is preserved. The only adaptation that was applied is the use of the Latin script for all the specimens regardless the script (Latin or Gothic) that was used in the original material. The accompanying examples from the dictionaries are typed in their codified form as shown in the dictionary.

<sup>236</sup> This is in accordance with Haugen’s comparison of the volume of anglicisms in the years 1900 and 1922. In the latter period a decrease in the number of the English loanwords was even monitored. HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 133.

verbs) are borrowed, too. But they present only limited part of the total volume of the identified loanwords.

	<b>Decorah-Posten</b>	<b>Skandinaven</b>	<b>Minneapolis Tidende</b>
<b>nouns</b>	93.4%	92.5%	93.8%
<b>adjectives</b>	3.4%	2.8%	3.1%
<b>verbs</b>	3.2%	4.7%	3.1%

Despite the fact that most of the English borrowings are linked with the immigrants' new life in America, the words are not solely traced in the newspaper contributions categorized as "Interior news". Examples of the loanwords were also found in the articles classified as "Foreign affairs", "Farm, house, kitchen" and "Readers' input". Advertisements in the Norwegian newspapers from the United States did not contain a large number of English loanwords. This can be clarified by the fact that many of them were promoting Norwegian or Scandinavian products and companies. In such case, there was no need to substitute native words by any kind of borrowings. When saying this, it has to be added that several advertisements were published completely or partially in English. They appear in the more recent issues of the newspapers<sup>237</sup>. Texts dealing with news from the home country of the immigrants were of course the least affected by English. An English word can be detected in such articles only occasionally.

## 7.2. Research points

The following analyses present the impact of English borrowings on the Norwegian written language. The origin of the identified words was consulted with 'Bokmålsordboka/Nynorskordboka'<sup>238</sup> and 'Ordbog over det danske Sprog'<sup>239</sup>. The material from the individual newspapers is studied separately in the given periods with a final summary for the whole period and all the selected newspapers together. The analyses focus on the following points:

- visual form of the loanwords
- capitalization of initial letters of the nouns

<sup>237</sup> The examples can be found for example in SK July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1936 and DP January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>238</sup> The dictionary was compiled by The Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies at the University of Oslo and The Language Council of Norway (Språkrådet): *Bokmålsordboka - Nynorskordboka* [online]. ©2016. [accessed 2016-01-11–2017-09-18]. Available at: <http://www.nob-ordbok.uio.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=&bokmaal=+&ordbok=bokmaal>.

<sup>239</sup> The Danish forms come from the *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* that covers the Danish lexicon from 1700 till 1950. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* [online]. København [accessed 2016-06-25]. Available at: <http://ordnet.dk/ods>.

- origin of the loanwords
- structure of the words (single words, compounds, multiword expressions)
- morphological integration (plural forms, use of determiners, past tense)
- orthographic integration

These mentioned research points are understood as the potential categories where linguistic deviations can occur. Before a closer analysis of the individual points of the research and their reflection in the defined periods is presented, these are introduced more in detail. Following sections show how and if the treatment of the selected features changed during the existence of the newspapers.

English borrowings were sometimes visually distinguished from the Norwegian vocabulary in the newspapers. Some of the loanwords were set into the quotation marks or some were printed in a different font. These two ways how to point out the foreign origin of given words were applied in the individual issues without any rules when one or the other should be preferred. It is not the use of the quotation marks or the varying font that is understood here as the deviation but the use of the highlighted words self (i.e. a loanword instead of a Norwegian word). The visual differentiation is an explicit signal of the editor's simple language management starting with noticing that he was using a word of a foreign origin. The use of one or sometimes both of the mentioned devices to underline the non-Norwegian origin of the word is a result of the completed process of language management. Before a word was highlighted, its different origin had to be noted by the language user and evaluated it as a negative feature. This led to the design of an adjustment, namely the use of quotation marks and/or a different type in this particular case. When the English loanword was not highlighted, it was either not noted by the writer or it was not evaluated as a deviation, i.e. he/she considered the word as not a disturbing element and therefore probably as an already established part of the lexicon. The devices for highlighting were used especially in the earlier issues of the newspapers. The later issues that were printed after 1900 contain fewer of such visually highlighted loanwords and a big portion of the borrowings was incorporated naturally into the texts.

Capitalization of initial letters of nouns was applied to native Norwegian vocabulary as well as to anglicisms. The use of small initial letters for substantives in Norwegian was not officially regulated in any of the spelling reforms. From 1877 the use of small initial letters for nouns was allowed at schools in Norway. The spelling with/without capital letters was

varying for several decades.<sup>240</sup> Capitalization of nouns was preserved in the immigrant newspapers for a much longer time than in Norway. Decorah-Posten launched the abolition of initial capital letters during 1961. Skandinaven used capital letters till the end of its existence and Minneapolis Tidende switched to small initial letters in January 1935. There were attempts of Norwegian-American editors to adapt their newspaper to the practice in Norway as soon as before the year 1900 but they were not met with success. From the perspective of (at least some) the editors, capitalization was seen as a negatively evaluated deviation while some subscribers felt it as a natural feature of their native language.<sup>241</sup> Thus, even though the feature was noticed and negatively evaluated by a part of the Norwegian immigrant community in the United States, no adjustments of this practice were implemented immediately.

The borrowing process resulted in anglicisms in form of single words, multiword expressions and compounds. Compounds can be subjected to a further examination because they are treated differently in Norwegian and English. The general rule in Norwegian is that compounds are written as one word (e.g. kongemakt, småjenter, bygmester). If a compound is too long or if its written form would cause problems for pronunciation, a hyphen is recommended (e.g. bi-akcent, sindsyke-asyll). The rules for the compound writing in English are less consistent. Compound words can get a closed form (e.g. softball), a hyphenated form (e.g. mass-produced) or an open form (e.g. post office).<sup>242</sup> The different practice in Norwegian and English can lead to incorrect spelling of compounds in Norwegian under the English model. This was evidently the case in the Norwegian written language of the immigrants in the United States because the issue was mentioned in the spelling handbook of Eikeland and Rølvaag. The footnote under the highlighted general rule how to write compound words in Norwegian says:

“The reason why this rule is so important is that it is not followed in English, or only partially. Therefore, every Norwegian teacher in this country always has a difficult

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<sup>240</sup> The use of small initial letters spread mainly after 1910. Finally, the non-capitalization of nouns stabilized after the World War I. The first attempt to lift the use of capital letters was already proposed during a Scandinavian orthographic meeting in Stockholm in 1869. The aim of the meeting was to discuss reforms that could be implemented into the Scandinavian languages. Abolition of capital letters in common substantives was among the suggestions. However, the conclusions were not binding and this change was accepted in Danish as late as in 1948. HANSEN, Erik. *The Standard Languages and their System in the 20th century V: Danish*. In: BUNDLE, Oscar et al. *The Nordic Languages. An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005. ISBN 3-11-017149-X. P. 1629.

<sup>241</sup> Even in the textbooks and grammars published around the turn of the century, capitalization of nouns was practised. HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 141.

<sup>242</sup> Compound Words. *Guide to Grammar and Writing* [online]. Hatford, Connecticut, 2004 [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: <http://grammar.ccc.commnet.edu/grammar/compounds.htm>.

struggle to make the students follow it. It should be memorized and illustrated by many examples.’<sup>243</sup>

The short notice is an illustration of pre-interaction and organized language management. The authors of the handbook were aware of the difficulties that the Norwegian learners might have been struggling with and drew teachers’ attention to it in advance.

English words underwent grammatical and orthographic development after being adopted into Norwegian. In the initial stage, they were often used in their original English forms and in accordance with the English grammatical and spelling system. But they underwent an integration process during the following periods that resulted in forms that were more easily blended in with forms common for Norwegian. This process was not proceeding evenly in all the redactions. That is why a particular English word can be found in its original English spelling in one newspaper while fully adapted to the Norwegian rules in another newspaper. There are also examples of an inconsistent orthographic form of English loanwords within the individual newspapers and even within one issue. The variations appear both on the morphological and orthographic level. From morphology, several features are investigated in this study where the deviations could have possibly appeared: plural forms of the borrowed nouns, use of determiners and past tense forms. Especially in the early period, English substantives are often borrowed including their original plural form. On the other hand, they are rarely used without a Norwegian article. The use of the determiner could affect the spelling and resulted in diverse orthographic forms of the given word. These forms of the use of the determiner were not regulated by any special rules and thus varying forms are not exceptional in the texts. The various treatments of this linguistic problem during the selected periods can be understood as different examples of the design of the adjustment:

- a) no orthographical adaptations were necessary because there was no collision in the spelling of the borrowed noun and the used Norwegian determiner; e.g. Boomen (‘boom’ + suffix *-en* for the definite singular form)
- b) change(s) in the spelling of the word after the use of a Norwegian determiner; e.g. Jurien (‘jury’ + suffix *-en* for the definite singular form)
- c) use of an apostrophe that adds the determiner to the substantive; e.g. Candy’en

Another illustration of the alternative approaches of the editors in the individual newspapers and during the different periods can be the numerous forms of the word ‘county’ used with

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<sup>243</sup> EIKELAND, Peter J., RØLVAAG, Ole Edvart. *Haandbok i norsk rettskrivning og uttale til skolebruk og selvstudium*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916, p. 65.

the definite article in singular and its definite/indefinite plural forms<sup>244</sup>: Countyet/Countyerne (MT 1889, 1900, 1907); Countiet (DP 1887,1900) x Countyet/Countyer (DP 1903, 1930, 1956); Countiet (SK 1890) x Countyet (SK 1902).

The morphological part also includes examination of the treatment of the borrowed verbs. It is observed that in some cases the English conjugation was substituted by the Norwegian conjugation as a result of the language management process. On the other hand, examples of verbs in the unchanged English forms can be found in the material, too. The total volume of the verbs in the examined material is markedly lower than the volume of nouns which is a fact that has to be considered when drawing the conclusions from the available material.

One could expect that English loanwords would be orthographically adapted to the Norwegian spelling in order not to disturb the readers of the texts. However, the material shows that the orthographical integration of the loanwords did not get much attention in the American-Norwegian newspapers. The highlighting/not highlighting of a word and/or its morphological adaptation does not seem to have any relation with and influence on the orthographical integration. Adapted words usually got a spelling form that was based on the predominant pronunciation of them; e.g. ‘prærie’ from the English ‘prairie’.

### 7.3. Period 1887–1899

#### Decorah-Posten

Some of the English loanwords in Decorah-Posten are very easy to identify in the material as they are highlighted by using quotation marks or another type of font<sup>245</sup>, e.g.: “Bargains”, “Blackleg”, “Canned Vegetables”, “Celery Seed”, “Dashboardet”, “Double Boiler”, “Gambling”, “Reunion”; *custom made, enjoyed, juniors og seniors, hunting, mustard, nutmeg, pet banks, No Man’s Land, preps*. Other English transferred words are typed in the same font as the Norwegian words: Beer, Candy’en, Coroner, Cowboy, Crackers, Creamery, Elevators, Furnishings, lynchet, Mayorens, Shawler. No specific key to a systematic highlighting of some of the English borrowings and leaving other ones as a natural part of the texts seems to be applied.

Most of the English substantives are capitalized (as well as the substantives of the Norwegian origin): “Bargains”, Bicycle, “Celery Seed”, Cyclone, Picnic, Sheriffen,

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<sup>244</sup> Countyet/Countiet = singular, definite form; Countyer = plural, indefinite form; Countyerne = plural, definite form.

<sup>245</sup> A large portion of the newspaper material was printed in the Gothic script. The examples in this study are not typed in the same font as they were in the original texts. If a word was highlighted using a different font in the newspapers, it gets italic types in the study.

Township. However, English words that are typed in a different font do not usually have a capital initial letter: *cotton seed meal, debating society, linseed oil, mustard, nutmeg*.<sup>246</sup> Such words were probably not regarded as indigenous elements of the lexicon of American-Norwegians. On the other hand, borrowings used with quotation marks are capitalized. These can therefore be considered as words on a half-way to the common lexicon of the Norwegian immigrants in the US.

Among the loanwords there is a group of them that appeared neither in Flaten's and Flom's lists. A part of these loanwords can be dated back to the pre-immigration period and they can be found in the contributions in *Aftenposten* already in the oldest issues, too ('lynch' – 1860, 'shawl' – 1868). If a word was not listed in Flaten's or Flom's vocabulary, it is important to consider its historical context. The word '*pet banks*' is a term established in the 1830s referring to state banks specifically chosen by 'The Department of Treasury of the United States'. Therefore it is considered as an American loanword. In a letter from Sioux Falls a contributor who signed himself/herself as 'B.' described an event organized by their 'Synodes Normal School'. The writer gave some details about the school using English terms *preps, sophs, juniors og seniors, class hats, class canes*. The context in which these words were mentioned suggests that they should be regarded as American borrowings, too. Variations in vocabulary between the American and British English are represented here by the word Elevators and its British equivalent 'lift'. Other words are more disputable because the phenomena they are referring to emerged at similar period on both continents. Words "Blackleg", "Canned Vegetables", "Celery Seed" can be ranked in this category.

Not only single words (Elevators, Picnic, Prærie) but also compound words and multiword expressions were borrowed into the newspapers texts: Public-Skolen, Vinter-suits, *custom made, cotton seed meal, debating society, four ply*, "Double Boiler", *No Man's Land*. The word 'yellow dock' is an example of the process when the form of the compound writing was conformed to the prevailing Norwegian practice. It appeared as "Yellowdock" in the newspaper while it is written apart in English.

The analysis shows that the morphological integration of the English words was already in process in this period. But there are still loanwords that appear in their original English inflection (plural forms, preterite) in the material. Following examples illustrate the situation: words such as Acres, Elevators, enjoyed, Blankets, Suits, Furnishings are unaffected

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<sup>246</sup> Nevertheless, a few exceptions can be found in the material, e.g. *Mince Meat*.

by the Norwegian/Danish<sup>247</sup> morphology while the words lynchet, Settlere, Towner, Pampleter, Shawler adopted the Norwegian inflection forms. English substantives are also adapted to Norwegian by using a Norwegian article, either the definite or the indefinite. Several different approaches can be traced in the newspapers how the English loanwords changed after adding a Norwegian determiner.<sup>248</sup> The determiner which appears in the form of a suffix can cause spelling changes in some of the English words. The simplest way is to add the suffix to the noun that remains unchanged after that: Tunnelen, “Dashboardet”, Colleget, Rancheren, Mayoren. Sometimes the endings of the English words undergo a spelling adaptation when used with the Norwegian determiner<sup>249</sup>: Countiet (county), Creameriet (creamery). In a small number of instances, the definite article is added by using an apostrophe to the nouns, e.g.: Candy'en (candy), Handcar'en (handcar).

Orthographic adaptations of English loanwords appear only rarely in Decorah-Posten in this period: Prærien (prairie), Pampleter (pamphlet), Kolør (color). The absolute majority of the borrowings keeps the original spelling forms: Cowboy, Saloon, Beer, Cyclone, Corn Starch, Carload.

### Skandinaven

Some of the English loanwords in Skandinaven are highlighted. The same means for the visual differentiation were used as Decorah-Posten, i.e. quotation marks and a different type of the font. The latter outnumbers considerably the first one. Following examples illustrate the visually highlighted borrowings: “boomede”, “Boardinghouse”, “Feeding Rack”, “Job”, “Runner”, “Safe”, “Tramps”; *canned beef*, *Fire*, *gluten meal*, *greenbacks*, *outlaw*, *Pig-iron*, *small business*, *unskilled labor*. A very few English words are used both with quotation marks and in a different font at the same time: “*small grain*”, “*surprise*”. But most of the loanwords appear without any special means of the visual highlighting in the material: Receiver, Yacht, Ironworkers, Drugstore, Laundry, Township, Budgetaar, Farmerteam. Comparably to the situation in Decorah-Posten, any detailed study does not offer any clear key to the division of the borrowings into the visually marked and visually unmarked.

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<sup>247</sup> In the period prior to the reform of 1907, English loanwords that were subjected to the morphological integration process adopted Danish inflection as a result of it. This trend continued in the United States even after the fundamental changes of the spelling and grammar were codified in the reforms launched during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But as the focus of this part of the research lies on the transition from the English morphological and orthographic system to the language system of the immigrants, this fact does not have any relevance for the analyses of this feature. The crucial point is whether the loanword was integrated into the grammatical and spelling system of the written standard of the newcomers or not.

<sup>248</sup> In Norwegian, the indefinite article (*en/ei/et*) is placed before the given noun in the singular form (e.g. *en dag*, *ei jente*, *et hus*). The definite article is added in the form of a suffix both in the singular and plural (*dagen/dagene*, *jenta/jentene*, *huset/husene*).

<sup>249</sup> The original form of the words is presented in the parentheses.

Capitalization of initial letters is generally applied in the texts in Skandinaven in the case of English transferred substantives. Borrowings typed in a different font deviate from this rule and have often no capital initial letters. But the use of the capital letters in this case is unlike Decorah-Posten less consistent. Even the nouns in the different type of the font are sometimes written with a capital letter, e.g.: *Packing Houses, Corn, Records*.

It is usually difficult to determine the etymology of multiword expressions in American-Norwegian. However, the spelling of the loanwords can sometimes serve as a hint. The American English differs slightly from the British English. The American spelling of ‘labor’ instead of the British ‘labour’ in *unskilled labor* suggests the word being an American innovation in the immigrants’ Norwegian. Similarly, the word ‘fertiliser’ is spelled with ‘s’ in British English while the American English prefers ‘z’ which is the form that appeared in the newspaper (“Fertilizers”). The British and American English sometimes vary in vocabulary. The word Drugstore that was used in the material is an illustrating example of the American lexicon. In British English the expression ‘chemist’ is more common. *Greenbacks* were banknotes printed by the United States during the Civil War in America. The American context of the word should be taken as an evidence of the American origin of the loanword in Norwegian. The ten-cent coins called “Dimes” in the United States also refer to a typically American phenomenon and are therefore classified as a loanword of the American origin. The Americanism clapboards is another example of the vocabulary typical for the United States that differs from the British English. It comes originally from Middle Dutch. It appeared later in American English in a different meaning (“long, thin board used for roofing or to cover the exterior of wooden buildings”) which is way how it was used in the newspaper.<sup>250</sup> The etymology of the word ‘boom’ suggests that it should be regarded as an American loanword, too. It was recorded in its transferred meaning in American English for the first time in 1871.<sup>251</sup> Again, several words came probably into Norwegian as a result of the earlier borrowing process in Europe. Among them ‘budget’ (here in Budgetaar, 1872), ‘yacht’ (Yacht – 1860) and ‘club’ (here orthographically adapted as klubber – 1861) can be mentioned. The word ‘interview’ was listed in Flom’s vocabulary in 1926. But it is highly probable that it was known among at least some of the immigrants before they had arrived in the United States. It is documented in Aftenposten in its original spelling in 1872 for the first time and in the adapted spelling ‘intervju’ since 1885. The compound “Boardinghouse”

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<sup>250</sup> Clapboard. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. 2017 [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=clapboard&searchmode=none](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=clapboard&searchmode=none).

<sup>251</sup> Boom. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. 2017 [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=boom&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=boom&allowed_in_frame=0).

(sometimes also spelled as “Boardinghus”) is in Norwegian used as lodging place including meals for seafarers. Sailing was common in Norway long before the emigration to the United States had started and foreign words connected to this activity were used in the sailors speak in the pre-immigration period, too<sup>252</sup>. Eventually, they spread to the common speech of Norwegian language users. The word ‘boarding house’ in its correct spelling written apart is documented in *Aftenposten* in 1904 and it appears in the adapted forms ‘boardinghouse’ and ‘boardinghus’ in 1861. Some of the loanwords that are mentioned neither in Flaten’s nor in Flom’s lists appear in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* in Norway. These are (together with the year of their documentation in the archive of *Aftenposten*): outlaw (1906), pig-iron (in total three occurrences in the 1960s), small business (1938), payment (1885 in the advertising section as a part of an fully English written commercial, 1914 in an article by the editorial staff), carpenter (1883), canning (1879 in an English advertisement), skilled eller unskilled (the expression does not occur as a whole; but its parts are documented in *Aftenposten* as ‘the skilled labour’ in 1894 and ‘unskilled men’, both in articles reporting on foreign affairs in France and England). But there is also a group of borrowings that are not included in the Norwegian newspaper published in Norway: canned beef, gluten meal, small grain, ironworkers, blacksmith shop, beef combine, boodlerne (English noun ‘boodle’), corn peas. The word exchange appears in *Aftenposten* only as a part of the name of the institutions (e.g. Royal Exchange in 1869, New York Stock Exchange in 1917).

Even though single words predominate as borrowings in Skandinaven, several examples of compounds and multiword expressions can be found in the material. Some of them are purely English while others are combinations of English and Norwegian elements: *over-education*, Blacksmith Shop, Saloonkeeper, *beef combine*; Boardinghus, Barnyarden, Budgetaar, Elevator-Mændene. The tendency of writing the compounds as one word in Norwegian can be observed here: Boardinghus/Boardinghouse, Budgetaar, Barnyarden, Commons skolen. These words are written apart in English.

From the perspective of the morphological integration, the contributions in Skandinaven involve a relatively large number of substantives with the English plural morphemes: clapboards, Counties, Bonds, packers, “Tramps”, payments, Beer Stamps. On the other hand, some loanwords already adopted the Norwegian and Danish plural forms in this period: Boodlerne, Lyncherne, Klubber, Farmere. The way how determiners are orthographically added to English loanwords varies, too. The texts include both substantives

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<sup>252</sup> Sailors’ language was heavily influenced by English borrowings. HAUGEN, Einar. *The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing*. *Language*. 1950, 26(2), pp. 210–231. ISSN 00978507. P. 227.

without any spelling changes after adding the articles (Jailen, Barnyarden, Prairien, Boodlerne) and substantives with adapted spelling forms as a consequence of the added article (Countiet, Exchang'en). The few verbs identified in the material are used in accordance with the Norwegian morphological system. Examples such as lynche (x to lynch), “boomede” (x boomed) illustrate an adapted Norwegian/Danish form together with their original English form for infinitive and preterite. But the limited number of the verbs in the material forbids any general conclusions about the morphological integration of English transferred verbs in Skandinaven.

Orthographically, the loanwords are preserved predominantly in the original spelling, e.g.: Interview, *canning*, Carpenter, Farmerteam, *corn peas*, “Fertilizers”, Creamery. A few borrowings underwent a partial or a complete orthographic integration (the original spelling is given in the parentheses), such as Cyklone (cyclone), Klubber (clubs). Interestingly, the spelling of English loanwords is not automatically identical for all the three examined newspapers. While Decorah-Posten adapts the spelling of the word ‘prairie’, i.e. Prærien, and keeps the original form of the word ‘cyclone’, Skandinaven uses these words in the converse shapes, namely Prairien and Cyklone.

### Minneapolis Tidende

Compared with Decorah-Posten and Skandinaven, Minneapolis Tidende aims the least attention to the visual differentiation of English borrowings from the Norwegian words. The editors of Minneapolis Tidende use the same means as the editors of the previously named newspapers, but they do it in a limited extent. The examples are: “Lunch”, “Stakeholder”, “Fire Escape”, “Garbage”; *outlaw*, *Common School*, *Wrappers*, *Cat fish*, *foreclose*, *buckjumper*. The majority of the loanwords is typed in the same font and without use of quotation marks (Meal Ticket, Boardet, Ranchmænd, Lynchlov, Manager, Garbage, fashionabel).

English substantives adopted into the articles of Minneapolis Tidende are capitalized with only a few exceptions regardless of their visual markedness or unmarkedness, e.g.: Charter, Meal Ticket, “Time Tables”, “Storet”, *Wrappers*, *Bail*. Generally, the trend is to capitalize every noun and do not use the capital letters as a tool to distinguish the more integrated loanwords from the less integrated loanwords.

A deeper look at the history of the loanwords shows the variety in their origin. The American origin of the loanword *Common School* can be defended by its reference to the American school system. The term was used for public schools in the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The word Blazer seems to be a loanword of the European origin. According to ‘The

Dictionary of etymology' it has been a part of the fashion vocabulary domain since the 19<sup>th</sup> century when it was used for a jacket worn at the university in Cambridge. A specific American meaning of the word is recorded from 1845 ("something that attracts attention")<sup>253</sup>. However, the context of the word in the newspaper refers to the British English meaning. The word 'boycott' that appears repeatedly in the newspapers belongs to the pre-immigration loanwords, too. It is even stated in 'The Dictionary of etymology' that the word penetrated the newspapers in many countries.<sup>254</sup> Its use is documented in *Aftenposten* since 1912 (and in the adapted Norwegian spelling in 1928). The time and channel of transmission of several of the English words is difficult to trace. They do not stand for a specific American or British phenomenon. Neither are they listed in any of the Norwegian-American vocabularies ("Fire Escape", "Garbage", *Cat fish*, *foreclose*, Meal Ticket, "Time Tables", Ulcers, *Bail*). Both "Stakeholder" and Manager refer to the business and economic domain of the vocabulary. Such words were not exceptionally present in the form of borrowings in other languages already in the pre-immigration period. In case of Norwegian, the word Manager can be found in the archive of *Aftenposten* in the issue from 1861 but "Stakholder" is documented in 1944 for the first time.

Single borrowings as well as compound words and multiword expressions can be identified in the material. Combinations of elements with the Norwegian and English spelling or of a partly Norwegian and a partly English origin are often used in the texts. Following examples show some of them: Ranchmænd, Boardinghus, Bicyclesæsonen, Retailhandelen, Udgiftbudget, Lynchlov.

A large number of the transferred nouns of the English origin is adopted and used with the original plural morphemes, e.g.: Carpets, Stoves, Money Orders, *Wrappers*, Colleges, Creameries, Ulcers. Substantives with adapted plural suffixes are used in this period in *Minneapolis Tidende*, too, e.g.: Countyerne, Settlerne. But they are slightly outnumbered by the unadapted forms. When a determiner is added to English nouns the spelling is not modified: Countyet, Countyene, Juryen. The determiner sometimes appears with an apostrophe (Pie'en).

Except for a few established loanwords (Klub, Præriejord) no attempts of the orthographic adaptation are traced in this analysed material. All the borrowings are preserved in their original English spelling: Lynchlov (lynshj), Handicap (handikap, handikapp), "Lunch"

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<sup>253</sup> Blazer. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. 2017 [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=blazer](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=blazer).

<sup>254</sup> Boycott. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. 2017 [cit. 2017-09-02]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=boycott](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=boycott).

(lunsj), Boycott (boikott), Blazer (bleser).<sup>255</sup> A partial spelling adaptation is probably undertaken in the word *fashionabel*. The English suffix *-able* was changed into the more Norwegian form *-abel*.<sup>256</sup>

#### 7.4. Period 1900–1910

##### Decorah-Posten

Compared with the previous period, the first thing that attracts the attention is the fact that the English loanwords are much less visually marked in the issues from the period 1900–1910 than in 1887–1899. Even though some of the transferred English words are in quotation marks, no other types are used any more in the newspaper. The words in quotation marks are mostly appellations of products and objects that had probably been unknown for the immigrants before they came to the United States or that differ from their equivalents in Norway, e.g.: “Yeast Powder”, “Double Boiler”, “Boiled Custard”. However, the rule does not seem to be generally applicable. Following words would be categorised at the same level as the previously mentioned words from the perspective of the immigrants and their unfamiliarity with them but they are not visually marked in the text: Gingerbread, Nutrition Expert, Cracker. Moreover, some words are used both in a visually marked and unmarked variant: Corn Starch (in the issue of 1902) x “Corn-Starch” (in the issue of 1906); Steamer x “steamer” (both of them in the issue of 1909).

No difference was made between the visually marked and visually unmarked English nouns regarding the use of the capital initial letter. Both groups of the nouns are still capitalized in *Decorah-Posten* in this period.

It was already mentioned that the word ‘muffin’ belongs to the category of loanwords where the way of acquirement is disputable. In this particular case, however, the word is regarded as an infiltration from the American culture. The word appears in a recipe (‘Amandas Muffins’) that is a description how to make the American muffins and the mentioned ingredients (cornmeal) refer to the vocabulary common for American English. Similarly the word Corn Starch is also classified as being of the American origin. It is an ingredient that has roots in the United States. Even though it spread to the European kitchen later, it is highly probable that the immigrants started using it in America. Gingerbread is not

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<sup>255</sup> The forms in the parentheses show the contemporary spelling of the loanwords in Norwegian based on: *Bokmålsordboka - Nynorskordboka* [online]. ©2016. [accessed 2016-01-11–2017-09-18]. Available at: <http://www.nob-ordbok.uio.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=&bokmaal=+&ordbok=bokmaal>.

<sup>256</sup> But it cannot be ruled out that it was not just a typing mistake. The adjective appeared only once in the material and no other derivatives with the same suffix were identified in the texts. It is spelled as ‘*fasjonabel*’ in the modern Norwegian language.

specifically American product but it appears in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* much later (documented in 1980) than in the Norwegian-American newspapers. Besides, it is mentioned in *Aftenposten* in an American context in a recipe for a Christmas biscuits that begins with this introduction: “No American can imagine the Christmas without gingerbread cookies.”<sup>257</sup> The expression “Blind Pigs” is another example of a loanword from the American environment. This term was used for establishments where alcohol was illegally sold during the Prohibition era. The borrowing is a part of a text reporting on the discussions about changes in the prohibition law. The compound word *Toastmaster* was not mentioned in the Flom’s and Flaten’s lists. A search through the archive of *Aftenposten* reveals that it is documented in its texts in 1905 for the first time (the contribution is from the United States). In this regard it is seen as a loanwords acquired on the North American continent by the immigrants. The difference between the American and British English is reflected in the compound *Switch-lokomotiv*. While it is known as a locomotive for ‘switching’ in the United States, it is called ‘shunter’ in Great Britain and it is used for ‘shunting’. This linguistic distinction is taken as an evidence of the American origin of the word. Similarly, the American spelling has the same role. The compound “Fruit Coloring” belongs to the American vocabulary rather than to the British. A part of the English words that appear in the newspaper are mentioned in recipes. These were mainly the ingredients necessary for the cooking (“Yeast Powder”, *Cracker-Crumbs*, *Parsnips*, *Candied Cherries*, *Cocoanut*). Even though the possibility that the immigrants learned some of the English names of the ingredients in Europe cannot be fully excluded, it is more probable that they met them under their English names on the American continent first. The word “Chairman” is an instance of the well-established English borrowed vocabulary that entered the lexicon of Norwegians in the pre-immigration time. It is documented in *Aftenposten* in the 1870s.

Structurally, a variety of transferred words can be identified in the texts: single words (*Biscuits*, *Receivers*, *Rancher*) as well as complete English compounds and multiword expressions, such as: “*Wall Hangers*”, “*Chairman*”, *Cracker-Crumbs*, *Corn Meal*, *Ice Cream*. Sometimes they are changed into semi-calques: *Turkeybenene*, *Præriejord*, *Dry Goods-Afdeling*, *Oatmel*.

Plural forms of the borrowed nouns are usually in accordance with the English patterns: *Biscuits*<sub>s</sub>, “*Wall Hangers*”<sub>s</sub>, *Muffins*<sub>s</sub>, *Typewriters*<sub>s</sub>, *Receivers*<sub>s</sub>, *Parsnips*<sub>s</sub>. English loanwords of a high incidence, for example ‘settler’, do already have a Norwegian morpheme for the plural (*Settlere*<sub>s</sub>). This could have served as a prototype how to adapt other words to the

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<sup>257</sup> AP, December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1980. Translation by Pavla Bartásková.

Norwegian rules but following examples bearing the English morphology illustrate the converse approach and the English suffix is maintained: Receivers, Typewriters, Ranchers. Nevertheless, examples of nouns with Norwegian plural endings can be found in the texts: Puddinger, Salooner. Spelling changes caused by the use of Norwegian determiners also show a certain extent of incongruence. Some words are identified in varying forms: Jurien (in the issue of 1900) x Juryen (in the issue of 1902 and 1903), Countiet (in the issue of 1900) x Countyet (in the issue of 1903).

As the studied material reveals, most of the English loanwords did not undergo any level of orthographic integration into Norwegian and some borrowings contain letters that are not used in indigenous Norwegian words<sup>258</sup>: Biscuits (biskuit), Typerwriters, Tonic, “Chairman”. A few examples of orthographic integration can be mentioned from this period: Klub (club), Præriejord (prairie).

### Skandinaven

The visual differentiation of English loanwords from this period is less noticeable than in the previous stage. Still, some of the words are set in quotation marks (e.g. “Job”, “Road Houses”, “Slump”, “bløffe”, “Kegs”) and two cases of the use of the other type of font were found: *boiler*, *bust measure*. Most of the words of the English origin are not highlighted (boiler, Mayoren, Pie, Live Stock, Copyright). The individual newspapers decided on their own how the borrowings were handled. It is therefore not surprising that the research reveals variations in their approach. This can be illustrated by the example of the word ‘ice cream’. The word ice cream was marked with quotation marks in Skandinaven (“Ice Cream”) while in Decorah-Posten it was blended with Norwegian words naturally.

With the only exception of the two above mentioned nouns in a different font, all English substantives are written with capital initial letters. The use of small initial letters in the words *boiler* and *bust measure* indicates that they were not considered as a part of the Norwegian lexicon.

The compound “Road Houses” is classified as an American borrowing in the language of the immigrants. The object that it refers to is known under different names in other English speaking countries (‘stopping house’ in Canada, ‘coaching inn’ in Great Britain). The other loanwords that appear in the newspaper have already been a part of the immigrants’ lexicon when they entered the North American continent. They do not represent concepts that are specifically American and they were known in Europe before the migration period. Moreover,

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<sup>258</sup> These are letters *c*, *q*, *w*, and *x*.

they were used in the Norwegian press even in the periods prior the studied periods in the Norwegian-American newspapers: “bløffe” – 1862, Copyright – 1879. Live Stock – 1893, Yams – 1939. Some expressions do not occur in the *Aftenposten* issues: Sugar Beets, Trolley-Vogn and Pain-Killer (the compound documented first in 1982 in an advertisement *Aftenposten*, it is the only one occurrence; spelled without the hyphen as ‘pain killer’). The addressing form Miss is an evidence of the influence of the Anglo-American culture. It does not seem to be a phenomenon specifically transferred from the American environment into Norwegian. The archive of *Aftenposten* documents its use in Norway since the beginning of its publishing in 1860. The addressing always accompanies names of foreigners (not Norwegians).

A mix of single words (Pie, Check, Barrel, Miss), compounds and multiword expressions (Pain-Killer, Live Stock, Brødbox, Chokoladepudding, Picnic Steder, Trolley-Vogn, Sugar Beets) can be found in the texts. It would be incorrect to claim that one group outnumbers the other considerably. There is no clear preference to any of them.

The predominance of the English grammar patterns is obvious. Substantives with Norwegian plurals are still used rather rarely in this period. These are usually the same words as the morphologically adapted nouns in *Decorah-Posten* (*Settlerne*) while rest remains with English plural endings: Yams, Grains, Department Stores, Points, Colleges, Cuffs, Cranberries. The word “Kegs” is an interesting instance. It comes originally from the Scandinavian languages.<sup>259</sup> However, it was probably reborrowed from English including the morpheme *-s* for the plural form (the Norwegian singular and plural forms are respectively ‘kagge’ and ‘kagger’). Norwegian determiners are added without having any further influence on the spelling of the given noun, e.g.: Juryen, Mayoren, Boomen, Countyet. The few borrowed verbs identified in the material are adapted to the Norwegian morphology. The Norwegian morpheme *-e* is used for the infinitive of the English verb ‘to bluff’ (“bløffe”) and the preterite of the verb ‘to lynch’ is formed by the suffix *-ede*<sup>260</sup> (*lynchede*).

The majority of English loanwords maintains the original spelling in Skandinaven in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nowadays some of them are already used in an adapted form in Norwegian.<sup>261</sup> Following pairs of the loanwords with spelling of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>259</sup> Keg. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. 2017 [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=keg](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=keg).

<sup>260</sup> In fact, the ending *-ede* for the preterite is a Danish morpheme. But as the Norwegian written standard was not formed until the spelling reforms in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this was the correct ending for that period. After the reforms, the Norwegian form of the preterite of the verb ‘lynse’ changed to ‘lynset’.

<sup>261</sup> Loanwords that are considered as a part of the Norwegian lexicon have usually undergone a spelling adaptation based on the phonemic orthography to certain extent. The phonemic orthography builds on the correspondence between the graphemes and phonemes. Ideally, the spoken form of a word reflects fully the

in the Norwegian-American newspapers and their contemporary Norwegian form document the development: lynche x lynsje, Pamphlet x pamflett, Punch x punsj, Job x jobb, Budget x budsjett. Exceptionally, an orthographically integrated word appears in the material: Præriehunde (prairie), bløffe (to bluff).

### Minneapolis Tidende

The majority of the English loanwords is not visually marked in the texts (e.g. Check, Yacht, Town Board, Salooner, Countykasserer). There are just a few borrowings that are set in quotation marks in the material (“Basement”, “Trading Stamps”, “Shorthorn-kjør”, “recorded”) and even less words typed in a different font (*bumper*). Again, it is hard to find any key to the decision to mark some of the words and it seems to be more or less a question of the personal preference of the contributor.

Almost all the English transferred nouns are capitalized and fully correspond with the general trend of the use of the capital initial letter in the newspaper. The word *bumper* is typed with a small initial letter and in a different type of font which both can be seen as a reference to its foreign origin.

From the loanwords not earlier discussed in the study, the teddy bear (in the material in the form Teddy- Bjørn) is originally an American invention.<sup>262</sup> From this point of view it is treated as a result of a borrowing process from American English. The origin of other few loanwords that did not appear in the vocabulary lists of Flaten and Flom is disputable. The words ‘city’ and ‘training’ that appear as components of the compounds are present in the material of Aftenposten as individual words. But they are not mentioned in the issues in the particular compounds (Citykjøbmand, Trainingskole) as they were identified in the material from the United States.

The identified compound words and multiword expressions involve both purely English-based instances (Lawn Tennis, Town Hall, Town Board, “Class-day Excursies”) and combinations of English and Norwegian elements, often semi-calques (Teddy-Bjørn, Citykjøbmand, Trainingskole, Countykasserer). The newspaper contributions involve many single words, too (“Basement”, *bumper*, Countyet).

The research indicates that the English transferred substantives with Norwegian plural morphemes outnumber nouns with original English endings in Minneapolis Tidende in the period 1900–1910. However, the total amount of the plural forms is smaller than in Decorah-

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written form of it. English is a non-phonemic language while Norwegian has been developed under the influence of the phonemic orthography since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>262</sup> Teddy Bear. *National Museum of American History* [online]. Washington D.C. [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: <http://americanhistory.si.edu/press/fact-sheets/teddy-bear>.

Posten and Skandinaven and it could be misleading to draw any general conclusion under these conditions. Following examples illustrate substantives of both categories: Bicycler, Salooner, Countyerne, Puddinger as the morphologically adapted while “Trading Stamps”, Jellies as nouns with a not adapted plural form. The definite Norwegian articles in post-position do not seem to have any influence on the spelling as the preference is given to the simple adding of the determiner without any further spelling changes (Juryen, Mayoren, Countyet, Countyerne).

Several attempts to integrate English borrowings into the Norwegian orthographic standard can be traced in the material: forbløffe (to bluff), “Rekorders” (recorder), Bicykleture (bicycle). However, the majority of the words remains unchanged<sup>263</sup>: Intervju (intevju), Check (sjekk), Trainingskole (treningskole), Yacht, Township.

### 7.5. Period 1930–1945

#### Decorah-Posten

Although the English borrowings are not typed in a different font any more, some of them are still set into quotation marks. The majority of them are multiword expressions (“meadow mixtures”, “all purpose tractor”, “sweat shops”, “squad cars”) but several single words are highlighted in this way, too (“poults”, “deal”, “breadline”, “Dumping”). Even if the borrowings come from the same field of vocabulary, they can be handled visually in varying ways. Several examples from the music vocabulary illustrate this inconsistency: “blues”x Jazz x “ragtime”. All of the three words are used as names for music genres with roots in America in similar time but they differ in the way how they are handled visually in the texts. Other English loanwords do not deviate visually from the rest of the words (Baby, interview, countyembedsmand, speaker, Reaper, Cutting Platform).

The above mentioned words reveal other variations of the spelling, too. While some of the substantives are capitalized, a part of them does not have a capital initial letter. With a few exceptions (“Dumping”, “Retail Food and Grocery Trade”), nouns in the quotation marks belong the latter group: “musical wilderness”, “swimming shorts”, “nurse crop”, “knockout”. It is common to capitalize visually unmarked English borrowings in the material from Decorah-Posten in 1930–1945: Reaper, Lunch, Cowboy, Baby, Shipping.

“Blues”, Jazz and “ragtime” are all music genres that originated in the United States. In this regard they are classified as American loanwords in the language of the Norwegian

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<sup>263</sup> The contemporary Norwegian adapted spelling of the borrowing is added in the parentheses if it differs from the original English form.

immigrants in this study. Football is a loanword that was already brought by the Norwegian immigrants as a part of their lexicon. An evidence of the use of the word in Norway is the news in *Aftenposten* from the 1880s reporting on various football clubs. There are several terms from the economic and trade domain of vocabulary. They were already used in European Norwegian prior this examined period as the issues of *Aftenposten* show: Dumping (1904), deal (1861), Shipping (1868). Even though they could have been unknown for a part of the immigrants before they came to the United States, they should not be seen as a result of the direct American influence on Norwegian. It is even more difficult to detect the origin of the English multiword expressions and some of the compounds that appeared in Norwegian. They refer specifically neither to American nor to British concepts and phenomena. Anglicisms such as “meadow mixtures”, “all purpose tractor”, “sweat shops”, “Cutting Platform”, “musical wilderness” are not found in *Aftenposten* in these forms. The individual parts of the expressions and compounds were obviously known (e.g. ‘mixture’ in the 1870s, ‘tractor’ in the 1910s) but are not used in the same forms in the material in Norway as in the US.

From the perspective of the structure of the transferred linguistic items, all types occur in the material. Both single words (“producers”, “deal”, Shipping, Budgettet) and compound words and multiword expressions (“loss leader”, “knockout”, Countyhospitalet, Delivery Automobil) vary in the way how they are handled visually in the text. In some cases the Norwegian tendency of writing compounds as one word is manifested (Countyhospitalet x ‘county hospital’ in English).

Morphological forms of plural vary in the texts and the Norwegian/Danish as well as the English suffixes appear in the material. The most common loanwords that already became a stable part of the lexicon of American-Norwegians are integrated in the Norwegian/Danish morphological system: *Countyer*, *Farmerne*. On the other hand, a significant number of the English borrowings is used with their original plural endings: “producers<sub>s</sub>”, “sweat shops<sub>s</sub>”, “squad cars<sub>s</sub>”, “ragtimes<sub>s</sub>”. The limited volume of examples of nouns with the definite Norwegian article in the texts makes it difficult to draw a general conclusion concerning the influence of it on the spelling of the English loanwords.

Orthographic integration of several words can be traced in the material: *træner* (trainer), *intervjuet* (interview) but the adapted words are outnumbered by the words with the original English spelling (for illustration their contemporary Norwegian spelling is added in the parentheses if it exists): Football (fotball), Jazz (jass), job (jobb), Lunch (lunsj), shredded Corn, Cottonseed.

## Skandinaven

The downward tendency of setting English loanwords in italics and quotation marks is apparent. A minimum of the borrowings are visually marked by using the quotation marks: “Hall of Fame”, “Games”, “Home-makers”, “Squares”, “Whole Wheat”, “Press Ironer”. Most of the loanwords are typed without any highlighting (Boards, Dressing, Dampyacht, Truck, Ranch, Flaadetrawler).

All identified English substantives in the texts are capitalized. The way how they are handled in the text visually (a different font, quotation marks) does not seem to play any part in this case.

The borrowing Coyoter refers to an indigenous North-American animal. As a part of the American environment the word is also linguistically classified as an American innovation in the language of the Norwegian immigrants. A similar instance is the word Pecans. They are a native American species. The abbreviation EST (‘Eastern Time Zone’) is considered an American English borrowing in the lexicon of the Norwegian immigrants due to its reference to a specifically American context. The etymology of the word kitchenettes is taken as a sign of its American origin in the Norwegian language.<sup>264</sup> An instance of the varying American and British English vocabulary is represented by the expression “Whole Wheat”. While it is used in this form in the United States, the British version is ‘wholemeal’. In this respect “Whole Wheat” is seen as an American loanword in this study. The loanword Sandwicher belongs to the pre-immigration group. Its history goes back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the story about the Earl of Sandwich. In this respect it must be seen as a British English borrowing. Words such as Turister, Tennisrackets and Flaadetrawler entered the Norwegian vocabulary already in the period prior the main migration waves to the United States (turist – 1860, Tennisrackets as an item in an advertisement in 1913 and the word trawler in 1880 (however the compound flaadetrawler that is used in the American press does not appear here). The sport term score appears in the archive of the Aftenposten issues in 1914. The expression “Hall of Fame” was not used in the written Norwegian language of the newspapers in Europe in this period according to the data in the Aftenposten archive. It is found in the contributions in Aftenposten first in 1972.

The transferred compound words and multiword expressions consist of solely English elements (Tennisrackets, Boxeklub, Farmboards) or are formed as semi-calques (Bag-

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<sup>264</sup> Kitchenette. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. 2017 [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=kitchenette](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=kitchenette).

Bumper, Picnic-Udstyr, Æblepudding). Single words of the English origin are used by the contributors, too (Boards, “Games”, Pecans, Acres).

Plural forms of the borrowed substantives vary in the material. While some of them, especially the established borrowings, adopted the Norwegian and Danish plurals (Settlere, Farmere; but also Puddinger, Juniorboxerne, Turister, Coyoter, Sandwicher, Ouncer), the original English suffix for plural is used in a number of them (Counties, Boards, Pecans, Tennisrackets, Acres, Poached Eggs). No example of a spelling change that would emerge as a result of the use of a Norwegian determiner is found in Skandinaven in the period 1930–1945. Several verbs are identified in the material. The examination of them shows that they are integrated into the Norwegian morphological verb system. The Norwegian infinitive morpheme is added to them (farme), the conjugation is formed by using the Norwegian endings (dribler, jumpet, scoret, intervjuet). The only identified adjective of the English origin in the material underwent the morphological integration (smarte), too.

Generally, English loanwords are not integrated orthographically in Skandinaven in this period; e.g.: Sandwicher, Boxing (boksing), Picnic (piknik), Lunch (lunsj), Destroyer, scoret (skåret), Coyoter, Truck, Trawler (tråler), Tennisrackets (tennisrekkert).<sup>265</sup> The orthographic integration is represented only by a few words: Sportsklubben (sport club), Jobber (jobs), Prærien (praire), intervjuet (to interview).

### Minneapolis Tidende

The trend of no visual highlighting of words of the English origin (e.g. Statssheriff, Countyagent, cash bonus, Sandwich) is followed in the last period of Minneapolis Tidende with an exception of a very limited number of words that are used in quotation marks: “Holiday”, “Relief Clients”, “Grading”, “Girl”, “Croutons”.

Capitalization of English transferred substantives is inconsistent. There are both capitalized nouns (Pudding, Beef, Sandwich) and nouns without capitalization of the initial letter (klubben, speaker, knockoutslag). Examples of a noun both capitalized and non-capitalized can be found in the texts (Farmeren x farmere), too.

The innovation known as Graham Mel (‘Graham flour’ in English) originated in the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>266</sup> As a part of the American lifestyle it is considered as an American innovation in the lexicon of Norwegian immigrants, too. The origin of other

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<sup>265</sup> The forms in the parentheses show the contemporary spelling of the loanwords in Norwegian based on: *Bokmålsordboka - Nynorskordboka* [online]. ©2016. [accessed 2016-01-11–2017-09-18]. Available at: <http://www.nob-ordbok.uio.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=&bokmaal=+&ordbok=bokmaal>.

<sup>266</sup> Graham. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. 2017 [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=Graham&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=Graham&allowed_in_frame=0).

loanwords from the material is more disputable. Words such as “Holiday”, “Grading”, “Girl”, “Croutons” and Melke-Toast can have American as well as European roots in the language of the Norwegian immigrants. They are documented in the articles in *Aftenposten*: “Holiday” 1900 (as a part of an English written advertisement, 1902 in news from Germany), “Grading” 1913, “Girl” 1902 (‘dancing girl’) and “Crouton” 1925. Melke-Toast does not occur in the issues of *Aftenposten*.

Single words dominate the group of English loanwords in *Minneapolis Tidende* in this period. But compound words and multiword phrases are not excluded (Melke-Toast, budgetkomiteen, land-checkklaringer, Øl-Bill, Butterdeigkager).

When a plural form of the transferred nouns is made, both English and Norwegian morphemes are involved. The Norwegian and Danish plural endings always accompany the already established loanwords, e.g.: Settlere, farmerne, præriere while the English plural endings appear in the words that did not become a fixed part of the immigrants’ lexicon yet: debts, Tractors, “Croutons”, “Clients”. However, the number of the identified plural forms in the material is limited. Therefore the above described examples should be regarded as a tendency rather than a proved model. If grammatically necessary, Norwegian determiners are added to the English borrowed nouns (klubbene, Farmerene, Countyet). The only English transferred verb which was found in the texts underwent morphological adaptation reflected in the Norwegian preterite ending *-et* (bluffete).

The progress of the orthographic integration is comparable with the other two newspapers of The Big Three. This is illustrated by several examples of English loanwords that are adapted: prærier (praire), klubben (club), boksing (boxing), bluffet (bløffet). However, the majority of the borrowings remains orthographically unchanged, e.g.: cash bonus, knockoutslag, Supper, speaker, Tractors (traktor), Lunch (lunsj), Sandwich.

## **7.6. Period 1955–1972**

### Decorah Posten

The newspaper was published until 1972 and is the only one of The Big Three which covers the whole period. The final stage of the linguistic development of the Norwegian newspapers in the US is therefore documented only on the analyses of the material from *Decorah-Posten*.

The majority of the English loanwords is not visually marked (popsanger, bacon, cockpit, Speaker, farmland, collegeuddannelse). Only a few of the words are set in quotation marks, e.g.: “babyfood”, “Best Seller”, “Picnic”, “Penthouses”, “Cornflakes”,

“Snacks”, “work-study”, “dry cargo”. This is how the foreign origin of the given word could be stressed. But as already mentioned in the relevant paragraphs discussing the previous periods, it is hard to find a convincing and unquestionable explanation for the visual differentiation of some of the loanwords. Although the context, the structure and the way how the immigrants became familiar with the words ‘gangster’ and ‘manager’ are comparable, one of them is visually marked (“manager”) in the newspaper while the other is a natural part of the text (Gangsterne). Similarly more pairs of such examples can be identified in the material: “trailere”/konsernet; “Picnic”/Sightseeing; “Penthouses”/House Speaker. In the very last years of the existence of Decorah-Posten (1970–1972) none of the loanwords was visually marked any more.

Up until 1961 all substantives were capitalized in accordance with the editorial spelling policy. Capitalization was applied to English borrowings, too. The only exception from this rule identified in the material is the word “dry cargo”.<sup>267</sup> During the year 1961 capitalization of substantives was lifted. From the issue of July 1961 there are no examples of English borrowed nouns with a capital initial letter.

Butterscotch is a concept that comes historically from the England.<sup>268</sup> Therefore it is classified as a British English element in the Norwegian language. On the other hand, “Cornflakes” were made for the first time in the United States and spread later to other parts of the parts of the world. This is the reason that the word is ranked as an American borrowing in Norwegian of the immigrants. Of course, its use is documented in Aftenposten (in the advertising section since 1920). The word campus belongs to the sub-category of the international words. But it is claimed in the dictionary ‘Bokmålsordboka/Nynorskordboka’ that it entered the Norwegian vocabulary through English.<sup>269</sup> The Norwegian newspaper Aftenposten used the expression already in 1870. The history of the multiword expressions and compounds such as “babyfood”, “Best Seller”, “Penthouses”, “work-study”, “dry cargo”, popsanger, filmteam, cockpiten, Sightseeing and tea pot as borrowings is more difficult to trace. They appear as whole compact expressions in the newspapers in Europe in the same way as in the American Norwegian press, e.g. (the year that accompanies the word documents the first use of the loanword in Aftenposten): “babyfood 1950, “Best Seller” 1934, “Penthouses” 1934, “dry cargo” 1945 (news reporting on the American happenings,

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<sup>267</sup> All other examples illustrating English loanwords in Decorah-Posten in the period 1955–1972 with a small initial letter (“manager”, “babyfood”, “trailere”, cospiten, collegeuddannelse, etc.) are from the issues published after 1961.

<sup>268</sup> *The Food Timeline* [online]. 2015 [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: <http://www.foodtimeline.org/foodcandy.html#butterscotch>.

<sup>269</sup> *Bokmålsordboka - Nynorskordboka* [online]. 2016. [accessed 2016-01-11–2017-09-18]. Available at: <http://www.nob-ordbok.uio.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=&bokmaal=+&ordbok=bokmaal>.

overtaken from the news agency Reuter), popsanger 1961, filmteam 1945, cockpiten 1895 (advertisement) and 1912 (news) and tea pot 1966 (advertisement). The expressions “work-study” and Sightseeing appear in the advertisement section in English written commercials from 1968 and 1926. The American etymology is stated by the word Gangsterne.<sup>270</sup> It was used in some issues of the newspapers in Norway, too (several instances of use documented already 1900, more frequently used since the 1930s). But its American roots make it a borrowing from American English for this study. Although the word “Snacks” already existed in English in the earlier centuries its increase in use and a shift in meaning is declared to be linked with the introduction of packed snacks by manufacturers in the US in the 1950s.<sup>271</sup> The word is regularly documented in Aftenposten since the 1930s but it is possible that it was much more common for the Norwegian immigrants.

Structurally, the editors use both single words and multiword phrases (cup, campus; tea pot, filmteam). Some of the compound words and multiword expressions emerged as calques: de lokale Autoriteter, Kringkastnigerne.

Norwegian/Danish morphological forms for plural are traced in the material, e.g.: Tunneler, Kringkastningerne, Countyer, Traalerne, Jobber, Farmere, Bulk-Carriere, skiklubber, Gangsterne. Transferred nouns that maintain the original plural ending (“Snacks”, “Penthouses”, jobs, sweaters, bowls, acres) are in minority in this period. Even though Norwegian determiners are used where necessary, no additional spelling effect of the Norwegian determiner used with English substantives was identified in the newspaper (sheriffen, Budgettet, colleget, jungelen). The material included only a few examples of borrowed verbs: verbs ‘to chartre’ and ‘to score’ used in preterite with the correct Norwegian morpheme (chartret, scoret), verbs’ jobbe’ and ‘lynsje’ in the Norwegian past participle form (jobbet, lynsjet) and verb ‘intervju’ in the Norwegian reflexive form (intevjues).

The loanwords are rather less orthographically integrated. Borrowings that underwent some orthographic integration are exceptions<sup>272</sup>: Traalerne (trawler), budsjettet (budget), prærier (prairie), intervjue (interview), lynsje (lynch), tøffest (toughest). Most of the borrowed words preserve their original spelling: “Picnic” (piknik), Lunch (lunsj), Sightseeing, “Cornflakes”, Cargo-Liner (kargo), Producer, Charterfly (sjarterfly), scoret (skåret). However, the integration was in progress as the varying orthographic forms of the word check show:

<sup>270</sup> Gangster. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. [cit. 2017-09-02]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=gangster&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=gangster&allowed_in_frame=0).

<sup>271</sup> Snack History. *National Museum of American History* [online]. Washington D.C. [cit. 2017-09-04]. Available at: <http://americanhistory.si.edu/food/new-and-improved/snack-nation>.

<sup>272</sup> The original English forms are given in the parentheses.

Checker (1962; a plural indefinite form of the word ‘check’ with a Norwegian suffix) x sjekk (1970).

## 7.7. Summary

It was natural and unavoidable that English loanwords penetrated the Norwegian written newspapers in the United States. The authors of the spelling book for American Norwegians Eikeland and Rølvaag state that:

“Yes, even those who speak and write Norwegian best are just as likely to be guilty of an anglicism.”<sup>273</sup>

As the previous chapter showed, the editors and interested public took various stands on this phenomenon. This attitude was also reflected through language management of the borrowed English words in the individual contributions. No general language policy seems to be applied to this matter in the newspapers.

The tendency to distinguish words of the English origin from the Norwegian vocabulary visually was shared in the newspapers of The Big Three in the early stage of their publishing. This proved to be the case in all the three newspapers. Quotation marks and the application of a different font were used for this purpose. However, the intensity and consistency of their application varied from contribution to contribution. There were no common rules or binding policies for the use of the special graphical means. If a word was visually highlighted in one of the newspapers, it does not necessarily mean that the same word was highlighted in the other two newspapers, too. The visual differentiation between the words of the Norwegian and English origin became of a less significance during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is due to the fact that the use of different font for words of an English origin was ceased by the third period as defined in this research. The total number of the graphically marked English loanwords lowered but the volume of the borrowings set in quotation marks remained more or less constant with only slight increase/decrease in this practice.

	1887–1899			1900–1910			1930–1945			1950–1972
	DP	SK	MT	DP	SK	MT	DP	SK	MT	DP
<b>quotation marks</b>	6.67%	5.45%	4.65%	8.82%	7.53%	5.45%	8.45%	4.17%	3.3%	8.33%
<b>different font</b>	11.67%	15.45%	5.23%	—	1.1%	0.78%	—	—	—	—
<b>combination of both</b>	—	0.91%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>273</sup> EIKELAND, Peter J., RØLVAAG, Ole Edvart.. *Haandbok i norsk rettskrivning og uttale til skolebruk og selvstudium*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916, p. 94.

Even though there was a visible tendency to use capital initial letters for the more integrated transferred nouns and no capitalization in the case of the less integrated substantives in Decorah-Posten throughout all the time stages, the general trend in all the three newspapers is to capitalize all nouns including English loanwords. Nevertheless, some instances of non-capitalized nouns were identified in Skandinaven and Minneapolis Tidende. Despite the higher probability of capitalization of an already established loanword than of a “newcomer” in the Norwegian lexicon, the high number of disputable cases complicates any attempts to define some rules for (non)capitalization of English loanwords. From 1961 on neither indigenous Norwegian nor transferred substantives of the English origin were capitalized in the newspaper Decorah-Posten.

The English borrowings which were identified in the texts involved words transferred and used in the Norwegian language already in the pre-immigration period as well as words that appeared in the language of Norwegians in the United States as a consequence of their immigration. The analyses reveal that a part of the words were incorporated to fill in the gap in the vocabulary of the immigrants. This proves to be in accordance with the statements of the editor of the newspapers who found such anglicisms the least debatable. The material involves instances of English words that were used in the Norwegian newspapers in Europe, too. If a loanword was identified in both the Norwegian-American (especially the loanwords from the more recent issues) and the Norwegian newspaper, the Norwegian newspapers contained such a loanword mainly in contributions reporting on the news from the United States or other foreign countries and in the advertising section.

Single words, compound words and multiword phrases were a natural part of the transfers from English. Some of them emerged as semi-calques while others were transferred as a whole into Norwegian. When an English element was combined with a Norwegian element it does not necessarily mean that the integration process at the morphological and orthographic level would start earlier and would be quicker. The process of Norwegianization was in some cases reflected in writing the compounds together as one word which is the prevailing rule in Norwegian.

The morphological treatment of the English loanwords was not commented in the spelling handbook by Eikeland and Rølvaag. Some observations that can serve for comparison with the current study were made by Haugen. The morphological variety from the material of The Big Three can be studied mainly on the instances of plural forms of transferred substantives. All the three newspapers were congruent in the forms for the early established and highly frequented English borrowings (e.g.: farmer, farm, settler, settlement,

county, saloon). In other cases the variety was much broader. Norwegian as well as English plural morphemes can be found in each of the periods and in all the three newspapers. The preference of one form over the other seems to be based on the personal choice of the contributor. Generally, the transition from the English morphological form to the Norwegian form seems to reflect the process of integration of the given word into the immigrants' lexicon. The table below shows the proportion of morphologically adapted and unadapted English transferred nouns when the plural forms are in focus.

	DP		SK		MT	
	adapted	not adapted	adapted	not adapted	adapted	not adapted
1887–1899	18.54%	23.85%	14.81%	21.6%	14.85%	15.84%
1900–1910	11.7%	18.09%	17.82%	24.75%	25%	9.83%
1930–1945	12.98%	15.58%	31.63%	14.29%	23.94%	9.86%
1955–1972	31.4%	10.74%	---	---	---	---

There is a congruity among The Big Three in the use of determiners. All borrowed substantives were accompanied by a definite or an indefinite Norwegian article when necessary. Borrowed verbs appeared only in a very limited number and thus it is more precarious to draw some general conclusions. Their integration was in various stages of integration.

Orthographic integration of English loanwords proved not to play a very significant part in The Big Three. Although some of the words underwent partial or full adaptations, the majority is typed in the original English spelling. The table shows the volume of orthographically adapted English lemmas in the texts during the monitored periods. There is an evident increase in orthographic adaptation of the borrowings. As the anglicisms were becoming a part of immigrants' stable lexicon their written form was subjected to changes that reflected the Norwegian patterns, too.

	DP	SK	MT
<b>1887–1899</b>	4.63%	4.17%	10.29%
<b>1900–1910</b>	8.3%	5.38%	12.5%
<b>1930–1945</b>	11.82%	12.5%	14%
<b>1950–1972</b>	15.32%	---	---

## 8. ANALYSES – FEATURES FROM THE REFORM OF 1907

The following sections show the examination of the development of the Norwegian written standard in the selected Norwegian-American newspapers and its correspondence with the spelling reform. This research question is comprehensive and involves language management of the given newspaper applied to the original written contributions of the editors and their local external collaborators as well as the norms of the language policy applied to texts that were sent to the newspapers from subscribers and European correspondents. It is thus not limited to the editors' personal treatment of the language forms in connection with the reform. This approach would exclude all contributions written by Norwegians or other Scandinavians outside the United States. The study rather tries to show which variations in the written Norwegian newspapers the subscribers in America were exposed to. Even if the text was published in the newspaper in an unchanged linguistic version, it can be regarded as evidence of language management. It shows that its orthographical and morphological form was acceptable for the editors of the newspapers. If this was not the case and the language form of the contribution would be evaluated as a negative deviation during the editing process of the contribution, the text would be adapted to a norm that was more customary for the given newspaper. This practice was common mainly in the large newspapers.<sup>274</sup>

The development of the Norwegian written language and its correspondence with the spelling reform is studied through the comparative method. This approach is based on a comparison of particular examples of the Norwegian written standard from the texts and the Norwegian written standard as codified in the handbooks in Norway. The domains where the language deviations are supposed to emerge are outlined in the introducing parts and subsequently the practice in the particular periods is discussed. The comparison reveals differences or correspondences between these two varieties of Norwegian. Any potentially "suspect" words bearing elements that were the subject of the spelling reform from 1907 were consulted with the applicable spelling handbooks for Norwegian and Danish. The handbooks involve the officially codified forms of the spelling for the given period. For the purpose of the comparison, the forms of the individual words were consulted with following reference books and dictionaries: Aars, Jonathan; Hofgaard, Simon Wright. *Norske Retskrivnings-regler*

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<sup>274</sup> Such a practice is observed e.g. by Haugen when he investigated readers' letters that were sent to the newspaper Decorah-Posten. He examined the original letters before they were published. As soon as they appeared in the newspaper the orthography and morphology had been adapted to the prevailing language policy. HAUGEN, Einar. The Impact of English on American-Norwegian Letter Writing. In: *Studies by Einar Haugen: Presented on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday - April 19, 1971*. The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1972, pp. 224–240.

*med alfabetiske Ordlistes*. Kristiania: Fabritius & Sønner, 1907; Hofgaard, Simon Wright. *En liten norsk grammatik ved S. W. Hofgaard, skolebestyrer*. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1909; Aars, Jonathan. *Ordlistes til norsk retskrivning*. Kristiania: Fabritius & Sønner, 1907; Ordbog over det danske Sprog<sup>275</sup> and Eikeland, Peter J., Rølvaag, Ole Edvart.. *Haandbok i norsk retskrivning og uttale til skolebruk og selvstudium*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916.. Every examined feature is supplemented with abundant instances that comprise the original forms identified in the primary material as well as their equivalents from dictionaries and handbooks. The discussed deviations are both from orthographic and morphological fields. The research focuses on following features:

- Plural forms: The proportion of Norwegian plural forms and Danish plural forms is monitored throughout the particular periods in order to evaluate general tendencies in this matter.
- Preterite: The proportion of Norwegian preterite forms and Danish preterite forms is monitored throughout the particular periods in order to evaluate general tendencies in this matter.
- Voiced/unvoiced consonants: The gradual change of Danish voiced consonants into Norwegian consonants is examined.
- Other Norwegian/Danish distinctiveness: Additional features that are unique for the written standard of one of the languages are discussed, too. This section comprises diphthongs, double consonants, capitalization of nouns, font, and variation of av/af, short/long forms and eventually vocabulary specific for either the Norwegian or Danish standard.

## 8.1. Consonants

The change of Danish voiced consonants (*b/d/g*) into Norwegian unvoiced consonants (*p/t/k*) is among the prominent points of the Norwegian spelling reform of 1907. It was a clear step how to distinguish the Danish and the Norwegian written standard from each other. Following paragraphs are devoted to the reflection of this change in the newspaper standard of Norwegian immigrants in the United States.

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<sup>275</sup> *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* [online]. København [accessed 2016-06-25]. Available at: <http://ordnet.dk/ods>.

## Period 1887–1899

### Decorah-Posten & Skandinaven & Minneapolis Tidende

This period precedes the launch of the new spelling in 1907. Danish occlusives are therefore used entirely in the material from all the three examined newspapers, e.g.:<sup>276</sup> vedtog (vedtok), Gaderne (gatene), svagere (svakere), Uge (uke), Aabning (åpning), Kundskaber (kunnskaper).

## Period 1900–1910

### Decorah-Posten & Skandinaven & Minneapolis Tidende

Although this stage already covers the launch of the reform in Norway, the written standard of the Norwegian newspapers in the United States remains unaffected by the changes. No adapted words were identified in the material from 1900–1910 in any of the selected journals. Following examples document the situation: Haab (håp), Æble (eple), Paagribelse (pågripelse), Hvede (hvetē), Ludefisk (lutefisk), Retfærdighed (rettferdighet), Skomager (skomaker), skrige (skrike), Frugter (frukter).

## Period 1930–1945

### Decorah-Posten

As already stated, Decorah-Posten introduced an adapted spelling policy based on the changes of the spelling of 1907 in 1939. But words containing Danish voiced occlusives *b/d/g* still appear almost solely in the texts in this period even though they are officially codified with Norwegian unvoiced *p/t/k* in the handbooks: aaben (åpen), Angreb (angrep), Gade (gate), Leg (lek), ligesom (likesom), Motorbaaden (motorbåten), Pligter (plikter), Skorstenpipen (skorsteinspipen), søge (søke), tabe (tape), tilbage (tilbake), uden (uten). Words with unvoiced consonants are observed in limited volume that comprises just a few hundredths of the material: levnetmidler, skyte, øke. The gradual progress of transition from voiced to unvoiced consonants is documented by examples with a varying spelling in the particular issues (but the official norms state the Norwegian forms without any alternative forms as the correct ones in all these cases): besøk x besøg, hete x hede. If the norms allow an alternative

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<sup>276</sup> The examples in this section are accompanied by the contemporary Norwegian spelling of the given words in the parentheses. The selected items are just an illustrative sample and do not represent the whole corpus of the identified words.

spelling of a given word, forms with voiced consonants are always preferred in the texts: Aarsager, Beløb, Bog, Haab, Pige, Selskab, Taage.<sup>277</sup>

### Skandinaven

Skandinaven seems to be the most conservative journal from The Big Three in the matter of the use of the voiced/unvoiced consonants. Almost all the identified forms contain voiced occlusives. Their occurrence in the material reaches almost 100%. Only a few exceptions in this trend are recorded in the material: bruker (bruger), Friskhetet (friskhedet) but similarly to Decorah-Posten they do not comprise more than hundredths of the forms where a distinction between the Norwegian and Danish use is possible to evaluate. The following words are a selection of them illustrating the use of the voiced consonants: vigtigste (viktigste), Sagen (sagen), Baad (bad), sidde (sitte), Hvedesalg (hvetesalg), tabte (tapte), døbe (døpe), leder (leter), liden (liten), Gade (gate), slige (slike), støbt (støptet). In case of the varying spelling, the Danish form is used: haaber (håper), koge (køke), Rige (rike), Smagen (smagen), Venskab (vennskap).

### Minneapolis Tidende

The newspaper ceased its existence in 1935 so the studied period is shorter than in the case of the other two newspapers. The spelling rules of Minneapolis Tidende changed to the 1907 standard in 1934.<sup>278</sup> The Danish spelling with the voiced consonants is applied throughout the material of Minneapolis Tidende until the launch of the new standard as the examples show: kjøbe (kjøbe), bruges (brukes), Forsøg (forsøket), Kage (kæke), Besøg (besøket), løbet (løpet), forlade (forlate), hede (hete), vide (vite), uden (uten). Varying forms are also documented in the material, with the Danish occlusives as the preferred forms: Beløb (beløbet), haaber (håper), Drabet (drapet), Landskabet (landskapet), Frankrige (Frankrike), Piger (piker), Vagt (vaktet), Menighed (menighetet), Kjødet (kjøtet). On the other hand, the new rules are very consistently followed after the change in 1934. The switch from the use of the Danish voiced consonants to the Norwegian unvoiced consonants is apparent when issues from 1933 and 1934 are compared with issues from 1935. It shows that the voiced consonants are preferred in all identified instances in the January and July issues of 1933 and 1934.<sup>279</sup> The only one exception is a short quotation of Anders Todal from the 'Venstre' party that is published in

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<sup>277</sup> According to the norms, these words can be written with unvoiced consonants, too: aarsaker, beløbet, boke, haap, pike, selskape, taake. Reforms of 1917 and 1938 forbid the versions with voiced consonants.

<sup>278</sup> HAUGEN, Einar. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 145.

<sup>279</sup> The change to the new spelling form was implemented in the second half of 1934. The new forms are therefore not reflected in the July issue from 1934.

the original dialect form in which three instances of unvoiced consonants appear: ‘Utgreiding’, ‘Skriftbruken’, ‘Bruk’.<sup>280</sup> All other words in this article where the deviation between the voiced and unvoiced consonants can be examined have a voiced consonant (e.g. Udrerding, Hovedsagen, uden, Brug). On the other hand, the examination of the material from 1935 does not reveal any conflict in the use of the voiced/unvoiced consonants with the codified Norwegian written standard. Even though there are several words with a voiced consonant in the texts, these were subjected to the change to the unvoiced consonants in the reforms that followed. The vocabulary lists from 1907 mention these words in the form as they were used in the newspaper. These are e.g.: sygdom, sigtet, harejagt, kjøbmand, betragtet.<sup>281</sup>

	1933	1934	1935
<b>unvoiced consonants</b>	1.83%	---	100%
<b>voiced consonants</b>	98.17%	100%	---

## Period 1955–1972

### Decorah-Posten

The application of the rules for the unvoiced consonants seems to be inconsistent even in the last period of the existence of Decorah-Posten. Although examples of adapted words can be found (innkjøb, skipet, kunnskap, selskapet, Kake, ektepar, sykdom, landbruk, pikenavn, frihet, baater, vitenskapsmenn, gatene), there are still many words used in accordance with the Danish spelling. This can be illustrated by following examples: foreløbig (foreløpig), kjøbe (kjøpe), Besøg (besøk), hvide (hvite). The varying use of voiced/unvoiced consonants is in progress throughout the existence of the newspaper with a growing number of the unvoiced consonants in the material. The form of a given word varies in different issues of the journal: Selskab (1961) x selskapet (1967), Kundskaber (1960) x kunnskap (1967), rumskibet (1961) x skib (1962, 1967) x skipet (1968) x Romskibet (1969). Even though the change of the spelling to a new norm closer to the language use in Norway was declared in Decorah-Posten in 1939, the real change of the spelling standard in the newspaper seems to come into practice in the mid-1960s. In the texts issued in 1965 the use of unvoiced and voiced consonants is varying from contribution to contribution. The texts published in Decorah-Posten after 1966 include consonants used according to the Danish standard only

<sup>280</sup> MT January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1933; nr. 1.

<sup>281</sup> The change to the unvoiced consonants in these words reformed in Norway in subsequent years. Nowadays all of them are written with an unvoiced consonant in Norwegian.

occasionally. A detailed comparison of articles from the first July issues from 1938 (i.e. before the officially declared change of the spelling policy in the newspaper), 1940 (i.e. after the officially declared change) and 1968 show this practice clearly.<sup>282</sup> While there is no occurrence of the unvoiced consonants following the Norwegian spelling in the selected articles from 1938 and 1940, the situation is absolutely different in 1968. The consonants are used according to the Norwegian standard in all the analysed articles with exception of two instances identified in the text ‘Reallønsforbedring i Norge’.<sup>283</sup> These two words (prisstigningen, lønnstagerne) do not conflict directly with the spelling reform of 1907 because the adaptation of such instances was as a matter of the following reforms. However, other words that were also subjected to the later reforms of 1917 and 1938 are spelled with unvoiced consonants in the same contribution (frykte, utsikt, forusatt). Therefore, the use of the voiced consonants in the words ‘prisstigningen’ and ‘lønnstagerne’ must be seen as a deviation.

## Summary

The use of the Danish voiced consonants instead of Norwegian unvoiced consonants proved to be the predominant tendency in all the three newspapers during the whole period of their publishing except for the last year of the existence of Minneapolis Tidende and the issues of Decorah-Posten from the mid-1960s till its termination. Words with Norwegian adapted spelling appeared in minority while Danish voiced consonants were still preferred even if the official rules codified a different form. If the norms offered an alternative spelling, the Danish form was always used in the material. The spelling of the words from the newspaper material was compared with the Norwegian spelling norm from 1907, other reforms (1917, 1938) were not considered. Otherwise the number of officially incorrect forms would be much higher as more and more words were codified with the unvoiced consonants after the launch of the other reforms in Norway. It is also interesting to notice that both Decorah-Posten and Minneapolis Tidende changed their spelling policy in accordance with the 1907-reform in the 1930s but with a different impact on the texts that appeared in the newspapers. While it took several decades before the forms of the standard from 1907 started

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<sup>282</sup> The selected articles are:

1938 issue (July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1938; nr. 102): Chamberlains Nei, News from Minnesota and Wisconsin, Fra Norge

1940 issue (July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1940; nr. 103): Flaaden i Hawaii, Local news, Norske Skibstap, Værre i Danmark

1968 issue (July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1968; nr. 44): Reallønsforbedring i Norge, Svare kamper i Sydøst Kina, Sport, Amerikansk storhotell bygges i Oslo

<sup>283</sup> DP July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1968; nr. 44. The identified words with the Norwegian consonants are: svakere, utøkning, skape, utvikling, mulighetet, utlandet, utviklet, utgangen, vanskelighetet, Frankrikee, mesterskaper, forsøk, uke.

appearing consistently in Decorah-Posten after the declared change, Minneapolis Tidende started applying the new standard immediately.

## 8.2. Plural forms

The Norwegian reform of 1907 affected morphology, too. Norwegian plural forms were introduced instead of the Danish forms. Danish indefinite plurals usually have either the morpheme *-er* (biler, blomster) or the morpheme *-e* (dage, navne). Some words remain unchanged (tog, år). Definite plurals are formed by adding *-(e)ne* (bladene, navnene) or *-(er)ne* (bilerne, blomsterne, dagene). There is a group of irregular nouns, too (børn/børnene, fædre/fædrene). The Norwegian reform of 1907 codified the suffix *-er* (biler, blomster, dager) for indefinite plural forms and the morpheme *-ene* (bilene, blomstene, dagene) for definite plural forms. For the indefinite plurals of most of one-syllable neuter substantives no suffix is added (tog, år, navn).<sup>284</sup> The Norwegian grammar system has a group of irregular plurals, too (fedre/fedrene).

In the following part, plural forms used in the newspaper material are studied in the earlier defined periods and are accompanied by examples from the texts. To illustrate the differences, Norwegian forms as codified in the reform of 1907 are added in parentheses. Identified Norwegian examples are accompanied by respective Danish forms in the parentheses, too.<sup>285</sup>

### Period 1887–1899

#### Decorah-Posten & Skandinaven & Minneapolis Tidende

This period precedes the launch of the reform of 1907. As expected, the material includes Danish plural forms only, e.g.: Penge (penger), Blade (blad), Huse (hus), Gaderne (gatene), Aviserne (avisene), Dakotaerne (Dakotaene).

### Period 1900–1910

#### Decorah-Posten & Skandinaven & Minneapolis Tidende

The reform did not have any influence on the plurals in The Big Three in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, too. Danish suffixes are used both in the indefinite and definite

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<sup>284</sup> The norm of 1907 allows both the Norwegian and Danish forms for the plural of neuters ('hus' in Norwegian x 'huser'/'huse' in Danish). However, the Norwegian forms should be preferred.

<sup>285</sup> The Danish forms are based on: *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* [online]. København [accessed 2016-06-25]. Available at: <http://ordnet.dk/ods>.

plural forms: Breve (brev), Lande (land), Plante (planter), Biblerne (biblene), Poteterne (potetene), Skolerne (skolene), Børnene (barna).

### **Period 1930–1945**

#### Decorah-Posten

A very slight shift towards the Norwegian system is observed in this period. But the Norwegian plurals still appears in minority and accidentally in the contributions, e.g.: Barn (børn), Kuer (køer), Klør (Kløer), Slegtninger (slægtninge), Programmene (programmerne), Barna (børnene). The Norwegian plural morphemes form less than 1 % of the plurals with a possible distinction between the Norwegian and the Danish system in this time period. The prevailing majority of the substantives are used with the Danish plural morphemes: Knive (kniver), Heste (hester), Dele (deler), Studenterne (studentene), Hænderne (hendene), Kyllingerne (kyllingene).

#### Skandinaven

Similarly to Decorah-Posten Skandinaven is also conservative in the use of plural forms and the Danish plural morphemes are preferred in the material. Several examples of plurals adapted to the Norwegian system are identified here, e.g.: Knivene (kniverne), Barna (børnene), Barn (børn), Bakbeina (bagbenene). The word ‘barn’ appears regularly (except one occurrence of the Danish form Børn) with a Norwegian plural morpheme in the whole material from this period. Nevertheless, the Danish forms dominate the material: Love (lover), Katte (katter), Mænd (menn), Navne (navn), Naboerne (naboene), Byerne (byene), Kvinderne (kvinnene). The Danish plural morphemes comprise 85.2 % in the material from Skandinaven in this period where a distinction between the Norwegian and the Danish system is possible. The volume of the Danish suffixes is almost constant throughout the 1930s and the early 1940s:

<b>1930</b>	<b>1931</b>	<b>1933</b>	<b>1935</b>	<b>1938</b>	<b>1941</b>
90%	94.53%	88.91%	86.54%	87.78%	92.76%

#### Minneapolis Tidende

The total volume of the identified Norwegian plural forms in Minneapolis Tidende is even smaller than in Skandinaven. The fact that the newspaper merged with another journal in 1935 is probably reflected here. The examined period is shorter than in the case of the other two newspapers. It is possible that a change towards the Norwegian morphology would

continue in Minneapolis Tidende in the later stage of this period. But as the material from the other periods does not exist, it is just an assumption. The material from the years before the change of the spelling standard in the newspaper in 1934 shows that the use of the Danish plural forms is the prevailing practice in Minneapolis Tidende. Words such as Fjorde (fjorder), Skogbrande (skogbrander), Operaerne (operaene), Banditterne (bandittene), Nætterne (nettene) are spread throughout the contributions regardless their origin and topic. The situation is slightly different in the texts from the period after 1934. A comparison of the January issue from 1930, 1933 and the January issue from 1935 documents the development as shown in the table. Norwegian plural forms are present in a higher volume after the switch to the new spelling policy in Minneapolis Tidende (these are: penger, hus, foreningene, barn, medlemmene). But the preference of the Danish suffixes is still apparent.

	1930	1933	1935
<b>Norwegian plurals</b>	---	---	20.83%
<b>Danish plurals</b>	100%	100%	79.17%

The varying forms appear even within one article (e.g. the text ‘Bland foreningene’ involves Norwegian forms ‘foreningene’, ‘barn’ and ‘medlemmene’ as well as the Danish forms ‘julesange’, ‘folkevisedanse’ and ‘sange’.

### **Period 1955–1972**

#### Decorah-Posten

Danish plural forms remain dominant even in the last two decades of the publishing of Decorah-Posten. The most considerable increase in the volume of Norwegian plurals is in the late 1960s and in the 1970s until the termination of the newspaper’s existence. The progress is shown in the table beneath where articles from July issues of 1950, 1960, 1965 and 1968 are compared. In the articles from the last included year in this comparison, the Norwegian plural morpheme is already used in majority while the Danish morphemes appear only marginally in a short report on a football match between Denmark and Norway.<sup>286</sup>

	1950	1960	1968
<b>Norwegian plural</b>	13.24%	16.88%	88.24%
<b>Danish plural</b>	87.76%	83.12%	11.76%

<sup>286</sup> It is worth noting that the report includes other language features that are subjected to the reform of 1907 and these are used according to the Norwegian standard (double consonants: foregikk, fotballspill while they are spelled with a single consonant in Danish).

Following substantives illustrate the use of Norwegian plurals in Decorah-Posten in the period 1955–1972: stymennene (stymændene), erfaringene (erfaringerne), bøndene (bønderne), emigrantene (emigranterne), barn (børn), Barnebarn (barnbørnene), nordmenn (nordmænd), aktivistene (aktivisterne), guttene (gutterne). But the texts from the first half of this period still include a considerable number of Danish forms: Arme (armer), Farme (farmer), Grunde (grunner), Svenskerne (svenskene), Firmaerne (firmaene), Priserne (prisene).

## Summary

On the basis of the analyses it can be concluded that the change of plural forms which was codified in 1907 was ignored throughout most of the existence of the newspapers. The forms corresponding with the Norwegian morphological system were not entirely excluded but they comprised only a small part of the total volume of the forms. The issues of Decorah-Posten published after the mid-1960s and in the 1970s are exceptions in this trend because a shift towards the Norwegian forms was monitored in the last years of the existence of the newspaper. But the Danish plural morphemes dominated in all the other stages in this newspaper, too.

	1930		1935		1940		1950		1968	
	NOR	DK	NOR	DK	NOR	DK	NOR	DK	NOR	DK
<b>DP</b>	3.85 %	96.15 %	7.14%	92.85 %	16.67 %	83.33 %	13.24 %	87.76 %	88.24 %	11.76 %
<b>SK</b>	10%	90%	13.5%	86.5%	10.18 %	89.82 %	---	---	---	---
<b>M T</b>	---	100%	20.83 %	79.17 %	---	---	---	---	---	---

These results are in accordance with the prevailing attitude of the editors of the leading Norwegian-American newspapers that was discussed in Chapter 6. And it was just this attitude that was criticised by language experts such as Eikeland and Prestgard in their essays. They were pleading for such a form of the spelling that would reflect the current Norwegian standard as used in Norway properly. The situation depicts the conflict between the various and sometimes even contrary interests and expectations of those who are involved in language management. Moreover, the use of either Norwegian or Danish morphemes was inconsistent, too. No general rules or at least hints seem to be applicable. The structure and/or the origin of a given word did not determine if the Norwegian or Danish suffix was used. There are several examples of substantives that were used in accordance with the Norwegian morphology in some texts while they followed the Danish morphology in other articles.

### 8.3. Preterite

This section focuses on the form of the past tense of Norwegian verbs. Before the year 1907, the Danish system of conjugation was used in the written standard of Norwegians. The Danish system has two regular conjugations for the preterite: a group of verbs with the ending *-ede* and a group of verbs with the ending *-te*. The process of Norwegianization of the written standard was manifested by the change of the ending *-ede* into *-et* codified in the reform from 1907.

#### Period 1877–1899

##### Decorah-Posten & Skandinaven & Minneapolis Tidende

All verbs from the newspaper material from this period correspond fully to the Danish preterite forms: spillede, sagde, turede, svarede, hoppede, arbeidede, troede.

#### Period 1900–1910

##### Decorah-Posten

During the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century no substantial adaptations of the past forms are reflected in the texts. The verbs preserve the Danish conjugation: druknede, byggede, besluttede, hoppede, samlede, startede. The reform of 1907 allows alternative forms for some verbs. Several examples of such varying Danish/Norwegian forms can be identified in the primary material, e.g. sagde (Danish) x sa (Norwegian). However, the Norwegian form ‘sa’ is still used rather exceptionally.

##### Skandinaven

According to the results of the analyses, Skandinaven holds the same approach as the practice is common in Decorah-Posten in this period. The Danish morpheme is applied in the texts: kastede, dansede, haabede, levede, ytrede, haabede.

##### Minneapolis Tidende

The data show that Minneapolis Tidende is the most progressive newspaper compared with the two above mentioned newspapers in this matter. Although the Danish conjugation still dominated (e.g. takkede, seilede, vandrede), several examples of verbs with the Norwegian morpheme for preterite are identified: moret, bølget, sugget. But it must be added that all of them are used within one article which reported on a social event in Scandinavia. This indicates that the use of the Norwegian forms is probably a consequence of the origin of

the text. Norwegian contributors in Europe implemented the new forms earlier than their American colleagues.

### **Period 1930–1945**

#### Decorah-Posten

The progress of the Norwegianization of verbs is reflected by a significant increase in the use of the Norwegian preterite morpheme in the material in the period 1930–1945. Many verbs in preterite are used with the Norwegian suffix corresponding with the reform: arbeidet, opdaget, opfordret, skadet, varslet, ventet. But the Danish conjugation also appears in the texts, specifically in the issues prior the year 1939; e.g.: aapnede, agtede, frugtede, mistede, sørgede. From this perspective, the Norwegian forms of preterite proved to be the easiest acceptable part of the reform. The Norwegian preterite suffixes are widely practised in Decorah-Posten already in 1940 while the other language features from the reform discussed in the paragraphs above are not commonly incorporated before the 1960s. In the issue of 1938 the Norwegian preterite morphemes comprise 25% (e.g. sænket, arrangeres). In 1940 (after the declared switch to the updated spelling) and in 1968 the Norwegian morphemes are preferred in most of the instances where a distinction between the Norwegian and Danish form is possible. The table shows the proportion of the Norwegian preterite suffixes and the Danish preterite suffixes in articles from 1938, 1940 and 1968:

	<b>1938</b>	<b>1940</b>	<b>1968</b>
<b>Norwegian preterite</b>	25%	100%	95.65%
<b>Danish preterite</b>	75%	---	4.35%

#### Skandinaven

The gradual substitution of the Danish preterite morpheme *-ede* by the Norwegian *-et* is documented in Skandinaven in this period, too. While some verbs still preserve the Danish form in Skandinaven (mislykkede, feirede, naaede, savnede, sluttede) other are adapted to the Norwegian form (benyttet, reddet, stanset, sikret, hindret). The process can be illustrated by a comparison of the volume of Norwegian and Danish preterite morphemes in 1930, 1935 and 1940 including the January issue 1941 (the last issue from the examined material in Skandinaven). The proportion of the suffixes is similar in the 1930s-issues. In the 1940s the use of the Norwegian suffixes increases dramatically as the following table shows:

	<b>1930</b>	<b>1935</b>	<b>1940 and 1941</b>
<b>Norwegian suffixes</b>	48.3%	47.1%	77.5%
<b>Danish suffixes</b>	51.7%	52.9%	22.5%

The forms of preterite are sometimes varying in the different issues of Skandinaven: kastet (1930, 1934, 1935, and 1940) x kastede (1941), feiret (1933, 1935) x feirede (1933) and even within one contribution as can be observed for example in the article ‘Kampen om Guldpokalen’ published in July 1930. The Norwegian preterite form ‘startet’ is used in the second paragraph (‘Den engelske Baad startet ikke ...’) and fourth paragraph (‘Den engelske Baad startet heller ikke i denne Seilands.’) while the Danish preterite morpheme *-ede* is used in the fifth paragraph (‘... og den engelske Baad startede ikke.’).

### Minneapolis Tidende

As in the previous period, the newspaper Minneapolis Tidende uses the Norwegian conjugation for preterite in the largest extent from all the newspapers of The Big Three. These are some examples: arbeidet, beklaget, landet, regnet, fjernet, virket, kastet, haabet, fæstet, bluffet, besluttet. The Danish morphemes appeared only in small volume: lykkede, mærkede, utvandrede, ventede. The Norwegian preterite forms are widely used even in the issues prior the declared change to the adapted spelling in 1934. It is clearly manifested in a comparison of the forms that appeared in the articles from the years 1930, 1933 and 1935. In the newspaper issues published after the change of the spelling standard none examples of the Danish preterite morphemes are found.

	<b>1930</b>	<b>1933</b>	<b>1935</b>
<b>Norwegian preterite</b>	93.22%	80%	100%
<b>Danish preterite</b>	6.78%	20%	---

### **Period 1955–1972**

#### Decorah-Posten

Contrary to the early periods, a significant increase in the Norwegian preterite morphemes is observed the newspaper Decorah-Posten in the last two decades of the publishing of the newspaper. The Norwegian conjugation wins finally the strongest position in the period 1955–1972: e.g.: flyttet, snakket, sultet, handlet, plukket. The Danish forms are used only exceptionally and specifically in the issues before the mid-1960s: lykkede, passede, elskede. In the total volume of the preterite suffixes they comprise not more than 1% of the

forms in this period. Moreover, the Danish preterite morphemes are observed only in the contributions dealing with news from Denmark.

## Summary

The research on the preterite forms reveals a clear progress towards the Norwegian morphological system in the immigrant newspapers in the United States. The Danish morphemes were still preferred in the newspapers in the first decades after the launch of the new norm. But the Danish preterite forms were gradually changing into the Norwegian forms in the 1930s and the 1940s. Minneapolis Tidende was the most progressive from The Big Three in the use of the Norwegian preterite forms as the data show. Although the Danish suffix did not disappear fully from the material, the Norwegian preterite morphemes won the strongest position in the newspapers earlier than the Norwegian plural forms.

	1930		1935		1940		1950		1968	
	NOR	DK	NOR	DK	NOR	DK	NOR	DK	NOR	DK
<b>DP</b>	12.5%	87.5%	42.11 %	57.89 %	100%	---	93.68 %	6.32 %	95.65 %	4.35 %
<b>SK</b>	48.22 %	51.78 %	47.1%	52.9%	77.46 %	22.54 %	---	---	---	---
<b>M T</b>	93.22 %	6.78%	100%	--	---	---	---	---	---	---

## 8.4. Other linguistic features

The gradual Norwegianization of the written standard was manifested in other features, too. These will be discussed in this section. Their variability and presence is lower in the primary material than the variability of the preterite and plural forms. Therefore, these features are neither discussed separately for every journal of The Big Three nor divided into the four periods of the newspapers' existence as in the previous sections.

### Capitalization of nouns

It was already remarked that nouns were capitalized in the Norwegian-American press for a much longer time than in Norway.<sup>287</sup> Both the native vocabulary and borrowed items were treated in the same way. Capitalization was a traditional feature of the orthographic standard form of the written heritage language brought by the immigrant to the United States.

<sup>287</sup> Even in Norway the use of small initial letter was not implemented immediately in the printed media. Aftenposten practiced capitalization until 1912; Dagbladet ceased the practice of capital initial letters in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The newspapers from The Big Three ceased the practice of capitalization in the finishing periods of their existence (DP in 1961, MT in 1935, SK had not implemented the use of small initial letters before it was merged with DP) without any explicit presentation and publicity. The change to small initial letters was not accompanied by any transitional period with varying forms in any of the newspapers.

## Font

One of the most striking visual features that attract the attention and indicate the conservatism of The Big Three is the use of the Gothic script in the newspapers. In Norway, the Gothic script was changed into the Latin script in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>288</sup> But the immigrant newspapers in the United States were published in the Gothic script for several more decades. Decorah-Posten used the Gothic font until 1952. The old-fashioned graphic style did not remain unnoticed by the readers. This is a comment from the readers' section in the January issue 1950:

“If ‘Decorah-Posten’ waits to get the young Norwegian-Americans to read the newspaper then you should start using the English types soon. It does not make any difference for us old because we can read both.”<sup>289</sup>

The Latin script was used in Minneapolis Tidende only in the last year of the existence of the journal (1935). In Skandinaven, the use of the font was less consistent. Some articles typed in the Latin script already appeared in the 1930s. On the other hand, some contributions were still published in the Gothic script until the final issue.<sup>290</sup> The leading articles published on the front page of the newspapers reporting on the news in Norway were regularly printed in the Latin script while the shorter local news from Norway (and Denmark) and the United States inside the newspapers was printed in the Gothic script. When an article with a topic concerning the happenings in the United States or other countries was presented on the front page of the paper, the Gothic script was used. This seems to be the convention until the mid-1930s when more contributions regardless their origin, content and emplacement within the

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<sup>288</sup> For a comparison with the situation in Norway, Aftenposten started printing in the Latin script in 1912, Dagbladet before the year 1911.

<sup>289</sup> <sup>289</sup> DP January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1950; nr. 19. Translation from the Norwegian original by Pavla Bartásková.

<sup>290</sup> Hjelde and Jansson mention that some heritage speakers of Norwegian in the US associate texts written in Norwegian with the Gothic script even nowadays and because of that reason they find themselves not being able to read texts of the Norwegian origin. HJELDE, Arnstein, JANSSON, Benthe Kolberg. Language Reforms in Norway and their Acceptance and Use in the Norwegian-American Community. In: BARSTAD, Guri Ellen, HJELDE, Arnstein, KVAM, Sigmund, PARIANOU, Anastasia, TODD, John (eds). *Language and Nation: Crossroads and Connections*. Münster: Waxmann, 2016. ISBN 978-3830934974. Pp. 297–314, p. 311.

newspaper started appearing in the Latin script. But still even with the increasing use of the Latin script, the American news appeared predominantly in the Gothic script while the Latin script was dominant in contributions from Scandinavia. There was also growing volume the contributions about foreign countries typed in the Latin script of Skandinaven till the last issue. A comparison of the graphic forms of the newspaper from the first January and July issues of 1930, 1935, 1940 and the first January issue of 1941 shows the trend. It was about 10% of the material that appeared in the Latin script in 1930 (news from Norway). In 1935 it was already one third of the material (news from Norway and a small part of the American news) and in 1940 and 1941 the proportion of the Gothic script and the Latin script was around 50% (it was 50% in 1940 and 42% in 1941 to be exact; the Latin script appeared in news from Norway, a small part of the news from the US and news from abroad).

### Diphthongs

Danish diphthongs *ej, aj, oj, øj* (*sejle, majs, øjeblik*) were substituted by Norwegian diphthongs *ei, ai, oi, øi* (*seile, mais, øieblikk*) in the reform of 1907. However, the Norwegian diphthongs were used from the initial examined stage of The Big Three and throughout the rest of their existence, e.g.: *keiser, pleier, Fornøielse, høine, konvoi, kai*. Derivatives of the word ‘arbejde’ were the only identified exception in the material that contained the Danish diphthongs: *Arbejdet, Arbejder*.

The Norwegian diphthong ‘*au*’ substituted the Danish combination ‘*av*’ in the later periods of the newspapers’ existence: *forbause* (*forbayse*), *taushet* (*tavshed*), *Forbauselse* (*forbayselse*).

### Double consonants

The reform of 1907 dealt with double consonants, too. Short vowels in a stressed syllable should be followed by a double consonant, e.g.: *alle, venner*.<sup>291</sup> Consonants in the final position are usually not doubled (*ven, hus*). But to prevent a confusion of meaning, double consonants are sometimes written even in the final position (*litt, trodd, skutt, tall*).<sup>292</sup> The new rules for double consonants were ignored in all the three newspapers and single consonants were used instead: *blit, Gut, opdag, Nat, fik*. It was in the issues of Decorah-

<sup>291</sup> The rule is not applied in words where another consonant follows: *vakker* x *vakre*. But if it is necessary to distinguish the meaning of different words, a double consonant can be used: *viste* (preterite of the verb ‘vise’) x *visste* (preterite of the verb ‘vite’).

<sup>292</sup> As a result of the change of the voiced consonants *b/d/g* into the unvoiced *p/t/k* some homonyms emerged. Consonant doubling was introduced in some case to make difference between such words (*buk* = belly x *bukk* = buck).

Posten published from the 1960s that double consonants were incorporated into its language policy as following examples show: foregikk, Skofabrikk, flagg, opplyse, nytt, innlegg, tilskudd. The increase of the double consonants was observed from the mid-1960s (e.g. double consonants were used in 20.1 % in 1964 and in 63 % in 1966). The volume of the single consonants was decreasing during the 1960s and was limited to the contributions reporting on Denmark.

### **Short/long forms**

Some words were newly codified in a shortened form in 1907. The shorter form, i.e. the word root without suffixes *-de/-ge/-ve*, either substitutes the original form fully (spar – spader) or they coexist as alternative forms (far – fader, ha – have, mor – moder, ta – tage). A lot of varying forms can be identified in the material from The Big Three. The shortened forms appeared in a higher frequency in Decorah-Posten especially in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the prior periods the forms were mingled and in the early issues the long Danish forms dominate in the journals. These are examples of words that repeatedly occurred in both short and long forms in the texts in the three journals (sometimes they were mixed even within one article or one paragraph): far x fader, mor x moder, bli x blive, bror x broder, (del-/op-)ta x (over-/ved-)tage, gi x (fore-)give, spør x spørger, dra x drage.

### **Af/av**

The spelling of the word ‘*av*’ (which also serves as a prefix) was varying throughout the journals’ existence. While it is spelled with ‘*f*’ (*af/af-*) in Danish, it was officially changed into ‘*v*’ (*av/av-*) in the Norwegian spelling reform of 1907. But the shift was not reflected in the immigrant newspapers until the third decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The forms were mixed in the articles in Decorah-Posten in the 1930s: avsluttende, Avstemning, Avskrift, Afsked, afsluttes, aflevert. Finally, the Danish ‘*af*’ was eliminated from the texts in Decorah-Posten and only the spelling with ‘*v*’ occurred from the 1940s. An obvious turn between the Danish and the Norwegian spelling was observed in the issues from 1939. The January issue contained forms with ‘*f*’ while the words were already spelled with ‘*v*’ in the July issue. Skandinavien used the Danish spelling ‘*af*’ (Afstand, Afslutningen, Afgjørelse, Afreisen, afsluttes, Uafhengighed) until the mid-1930s when it was changed strictly into the Norwegian ‘*av*’ (Avgjørelse, avvist, Avstand, Avsked). Minneapolis Tidende preferred the Danish spelling ‘*af*’ strongly (af, Afdeling, Afstand) even though the form avgjøre was also identified

in the material. But in the total volume of the forms with ‘f’ it comprises the only one exception.

### **Other Norwegian/Danish features**

Throughout the publishing of *The Big Three*, Norwegian and Danish elements were blended in the texts. Some of them appeared repeatedly, others were used only rarely. Features that document any interesting linguistic development are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Indigenous Danish morphological, orthographic and semantic elements were included in the texts from *The Big Three* in the issues from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, a detailed analysis reveals some typical Norwegian features, too. The Norwegian vocabulary is represented by words such as<sup>293</sup>: Hoder (hoveder), Jente (pige), Frokost (morgenmad)<sup>294</sup>. Some spelling alternatives also appeared in the material, e.g. Spørsmålet (spørgsmålet), kunne (kunde), Kjøbenhavn (København), Tusen (tusind/tusinde).<sup>295</sup> The proportion of Norwegian and Danish features did not change a lot with the time and Danish elements can be found even in the more recent issues. The primary material from the more recent issues of *The Big Three* involved following instances of words that can be categorized as Norwegian elements: komfyr (komfur), sauer/sauene (får/fårene), Kua (koen). The last example also represents a Norwegian feminine with the singular definite article (Kua)<sup>296</sup>.

The material from *Decorah-Posten* shows that the volume of Danish features was decreasing during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. But the origin and the background of the given newspaper contribution played an important part here. If the article was dealing with news and reports from Denmark (and was written by a correspondent from Denmark), the Danish morphology, orthography and vocabulary appeared in the text. Contributions from other content categories (except the news from Norway) included both Norwegian and Danish elements. Contributions written by Norwegian correspondents from their home country reflected the purest version of the adapted spelling and morphology based on the reform from the year 1907. This finding is in contrast with the statement that all the newspaper texts were

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<sup>293</sup> The examples of the Norwegian vocabulary are accompanied by a relevant Danish equivalent in the parentheses.

<sup>294</sup> The substantive ‘frokost’ exists both in Norwegian and Danish. But its meaning differs. While it means ‘breakfast’ in Norwegian, Danish speakers use it for the meal during the lunch time. The word was identified in both meanings in the newspaper material.

<sup>295</sup> The forms in the parentheses show the Danish spelling of the words.

<sup>296</sup> The Danish language has only two genders, common and neuter. The singular definite form in Danish would therefore be ‘koen’.

subjected to the adaptations implemented in accordance with the language policy of the given newspaper.

## 9. QUALITATIVE ANALYSES

The analyses presented in the previous chapters are of a quantitative character. In the following section qualitative analyses of the material are shown. From each of the newspapers and each of the periods a sample contribution was selected and analysed with an accompanying comment on the occurrence and treatment of anglicisms, morphological and orthographical Norwegian/Danish forms and background information about the text. The chosen newspaper contributions come from various content categories to reflect the diversity of the material and the potential variations in the language management of the language problems that are in focus.

**DP July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1891; nr. 43: Indlandet (Wisconsin-Delaware-Maryland-Illinois-Michigan-Ohio-Missouri-Kansas)**

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	Kongresdistrict, Farmerkone, Mrs., Jailen, Korporationen, Juryen, County-Asylsystemet, Acres, Countyasyler, County-Hospitaler
consonants	Optagelse, sindsvag, lede, dræbtes, Uge, Forbrydelse, Undtagelse, Liget, Udgifter, Tagene, Baaden, Angreb, Angriberne, undersøgt
plural	indefinite: Børn, Fattighuse, Smaabørn, Jernbanevogne, Dage, Banke, Huse definite: Direktørerne, Skinnerne, Angriberne
preterite	druknedede, opdagedede, logeredede, anklagedede, indleverede, anrettede, mistede, rykkedes, løftedes, væltedes, hoppede, badede, indstillede
other features	a) diphthongs: Leiren b) single/double consonants: op c) short/long forms: Moder, have, blive, gjenoptaget, Broder d) av/af: af e) other Norwegian/Danish features: Hovedet

This section consists of shorter news from several American states in a varying length with a 28-words-report as the shortest one and a 133-words-report as the longest contribution. Except the names of institutions ('The State Board of Charities and Reform', 'The United States Saving Bank') which are typed in a different font, the Gothic script is practiced

throughout the text. Nouns are capitalized. From the perspective of the graphical layout the text corresponds with the common norms of the newspaper in the given period.

Several English loanwords are incorporated in the text. None of them is visually distinguished from the rest of the material. The words ‘district’, ‘farmer’, ‘jail’, ‘jury’ and ‘county’ are listed in the vocabularies compiled by Flaten and Flom and are therefore taken as American borrowings. The word ‘Farm’ belongs to the category of words that were widely used in the United States because these words referred directly to the new environment and living conditions in America. The mentioned words often appear in multiword expressions and compounds as calques or semi-calques in combinations with the Norwegian elements. These expressions have been documented in *Aftenposten* since the following years: ‘farm’ 1860, ‘farmer’ 1860 (as compound ‘farmerkone’ in 1931), ‘district’ 1860 (‘kongressdistrikt’ in 1953), ‘county’ 1860 (‘county hospital’ in 1931), ‘jury’ 1861 and ‘jail’ 1874. The American background of the mentioned compounds is stressed by the fact that they are used in the news with American context in the issues of *Aftenposten*. The unit of land area ‘acre’ is evaluated as another example of anglicisms. But due to its use in Europe in the period preceding the European-American migration era it is not possible to see it as a pure American innovation in the Norwegian language of the immigrants. The expression was used in *Aftenposten* from its early issues (for the first time in 1861 in an article about the living of Norwegians in the US). The word ‘Korporationen’ can be ranked as an example of the subcategory of international borrowings as defined by Haugen. The addressing ‘Mrs.’ is a clear evidence of the impact of the new society on the language of the immigrants. It is not a specifically American expression because it is used in British English, too. However, when used in the immigrant newspapers in the United States and in context of their life there it refers to the situation that the newcomers were experiencing themselves. A comment in a letter sent to *Skandinaven* and published in July 1938 shows that the addressing was felt as a foreign element in the Norwegian language (at least by some of the language users). The contributor concludes his letter with following:

“One word at the end. When you write a letter home, you should not write Mr., Mrs. or Miss, because here it is no Mrs. or Miss, it is called Fru, Frøken and Hr.”<sup>297</sup>

The application of the Danish/Norwegian grammar system to the English borrowings is manifested in this contribution. The use of the definite determiner is demonstrated in the words ‘Jailen’, ‘Korporationen’ and ‘Juryen’. All of them are in the singular masculine

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<sup>297</sup> *Skandinaven* July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1938; nr. 27.

definite form. The only one instance of the plural form from the identified borrowings is the noun ‘Acres’ with the English suffix *-s*. The loanword ‘county’ occurs in the material twice as a modifier in a compound word.

No unvoiced consonants are used here in the instances where the distinction between voiced/unvoiced consonants is codified in the reforms that followed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The plural and preterite forms of the indigenous words are also in accordance with the Danish grammar system. The verbs are all used with the Danish preterite morphemes. All the other research points reveal application of the Danish spelling and grammar system except for the diphthong in the word ‘Leir’ which is spelled as ‘lejr’ in Danish.

**MT July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1891; nr. 1211: Fra Udlandet (Berlin, Madras, London, St. Petersburg)**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	Settlementerne, Distrikter, Autoriteterne
consonants	voiced: Udlandet, Tilladelse, talrige, dræbt, Gaderne, haabede, blege, Ansigter, udbydes, Sygdom, tabt, Utilfredshed, Frugterne, Haab, ligner, Sagerne unvoiced: liketil
plural	indefinite: Børn, Dage definite: Gaderne, Settlementerne, Kornpriserne, Høstudsigterne, Vinterhveden, Bøndernes, Skatterne, Myndighederne, Autoriteterne, Frugterne, Sagerne, Socialisterne
preterite	haabede, jævned, varede, myrdedes, klagede
other features	a) diphthongs: Keiseren b) single/double consonants: Rug c) short/long forms: siges, have, opgivet d) av/af: af, Afskaffelse e) other Norwegian/Danish features:

This newspaper contribution called ‘Fra Udlandet’ (‘From abroad’) consists of four short reports from London, St. Petersburg, Berlin and Madras in the length of respectively 115, 136, 109 and 51 words. The whole text is typed in the Gothic script. Capitalization of nouns is practised throughout the text.

None of the three instances of English borrowings is visually highlighted in the text. The word ‘Settlementerne’ belongs to the early anglicisms that appeared in the lexicon of the Norwegian immigrants. It refers specifically to the life and living conditions in the United States. Similarly the terms ‘Distrikter’ and ‘Authoriteterne’ are connected with the administration that newcomers became part of after their arrival in the United States. The word ‘Settlementerne’ as well as the word ‘Distrikter’ is also mentioned in the Flaten’s and Flom’s lists. All of the identified loanwords are morphologically integrated into the Norwegian grammar system in this contribution when they are provided with suffixes of plural both in the Norwegian/Danish indefinite (Distrikter) and Danish definite form (Settlementerne, Authoriteterne).

The grammatical and spelling forms of this contribution are in accordance with the Danish system. This is not surprising when the year of the issue is considered. In the whole text there is only one evidence of the Norwegian morphological adaptation in the word ‘liketil’ spelled with ‘k’ instead of ‘g’ as it is in the Danish lexicon.

#### **SK January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1891; nr. 1: En Julefest**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	Vindues-Blindserne, Candy
consonants	Skjønh <u>e</u> der, u <u>d</u> , Meningh <u>e</u> den, Uger, tillig <u>e</u> , Prag <u>t</u> , Yndigh <u>e</u> d, ligesom, tyvagtig, Nø <u>d</u> der, u <u>d</u> delt, Æb <u>l</u> er, Æb <u>l</u> e, mod <u>t</u> og, Smaapigerne, Pigerne
plural	indefinite: Sange definite: Lam <u>per</u> ne, Skolebørn <u>e</u> ne, Smaapiger <u>ne</u> , Gutte <u>rne</u> , Piger <u>ne</u> , Gaver <u>ne</u> , Børn <u>e</u>
preterite	forsamle <u>d</u> es, lukke <u>d</u> es, mindede <u>de</u> , sag <u>d</u> e, takkede <u>de</u> , ønskede <u>de</u>
other features	f) diphthongs: g) single/double consonants: h) short/long forms: tage, nedtaget i) av/af: af j) other Norwegian/Danish features: vor, Smaapigerne

This text is a reader's contribution in the length of 328 words reporting on a Christmas celebration of 'Blue River Menighed' (a US congregation). It is typed in the Gothic script. All nouns are capitalized.

Two instances of anglicisms are included in the text. Both of them are visually incorporated without being highlighted. The word 'Candy' is mentioned in Flom's latest vocabulary list. It also occurs in *Aftenposten* in the advertisement section (from the 1910s) and as a part of reports overtaken from the American newspapers (first found in 1947 in a contribution with a similar topic as the article in *Skandinaven* describing the American Christmas celebrations). The expression 'Vindues-Blindserne' is not a specifically American phenomenon but is still considered here as a borrowing in the Norwegian-American lexicon. It does not appear in the newspaper *Afteposten* (there is an equivalent word 'persienne' in the Norwegian language). The word 'Vindues-Blindserne' is morphologically classified as a loan translation with the English expression 'window blind(s)' as the pattern for its forming. It contains both the English plural suffix *-s* and the Danish morpheme *-erne* for the definite plural form. The position of the word 'Candy' in the sentence does not require any determiner and its grammatical form and context limits any further morphological analyses.

The forms of plural, preterite and other features in focus are all in accordance with the Danish spelling and grammar system as it was common in the period preceding the launch of the reforms of 1907 both in Norway and in the United States.

**MT July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1901; nr. 27: Afmønstring-Hvedehøsten-P.B.Winston**

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	khaki-Uniformer, Bushels, bumper, Mayor, Farm, Miss, Departement, Interview
consonants	Lø <u>b</u> et, u <u>d</u> betales, Foretagende, forsø <u>g</u> t, bevæ <u>b</u> nede, k <u>j</u> ø <u>b</u> e, Hvede <u>h</u> østen, u <u>d</u> arbeidet, Hvede <u>u</u> d <u>b</u> ytt <u>e</u> , Forø <u>g</u> else, Omstændigh <u>e</u> d, antagelig, Hede, Svimmelh <u>e</u> d, Magt, Begivenh <u>e</u> d, tilbage, Sager, Maade, Uenigh <u>e</u> d
plural	indefinite: Penge, Børn definite: Lønningslister <u>ne</u> , Soldater <u>ne</u> , Jernbanebilletkontorer <u>ne</u>
preterite	afmønstr <u>e</u> des, arbeided <u>e</u> , eskortered <u>e</u> s, bevøgted <u>e</u> , klaged <u>e</u> , flytted <u>e</u>
other features	a) diphthongs: afreiste, Leiren b) single/double consonants: c) short/long forms: Broder, blive, have, siger

	d) av/af: af, afreiste, Afmønstring e) other Norwegian/Danish features:
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The articles report on the happenings in the United States (San Francisco and Chicago). They consist of respectively 298, 164 and 246 words. The Gothic type is used in all cases. All nouns excluding one anglicism ('bumper') are capitalized.

The adjective 'bumper' is the only one graphically highlighted loanword in the text and its foreign origin is stressed by the use of the Latin script. The English borrowings from this contribution cover various vocabulary fields, such as administration, American lifestyle and farming. The first use of the expression 'khaki' is documented in connection with British uniforms in 1846.<sup>298</sup> In the material from the Minneapolis Tidende it is a part of an article reporting on the equipment of the American troops. It appears in the Norwegian newspaper Aftenposten since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly to the anglicism 'acre' that is discussed in the contribution above the term 'Bushels' that refers to the unit of weight or mass cannot be seen as a pure American borrowing in the Norwegian lexicon of the immigrants because it was widely in use in Europe in the pre-immigration period, too. Similarly to the anglicism 'acre' that is discussed above the term Bushels that refers to the unit of weight or mass should not be seen as a pure American borrowing in the Norwegian language of the immigrants because it was in use in Europe, too. The use of the addressing form 'Miss' in the American-Norwegian newspapers is of a similar character as it was already commented in case of the form 'Mr.' in the previous paragraph. Its use in Norwegian newspaper in Europe is documented in Aftenposten since the beginning of its publishing in 1860. The other identified loanwords are also recorded in the issues from the archive of Aftenposten ('interview' since the 1870s; 'mayor' since 1860; 'departement' since 1860) which ranks them among the pre-immigration borrowings. Most of the borrowings are used in the singular indefinite form with an appropriate determiner ('en Farm', 'et Interview'). There is one instance of the use of the original English plural form in case of the expression for the measure of dry capacity (Bushels). The adjective 'bumper' is not subjected to any grammatical adaptations in the text ('en bumper Avling'). The grammatical context does not require any change of the adjective in this case according to the Norwegian grammar rules and any Norwegian adjective would be used in its basic form in this grammatical setting, too.

<sup>298</sup> Khaki. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. [cit. 2017-09-02]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=khaki&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=khaki&allowed_in_frame=0).

Plural as well as preterite forms of the indigenous Norwegian/Danish words are made with suffixes that correspond to the Danish grammatical system. Orthographical features such as voiced consonants and the use of long forms of the words also refer to the Danish morphology. Even the derivatives where the prefix *af-* appears keep the letter ‘*f*’ instead of the adapted ‘*v*’ (*av-*).

**MT July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1901; nr. 27: Spørgsmaal og svar**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	Surveyor, rekordes, Township, State Auditor
consonants	Vidner, Fagsøge, aabnet, Kjøberen
plural	Heste, Ungdomsblade
preterite	forpligtede
other features	a) diphthongs b) single/double consonants: c) short/long forms: have, opgive, blive d) av/af: Avtale e) other Norwegian/Danish features:

This section consists of queries from the readers sent to the editorial board of the Minneapolis Tidende. Seven questions are answered with 238 words as the total length of this part. In this selected issue they concern legal matters and are answered by advocate Henry J. Gertsen from the city of Minneapolis as stated in the introduction part of the section. The Gothic script is used in the contribution. Capitalization of nouns is practiced throughout the text.

There are several different clues how to defend the American origin of the identified English borrowings in these readers’ contributions. The word ‘Surveyor’ appears in Flaten’s list. Moreover, it is mentioned in ‘The Dictionary of Etymology’ specifically as an item from the American English vocabulary that serves as a synonym of the word ‘inchworm’.<sup>299</sup> The words ‘rekordes’ and ‘Township’ are also documented by Flom in his vocabulary. The term ‘State Auditor’ is used for executive officers in the United States and due to its American context it is also classified as a borrowing of the American origin. The linguistic material

<sup>299</sup> Inchworm. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. 2017 [cit. 2017-09-01]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=inchworm&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=inchworm&allowed_in_frame=0).

from the questions sent by the subscribers of the newspaper shows various ways how to implement the English elements orthographically and morphologically in the written text. The word ‘Surveyor’ is used in the parentheses after its Danish equivalent ‘Opmaaler’.<sup>300</sup> Another query includes the verb ‘rekordes’ that is used in the quotation marks in the asked question as well as in the answer. The only one transferred verb is both grammatically and orthographically integrated. Its English spelling with the letter ‘c’ is changed for ‘k’ in accordance with its pronunciation. The verb is used in the form of the Norwegian s-passive.<sup>301</sup> The noun ‘Township’ is accompanied by the Norwegian indefinite article ‘et’ without use of any device for graphical highlighting. The last identified anglicism in this material, ‘State Auditor’, is typed in the Latin script which distinguishes it visually from the rest of the text. It is not provided with any determiner.

The material corresponds morphologically (plural and preterite forms) as well as orthographically (voiced consonants, long forms) to the Danish-Norwegian form of the written language of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **SK July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1901; nr. 27: Skole for Landsjenter**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	Colleges, Farm, Farmhuse
consonants	Landbrugsafdeling, Strygning, Kogning, Sundhed <u>s</u> lære, Maade, Vægt, Regnslighed, Sundhed, bydes, forøges, Udvikling, Kjendskab, Udnyttelse, Indtægter
plural	indefinite: Farmhuse, Penge definite: Methoderne
preterite	
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: Musik c) short/long forms: gives, gjenopta d) av/af: af, Landbrugsafdeling e) other Norwegian/Danish features: Landsjenter

<sup>300</sup> There are several other instances of this practice in the newspapers to accompany the English borrowing with a Norwegian/Danish equivalent or contrary, e.g.: “Bargains” (godt kjøb) in DP July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1891, nr. 43; en Fødselattest (“Certificate of Birth”) in DP July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1937, nr. 102.

<sup>301</sup> The Norwegian s-passive is formed by adding the suffix *-s* to the infinitive. Here the English verb ‘record’ is adapted to the Norwegian infinitive by adding the suffix *-e* and consequently the s-passive form is made by the *-s* suffix.

The text in the length of 310 words presents a course for young women organized by the Minnesota State University – Department of Agriculture. The contribution is typed in the Gothic script. All the nouns are capitalized.

The English borrowings are used as a part of the Norwegian lexicon without any visual highlighting in this contribution. The loanword ‘farm’ was already discussed in the earlier paragraphs. It appears in *Aftenposten* as the compound ‘farmhus’ in 1935 in a report from the United States similarly to the compound words with the modifier ‘farm’ from the other discussed issues. The borrowing ‘College’ is an example of a word of an international background. However, it is stated in the dictionaries *Bokmålsordboka/Nynorskordboka* that it was transmitted to Norwegian through English. Its active use in the Norwegian newspapers published in Norway is from 1860. The morphological forms of the identified anglicisms do not allow much examination. The word ‘Colleges’ is used in its English plural. The word ‘Farm’ is used in combination with an indefinite article (*en Farm*). It is also used as a modifier in a compound.

The Danish spelling is reflected in the use of voiced consonants and the Danish plural morphemes. It is worth noticing that two features are deviating from the expected prevailing Danish spelling in this contribution: the verb ‘gjenopta’ (a shortened form of Danish ‘gjenoptage’) and the noun ‘jenter’ (in the compound ‘Landsjenter’ instead of the Danish equivalent ‘pige’).

**DP July 1st, 1904; nr. 38: Helen Keller; Wisconsin Stalwarts; Standard Oil Kompani**

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	College, Miss, Bachelor of Arts, Oil, Chairman, Receivers, Mr., Oljetrusten
consonants	Sygd <u>o</u> m, u <u>d</u> en, Vandk <u>u</u> ndigh <u>e</u> dens, m <u>o</u> d, Foren <u>e</u> de, Besid <u>d</u> else, p <u>e</u> ger, u <u>d</u> n <u>æ</u> vne, v <u>i</u> de
plural	indefinite: Børn definite: Avis <u>e</u> rn <u>e</u> s
preterite	mist <u>e</u> de, drøst <u>e</u> de, beslutt <u>e</u> de, opstille <u>d</u> e
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: Ret c) short/long forms: indgivet, have d) av/af: afvikles, af

This material is a selection of three shorter contributions (162, 105 and 205 words) reporting on the news from the United States. They are typed in the Gothic script. Nouns are written with a capital initial letter.

In these articles two of the anglicisms differ visually from the rest because they are set in the quotation marks: “Bachelor of Arts” and “Chairman”. The topic of the first news is from the academic field and shows a few examples of vocabulary from the American educational system. The academic degree ‘Bachelor of Arts’ is an instance of a word of an international background. It is used both at the British and American universities (and universities in other countries, too). Therefore its exact period and channel of transmission into Norwegian is rather disputable. It is documented in the newspaper *Aftenposten* in 1918 for the first time. The first occurrence of the noun ‘bachelor’ in *Aftenposten* is from 1888. The anglicism ‘Chairman’ is difficult to be ascribed either to American English or to British English. It is used in both of them. The word is documented in *Aftenposten* from 1875. The business term ‘Oljetrusten’ (‘oil trust’) is specifically connected with the American economic history of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>302</sup> Besides, the documentation of the term in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* in the later period (AP 1912) is an evidence of its American origin in the vocabulary of the Norwegian immigrants. The spelling of the word ‘oil’ is varying between the English (‘oil’) and Danish form (‘olie’) in the material.<sup>303</sup> It has an unadapted spelling when used in the name of the company ‘Standard Oil Kompani’ while it is spelled in Danish when used as the modifying part of the compound word ‘Oljetrusten’ and ‘Oljeraffinaderi’. The English spelling of the word is very close to the Norwegian (and Danish). In this respect it is classified as an instance of loanwords of interlingual coincidences as defined in Chapter 2 by Haugen. The word ‘Receiver’ covers several different meanings. In this particular context it is used as a term from the business and economic domain of the vocabulary. It was documented in the same meaning in the instances of this word in *Aftenposten* in this period already in 1888. The prevailing Norwegian tendency of writing compounds as one word is manifested here. The loanword ‘college’ and the English addressing forms such as ‘Mr.’ and ‘Miss’ that are also used in this issue were already commented in the sections concerning previous newspaper articles. Morphologically, the

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<sup>302</sup> MOODY, John. *The truth about the trusts: A description and analysis of the American trust movement*. Chicago: Moody publishing Company, 1904, pp. 13–14.

<sup>303</sup> The Norwegian spelling of the word is ‘olje’.

loanword ‘Receiver’ is maintained in its English plural. An instance of grammatical adaptation is the Norwegian/Danish determiner that accompanies the borrowed noun ‘College’ (‘et College’).

The articles are published in 1904, three years before the language reform was launched even in Norway. It is therefore not surprising that the forms of plural and preterite, the use of voiced consonants etc. are all in accordance with the Danish spelling and morphological system as it was common in that time in the written language. Even the word ‘pige’<sup>304</sup> is given preference instead of the Norwegian equivalent ‘jente’.

### MT January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1906; nr. 1: For Kvinden

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	Lady
consonants	Festligheder, Ansigter, Skjønhed, Smag, hvidnede, hvid, pragtfulde, Silkedragt, Dragt, Taget, uden
plural	indefinite: Sale, Halse definite: Perlerne
preterite	a) adapted forms: moret, bølget, vugget b) Danish forms: arrangerede, svingede, festede, glimtede
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: op, netop c) short/long forms: giver, deltaget, siger, have d) av/af: af, Flaadeafdeling e) other Norwegian/Danish features: vore, vort, cremefarvet

The article is a report on a ball in Kristiania (Oslo) which was attended by the Norwegian royal couple. The length of the contribution is 568 words. It is written for the women’s section in Minneapolis Tidende by a woman who was present herself on the ball. She is describing the event with a special focus on the overall impression of the ball, the VIP guests and the noble dresses that were worn on that occasion. The text is typed in the Gothic script. All nouns are capitalised.

<sup>304</sup> Spelled as ‘pige’ in Norwegian. This does not mean that ‘pige’ would not be used in Norwegian at all. They exist side by side as synonyms.

A lot of loanwords are used in this article for the description of the dresses and other accessories; they are borrowed from languages such as French and Italian. The only one English loanword is ‘Lady’ which is added as an addressing of one of the participants. It is not highlighted in any way in the text and its context does not allow any further grammatical analyses. The anglicism is listed in Flom’s vocabulary.

Most of the grammatical and spelling forms in this contribution are in accordance with the Danish system. However, three verbs deviate from this practice. They are used in such a form of past tense that corresponds to the Norwegian norms instead of the Danish norms. This deviation is not stressed visually anyhow in the text. The verbs are all used in the last two sentences of the closing paragraph of the contribution, while the Danish past tense suffix is used repeatedly throughout in the previous paragraphs of the article. The explanation for this practice has rather a character of an assumption. It seems probable that these three verbs were not noted under the proofreading of this text and were not adjusted to the language policy in Minneapolis Tidende.

**DP January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918; nr. 43: Indlandet (Iowa: Søn af Verdens første Lokomotivfører; Mand og Hustru gives Advokatbevilling; Negtede at købe Bonds; Julehilsen fra Frankrig; Minnesota: Jernbanemand forulykket; Vældig Fiskedræt ved Brownville; Meldin fra Duluth overdreven; Syd Dakota: Skjæbnesvanger Grublen; Femti Mand arresteres; Tre Dødsfald i Camp Cody; Første South Dakota Kavalleri; Wisconsin: Indsamling for Armenierne; Hvad Farmerne ønsker; En Mand med Rekord**

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	Lokomotivfører, Lokomotiv, Sheriff, Bonds, Kabelgram, Kabelgrammet, Farmerne, 168 <sup>th</sup> , Mr
consonants	Uge, Fodspor, negtede, købe, Frihedsbonds, udstøttes, Fritagelseskommision, udnævntes, købt, udbetale, Udskrivningskommision, foruden, dræbt, Tabet, beløber, sindsyg, Forsøg, udrydde, Sygdom, udtalte, Overtagelse, paagrebes, Politimyndighedernes, tilbragt
plural	a) adapted forms: Barn b) Danish forms a. indefinite: Karpe, Penge, Dage, Strafarbeide b. definite: Politimyndighedernes, Farmerne, Jernbanerne

preterite	negt <u>e</u> de, led <u>e</u> de, indskrænked <u>e</u> s, repræsentered <u>e</u> , rased <u>e</u> , lykked <u>e</u> s, haabed <u>e</u> , sag <u>e</u> , hverved <u>e</u>
other features	a) diphthongs: Høiesteret b) single/double consonants: netop, Høiesteret c) short/long forms: Faderens, blive, gives, have, bede, Fader, forblive d) av/af: af, Afdeling e) other Norwegian/Danish features: der

The material is a selection of news from several American states varying in the length from 37 words to 70 words. It is printed in the Gothic script. All nouns are subjected to capitalization of the initial letter.

English loanwords are not visually highlighted in the material from these contributions. In this regard they are probably considered as an already incorporated part of the lexicon of the Norwegian immigrants. It is highly possible that they had not been unknown to Norwegians before they arrived in the United States. The loanword ‘farm’ and the English addressing form ‘Mr.’ were already commented in the previous newspaper articles. The word ‘Kabelgram’ is an example of the technical vocabulary. It also appeared in the Aftenposten issues twice in the similar period (in 1906 and in 1913). It must be ranked among the loanwords of an international character. It is not very probable that the word would be used more frequently by the immigrants in the United States. In the immigrant newspaper from the US it is found specifically in the articles reporting on the developments in the First World War. The ‘locomotive’ is an invention from the era prior to the main migration movement to the United States. From this point of view it is classified as a result of the borrowing process under the influence of the European English. ‘Sheriff’ is an anglicism that appears frequently in the material from the American newspapers. It is also found in the Norwegian press, Aftenposten contains the word in the issue form 1868 for the first time. It is used in the context of the American news presented in the newspaper. The expression ‘sheriff’ is a part of the new administration system that the immigrants had to learn in the United States and is classified as an American innovation in the lexicon of the immigrants in this context. This particular example from the newspaper Decorah-Posten in 1918 is not the first documented use of it in the Norwegian-American newspapers. The word ‘Bonds’ is a widely spread economic term that existed in the United States as well as in Europe in the time of the migration. It is documented in Aftenposten in 1869. There is an instance of morphological adaptation of the English loanwords. The corresponding Danish plural is

applied to the borrowing ‘farm’ (‘Farmerne’). On the other hand, the loanword ‘Bonds’ maintains its English morphology (the morphological context of the loanword is the definite plural form in combination with a Norwegian/Danish demonstrative pronoun: ‘disse Bonds’; the relevant Norwegian form would be ‘disse Bondene’). An instance of English ordinal numbers occurs in the text (‘168<sup>th</sup> Infanteri’). This form is not commonly used in Norwegian. This particular instance is in contrast with another identified example of ordinal numbers from another article in this selection of news where the Norwegian system of ordinal numbers is used (‘den 88de Division’). The context of these two ordinal numbers is very similar; both are used as an appellation of a particular army unit.

The Norwegian reform of 1907 is reflected neither in the morphology nor in the spelling of these contributions. Voiced consonants are applied in cases where unvoiced are required according to the Norwegian grammar. Among the words with the voiced consonants compounds and derivates are also identified where the norm with an unvoiced consonant was codified in the later reforms (sindsyg, Overtagelse, Fritagelseskommission). If the norm allows varying forms, the Danish is used in the material (‘beløber’). Preterite and plural forms, preference of long forms of the words, no application of the doubling of the consonant are all features that refer to the grammar and spelling as it was practised before the introduction of the reform. The only one found exception is the Norwegian indefinite plural form ‘Barn’ that does not follow the Danish grammar system.

**DP July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1918; nr. 95: Pell-Mell Salat; Potet Boller med Ost; Bombe af Blomkaal**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	Bomb of Cauliflower, Shrimps
consonants	kogt, koges, <u>Pebber</u> , kogende, Overfladen, Stegefad, steges, ud, Fad
plural	indefinite: Salat-Blade definite: <u>Poteterne</u>
preterite	
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: Grønret, Kop, op, Ret c) short/long forms: blir, tages, have d) av/af: af e) other Norwegian/Danish features: Hovedet

This section presents three recipes consisting of respectively 53, 74 and 70 words. They have Norwegian/Danish titles, one is also provided in addition with an English name (Bomb of Cauliflower; set in parentheses under the main heading of the recipe). The recipes are typed in the Gothic script, only the English heading of the recipe is typed in the Latin script. Nouns are capitalized.

The English borrowing ‘shrimp’ is the only instance of anglicism used in this recipe section except for the accompanying English translation of one of the names of the recipes. It is used in the parentheses and placed behind the Danish noun: ‘en Del Ræker (Shrimps)’. The addition of an English equivalent in such cases is usually motivated by the semantic context when a loanword fits better than its more or less corresponding word from the native language of the immigrants.<sup>305</sup> Neither spelling nor grammatical adaptations of the anglicisms in this text are reflected. The loanword also occurs in the newspaper Aftenposten (recorded already in the 1870s) in the advertisements.

Danish voiced consonants are still applied in this period as well as the Danish plural and preterite morphemes. An instance of the Danish vocabulary (‘Hovedet’) which is used instead of its Norwegian equivalent (‘hode’)<sup>306</sup> is identified. There is one example of a shortened form in text when the verb blir is used instead of the Danish form ‘blive(r)’.<sup>307</sup>

#### MT July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1918; nr. 27: Italiafronten

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	Kabeltelegrammer, Distrikter, Damper
consonants	Tab, Modangreb, flyder, Forsøg, østerrigske, forsøgte, Østerrigernes, mod, tilbage, bragte, Flyvevirksomhed, Nyheden, tog, slige, Mandskab, Deltagelse, udtrykte, pludselig, angribe, Østerrigerne, Sandheden, Skib, Østerrige, udvidede, Streiftog, Tabet, Østerrigere
plural	indefinite: Dage definite: Medlemmerne, Vinduerne, Østerrigerne, Rygteerne, Østerrigernes
preterite	udvidede, erklærede, bombarderede, forklarede, manglede

<sup>305</sup> The English loanword ‘shrimps’ occurs in other texts with a Norwegian/Danish word that accompanies it in the parentheses; e.g. DP July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1944, nr. 45.

<sup>306</sup> ‘Hovedet’ is a singular definite form of the lemma ‘et hoved’. In Norwegian, ‘hoved’ is also used, usually as a modifier in compound words (e.g. ‘hovedkontor’ – ‘main office’, ‘hovedstad’ – ‘capital city’, ‘hovedtaler’ – ‘keynote speaker’, etc.).

<sup>307</sup> Verbs ‘blir’/‘bliver’ are both forms of present tense of infinitives ‘bli’ respectively ‘blive’.

other features	a) diphthongs: Seir, Streiftog, begeistret b) single/double consonants: c) short/long forms: have, taget, siger, sprede d) av/af: af, afvist, Afdelinger e) other Norwegian/Danish features: vor, Flyvere, der
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The article summarizes the latest situation at the Italian front on the basis of the contributions from several foreign newspapers. Its total length is 562 words. It is typed in the Gothic script. All nouns are capitalized.

Two of the identified anglicisms appeared already in the previous material. The word ‘Damper’ is documented by Flom in his vocabulary list. However its grammatical setting in the sentence does not allow any further analyses.

A lot of instances of words where the distinction between voiced and unvoiced consonants is possible are identified in the text. In all of them the preference is given to the Danish version, i.e. the voiced consonant. The same preferences are clear and consistent in the other research points in spelling and grammar with the exception of diphthongs that are used in the Norwegian form more or less constantly in the selected newspapers in the whole defined period.

**MT July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1918; nr. 27: Telegraf-Streik**

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	
consonants	mod <u>u</u> , Myndighed <u>u</u> , nægte, Selskabets, slige, Magt, Hemmelighed <u>u</u> , pludselig, angribe, Sandheden, Skib
plural	indefinite: Breve <u>u</u> definite: Telegrafisterne, Telefonlinjerne
preterite	sagde, anmodede, støttede
other features	a) diphthongs: Streik, streike b) single/double consonants: c) short/long forms: overtage, blive d) av/af: af e) other Norwegian/Danish features: der, vore

The article in the length of 171 words informs about the planned strike of ‘Western Union Telegrafister’. It is printed in the Gothic script including the names of the American institutions (‘Western Union Telegraph Company’). Capitalization of nouns is practiced in the text. None anglicisms are identified in this contribution except for the name of the business company that is excluded from the analyses.

Although several of the identified words from this material were not immediately adapted to the Norwegian spelling in the reform of 1907 (Magt, Skib, nægte/negte), the predominant influence of the Danish grammar system is reflected in the use of voiced consonants, plural and preterite forms and long forms of the words where variations between long and short is codified in the relevant handbooks. The Danish features ‘vor’ (‘vår’ in Norwegian; ‘our’ in translation) and ‘der’ (‘som’ in Norwegian; ‘who/which’ in translation) even stress the Danish character of the spelling and grammar in the text.

**SK July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1918; nr. 27: En Ulykke i Iowa**

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	Mrs.
consonants	a) voiced: Lig, frygter, Taget, Bogholder, Slagtersvende, Sygehus, Eiendomstabet, Undersøgelsen, udgjorde, tog, Kjødbutik, uden, udarbeide, ved, Undersøgelse, Lighuset, vide b) unvoiced: likeledes
plural	Ruinerne, Kunderne, Bygningerne
preterite	mistede, begravede, arbeidede, sagde
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: Kjødbutik, blit c) short/long forms: optaget, siger, foretages, blive d) av/af: af e) other Norwegian/Danish features: der

This is a report of 410 words (excluding the list of the dead) about a tragedy in Sioux City caused by a fire. The text is typed in the Gothic script. Nouns are written with capital initial letters.

The English influence is demonstrated by the use of the addressing ‘Mrs.’ by the names (the list of dead from the fire tragedy) here. This is contrary to the general practice in the contributions reporting on the happenings in Scandinavia where the addressing ‘Hr.’/’Fru’/’Frøken’ is used.

The use of voiced consonants is preferred in the text. However, one instance of an unvoiced consonant that corresponds to the Norwegian system is used (‘likeledes’). This switch to the Norwegian spelling is not stressed by any visual device in the text. It should be considered rather as an exception that was probably not noticed under the proofreading process. In no other of the monitored categories in morphology as well as in orthography a feature reflecting the Norwegian language is found.

**SK July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1918; nr. 27: De danske Kvinder i Valg; For Kjøkkenet**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	Pint
consonants	Fuldmægtig, Modstandere, <u>Pebber</u> , Opkog, Løg, koges, Fiskekager, Kager, steges, Fedt, Kjødkraft
plural	indefinite: De <u>le</u> , Gange definite: Socialister <u>ne</u> , Poteter <u>ne</u>
preterite	
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: deltat, Valgret c) short/long forms: Far, gives, tages, gis, haves d) av/af: Avdeling e) other Norwegian/Danish features:

These two contributions come from a part of the newspaper that is devoted to the women readership. These sections of the newspapers generally introduce topics that are predominantly focused on women’s interests. Stories of some successful compatriots in the US and at the home country and/or some helpful advice for household are usually presented there. In this particular issue, one article reports about the newly acquired right to vote for women in Denmark (274 words) and. the other part of the section consists of two short

recipes (in total 133 words). Both contributions are printed in the Gothic script. All nouns are subjected to capitalization.

The impact of the English language is limited to the use of the American unit of volume ‘Pint’ in this material. Generally, the contributions that are dealing with news from the immigrants’ country of origin contain less English borrowings than reports from the United States and abroad. But the volume of the loanwords is varying and differs from article to article. The identified English borrowing is mentioned in one of the recipes (‘1/2 Pint Kjødkraft’). The unit ‘pint’ is used in the system of Great Britain, too. However, they do not refer to the same quantity.<sup>308</sup> Besides the unit ‘Pint’ the expression ‘Pund’ is also mentioned in the recipe as another unit of the measure system. Other ingredients are specified by the use of expressions such as ‘tea spoon’ or are given per piece.

The use of Danish voiced consonants is practised throughout the text. There are no deviations from the Danish grammar system in the plural forms. The material from these contributions does not allow analyzing the forms of preterite because not a single example of past tense is identified here. Varying forms are observed in the use of shortened/long versions of some words.

### **SK January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1926; nr. 1: Norsk Korrespondance Skole**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	
consonants	voiced: forpligtelse unvoiced: u $\underline{t}$ kommet, oversi $\underline{k}$ t, virksomhe $\underline{t}$ , sø $\underline{k}$ t, li $\underline{k}$ e, u $\underline{t}$ en
plural	
preterite	
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: let, nyt c) short/long forms: gir, ha, bli d) av/af: av e) other Norwegian/Danish features: vor

<sup>308</sup> *Bokmålsordboka - Nynorskordboka* [online]. c2016. [accessed 2016-01-11–2017-09-18]. Available at: <http://www.nob-ordbok.uio.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=&bokmaal=+&ordbok=bokmaal>.

The contribution is an advertisement promoting courses of the ‘Norsk Korrespondance Skole’ in the length of 170 words. The graphical form of the contribution (and the rest of the advertisement section) is progressive. Contrary to other content sections of the newspaper the advertisements are the only parts of the January and July issues 1926 typed in the non-Gothic font. Besides, none of the nouns are capitalised.

Unfortunately, the advertisement is rather short and only a limited number of the features that could be subjected to an analysis are present. There is no occurrence of preterite and plural forms and no instance of English borrowings.

The use of the voiced/unvoiced consonants is one of the linguistic features from the reform of 1907 that can be analysed in this contribution. The identified forms are strictly in accordance with the norm codified in the reform of 1907. Unvoiced consonants are applied in the material with the only exception of the word ‘forpligtelse’. But the use of a voiced consonant in this case is not in conflict with the 1907-spelling. The adaptation of the word ‘pligt’ and its derivatives and compounds to the Norwegian spelling was codified in the later reform of 1938. The influence of the 1907-reform is also manifested in the use of the shortened forms instead of their longer Danish equivalents (‘giver’, ‘have’ and ‘blive’). On the other hand, the Danish morphological system is reflected in the use of single consonants (‘let’, ‘nyt’) in cases where a double consonant is required in Norwegian (‘lett’, ‘nytt’). The pronoun ‘vor’ also maintains the Danish form.

**DP January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1927; nr. 44: Fersk frossen Fisk**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	Herring, Pickerel, Wall Eyed Pike, Whitefish, Atlantic Mackerel, Red Cod, Alaska Salmon, Flounders, Sablefish, Chicken Halibut
consonants	Lud <u>e</u> fisk, Fr <u>a</u> gt, paalid <u>e</u> lige, Nettov <u>e</u> gt
plural	
preterite	
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: c) short/long forms: d) av/af: af, Afsendelse a) other Norwegian/Danish features: etableret

This contribution is another advertisement. It is presenting a Duluth-based company trading in fish. Its length is 120 words. The advertisement is typed in the Latin script and capitalisation of nouns is practised throughout the text.

The contribution distinguishes from the advertisement above by the wide use of English. All the advertised fish are presented under their English names even though the rest of the text is in Norwegian. One of the fish sorts is accompanied with a Norwegian equivalent in the parentheses: ‘Red Cod (Uer)’. The other English appellations of the fish are visually a natural part of the advertisement. The geographical names and the name of the company (‘Northern Lake’, ‘Northern Ocean’, ‘S. Morterud Fish Company’) are also given in English but these items are not included in the material of the analyses. The English names of some of the fish sorts also appear in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* in various sections but in the later periods: ‘herring’ (1932; advertisement), ‘whitefish’ (1961; report from the US), ‘mackerel’ (1966; English written news), ‘sablefish’ (2011; review of a Japan restaurant in Oslo). In this context the English appellations of the fish are understood as an American innovation in the lexicon of the immigrants.

The Danish spelling system is manifested by the voiced consonants in the words where the unvoiced consonants are already required according to the Norwegian spelling reform of 1907 (‘lutefisk’, ‘vekt’). The words ‘fragt’ and ‘paalidelig’ are still mentioned with voiced consonants in the spelling list from 1907. The preposition and prefix ‘af’ maintain the Danish spelling, too. The inclination to the Danish morphological system is also reflected in the participle form of the verb ‘etablere’. It is used in accordance with the Danish morphology here (‘etableret’) while the correct Norwegian form is ‘etablert’.

#### MT January 6th, 1927; nr. 1: Literatur

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	
consonants	Bog, udførligste, Udvikling, Opmærksomhed, Kirkestridigheder, Rod, udfolde, skabe, Begivenhederne, Virksomhed, talrige, dybt, rodfæstet, Maade, Møder, indtog, modsatte, uddybe, forsøgt, slig, tilbage, kjøbte, Forløb, ud, besøgte, Besøg, Festlighederne, heder, Udstyr, udgives, udsendt, rigtig, Aarsmøde, Frankrige
plural	indefinite: Reisebreve, Lande, Vande, Kongregrave definite: Begivenhederne, Festlighederne, Pyramidernes, Sfinxernes

preterite	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) adapted: <u>stilt</u>e, <u>traadt</u>e</li> <li>b) Danish forms: <u>hældede</u>, <u>erklærede</u>, <u>stillede</u>, <u>omfattede</u>, <u>besluttede</u>, <u>studerede</u>, <u>koloniserede</u></li> </ul>
other features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) diphthongs:</li> <li>b) single/double consonants: sit, fik, gik, Gut</li> <li>c) short/long forms: taget, blive, udgives</li> <li>d) av/af: Afhandling, af, afgav, Afsløring</li> <li>e) other Norwegian/Danish features: vor, Billeder</li> </ul>

Minneapolis Tidende became famous for the book reviews thus one example of this content section is included here from the issue of 1927, too. Four newly published books are discussed in the section that is called ‘Literatur’: ‘The Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872’, ‘Reisebreve’, ‘Nord-Norge’ and ‘Vossingen’. The total length of the section is 1,209 words. The text is typed in the Gothic script and all substantives are used with a capital initial letter. Except the English names of the reviewed books which are not a part of the analyses none anglicism is identified in this material.

The literary review is from 1927 and is thus preceding the official change of Minneapolis Tidende to the adapted spelling. This fact is demonstrated by the linguistic features from the Danish morphology and orthography. Danish voiced consonants are used strictly in the material even in the cases where the reform of 1907 codifies unvoiced consonants. Few of the examples of the voiced consonants do not conflict directly with the spelling rules because they were subjected to a change to unvoiced consonants in the later reforms or a varying form was allowed in the reform of 1907 (e.g. Frankrige, rigtig). But the prevailing majority of the identified words do not follow the Norwegian morphological system for the application of unvoiced consonants. The Danish morphemes also occur in the plural forms (indefinite as well as definite). The preterite forms show slight variations in the material. Two out of the nine instances have a Norwegian preterite morpheme while the rest follows the Danish grammar rules as it was common before the reform of 1907. The other linguistic features that are in focus also refer to the Danish language system. Single consonants are used instead of double consonants, long forms of the words are preferred and the preposition/prefix ‘av’ is still spelled with ‘f’ in the contribution.

MT January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1935; nr. 1: Roosevelt imot bonus-betaling

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	“cash bonus“, speaker, United States notes, notes
consonants	uttalt, utbetaling, sak, utentvil, omløp, forsøkt, uten, obligatonsutstedelse, utkræves, strøk
plural	a) adapted forms: penger b) Danish forms: certifikat <u>ernes</u> , veteran <u>ernes</u>
preterite	
other features	a) diphthongs: dreie b) single/double consonants: c) short/long forms: bli, bidrage, ha d) av/af: av, avgjort, avgjøres e) other Norwegian/Danish features: spørsmålet

The article reports on a political discussion of the bonus for veterans in the United States. Its length is 354 words. The title of the article is typed in the Gothic script while the rest of it is printed in the Latin script. Nouns are not capitalised in this contribution.

All the identified English borrowings are documented by Flom and Flaten in their lists. Graphical highlighting is applied only in the case of the loanword “cash bonus” that is used in the quotation marks. It is only the word ‘notes’ that can be analysed from the morphological perspective. It is used with its English plural suffix both in the grammatical context of the indefinite (‘United State notes’) and definite form (‘disse notes’). The grammatical context of the word ‘speaker’ does not require any article (‘husets speaker’ = ‘house’s speaker’).

No instance of Danish voiced consonants occurs in this article. The other linguistic features are a mix of the Norwegian and Danish forms. Although the change to the adapted spelling was declared in 1934, there are varying plural forms and long as well as shortened versions of the words. The Norwegian spelling ‘spørsmålet’ is given preference to the Danish version ‘spørgsmaalet’.

MT January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1935; nr. 1: Fra Norge (selection of short local news: Hvor blev Olav Trygvasson født?; Forlagsbokhandler J. W. Cappelen; Banksammenslutning; 100 aar siden Ludvig Daaes fødsel, Stort stenras i Eidfjord; Brand i Kongsberg; Norge faar sin første kunstsilkefabrik; Lærer Alsak Tomra; Akers nye herredstyre)

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	shoddyfabrikken
consonants	a) voiced: bidragsy <u>der</u> , vedtagelse, overtagelse, Kjø <u>b</u> mand b) unvoiced: dræ <u>pt</u> , forlagsbok <u>h</u> andler, u <u>d</u> dannet, kjø <u>p</u> er, utg <u>j</u> ør, virksomh <u>e</u> t, undersøk <u>e</u> lser, i lø <u>p</u> et av, bok <u>t</u> rykker, representantskapene, allike <u>v</u> el
plural	a) adapted forms: hus b) Danish forms: landsmænd
preterite	næ <u>r</u> et, lø <u>s</u> net, lyk <u>t</u> es, vi <u>e</u> t, oprett <u>e</u> t, opbevart <u>e</u> s
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: gjennomgik, op, fik, gik c) short/long forms: far, bli d) av/af: av, avstand, avgaat e) other Norwegian/Danish features: plads

The articles present various short reports from Norway. The length of each of them is 50–120 words. All the contributions are printed in the Latin script. Capitalisation of none nouns is practised.

There is only one anglicism identified in the material, the compound ‘shoddyfabrikken’. The borrowing is used in an article where it refers to a fire in a factory in Langvik and is visually a natural part of the text. The borrowing is not documented in any of the vocabulary lists by Flom and Flaten. It was not unknown for Norwegians because the archive of Aftenposten contains this compound in a contribution from 1912. The morphological structure of the item (the adjective ‘shoddy’ as the modifier of the compound) does not allow any further morphological analyses. Orthographically, the spelling of the anglicism is maintained in the original form.

The reform of 1907 is reflected only partially in morphology and spelling of the indigenous words. There are varying forms both in the plurals and in the use of

voiced/unvoiced consonants. However the words that maintain the voiced consonants are spelled correctly according the norm of the 1907. They were adapted in the reforms that were launched later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The material from these articles contains several verbs in past tense where the application of the Norwegian/Danish morpheme can be analysed. In all these instances, the Norwegian morphemes are applied. Shortened forms are used instead of the longer Danish versions. Doubling of consonants where required in Norwegian is not reflected in this contribution.

**SK July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1935; nr. 27: Norsk-Amerikanere som vækker Opsigt med sine patenterte Opfindelser**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	Picnic-Udstyr, „Nonsens“, Farmen, “Picnic“, “Picnic Pack“, Bag-Bumper, Bag-Bumperen, Picnic
consonants	a) voiced: Uge, Udstilling, Dygtighed, Ligkisteavdeling, Udveie, udklækket, forsøger, Krogen, sligt, klingende, Slægten, Udstyr, lige, Udbytte, Deltagelse, sidde, Stilhede, Løb, uden, Hemmelighed b) unvoiced: liten/lite, uten
plural	a) adapted forms a. indefinite: Barn b. definite: Barna b) Danish forms a. indefinite: Navne, Klæhængere, Dage, Penge, Dele b. definite: Damerne
preterite	manglet, reducerede, demonstrerte
other features	a) diphthongs: Trøielommen b) single/double consonants: Avsnit, nyt (noget helt nyt) c) short/long forms: ta, spør, Far, ha, si d) av/af: av, Avsnit e) other Norwegian/Danish features: vore, Spørsmålet, Plads

This is a report in the length of 1,135 words from an exhibition showing the latest inventions and novelties where Norwegian-Americans took part in, too. The text is typed in the Latin script. Nouns are typed with a capital initial letter.

English loanwords are not highlighted in the text with the exception of two words that are accompanied by quotation marks (“Nonsens”, “Picnic”). But the highlighting of them has a semantic function rather than a visual function. In one case, the quotation marks are used in combination with the title of the presented exhibit (“Picnic”). Regarding the vocabulary categories, the loanwords are connected with the American lifestyle and the exhibited objects. The word ‘picnic’ appears regularly in the material from the Norwegian-American newspaper. According to the literature, the activity known under the term ‘picnic’ has already a long history.<sup>309</sup> Such events were obviously common in Europe before the migration movement to the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The word was in use in the *Aftenposten* issues already in 1916 in its English spelling and in 1901 in the Norwegian adapted orthography (‘piknik’). However, as a part of the American lifestyle that the Norwegians were experiencing in the US it should not be excluded from the study. Morphologically, both single words and compounds words are identified among the borrowings. The English influence is also reflected in the tendency of writing the individual parts of the compounds apart or with a hyphen (Picnic-Udstyr, “Picnic Pack”) while they would be written as one word in Norwegian (e.g. ‘piknikutstyr’). The borrowed nouns are provided with a Norwegian determiner where necessary. Except a small change in the spelling of the word “Nonsens” instead of the correct English version ‘nonsense’, none of the words is orthographically adapted. Contrary to it, the word ‘picnic’ is codified with an adapted Norwegian spelling nowadays (‘piknik’). The head of the compound ‘bag-bumper’ comes originally from American English.<sup>310</sup> The dictionary *Bokmålsordboka/Nynorskordboka* evaluates the word ‘Nonsens’ as an English borrowing.<sup>311</sup> But it could be another example of the category of the international borrowing as well. It also appeared in the issues of the newspaper *Aftenposten* in 1861.

Among the set of words with the potential distinction between voiced and unvoiced consonants, there are only two items with an unvoiced consonant and therefore referring to the Norwegian spelling. The word ‘liten’/‘lite’ is used naturally without being visually stressed several times in the text while the word ‘uten’ is a part of a quotation (“uten at vises”)

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<sup>309</sup> Food Timeline - picnic history. *Food Timeline* [online]. 2004 [cit. 2017-09-02]. Available at: <http://www.foodtimeline.org/foodpicnics.html>.

<sup>310</sup> Bumper. *Online Etymology Dictionary* [online]. [cit. 2017-09-02]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=bumper&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=bumper&allowed_in_frame=0).

<sup>311</sup> *Bokmålsordboka - Nynorskordboka* [online]. c2016. [accessed 2016-01-11–2017-09-18]. Available at: <http://www.nob-ordbok.uio.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=&bokmaal=+&ordbok=bokmaal>.

in the newspaper reportage. The quotation is a part of the description under which the object was presented at the exhibition. The same word appears with the Danish voiced consonant ('uden') in other parts of the article, too. In that case it is incorporated without highlighting into the text. The plural of the nouns is predominantly Danish except the substantive of 'barn' both in the indefinite ('Barn') and definite forms ('Barna') that are formed by the Norwegian suffix. All other plurals with a variation between the Norwegian and Danish system are formed by using the Danish morphemes. This is in contrast with the identified preterite forms that are adapted to the Norwegian grammatical system. In the distinction between shortened/long forms of the words, preference is given to the shortened ones in the category of substantives as well as in case of verbs. Compound words that include the prefix *av-* are adapted to the Norwegian version by the use 'v' instead of the Danish 'f'. Doubling of the consonant is not practiced. There are also several characteristic features of either Norwegian or Danish language. The Danish pronoun 'vore' is used instead of Norwegian 'våre', the substantive 'Plads' is typed in the Danish spelling (Norwegian 'plass'). On the other hand, the Danish noun 'spørgsmål' is substituted by the Norwegian version 'Spørsmålet'<sup>312</sup>.

**DP July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1938; nr. 102: Spørgsmaal og svar**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	kringkastet
consonants	besøge, Besiddelse, ligesom, slig, ude, Skib, Forenede, Forudsætning, foruden
plural	Lande, Nordmænd
preterite	a) Danish forms: fiskede b) Adapted forms: kringkastet
other features	a) diphthongs: Leir, Reise b) single/double consonants: Pas, fik c) short/long forms: have, blir d) av/af: af e) other Norwegian/Danish features:

<sup>312</sup> Here used in the singular definite form, the basic lexeme is 'spørsmal', nowadays spelled as 'spørsmål'.

Decorah-Posten ran a section open for queries sent by the public, too. The questions are from various fields of topics; e.g. in this issue administrative, cultural and health care matters as well as matters of a purely information character are discussed. This sample comprises eight questions and answers in the length of 350 words. The whole section is printed in the Gothic script. Capitalization is applied throughout the contribution.

The borrowing process from the English language is manifested here by the use of the loanword ‘kringkastet’. This anglicism was documented in the issues of Aftenposten already in 1924. Therefore it is not possible to see it as a pure American borrowing resulting from the direct language contact on the American continent. The word is an example of loan translation based on the English model ‘broadcast’ and is morphologically integrated in the material by the use of the Norwegian suffix *-et* for the preterite form.

The Danish grammar and spelling system is obviously applied to material published in the section of the readers’ questions and the answers processed by the editorial staff. Only the verb ‘blir’ is used in the shortened form that refers to the Norwegian system. The rest of the contributions seem to be adapted to the language policy of the newspaper that was following the orthography of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**SK July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1939; nr. 27: Spørsmål og svar**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	Farmer, Farm
consonants	tilbage, Maden, søge, besøgt, Udlandet, Reiseudgifter, Maade, lige
plural	a) adapted forms: Søkendebarn b) Danish forms a. indefinite: Gange, Penge, Dele, Slægtinge b. definite: Arvingerne
preterite	
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: c) short/long forms: Far, Mor, bli, forby d) av/af: av e) other Norwegian/Danish features: Spørsmål, spørges

From the 1939-issue of Skandinaven four questions sent the newspapers by the readers are investigated. Contrary to the section of 'Spørgsmaal og svar' from Minneapolis Tidende from 1901 (and similarly to this section in Decorah-Posten) the range of topics discussed in this part in Skandinaven is wider. It includes socio-legal matters as well as a query concerning the Norwegian royal family. The whole section is typed in the Latin script. All nouns are consistently capitalised. The length is 454 words.

One contribution contains the established anglicisms 'Farmer' and 'Farm' that were already discussed on the previous pages of this chapter. The loanwords do not differ graphically from the rest of the text which is also one of the sign showing the incorporation of them into the Norwegian-American lexicon.

There are variations in the morphology and orthography of the indigenous words. Danish voiced consonants are used where the distinction between the unvoiced and voiced form is possible. On the other hand, shortened words (Far, Mor, bli, forby) substitute the Danish equivalents (fader, moder, blive and forbyde). The spelling of the verb 'spørges' reveals the Danish influence (spelled as 'spørre' in Norwegian) while the substantive 'Spørgsmaal' is adapted to the Norwegian spelling ('spørsmål'). The verb occurs in the Danish spelling in the newspapers in Norway, too (e.g. there are fourteen instances of the verb 'spørge' or its derivatives in 1939 which illustrates that the form was not uncommon even in the newspapers published directly in Norway).

### SK January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1941; nr. 1: Jul i Seattle'

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	Mr./Mrs.
consonants	Ugen, lige, Besøg, Slægt, Skib, Julebesøgende, Virksomhed, udnytte, tog, Venlighed, ud, Julemad, aabnes, møde, tilbage, kogte, Strøg, Menigheder
plural	indefinite: Ekspresvogne, Breve, Dage definite: Nabobyerne, Aviserne, Gjesterne
preterite	manglet, værket, smaapratet, lyttet
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: gik, fik, op, ret c) short/long forms: d) av/af: av

	e) other Norwegian/Danish features: vor, Sprog, Komfur
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This text is a letter from a reader who is describing the Christmas atmosphere in the city of Seattle and his own Christmas celebration. Its length is 498 words. It is typed in the Gothic script. Nouns are capitalised.

The influence of English is reflected in the use of the addressing of the mentioned people with ‘Mr.’/‘Mrs.’ instead of using the corresponding Norwegian equivalents.

The Danish practice of the voiced consonants is applied without any exception in the material even in cases where unvoiced consonants are required according to the Norwegian grammar. Among the identified instances several single words, compounds and derivatives are also documented where the norm with an unvoiced consonant was codified in the later reforms (e.g.: Slægt, Skib, Virksomhed, Venlighed). The dominance of the Danish grammar system is also revealed in the plural forms. On the other hand, all verbs where the distinction between the Norwegian and Danish preterite morpheme is in focus, the Norwegian system substitutes the Danish morphology. The rules for the use of single consonants follow the Danish language, too. The spelling of the noun ‘Komfur’ refers to the Danish language (the Norwegian codified spelling is ‘komfyr’).

#### **DP January 4<sup>th</sup> 1958; nr. 18: London-Moter**

<b>categories of deviations</b>	<b>identified forms</b>
anglicisms	sjal
consonants	a) voiced: bruge, pegepind, slig, maade- <u>holden</u> , <u>ud</u> gifter, have <u>selskaber</u> , Askot-lø <u>bene</u> , <u>ud</u> skraad, ligeledes, besøgt, besøget b) unvoiced: dyp
plural	a) adapted forms: skjørtene b) Danish forms: motekonger <u>ne</u>
preterite	
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: ret, let-draperte, straa <u>hat</u> , grø <u>n</u> , let c) short/long forms: gir, bli <u>r</u> d) av/af: e) other Norwegian/Danish features:

The article describes the dress of the Queen Elisabeth that she was going to wear for her visit to Africa. It consists of 276 words. The text is typed in the Latin script and nouns are not capitalised (except for the official names).

One instance of anglicism is identified in this material. The borrowing ‘sjal’ is used in an adapted Norwegian spelling instead of its English orthography ‘shawl’. It is not stressed visually in the text. As mentioned in the earlier section the word already occurs in the texts of *Aftenposten* in 1868 (in the original English spelling). It is an example of the pre-immigration loanwords in the Norwegian lexicon.

The article involves a large portion of Danish morphological and orthographical elements. Voiced consonants are used in most of the cases except for the word ‘dyp’ that is spelled with an unvoiced consonant as the Norwegian rules require. There are two instances of plural forms where the distinction between the use of the Norwegian and Danish morphology can be analysed. The definite plural form ‘skjørtene’ follows the Norwegian grammar system while the definite plural form ‘motekongerne’ manifests the Danish system. Other linguistic features show variations between the Norwegian and Danish language, too. Shortened versions of words are preferred in cases when such a version of the given word exists in Norwegian (gir, blir). On the other hand, the grammar rules concerning the use of double consonants are not applied in the text and the identified examples are bearing single consonants.

**DP January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1972; nr. 19: Bøger om Norge**

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	
consonants	bøgger, bog, paalidelig, udviklingen, forsøgt, udøvere, forskjellighed, udsendte, severdigheder, besøge
plural	byerne, tiderne
preterite	
other features	a) diphthongs b) single/double consonants: overblik c) short/long forms: d) av/af: e) other Norwegian/Danish features: sprog, bogens, plads

The advertisement is presenting shortly the content and style of writing of six books published by the Anundsen publishing company (the newspaper Decorah-Posten was published by the same company). The length is 352 words. The advertisement is typed in the Latin script. Except the titles of the presented books (as it is common in English; here: Vikings of the West, Norwegian Painting, Christmas in Norway, Norwegian Music, Norway and the Second World War, Introducing Oslo) all nouns are used with small initial letters. Excluding the titles of the books, there are no anglicisms used.

In the latest period of the existence of the newspaper the transition to the spelling of the reform of 1907 is already reflected (as shown in Chapter 8). But contrary to other content sections in the newspaper the advertisement is fully in accordance with the Danish spelling and grammar rules (plural forms, use of voiced consonants *b/d/g*). Typical Danish forms of some vocabulary such as ‘sprog’ instead of ‘språk’ or ‘plads’ instead of ‘plass’ appear in the text, too.

**DP July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1972; nr. 45: Norske studenter i utlandet godt for Norge**

categories of deviations	identified forms
anglicisms	budsjettene, goodwill-skapende
consonants	a) voiced: <u>y</u> der, <u>y</u> det b) unvoiced: <u>u</u> tlandet, <u>u</u> tgiftene, <u>u</u> trede, <u>l</u> ikedeles, <u>u</u> tenfor, <u>be</u> løp, <u>ø</u> ker, <u>m</u> ulighetene, <u>pa</u> a <u>pe</u> ke, <u>o</u> vers <u>i</u> kt, <u>l</u> ike, <u>u</u> tdannes, <u>u</u> tdannelse, <u>f</u> orsø <u>k</u> er
plural	indefinite: nordmenn definite: <u>be</u> regningene, <u>l</u> ærestedene, <u>fo</u> rmen <u>e</u> , <u>m</u> ulighetene, <u>stu</u> dieplasse <u>ne</u>
preterite	<u>y</u> det
other features	a) diphthongs: b) single/double consonants: nedsatt, opp, tilskudd, viss, aastall, antall c) short/long forms: bli d) av/af: av e) other Norwegian/Danish features: plass, sprog

This is an article informing about the number of Norwegian students leaving Norway in order to study abroad and the (dis)advantages of their decision for the Norwegian education

system. The length of this contribution is 557 words. The text is typed in the Latin script. Capitalisation is not applied to any of the nouns.

One English transferred noun and one English transferred adjective are identified in this text. The term 'Budsjettene' represents the economic vocabulary. The wide spread of the word in the Norwegian newspapers in Norway (e.g. in *Aftenposten* since 1860; originally in the unadapted spelling 'budget', the first use of the adapted spelling documented in 1913) is an evidence that it had entered the Norwegian vocabulary before the migration movement started and belongs to the category of the already well-established loanwords in the lexicon of the Norwegian immigrants. The word 'goodwill' is a part of the compound 'goodwill-skapende'. It is also mentioned in older issues of *Aftenposten*; both as a component of the same compound as in *Decorah-Posten* (since 1960) and as an independent word (since 1900). It is not regarded as a specifically American loanword in the Norwegian vocabulary. None of the borrowings is visually highlighted in the material. The anglicism 'budget' is used in a morphologically (plural definite form) as well as orthographically adapted form. The borrowed adjective is used as a modifying component of a compound word which limits any further examination of its grammatical treatment in the text.

Unvoiced consonants are spread through the material with the exception of the verb 'yde'. The morphological and orthographical forms are fully Norwegian. Only the spelling of the word 'sprog' remains in the Danish form instead of the Norwegian 'språk'. However, this remained the convention in the newspapers issued in Norway even in this period, too (e.g. the *Aftenposten* archive documents 3,227 instances of the form 'sprog').

## 10. CONCLUSIONS

The presented study is the first insight into the development and treatment of the written standard in the Norwegian immigrant community in the United States. It documents the changes of the written language of the Norwegian immigrants on the material from the newspapers published by the community in the United States. The framework of the study was language management and its theory. The aim of the research was to monitor and evaluate language management of two leading language problems that appeared in the Norwegian-American press: the influence of English as the dominant language of the contact situation on the Norwegian written standard and the impact of the spelling reform launched in Norway in 1907. The theory of language management interconnects macro and micro levels and various performers within language management processes. It also includes sociocultural and socioeconomic aspects. Through the theory, interests and power practices of involved actors can be revealed.

The research was based on the analyses of several research points that provided data for the evaluation of language management that was applied in the major Norwegian-American newspapers known as The Big Three. The choice to select the newspapers as the primary research material was motivated by the fact that the press became an important part of the immigrants' life in the United States as the high circulation of the newspapers proves. It was a form of the written language that many people were exposed to. Moreover, it involves a wide variety of texts, both from the perspective of their origin, style and content.

It was shown that various attitudes to the development of Norwegian were taken in the immigrant community. The use of anglicisms as well as the ignorance/acceptance of the features from the Norwegian 1907-reform became topics of discussions in the community. Contrary to the situation in Norway, there was no institution or authority that would be in the position of the competent performer of the language management of the Norwegian standard in the United States. Professionals and wide public that contributed in the discussions about the language development argued for/against the particular changes on the base of their own interests or the interests of the group they were representing. Because of that, the opinions on the problems were of a various and even competing character. This variety was also reflected in the language use in the newspaper contributions.

However, there were general lines in language management of the newspapers from The Big Three that emerged as a consequence of sociocultural setting of the management processes. Decorah Posten, Skandinaven and Minneapolis Tidende belonged to the well-

established immigrant newspapers with a long tradition of publishing with their particular and relatively consistent standard in the language use, style and content. This constancy can be explained by ideological reasons. The written standard was understood as a part of the cultural heritage that was brought by the Norwegians to the United States and as a phenomenon that connected the immigrants with their home country. The immigrant community wanted to establish its national identity in the new sociocultural environment and language was an important factor in these efforts. Logically, the community identified itself with the variety that was common in Norway in the time of their departure. It was therefore natural for the immigrants in the US to use the written standard that was not “fully Norwegian” from the pure linguistic perspective but had important nostalgic value for them. This view on the written language was maintained by many even after the spelling reforms had been launched in Norway in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the varieties of written Norwegian in Norway and in the United States were differing significantly one from the other. This led the editorial staff of The Big Three to follow rather conservative language policy in their newspapers. Some reflections of this attitude are very easy to identify. The graphic form of the newspapers did not undergo any significant changes during their existence. Features such as use of the Gothic font and capitalisation of initial letters of nouns referred to the newspaper layout as it looked like in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. And the same form was still applied in the more recent issues of the immigrant newspapers in the United States.

The examination of morphological and orthographic development of the written standard in the newspapers of The Big Three revealed some general trends in their language management of this sort of linguistic problems, too. The changes that were codified in the Norwegian reform of 1907 were officially incorporated into the spelling of the newspapers in the United States later than in Norway. Besides that, they were applied only in limited volume. There was a prevailing inclination to the Danish grammar and spelling system until the 1930s. Minneapolis Tidende was the newspaper with the shortest duration of existence and it declared the transition to the new written standard in 1934, just one year before it ceased its publishing. The new spelling policy was quite consistently manifested in the morphology and orthography after the change. The graphic form of the newspaper underwent modernisation, too. On the other hand, Decorah-Posten also declared a change to the 1907-reform in the 1930s but on the base of the analyses it is obvious that the new rules were more widely applied from the 1960s. Skandinaven never announced the changes in its written standard officially. The Danish morphology and orthography was preserved more strictly in

this newspaper than in the other two from the group. But the implementation of some of the new forms can be observed in the language policy in the final years of Skandivanen, too.

A deeper analysis of the application/ignorance of the major features from the 1907-reform in the immigrant newspapers in the United States depicted the development of the Norwegian language as used in the particular contributions in the newspapers. The implementation of the 1907-norms was monitored in several periods during the publishing of the newspapers. This enabled to compare the correspondences/divergences in The Big Three. Besides, a number of the newspaper contributions was selected and subjected to an examination of the individual research points. The collected data showed that the treatment of the preterite and plural morphemes and distinction between the voiced and unvoiced consonants varied in the newspapers slightly. The Norwegian preterite morphemes were the least problematic for the incorporation into the spelling policy according to the data from the analyses. They appeared in the material regularly from the 1930s and the number was growing during the following years of the existence of all the three newspapers. Contrary to it, the plural forms were not implemented in such large extent as the preterite suffixes and a variety of the Danish and Norwegian system was observed in the material. The use of the voiced consonants was also preferred to the unvoiced consonants that were another important feature of the Norwegian spelling reform. The tendency to preserve the Danish orthography was manifested in this case, too.

The Norwegian language in the United States was subjected to a constant influence of English. This contact situation had inevitably consequences for the further development of Norwegian used by the immigrant community in the United States. The impact of English in the newspapers was manifested in the use of English loanwords. The origin and the channel of transfer of the English vocabulary in the Norwegian language was the first point that had to be considered. For these purposes the existing Norwegian-American word lists that document the specific vocabulary of the immigrant community were used. Moreover, the occurrence and use of the identified English borrowings from the Norwegian-American press was checked in the leading newspaper in Norway (Aftenposten). And the English loanwords were also evaluated from the perspective of the context in which they appeared in the contributions because that had an important role and could differ from the context of the loanword in Europe. Many of the borrowings appeared in the lexicon of the Norwegian immigrants as a consequence of the innovations that the immigrants were facing in their new country. This was reflected in the diversity during the time. However, there were several vocabulary categories that were more exposed to the borrowing process. Nevertheless, English loanwords

did not reach the dominant position in any of these categories. The foreign origin of the English words in the lexicon of the Norwegian immigrants was sometimes highlighted by the use of quotation marks and/or a different font. This phenomenon was observable mainly in the early issues of the newspapers. There were no consistent rules or clues that determined the graphic incorporation of the loanwords. Similarly, variances were also observed in the morphological and orthographic treatment of the English loanwords. The borrowings were subjected to an integration process into the Norwegian grammar system but it was not proceeding evenly in all the newspapers during the periods of their publishing. This fact is reflected in the numerous morphological and orthographic forms of the English words representing different stages of the integration process.

The current thesis opens several other questions that can be subjected to following research. The primary newspaper material of this study includes a large variety of contributions of various origins. The origin of the texts was not a factor determining that an article was included in or excluded from the research material. The goal was to show the wide spectrum of texts that the subscribers were exposed to in the newspaper. Therefore, one of the tasks would be to categorize the contributions according to who produced them (such as editorials, letters from readers, articles overtaken from Norwegian news agencies and Norwegian/Scandinavian correspondents) and subsequently to compare the language use and possible variations in these different types of texts. Such an analysis would determine if there were any differences in the preferred spelling and the use of borrowed elements in the individual categories.

Another possibility of further research work in this field is a focus on the use and implementation of English borrowed items in the Norwegian-American newspapers compared with the practice in the newspapers published in Norway. If several leading newspapers in Norway are selected from the same periods in which the Norwegian-American press was examined and the same research points are investigated as it was done in the Norwegian-American newspapers, the collected and analysed data would show the similarities and/or differences in the treatment of English borrowings in the press in Norway and by the Norwegian-American community in the United States. Are they from the same vocabulary fields? Is there any observable increase or decrease in the volume of borrowings? Is the approach to the orthographical and morphological integration of the borrowed elements similar in the press in Norway and the United States or are there variations? These questions can be answered on the base of extensive research work. The data and results would also

outline a new perspective on the English borrowings in the Norwegian written standard generally and therefore they would be helpful for other research projects, too.

Last but not least, a comparison of the language management in the established newspapers represented by Decorah-Posten, Skandinaven and Minneapolis Tidende with the newspapers that circulated in the more recent settlements of Norwegian immigrants in the United States can be an idea for other research work. Such a study can reveal to which extent the different social structure of the settlements and different expectations of the subscribers were reflected in the language management of the editorial staff.

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## LIST OF ATTACHMENTS

<u>Listed as</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Date of publication</u>
Attachment 1	Decorah-Posten	July 2, 1918
Attachment 2	Decorah-Posten	January 6, 1972
Attachment 3	Minneapolis Tidende	July 5, 1901
Attachment 4	Minneapolis Tidende	January 3, 1935
Attachment 5	Skandinaven	January 7, 1891
Attachment 6	Skadinaven	January 2, 1941