

LINGUISTIC CHANGE AMONG BILINGUAL SPEAKERS OF FINNISH AND AMERICAN ENGLISH IN SWEDEN – BACKGROUND AND SOME TENTATIVE FINDINGS

Sally Boyd & Paula Andersson

1. Introduction

The learning and acquisition of language have been accorded an important position within linguistic research.¹ In comparison, the process of loss or attrition of language, by groups and by individuals, has received relatively little attention. Interest in it has grown rapidly, lately, although not in all areas where we believe change processes which can be considered as loss or attrition can take place.

One such area is the phenomenon of loss or attrition of first language (L1) skills among active bilinguals, or among bilinguals who use their L1 relatively rarely. Grosjean (1982: 237-239) characterizes this phenomenon thus:

Some people actually stop using one of their languages... in this case, language forgetting occurs, a phenomenon that has received little attention and yet is probably as frequent as language learning in adults... Language forgetting is a slow process, but the person is usually quite aware of the change and may even apologize when talking to a native speaker. It is as if society allowed one to learn a language but not to forget it!

One reason why "language forgetting" (especially of L1) has not been studied so extensively is probably because it is such a sensitive issue for most bilinguals. It is not very pleasant to discover that your competence in L1 is changing-- a process which it is natural to consider as "loss of competence", rather than simply change. A speaker's L1 is usually closely tied to her/his ethnic identity. Even linguists seem to promote the idea that L1's cannot be lost or forgotten by the individual. Perhaps their belief stems from the notion of the "unshakeable" native speaker competence implied by Chomsky's theory of language and language acquisition. Another reason this phenomenon hasn't been studied very much until recently is probably that there are a number of methodological problems which arise when you try to measure small differences between a population of potential L1 losers and a control group. The choice of a relevant control group is also difficult (cf. Jaspaert et al 1986). Finally, we should mention the fact that minority languages are usually not accorded an equal status as objects of scientific research, as compared with majority languages, so loss of them has not been studied as much as acquisition of majority languages by minority group members.

Nevertheless, as Grosjean implies, bilinguals notice changes in their L1 skills, particularly in speaking and writing skills, and these changes are usually negatively evaluated by the bilinguals themselves, by the bilingual community, and especially by monolinguals in L1. Unfortunately, we know far too little about what types of changes take place in adult bilinguals' L1's and under what conditions these changes are most likely to occur. The purpose of the project described in this paper is to find out some of the types of change processes that take place in adult immigrants' L1's, and to relate these changes to the social context of language contact in Sweden, both on the individual and on the group level. The patterns of variation will then be related to theories of language variation and change. The project focuses on long-term immigrants in Sweden with Finnish or American English as L1.

¹ We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences, which has financed the project Variation and change in language contact. We would also like to thank Pirkko Nuolijärvi, Kaarlo Voionmaa, Dennis Day and Erland Gadellii for comments on earlier versions of the paper. This paper is a revised version of the paper presented in 1988 at the First International Conference on the Maintenance and Loss of Ethnic Minority Languages, Noordwijkerhout, Netherlands. It is scheduled to appear, in a slightly revised form, in the International Journal of the Sociology of Language during 1992.

2. Background and hypotheses

The two groups under study differ on a number of points. The Finnish group in Sweden is by far the largest immigrant group, comprising a total of about 350 thousand persons, which is 37% of the immigrant population, or 4 % of the total population of the country.² The majority of the group belongs to the working class in Sweden, although many of the members of the group were skilled workers on their arrival in Sweden and many have continued their training or education in Sweden. The group exhibits both chain and spontaneous migration primarily for the purpose of seeking employment in Sweden. Fenno-Scandinavia enjoys a free labor market. The only significant group of Finnish refugees in the country are former "war children", who for one reason or another have stayed in or returned to Sweden after World War II.

The American group, on the other hand is smaller, but surprisingly to many, it is the 10th largest immigrant group in the country (16 thousand persons, or 2 % of the immigrant population, or 0.2 % of the population as a whole). The group consists of two fairly separate sub-groups: first, spouses of Swedes, who migrate to the country for that reason and stay in the country for a relatively long period of time, and second, short-term migrants, working either for companies with business in both Sweden and the US or in similar international occupations. Many of the latter group come as families, and stay a relatively short period of time. There are also a certain number of refugees from the US who were draft-dodgers or deserters during the Vietnam War, some of whom have stayed in Sweden, often because they have a Swedish spouse. Despite their original status as refugees, they are more similar in other ways to the first group mentioned above. American immigrants in both these categories tend to belong to the middle class. Since the present study is concentrating on long-term immigrants, the study draws most of its informants from the first category of immigrants (including "Vietnam refugees").

Research within this project is based empirically on Boyd's (1985) study of language shift among second generation immigrants in Sweden. In that study, it was found that language shift was proceeding rapidly among virtually every immigrant minority in Sweden. Though almost half of the population of young second generation immigrants was actively bilingual, the vast majority of these young people used their respective minority languages primarily in conversation with parents or other members of the older (i.e. first) generation. Few used the minority language with age peers, not even with siblings. One question raised by the earlier study is to what extent the ongoing language shift is reflected in the minority languages themselves, as used by active bilinguals in the first generation (cf. Hasselmo 1974, dyne 1980, Dorian 1981, Sharwood Smith 1983, for examples of other studies of linguistic variation and change accompanying language shift). This is the major question to be addressed in the present project-

A central dimension which we investigate in comparing our informants, both individually, and as groups is the structure of their social networks. Building on earlier work on the relationship between variation, linguistic change and social network structure,(primarily L. Milroy 1980, and J. and L. Milroy 1985 plus Janson forthcoming) we expect to find significant differences in the patterns of linguistic variation in speakers with relatively dense and multiplex social networks within the LI group as compared to those with sparse and non-multiplex networks, or networks where Swedish-speakers dominate. It will be particularly interesting if we can see different patterns of variation among speakers with different types of ties to L1-speaking networks. Family structure (i.e. whether the immigrants are married to Swedes, other members of their own minority, or other immigrants), found to be a key predictor of bilingualism in the second generation in Boyd's earlier study, is also an important background variable in this study. For both these variables, we expect to find significant differences between the groups we have chosen to study. While the American group consists primarily of persons with extensive contacts with Swedes in most if not all major spheres of activity (including family), the Finnish group displays more variation on this point. Some Finnish informants have extensive contacts with Swedes, others have migrated as part of

² These figures are based on individuals born abroad, and children under 18 of parents born abroad, and thus include a large number of naturalized Swedish citizens, as well as children with one Finnish-born and one Swedish parent. For purposes of grouping individuals in terms of language and ethnic identity, however, we feel that country of origin is a more important criterion than citizenship. Unfortunately, statistics based on mother tongue are not available in Sweden.

These figures also include a small number of individuals who have (Fenno-) Swedish as their mother tongue. Although many of these are also highly proficient in Finnish when they come to Sweden, we are not including any individuals in our study who have a background in the Fenno-Swedish minority in Finland. All our Finnish-speaking informants have Finnish as their (only) first language.

a dense, multiplex network, which has been maintained in Sweden, or have built up such a network among Finns during their stay in Sweden.

Trudgill (1983) has recently proposed that language change in contact situations is typologically different from changes in languages which have little contact with other languages. He considers the simplification of paradigms and reduction of grammatical categories to be typical of language change in language contact, while he regards these types of change to be rare in a language not in intensive contact with another language. He explains his claim by proposing that these innovations arise due to two factors: 1) the influence of large numbers of adult learners of one of the languages. In a non-contact situation, the primary innovators would normally be children, who, he says, do not tend to set such changes in motion. In addition, 2) languages in contact are usually used in a relatively limited range of activities, which may contribute to changes of this type. In situations of contact between an immigrant language and a host language, his predictions would seem to apply primarily to changes in the host language, rather than the LI of the immigrants, since it is this language which is potentially the target language for a large number of learners. The question is, then, if Trudgill's claim is true of immigrants' LI in an immigrant-host language contact, since these languages would also be used in a relatively limited set of contexts (see however discussion below). The large group of learners Trudgill claims to be an important factor would however normally be absent for the immigrants' LI. On the other hand, the situation for English in Sweden may in this sense be parallel, since English is by far the most common foreign language learned by Swedes. Learner-English may well have an effect on English among Americans in Sweden, especially among the many Americans who are employed as teachers of English, or who use English with Swedes in other situations.

Another important feature of immigrant-host language contact is that it becomes difficult for the immigrant community to maintain the written and formal language norms of the country of origin. Contact with normenforcing institutions like language academies, schools, publishers, mass media etc. becomes less frequent. We predict that the relative remoteness of home language norms for speakers of immigrant languages may in some cases speed up processes of on-going change, which in the homeland are retarded by the more pervasive influences of written and formal spoken language norms.

3. Theoretical framework for the description of variation and change in contact varieties as compared to homeland varieties

We see the following six possibilities, in comparing the patterns of variation in our populations' LI to that of a monolingual control group:

1. Patterns of variation in the immigrant varieties can be attributed to transfer from L2, Swedish, and thus be unique to the language as used in Sweden. The transfer can be such as to increase less frequent variants in the homeland varieties or to reduce variation in favor of more frequent variants. Code-switching and borrowing from L2 would clearly be phenomena belonging in this category.
2. The immigrant varieties can exhibit a wider range of variation as compared to homeland varieties (i.e. exhibiting a larger number of variants, or a more frequent use of low-frequency variants, as compared to the homeland varieties). Reasons for such a pattern might be that the immigrant varieties are not subjected to conservative norms of Li in such a high degree, or transfer from L2. The American English material presented in section 4.2 of this paper would be an example of this type of variation.
3. The immigrant varieties can preserve older patterns which have changed in Li as spoken in the homeland (relic forms). Example: preservation of the three gender system in common nouns among Swedish speakers in North America.
4. These varieties can exhibit simplification or reduction of forms in relation to Li as spoken in the homeland. This is the only case in which we would speak of language loss. Some of these changes may however involve an acceleration of change processes already underway in the homeland varieties, in which case it seems misleading to consider the changes as attrition or loss. The Finnish data presented in section 4.1 is an example of variation belonging in this category.
5. These varieties can exhibit on-going change processes which are unique to them, but which cannot be attributed to transfer from Swedish, or which cannot be considered either simplification or reduction. (i.e. "spontaneous" differentiation.)

6. There may be no difference between the immigrant bilingual and homeland monolingual varieties on some points of comparison.

A major theoretical problem for the project is to distinguish these possible relationships from each other. As indicated above, they are not mutually exclusive, so that, for example, a certain variation pattern may be attributable to transfer from Swedish, but may also be considered as simplification of a paradigm.

Assuming measurable changes take place, what sorts of changes can we expect in the Li of adult immigrants with a relatively high degree of active bilingualism? In her study of the death of East Sutherland Gaelic, Dorian (1981, ch.4) seems to base her hypotheses about which grammatical features will be most directly affected on functional arguments: for example, she looks for reduction in morphological categories which are marked more than once, like gender, and expects the least generally applicable markings to be those which had the greatest tendency to be eroded. Her hypotheses are not very clearly borne out, however. In some cases, markings which would seem to have a small "functional load" are retained, such as vocative case, while other more generally applicable distinctions, e.g. between nominative/accusative and dative case marking, are weakened. On the other hand, tense of the verb is well-preserved as compared with number. The latter is also marked in the noun, where it is a well-preserved category. This last finding is a result which lends itself to a functional explanation.

In his studies of contact-induced change in immigrant languages in Australia, Clyne (1988:4) predicts first of all that more marked alternatives in LI will be eroded as compared to less marked ones. He also supports the idea that "limited exposure" to a minority language will tend to accelerate typological drift, e.g. from SOV to SVO, which can be compared to our comment in relation to hypothesis 4 above, about language contact speeding-up of individuals change processes in a language.

In his programmatic article, Andersen (1982) presents many hypotheses about the linguistic consequences of language contact based on research into language variation and use of many different kinds, assuming (p. 86) that contact-induced attrition of Li will have strong similarities to first and second language acquisition, pidginization, language death, language loss and other contact phenomena. In this broader context, Andersen considers the possibilities of morphological and syntactic simplification and reduction in language attrition, in many cases in relation to markedness. He predicts that marked forms and constructions would tend to be lost, and perhaps replaced by less-marked forms and constructions based on the "stronger language", as has been documented in second language acquisition, or in pidgin languages. We are not excluding the possibility that this type of process can take place in the LI of adult immigrants, but we are hesitant to assume that the same sort of change processes we find in first and second language acquisition and in pidginization and creolization of languages, or even in second language attrition, will be the first or even the major type to be found in the (Li) speech of immigrant bilinguals. In any event, in this paper we would like to look at some patterns of variation in these varieties which could be considered in a different light.

Many linguists working in the field of language attrition have actually had problems demonstrating that loss of language skills, particularly in Li have occurred in situations where a considerable decrease in use has taken place. At the same time, as we mentioned in our introduction, immigrants notice changes in their LI which they feel are brought about by their active bilingualism (i.e. use of more than one language in everyday interaction), Linguists (like ourselves) who believe in a close relationship between use of a language and skill in the language (see Boyd 1985 ch. 3 for an extended discussion of this relationship) would also predict that changes, perhaps specifically even loss or attrition, would take place in an immigrant's Li, solely due to the fact that she/he uses this language less frequently, in a smaller range of activities etc. However, in some cases where a decrease in use is easy to document, loss in LI skills have been difficult to demonstrate. There can be a number of sources for these problems in finding concrete evidence to support the feelings of bilingual speakers and the predictions of linguists.

One possibility is that no significant change or loss has occurred. The native language is really intact, and the decrease in use of it has not had any effect, since native language competence is so well-established in the individual. In this case, we must come up with other explanations for the bilinguals' reports of their own feelings of language deterioration, loss or whatever.

Speakers are notoriously unreliable in regard to their own speech (Labov e.g. 1972:132), and may certainly exaggerate the extent to which migration and bilingualism have affected their language. They may also have a tendency to attribute communication problems they would have experienced anyway had they remained monolingual to their status as bilinguals: despite the last twenty year's re-evaluation of the costs and benefits of bilingualism for the individual, it is still rather common for laymen to attribute communication problems both among children and adults to bilingualism.

It may very well be the case that the relationship between use of a language and skill in the language is not a simple one. A minimum amount of use may be adequate for an adult native speaker to maintain a relatively high level of skill, provided that the use is "high quality use", for example that the

use takes place in situations where the individual feels a strong active involvement in what happens (i.e. two hours of discussion with one's spouse as opposed to two hours of watching television or reading a book). In this project, we are trying to get a picture of our informants' social networks in order to ascertain to what extent they maintain strong ties within their LI communities. Even relatively infrequent contacts in Li with people one feels close to may be of greater significance in maintaining a language than frequent use of LII in situations where one is relatively uninvolved.

Another possible explanation for the difficulty in documenting LI loss is that linguists may not have chosen the proper aspects of language skill to study. It may be the case that the linguistic skills which are affected most directly by migration and subsequent bilingualism are not the ones that have been studied, for various reasons. Linguists and applied linguists, who are trained to study both first and second language acquisition, are better equipped to study grosser differences in linguistic competence, or changes occurring more rapidly than those which probably affect the immigrant bilingual. Even methods developed within sociolinguistics like the variable rule, which are good at measuring small differences in the speech of individuals and groups, are best suited for studies of morphology and segmental phonology, which may be relatively unaffected by migration and subsequent bilingualism. Nevertheless, at the moment, we feel that use of a variable rule analysis may be fruitful for some of the phenomena we are studying within this project. In general however, the methodological tools for studying many of the types of changes which occur in immigrant bilingualism seem to be lacking. The measurements available have been developed for measuring grosser, more rapid changes or changes in aspects of language which may not be so strongly affected by adult bilingualism.

Until a suitable range of methods of data gathering and measurement have been developed and tried, and different linguistic levels have been investigated, we don't believe that a definite conclusion can be drawn regarding the occurrence or non-occurrence of language change or language loss among migrant bilinguals.

4. The data

The study as a whole will be based on interviews with about 20 informants from each language group, and a control group of 5-10 informants per language group. The Finnish data presented in this paper, however is based on a pilot study of 10 long-term immigrants from Finland. The English material is based on the first eight interviews of long-term immigrants from the US. In a preliminary analysis of the Finnish material, we will compare the use of different possessive constructions, comparing data we have collected with data collected in two separate sociolinguistic studies of the same variable phenomenon in Helsinki Finnish. In the American English material, we will compare frequencies of placement of nineteen adverbs among eight informants and in a control group of four monolingual Americans. When we have come further in our analysis we hope to have made a variable rule analysis of both the possessive construction in Finnish and the adverbial placement in English.

5. Findings

5.1 *The possessive construction in Sweden Finnish and Finland Finnish*

Finnish is structurally different from the Indo-European languages. It has a rich inflectional and derivational morphology and it has therefore been considered as a fairly synthetic language. However, structural changes are going on in present-day spoken Finnish. One aspect of the on-going change processes is that analytic constructions are in some cases increasingly preferred to synthetic ones, where there is a choice. In syntax, this tendency is manifested by a weakening of several concord subsystems. In particular, the loss of possessive clitics is widespread (see Karlsson 1975).

In Finnish, in possessive constructions, genitive forms of personal pronouns are used variably together with possessive clitics. In 1st person singular, due to the variation between a full (*minun*) and a reduced (*mun*) pronoun on the one hand and between the presence or absence of possessive clitic (*ni*) on the other, several variants of the possessive construction are available in spoken Finnish (in order to be able to use control data from two different studies, we deal with 1st person sg. in contexts only). Thus, 'my book' can be expressed in the following ways:

	<u>Pronoun Noun Clitic</u>		
(1)	--	kirja	+ni
(2a)	minun	kirja	+ni
(2b)	mun	kirja	+ni
(3a)	minun	kirja	-
(3b)	mun	kirja	-

In standard Finnish, the variants (1) *kirjani* and (2a) *minun kirjani* are used. The clitic is obligatory and can be used variable with the pronoun. In terms of the synthetic-analytic dimension, only (1) *kirjani* could be considered as a pure synthetic construction, where the possessor is expressed by a bound morpheme. On the other hand, (3a) *minun kirja* and (3b) *mun kirja* are analytic constructions, where the possessor is expressed by a free morpheme. (2a) *minun kirjani* and (2b) *mun kirjani* involve both the analytic and the synthetic marker, so possessive concord is realized in these cases. Since the weakening of possessive concord leads to the loss of clitics, when we talk about "synthetic constructions" we mean variants (1), (2a) and (2b), and when we talk about "analytic" ones, we mean (3a) and (3b).

Karlsson (1977) discusses some linguistic factors, e.g. the only partial realization of concord in the standard Finnish variants, which make the possessive concord different from other types of concord phenomena in Finnish, and which might create favorable conditions for the weakening of this particular category. He also points out that the weakening is bound to regional, social, age-related and situational conditions. In this section, we will add migration and bilingualism as factors and focus on sociolinguistic variation in the use of the possessive construction in a language contact situation.

The possessive construction has been one of the structures investigated in the studies of urban Finnish that have been carried out in Helsinki and three other towns during the 1970's and 1980's (see Paunonen1982 concerning the results from Helsinki). These studies focus on the sociolinguistic variation due to residence, age, sex and social class and, to some extent, activity- dependent variation. The background of the studies of urban Finnish is found in the rapid socio-economic changes taking place in Finnish society during the past few decades which have led to increased intensity of contact between dialects. These studies indicate that the urban dialects remain closely tied to the contiguous regional dialects, in spite of the on-going dialect leveling process (see Mielikäinen 1982). This holds for the possessive construction also. All the five variants in 1st person sg. can be found in the regional dialects, but different dialects favor different variants. Consequently, the variation is reflected in each of the urban dialects. This is the starting point for Nuolijärvi's study of the possessive construction in the speech of long-term migrants who have moved to Helsinki from two different dialect areas (Nuolijärvi 1986). Her study focuses on the linguistic adaptability of the migrants in their new environment and factors such as place of birth, sex, profession and nature of job which influence this adaptability.

Using the native speaker data from Helsinki as control data provides interesting points of comparison for our study of Göteborg Finnish. Finnish both in Sweden and Helsinki has been influenced by Swedish, and both speech communities have a diverse dialectal background. Using the Helsinki migrant data as control data also provides interesting points of comparison, as regards the social and linguistic background of the informants. Many of the Finnish long term immigrants living in Göteborg are roughly the same age as the Helsinki migrants. They are people born at the end of the 1940's and representatives of the generation which implemented urbanization in Finland. From the point of view of the individuals' linguistic situation after the migration, though, we expect to see differences. The Helsinki migrants will be confronted with many varieties of both spoken and written Finnish in different language use situations. The Göteborg immigrants will be confronted with Swedish as well as many varieties of spoken Finnish which are used in a limited set of domains and which might be influenced by Swedish to different degrees.

Wande (1988) suggests that the tendency for spoken Finnish to be more analytic, compared to the written language, will be accelerated in Sweden, partly as a result of transfer from Swedish. We also expect this to be the case. Wande seems mainly to refer to the second and third generation in Sweden, but we think the this tendency can be seen among the first generation, too, partly as a result of transfer, and partly as a result of the narrow range of language use situations and of a relative isolation from the synthetic written language norm.

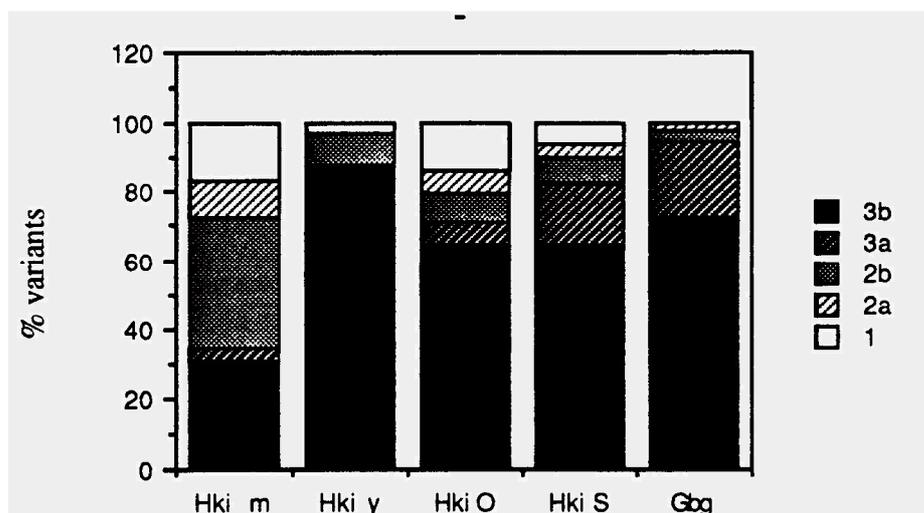
Maija Kahn has carried out a pilot study of the possessive construction in Sweden Finnish among some first generation immigrants and some children born in Sweden (Kahn forthcoming). Her conclusion is that although her material seems to correspond in large part to the development of spoken Finnish as described in the Finnish studies, there is reason to believe that clear differences exist between spoken Finnish in Finland and spoken Finnish in Sweden. Four variants of the possessive construction in 1st person singular (in non-reflexive contexts) occurred among the adult informants, while the young people had only variant (3b) *mun kirja*.

With Kahn's results in mind, we have compared the use of possessive constructions in Finnish immigrants living in Göteborg with some results from the studies of Finland Finnish. Five groups of informants are presented below. Groups 1 and 2 are from the study of spoken Finnish among the native Helsinkians (Paunonen1982). The data was collected 1972-74; group 1 represents informants 40-45 years old at the time of the study (=Hki m) and group 2 informants 15-20 years old (= Hki y). Groups 3 and 4 are from the study of the speech of long-term migrants in Helsinki (Nuolijärvi 1986). This data was collected 1982.

Group 3 represents migrants with Ostrobothnian dialect background (western dialects) (= Hki O) and group 4 represents migrants with Savo background (eastern dialects) (= Hki S). The age of these informants was 32-39 years. Finally, group 5 consists of Finnish long-term immigrants living in Göteborg - 10 informants varying in age between 34 - 50 years (Gbg). - All the recordings are interviews.

In figure 1, the distribution of the five variants of the possessive construction in 1st person singular, in non-reflexive contexts (more about the contextual constraints in Paunonen 1982), is presented as percentages of the total number of occurrences in each informant group.

Figure 1: The possessive construction in Helsinki and Göteborg Finnish: the distribution of the five variants.



data sets
 Hid m: 32 inf, 260 tokens Hki O: 24 inf, 310 tokens Gbg: 10 inf, 142 tokens
 Hid y: 32 inf, 190 tokens Hki S: 24 inf, 325 tokens

The two groups of native Helsinki speakers vividly illustrate the on-going change process in the Helsinki speech. The use of the possessive construction was dramatically different among young people as compared to middle aged people in Helsinki at that time. Among the middle aged Helsinki speakers, all five variants occurred, but the use of the synthetic variants (1) *kirjani*, (2a) *minun kirjani* and (2b) *mun kirjani* was dominant. Among the young people, the variants involving full pronouns (2a) and (3a) were totally missing. Although the young people definitely preferred the analytic (3b) *mun kirja* variant, they did use synthetic forms, too. It seems that their tendency to avoid the full pronoun was stronger than the tendency to avoid possessive clitics.

Three social classes were included in the groups of native Helsinki speakers. Among the middle aged speakers, the synthetic forms were mainly used by people with academic educations. Among the young people, no significant social class-bound differences in the use of the possessive construction were found, which indicates a late stage of a widespread change.

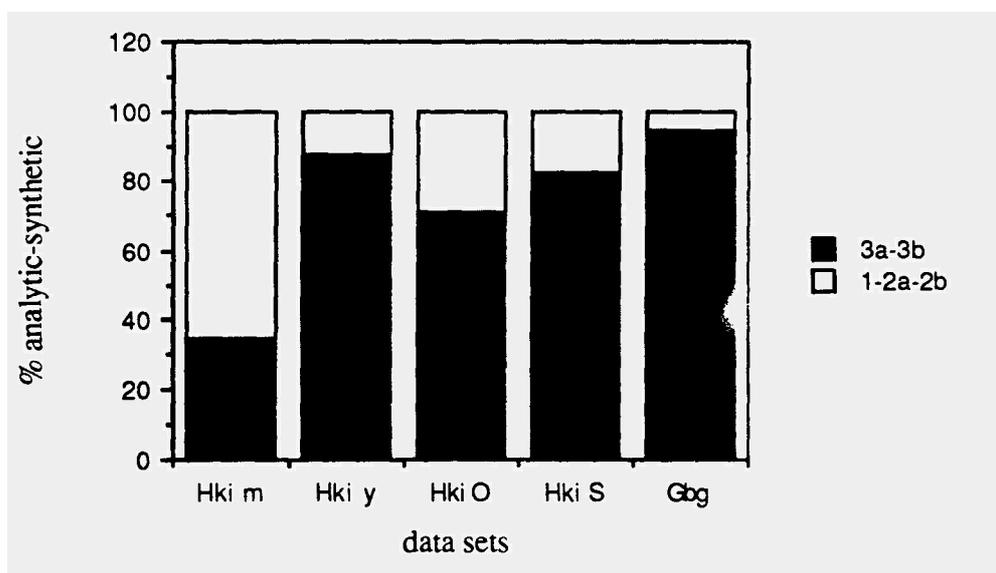
Both migrant groups in Helsinki (Hki O and Hki S) showed a fairly wide variation in the choice of the possessive construction. This result has been interpreted as being an indicator of a confrontation between three linguistic norms: the dialect of the region the informants originally come from, the standard spoken language norm and the urban spoken language in Helsinki (Nuolijärvi 1986). We can note that the migrants used analytic expressions almost to the same extent as did the young native Helsinki speakers, but they used both analytic variants. Some differences between Ostrobothnian and Savo migrants were also seen: Ostrobothnian migrants favored the synthetic variants more than Savo migrants. Savo migrants, on their part, favored the analytic (3a) *minun kirja* variant more than the Ostrobothnian migrants. These migrant groups' accommodation to the Helsinki speech resulted in somewhat different use of the possessive construction, which probably reflects their dialect backgrounds.

Among the long-term immigrants in Göteborg, according to our preliminary results, there is less variation in the use of the possessive construction than was found among the Helsinki migrant groups. Variant (1) *kirjani* which occurred among both Helsinki migrant groups, is missing in the Göteborg data. Furthermore, there are only a few occurrences of the two other synthetic variants (2a) *minun kirjani* and

(2b) *mun kirjani*. Instead, both (3a) *minun kirja* and (3b) *mun kirja* are used more frequently by the Göteborg informants.

Now, we will re-organize figure 1 in order to illustrate the loss of possessive clitics more clearly. In figure 2 below, we will ignore the variation between full and reduced pronoun, and group the five variants of the possessive construction into two categories, synthetic involving possessive clitics, i.e. variants (1), (2a) and (2b) and analytic involving loss of clitics, i.e. variants (3a) and (3b).

Figure 2: The possessive construction in Helsinki and Göteborg Finnish: the loss of possessive clitics



According to figure 2, the loss of possessive clitics among the Göteborg migrants is more obvious than among any of the other groups described above. It would seem to lead to a tentative confirmation of our hypothesis about speeding-up of the on-going change process, as it is expressed in the loss of possessive clitics in 1st person singular in non-reflexive contexts. This change process, as mentioned above, is one which is part of a more general tendency to favor more analytic expressions over more synthetic ones. The progression from 2a & b to 3a & b can also be considered from a functional point of view: in 2a & b, possessiveness is marked twice, so these forms should, according to the functional argument, show some signs of instability.

However, we should also mention some problems involved in the comparison of our data and the control data. In figure 2, the difference between the young native Helsinkians and the Göteborg immigrants is not very great. The first recordings of the Helsinki natives were done in 1972, and we can only speculate about how the use of the possessive construction among native Helsinkians has changed during the period between 1972 and 1988. It may well be the case that the informants who were between 15 and 20 years old in 1972 (and are thus comparable in age today with our Göteborg informants) now display a greater range of variation in their interview speech style than they did when they were teenagers. On the other hand, we assume that the loss of possessive clitics among the young people in Helsinki today is probably more complete than it was 1972. It may be the case that Kahn's results concerning the second generation immigrants in Sweden mentioned above would be true for the young Helsinkians, too.

Compared with the Helsinki migrant data, the difference in the loss of clitics in favor of our informants is fairly clear. What we must take into consideration, though, is that the Helsinki migrant groups represent two rather homogeneous dialect areas, while the Göteborg informants represent several dialect areas.

In relation to the discussion about factors that might influence the choice of possessive construction, we will have a closer look at the variation in the Göteborg data. In table 1, the distribution of the five variants of the possessive construction is shown on an individual level.

Table 1: The distribution of the variants of the possessive construction in Göteborg Finnish

	Anja	Mirja	Liisa	Eeva	Raija	Jussi	Seppo	Kari	Jouko	<u>Ratta</u>	
	F	F	F	F	F	M	M	M	M	F	
(1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(2a)	I	I	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
(2b)	3	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
(3a)	-	7	2	5	10	1	7	-	-	-	32
(3b)	26	6	3	3	4	9	-	13	3	36	103
	30	14	6	9	14	10	7	13	3	36	142

The table suggests that there might be a sex-dependent difference: the females show more intraindividual variation than the males. Four of the six female informants use three variants while three of the four male informants use only one variant. We can also note that only females use synthetic variants. Another plausible explanation for this intraindividual variation might be provided by the fact that five of the six informants using only analytic variants have lived in the Helsinki area at least a couple of years, while three of the four informants using also synthetic variants moved to Göteborg directly from their home region. On the other hand, they have consistently lived in Helsinki for a shorter period of time than Nuolijärvi's informants. This suggests that their coming to Sweden would be the most crucial factor leading to their so frequent use of the analytic variants.

The primary interest in our study was to relate the linguistic variables to the informants' language use patterns, as determined by their social networks. Since the informant group is incomplete, we have not discussed the possible relation between the loss of possessive clitics and the differences in the use of Finnish and Swedish within the group. Factors such as dialect background, education, nature of job or sex will interact with those related to bilingualism and language use. So far, we do not claim categorically that our hypothesis about the acceleration of the loss of possessive clitics in Sweden Finnish spoken by the first generation immigrants is confirmed. Our results indicate, though, that the study of the possessive construction provides a promising starting point for our analysis.

5.2 *The placement of certain adverbials in Sweden English and American English.*

The placement of adverbials is a variable phenomenon, even in the most formal varieties of written English. However, as far as we know, it has not been studied by sociolinguists, probably because it seems to be a stable variable without dialectal or other socially significant variation among monolingual English speakers.³ Those who have studied the placement of English adverbials are descriptive linguists; they usually consider at least seven different possible positions in which adverbials in English may be placed, in relation to the major constituents of the sentence. (The positional categories are most thoroughly explained in Quirk et al 1985, but are used, with some variations in studies such as Jacobson 1981, Lindquist 1987 and 1989.) In this study, we will consider adverbials in all seven positions, but only count as tokens those that can appear in at least two positions in the sentence in which they occur, and those which (as a result) seem to have fairly wide scope in the sentence.

We have limited our interest to nineteen frequent, "light" adverbials, which tend to express degree (*mostly, really* etc), indefinite time (*never, always, usually*) and some of the modality or "sentence adverbials", which are said to express degree of certainty, emphasis etc (e.g. *probably, definitely*). In order to limit the scope of the study, we have chosen to restrict our interest to adverbs, although at least some shorter prepositional phrases such as *of course* and *at least* seem to function in much the same way.

The basic rule for placement of English adverbs of these types is that they can occur **initially** (abbr. I), **finally** ((E) for end) or **medially** (with respect to subject, verb and obligatory objects or complements). When they occur medially, they tend to occur before the main verb in sentences with no auxiliaries, or after the first auxiliary, if there are any. When the copula is the main verb, the adverbials tend to occur after it (in contrast with other main verbs). This position is called medial position, M.

³ Trudgill & Hannah (1985:65) claim that placement of light adverbials at iM is easier in American English than in British English, but this claim was apparently based on unsystematic observation of written English (pers. comm.), and is contradicted by Lindquist's (1989: 62) results, which show no significant difference for placement of adverbials in British and American literary texts.

There are however, variants of both medial and end position. Sometimes the adverbial can be placed before the (first) auxiliary, in which case it is considered to be in **initial-medial** position (GM). When there are two auxiliaries, and the adverbial is placed after both, and before the main verb, this is known as **end-medial** position (eM). In sentences with three auxiliaries, we can even consider the rare occurrence of middle medial (mM) adverbials: those that occur before the last auxiliary before the main verb of the sentence. If the adverbial occurs between the main verb and a following obligatory constituent, this is called the **initial-end (iE)** position. The table below summarizes the possible positions of the adverb really.

1. Really she would have been considered a great singer, if	I
2. She really would have been considered a great singer, if	iM
3. She would really have been considered a great singer, if	M
4. She would have really been considered a great singer, if	mm
5. She would have been really considered a great singer, if	eM
6. She would have been considered really a great singer, if	iE
7. She would have been considered a great singer, really, if	E

Now one of the preconditions for considering variable phenomena as the result of the operation of a variable rule is that the different variants are "different ways of saying the same thing". Even in this constructed example, we can detect slight differences of meaning or emphasis between the sentences with really placed differently. However, the differences are small, according to our intuitions-- much less than that between all these sentences and the following one:

8. She would have been considered a really great singer, if...

Sentences of this type as well as sentences like the one illustrating iE above, where this reading is possible in the context in which they are used, are not considered in this analysis.

Another problem is that, in general, not all the positions can be utilized by some of the adverbs under consideration, so that even if really can occur in all these positions, even a fairly freely-occurring adverb like only seems rather odd in final position, for example (cf. Viitanen 1986), and just would be odd in both initial and final position, as well as at iE.

In Swedish, corresponding adverbs may be placed initially, finally or medially. For medial placement, the main rule is that these adverbs are placed after the inflected verb in main clauses, and before the inflected verb in subordinate clauses (Thorell 1973:166,224 ff.,237). However, the placement of adverbs is also variable in Swedish, so that an adverb like *kanske* 'maybe' can occur both before and after the inflected verb in main clauses, as well as in subordinate clauses (Hellberg 1988). In each of the following sentence pairs, the first sentence follows the main rule, and the second sentence does not, but still occurs. (Examples a variation on those in Svartvik & Sager 1977:391)

MAIN CLAUSE

9a. Hon vände <u>kanske</u> tillbaka.	*She turned <u>perhaps back</u> iE
9b. Hon <u>kanske</u> vände tillbaka.	She <u>perhaps</u> turned back M
10a. Hon har <u>kanske</u> vänt tillbaka	'She has <u>perhaps</u> turned back' M
10b. Hon <u>kanske</u> har vänt tillbaka	'She <u>perhaps</u> has turned back' iM
11a. Hon skulle kanske ha vänt tillbaka	'She should perhaps have M turned back'
11b. Hon kanske skulle ha vänt	'She perhaps should have iM tillbaka turned back'

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

12a. De sa att hon kanske vände tillbaka	'They said that she perhaps turned back'	M
12b. De sa att hon vände kanske tillbaka	*'They said that she turned perhaps back'	iE
13a. De sa att hon kanske har vänt tillbaka	'They said that she perhaps has turned back.'	iM

13b. De sa att hon har kanske	'They said that she has vänt tillbaka.	- M haps turned back.
14a. De sa att hon kanske skulle	'They said that she perhaps ha vänt tillbaka,	iM should have turned back.'
14b. De sa att hon skulle kanske ha vänt tillbaka.	'They said that she should perhaps have turned back.'	M

Our hypothesis is that the placement of adverbials is more variable in the American English of bilingual speakers who have been living in Sweden for a long time than in monolingual American English. This we attribute primarily to transfer from Swedish (including the effect of Swedishinfluenced learner English), but also to the relatively restricted use of English in Sweden by our informants, as well as their limited contact with native norms.

Andersen's (1982:99) hypothesis 5c. would predict just the opposite: that "where there is more than one possible surface structure for a given underlying relation (e.g. negation) the LA [i.e. speaker whose speech is subject to language attrition] will tend to collapse them into one". In terms of markedness, where markedness is primarily defined in terms of frequency, we predict that unmarked placements, at I, M and E would tend to decline, while more marked ones, at iM and iE, would tend to increase. Clyne's hypothesis (1988:4) also goes counter to ours, namely that "features of Li that are more marked according to form and frequency criteria tend to be lost in a language contact situation".

Because the rule for adverbial placement in Swedish differs in main and sub-clauses, we must take occurrence in main vs. sub-clause into account in our analysis. It would be a clear case of transfer and of increasing complexity, if we found that the placement of these adverbs for our Englishspeaking informants differed significantly in the two types of clauses. Other contextual factors of importance include grammatical function/semantic role (Quirk et al. 1985: 478-653, Lindquist 1989:39-52), presence vs. absence of negation, number of auxiliaries, and perhaps other factors as well. If the effects of all these factors on placement of adverbs should be taken into account, then it would seem to be necessary ultimately to use a variable rule analysis to account fully for this variation. This has not yet been possible, however.

Before presenting some preliminary frequency tables for the placement of these adverbs, we present some examples of the types of sentences we expect to be more frequent among our informants than among monolingual Americans. The first is an example of an adverb in the iM position in a subordinate clause:

15. I begin to see, in the wisdom of my old age, here, begin to, at least somewhat understand why we *never* could really like each other. (Roberta S., A703)

One factor influencing the placement of *never* here could be the fact that *really* occurs in the same sentence. However, the alternative ...why we could never really like each other. seems at least equally possible, with the same reading (though perhaps it tends to some degree of ambiguity, which the occurring sentence doesn't).

The next is an example of a series of two adverbs placed before a main verb copula (iM), also in a subordinate clause.

16. Then there're high school reunions which *unfortunately usually* aren't at the right time when I'm there. (Dorothy S. A123)

In the next example, *also* appears in a position which could be considered as initial end GE) in the main clause, or as initial (I) in the sub-clause. Considering the preceding sentence in the discourse, the former interpretation seems most likely.

17. First of all, I was the oldest child of course. But I think *also* a lot happened in just the three year period between... (Roberta S. A256)

A preliminary frequency table for adverbial placement among eight of our informants and four monolingual Americans (not residing in Sweden) tends partially to support our hypothesis.

Table 2: Placement of nineteen adverbs for two speaker groups

	Eight long-term residents		Four monolingual Americans	
	N	%	N	%
I151	13.6	32	9.2	
iM	60	5.4	28	8.1
M	551	49.8	212	61.3
rn/eM	0	0	1	0.3
iE	25	2.3	2	0.6
E	126	11.4	18	5.2
frag/ ellips	193	17.5	53	15.3
Total	1106	100.0	346	100.0

This rather crude analysis indicates that our informants tend to place fewer adverbs at the M position, slightly more at I and E, and at the more "marked" positions iM and iE, we find in the former case slightly fewer adverbs placed, and in the latter slightly more. If we restrict our attention to tokens occurring within the clause, ignoring I and E, we find the following relationships between the informant group and the monolingual group.

Table 3: Clause-internal placement of nineteen adverbs in two speaker groups

	Eight long term residents		Four monolingual Americans	
	N	%	N	%
iM	60	9.4	28	11.5
M	551	86.6	212	87.2
rn/eM	0	0	1	0.4
iE	25	3.9	2	0.8
Total	636	99.9	243	99.9

Here, the differences are smaller, but perhaps more interesting. The M position is now only very slightly lower for the bilingual informants, while the frequency of adverb placement at iM for the informant group and the monolingual group is about the same. We had predicted there to be an increase in placements at iM, but since the difference should show up primarily in subordinate clauses, the corpus may be too small for this difference to show up as yet. A more interesting difference, which appears more clearly in this table, is the increase in occurrences of adverbs placed at iE, which was predicted by our hypothesis. Since this is a low-frequency position for adverbs in English, but the most usual position for Swedish adverbials of all kinds, transfer would seem to be an important factor. This tendency could be considered a weakening of English's requirement of case adjacency (between verb and complement), brought on by contact with a language which lacks case adjacency. On the other hand, even the monolingual speakers can be seen to use this position occasionally. In any event, Andersen's and Clyne's hypotheses that unmarked syntax should increase and marked decrease in language attrition clearly seem to be called into question. Whether we consider all six/seven positions for adverbs, or only the "interior" ones, there is clearly not an increase in frequency of placements at M, which is the most frequent position for these adverbs overall.

An examination of the frequency figures for all positions for each individual informant, as compared to the control group shows consistently lower figures for M, and higher ones for iE for each informant except one, all of whose frequencies are very close to that of the control group. It may turn out that this individual is a representative of a (non-"attriting") subgroup within our informant group, but no conclusions can be drawn on this point as yet.

We can even look at this data from another viewpoint. Considering the fact that all eight of these informants are highly fluent in Swedish, and use it extensively every day, their English is actually affected very little, even after ten years' residence in Sweden. The M position is still by far the most frequent position for the adverbs, and both I and F are clearly preferred over iM and iE. The differences between our informant group's speech and that of the control group are consistent, but small. We expect these small differences to emerge more clearly, perhaps even differences within the group, when our analysis is further advanced, and takes into account a number of significant contextual factors.

6. Concluding remarks

The project described in this paper is still in its data-gathering and initial analysis phase. This paper is intended primarily to present our project, and indicate the way we approach the problems. However, when the project is completed, we hope to be able to contribute to a better understanding of the linguistic consequences of language contact, specifically the effects on Li of long-term bilingualism. Our belief is that the effects are small, but some of them may be measurable with tools such as variable rule analysis.

While certain variation patterns may fall into the category of what we consider language loss, we believe that many may be considered as broadening of existing variation patterns, others as a speeding-up of change processes already underway in the homeland, and some as innovations resulting in varying degrees from transfer from L2 (Swedish). We expect some significant differences to emerge between the Finnish and English-speaking informants, since the former group has a better opportunity to build up dense, multiplex networks of Li-speakers in Sweden. These networks can then function as enforcers of new Sweden-Finnish norms. For the English speakers, we don't expect there to be much opportunity to build up new norms. Thus, there may be a certain amount of innovation, but little which can really be considered as linguistic change proper. We have some indications that different patterns of incorporation of Swedish-origin lexemes into Finnish as compared to American English exist in Sweden, and that this difference can be related to differing network structures within the two groups. These results will have to be reserved for a later report, in that case.

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