



UiO : **Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan**
University of Oslo

Studying past and present Heritage Norwegian: Possibilities and pitfalls

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Studying an old heritage language

- Requires a wide range of knowledge on many different levels, not just in theoretical linguistics
 - Statistics
 - Dialectology (of baseline language as well as majority language)
 - History of language
 - Ethnography
 - Lexicography

... and this will be shown in this talk

Using corpora as evidence of people we have not met

- The talk:
- Some good examples of corpus use
- Some pitfalls of corpus use
- Some knowledge of Scandinavian Heritage languages

Different types of heritage language

- A) the heritage language has a mother language elsewhere in the world, and it usually ends up being different from this baseline language along a number of dimensions, from the lexicon to some features of the grammar. Typical examples of heritage languages are Norwegian, Russian or Spanish in America
- B) indigenous languages that live alongside a majority (often colonial) language (for example Cree, Navajo, Mohawk).
- Here: focus on the first type

Heritage languages: a very diverse phenomenon

- "[h]eritage speakers may become interested in further developing their skills in the heritage language for potential career advantages" ...

(Montrul 2016:3)

- (about adolescents and young adults)

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Norwegian Immigration to the USA and Canada

- The first Norwegians arrived in New York in 1825.
- By 1930, 810,000 had arrived in the US and 40,000 in Canada. No country except Ireland had a higher rate of emigration.
- Einar Haugen (1953) writes that the 1800s was a century of huge population growth in Norway, and the number of emigrants from Norway equaled the whole 1800 population.
- Norwegians quickly built institutions that were important to them. They organized and built churches, hospitals, old peoples' homes, and established Luther College (Decorah, Iowa) as early as in 1861, and St. Olaf College (Northfield, Minnesota) in 1875. There were Norwegian-language schools, and newspapers.

28.09.16 Swedish: Almost the same facts, and almost the same language





28 04 Halvor Boe, with wife and four children by their first home in Edmore, North Dakota 10

How do we know about the language input for the present day heritage speakers?

- There are no recordings of their speech as children. When we study their language and we see that it differs from the baseline (European Norwegian) we do not know whether it is the language that has changed in their lifetime in these individuals or whether the language had already changed by the time they grew up. It therefore is a challenge for the researchers who want to study their language and understand what is going on.
- Use other people's speech to determine something about what the general situation must have been like.

Einar Haugen, 1906–1994

Professor at University of Wisconsin Madison,
then Harvard University.

Did fieldwork in the Midwest in the 1930s and 40s.
Interviews with questionnaires and recorders,
“they might last anywhere from ten to twelve
hours” (Haugen 1953:326)

The recordings (54 hours) are available at the Text
Laboratory, UiO, some with transcriptions

*The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in
Bilingual Behavior* (1953)



Bertha Eds, Mendovi.

Har butt i byen sidan ho var 15 år. Det ho seier på norsk, høyrst ekte nok ut, men det er klårt at ho er ute av trening meddi ho slår over i engelsk kvar augneblink.

Snare under enn ever middels intelligent. Svært dårleg informant. Ei mengd spørsmål svarar ho berre på med "I don't know", noko som førde til at eg like godt hoppa over fleire av dei spørsmåla som eg av røyndele veit det er vanskeleg å få svar på av dårlege informantar.

Ede.pdf 4 / 39

1. Name *Bertha Ede* 2. Address *Mendovi*

3. Place of birth *Canton, N.Y.* 4. Year of birth *1874*

5. Father's name *Johannes Eriksen* 6. Mother's name *Jugborg Teigen*

7. Date, place of father's birth *Lyster, Sogn, Norge ca. 1852* 8. Date, place of mother's birth *Nordland (?), Norge ca. 1855*

9. Date of immigration to America; which members of family came to America and when... *Før var 17 år da han kom, vit ikke hva tid nok kom. Det var gift i Goodhue Co., Minn.*

10. Place(s) of origin in Norway.....

11. Name of wife or husband, age, place of birth... *John Ede, 75 år, da han døde for et år siden. F. Mendovi, N.Y.*

12. When was or is Norwegian spoken... *Felt lite no. Mest norsk hjemme i første tid. Mest engelsk med mannen i senere tid. Har bodd her i byen siden ca. var 15 år. Mannen var forretningsmann.*

13. What type of Norwegian (dialect) heard from (1) parents... *Sogning (nær og)*
(2) schoolmates *Beitungsdel (Irish community)* (3) wife or husband... *Sogning*
(4) neighbors... *Mest sogning*

14. Which dialect do you speak... *Sogning*

Old, readable transcriptions

(Mitt namn er) Jakåp T. Seljesta, føtt den niande februar, 1866, i Odda, Hardanger.
(My name is) Jacob T. Seljestad, born February 9, 1866, in Odda, Hardanger.

Kå va dæ du ville ha ñekst? (Litt om livet der heime?) Ja, dæ me kadla heima var
What did you want next? (A little about your life at home?) Well, what we called
den
oppi/ øfsta bygdæ som fanst i Hardanger. Dæ Seljesta, dæ låg oppi ei bygd-- siste
home was in the highest valley of Hardanger. Seljestad lay up in a valley--the last
garen oppi Hardanger so djekk øve te Røldal, fårstår du, å der var vinteren omtrent
farm in Hardanger where one crossed over to Røldal, you see, and there the winter
syv månar eller seks å en hall måne i åre, så kalt var dæ. Å der va eg oppfødde me
lasted for seven months, or six and a half, ever year, that's how cold it was. Where
snøskavlen så var opp te en tyve fot høg om vinteren, skavlar so bles i sammen, får-
I was raised, the snow drifts lay up to twenty feet high in the winter, drifts that
står du. Å når me skulle ut i skogen, så måtte me gå på ski, me kunne ikkje gå får
blew together, you see. And when we were going out in the woods, we had to use skiş.
de var så mye snø atte me måtte gå på ski, å når me sku te skulen, så måtte me ha

<http://tekstlab.uio.no/norskiamerika/opptak/haugen.html>

Index of /media/lydogbilde/amerikanorsk/einar_haugen/DVD1/CD10

And index of /media/lydogbilde/amerikanorsk/einar_haugen/Transkripsjoner)



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NORSK I AMERIKA

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Norwegians in America

Almost two hundred years ago, the first Norwegians went to America to start a new life. In the one hundred years from 1825 to 1925 800 000 Norwegians emigrated. At present, most Norwegian Americans only speak American, but there still are some who learned Norwegian at home and who have continued to speak Norwegian as a heritage language as adults. These Americans are most often well up in their eighties and nineties.

In the project on Norwegian in America, we have gone to America and Canada a number of times to interview the heritage language speakers. The recordings are integrated in a new speech corpus of American Norwegian.

Norwegian in America

The American recordings and transcriptions are freely available for research. The material is valuable for interesting studies, not only on the particular American Norwegian language variety, but also on how immigrant languages live and die, and how Norwegian Americans have lived their lives in a multilingual reality.

The project on Norwegian in America is part of the national LIA Project, (Language Infrastructure made Accessible) and is one of the research areas at MultiLing (Centre for Multilingualism) at the University of Oslo.

Call for papers: Seventh Annual Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas

Seventh Annual Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas will be arranged at University of Georgia, Athens October 27–29, 2016.

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Case 1: Word order in Norwegian subordinate clauses

- Taranrød, Beate. 2011. *Leddstillingen i relativsetninger i amerikanskanskorsk*. Master's thesis, University of Oslo.
- Larsson, Ida; Johannessen, Janne Bondi. 2015a. Incomplete Acquisition and Verb Placement in Heritage Scandinavian. In Page, Richard S; Putnam, Michael T. (eds.): *Moribund Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Findings*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 153-189.
- Larsson, Ida; Johannessen, Janne Bondi. 2015b. Embedded word order in Heritage Scandinavian. In Hilpert, Martin; Östman, Jan-Ola; Mertzlufft, Christine; Rießler, Michael (eds.): *New Trends in Nordic and General Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 239-266.

- Subordinate clause word order in Heritage Norwegian and Swedish differs from the one in European Scandinavian in that there seems to be free variation between
 - a. SBU–SUBJECT– ADVERB– VERB (H Norw, E Norw) *No verb-movement*
 - b. SBU–SUBJECT– VERB– ADVERB (H Norw) *V-to-T movement*
- In European Scandinavian = baseline language, only the former is used and grammatical.
(We exclude the subjunction *at*, 'that', which allows the order in b as well, which is understood by most linguists today as having a semantic explanation, and is therefore different.)

Subordinate order, Present Heritage Norwegian: V movement

om du finner ikke ut så
if you find not out then
'If you don't find out, then'
(Norwegian, Colleen, sunburg_MN_04gk)

Om ja sätter inte en sten på farfars grav
if I put not a stone on granddad's grave
så kommer det aldrig en sten där
so comes there never a stone there
'If I don't put a stone on granddad's grave there will never be a stone there.'
(Swedish, Konrad, mn11_m013)

Subordinate order, Present Heritage Norwegian: ... but also no V movement

jeg kan gjøre det hvis om det ikke regner
I can do it if whether it not rains

'I can do it if it does not rain.'

(Norwegian, Tip, coon_valley_WI_06gm)

det er mange som ikke har slutta og
there are many who not have stopped too

'There are also many who have not stopped.'

(Norwegian, Elnor, coon_valley_WI_02gm)

Subordinate order, Past Heritage Norwegian: V movement

Då di kãm ti detti landi då settla dæ på en
when they came to this country.the then settled they on a
homstedde som *e no* Taon åv Farmington
homestead that is now town of Farmington

‘When they came to this country, they settled in a homestead that is now the town of Farmington.’

(Norwegian, Winfield Krostu, Waupacs co., born in Wis 1884, rec.1942)

Då *me* *ha* *no* blitt jipte, [...] så kjæm hornaran
when we have now become married so came musicians.the

‘When we had been married came the musicians’

(Norwegian, Winfield Krostu, Waupacs co., born in Wis 1884, rec.1942)

So...

- The present day recordings show that Heritage Scandinavian speakers have two kinds of word order for embedded clauses.
 - (Also: Taranrød 2011 and L & J 2015b show that they are in free variation; the same speaker can use both.)
- The past recordings, from 1930s–40s by Einar Haugen show that even previous Heritage Norwegians could use the non-European word order.
- But is it certain that this is a new development? Could it perhaps be that this same variation exists in European Scandinavian?

- So far:
 - Some modern recordings
 - Recordings and transcriptions from Einar Haugen's work
- How about facts about European Norwegian? Can we be sure that it is as we think? What if there is variation in Scandinavia, too?
- Answer: Use a corpus of dialects! The Nordic Dialect Corpus

What is a speech corpus?

- A collection of recorded spoken language
- Transcriptions of the recordings
- The transcriptions and the audio and video are linked to each other
- It is searchable by words (or subword units) and grammatical categories
- It delivers concordances
- It can provide maps
- It can provide spectrograms

interval:

min max

criteria»
subjunc

criteria»
pron

+
-



- [Transcription guidelines, translation etc](#)
- [Transcriptions](#)

add phrase

delete phrase

Regular expressions:

Hits per page:

Randomize

Orthographic

Search corpus

Max results :

Skip tot. freq.

Phonetic

Reset form

Algn. concordances

Both

informant ⁺

L1/L2 ⁺

in Norway: county ⁺

place ⁺

generation ⁺

Show informants

region ⁺

area ⁺

place ⁺

Save subcorpus

decade born ⁺

sex ⁺

rec. year ⁺

genre ⁺






















[Choose subcorpus](#)

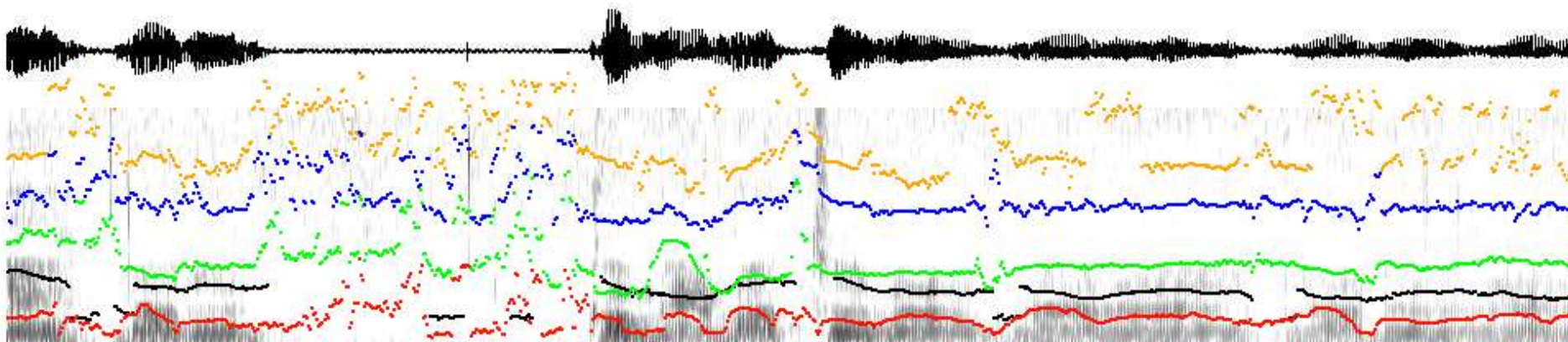
CWB expression: "(((pos="subjunc"))(((pos="pron")))) "

Action :

Hits found: 1249

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-    **blair_WI_07gm** ja # ja det var e det var første tingen de e spurte det **når du** # kom hjem att (uninterpretable)
ja # ja de var ee de va fysste tingen domm ee spurde de **nå ru** # kåmm heim att __ ær du æ re
- yes ... yes it was e it was the first thing the e asked it **when you** ... came home att (uninterpretable) _ are you are you a Catholic? _ ... _ En ^{trans}
-    **blair_WI_04gk** e bensin å ja # og # jeg skal kjøpe bi- e bensin **før jeg** reiser hjem # i_kveld for det er i
ee bennsin å ja # å # je ska tjøpe bi- ee bennsin **føre je** reiser hemm # i_kvell førr d e m
- e gasoline oh yes ... and ... I'll buy bi- e petrol **before returning** home ... i_kveld it is much cheaper here than it is Oppi Eau_Claire ^{translated by t}
-    **blair_WI_04gk** hele tida # hver gang jeg kommer til Blair så kjøper jeg bensin her # **før jeg** reiser hjem (laughter)
hele tia # her gongg je kåmmer te BleR så tjøper je bennsin hær # **før je** reiser hemm _
- all the time ... every time I come to Blair so I buy gasoline here ... **before I go home** (laughter) ^{translated by Google} as Norwegian
-    **blair_WI_04gk** but tha- det er mange år but tha- det er mange år **siden det** og
bø dhæ- de æ mannge år bø dhæ- de æ mannge år **sid'n de** å
- but tha- it is many years but tha- it is many years **since it and** ^{translated by Google} as Norwegian
-    **blair_WI_04gk** får du vondt i øra får du vondt i øra **når du** # kommer ned ?
får du vonnt i øra får du vonnt i øra **nær du** # kåmmer ne ?
- you get pain in my ears get sore ears **when you** ... come down? ^{translated by Google} as Norwegian
-    **blair_WI_04gk** gå for noen dager ja # kan ikke bare gå for noen dager **når du** go- reiser til Norge du må reise i
gå førr noon dager ja # kann itte bære gå førr noon dager **nårr du** gå- reiser te Nårge du må reise å
- 28.09.16
-    **blair_WI_04gk** før de kom hit men de var ikke kjent før de kom hit **som jeg** veit om ## så



Problems? Switch to [JavaScript player](#)

blair_WI_07gm ja # ja det var e det var første tingen de e spurte det når du # kom hjem att (uninterpretable) " er du er du katoli

blair_WI_04gk * nei

CWB expression: "(((pos="subjunc"))(((pos="pron")))) "

Action :

Hits found: 1249

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blair_WI_07gm ja # ja det var e det var første tingen de e spurte det **når du** # kom hjem att (uni

ja # ja de var ee de va fysste tingen domm ee spurde de **nå ru** # kåmm heim att _

yes ... yes it was e it was the first thing the e asked it **when you** ... came home att (uninterpretable) _ are you are you a Catholic? _

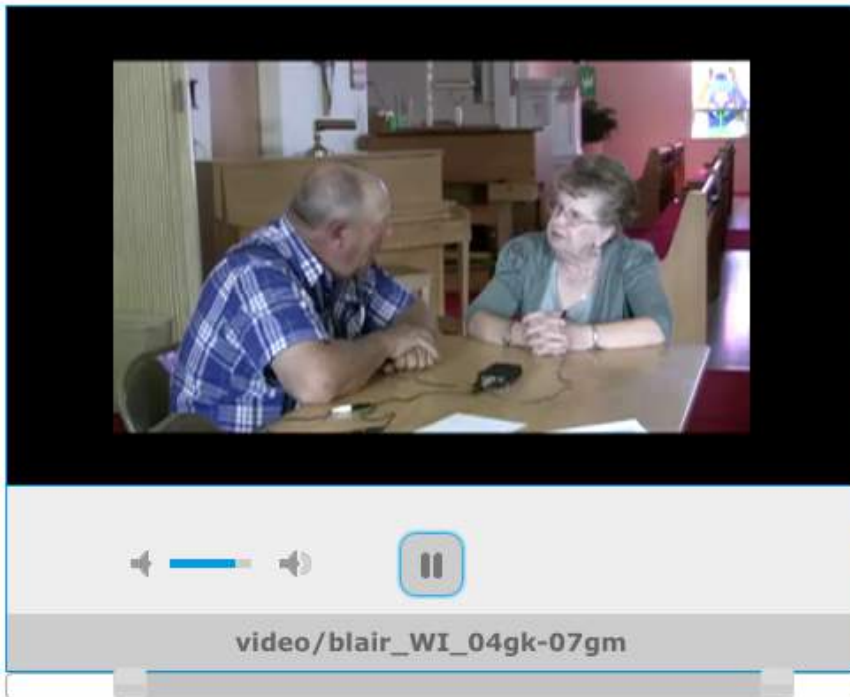
blair_WI_04gk e bensin å ja # og # jeg skal kjøpe bi- e bensin **før jeg** reiser hjem # i_kvel

ee bennsin å ja # å # je ska tjøpe bi- ee bennsin **føre je** reiser hemm # i_kve

28.09.16

e gasoline oh yes ... and ... I'll buy bi- e petrol **before returning** home ... i_kveld it is much cheaper here than it is Opp?Eau_Clai

blair_WI_04gk hele side # hvor opp jeg kommer til Blair så kjører jeg bensin her # for jeg reiser hjem (søkte



blair_WI_07gm nei da # (uninterpretable) katolikk
 blair_WI_04gk (laughter) * t- tør
 blair_WI_04gk ikke gå ut med en katolikk å
 blair_WI_07gm * no no no kunne ikke gå med
 blair_WI_07gm katolikkene # jeg veit ikke hva det er # forskjell det var men
 blair_WI_04gk * ja
 blair_WI_04gk v- veit du
 blair_WI_07gm ja # ja det var e det var første tingen de e spurte det når du # k
 blair_WI_04gk * nei
 blair_WI_07gm visste ikke # noe forskjell vi det var det merka ingen forskjel
 blair_WI_04gk * nei * ja
 blair_WI_04gk du e du e ble gift ?
 blair_WI_07gm hæ ?
 blair_WI_04gk du var gift ?
 blair_WI_07gm * ja jeg
 blair_WI_07gm gift e e # kona hun e døde to år nå # to år (uninterpretable)
 blair_WI_04gk * å ja

CWB expression: "(((pos="subjunc")))[((pos="pron"))]"

Action :

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ja # ja de var ee de va fysste tingen domm ee spurde de **nå ru** # kåmm heim att __ ær du æ re ka

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blair_WI_04gk e bensin å ja # og # jeg skal kjøpe bi- e bensin **før jeg** reiser hjem # i_kveld for det er my

ee bennsin å ja # å # je ska tjøpe bi- ee bennsin **føre je** reiser hemm # i_kvell **førr d e my**

28.09.16

e gasoline oh yes ... and ... I'll buy bi- e petrol **before returning** home ... i_kveld it is much cheaper here than it is Oppi Eau_Claire ^{translated by G}

Nordic Dialect Corpus

- Contains about 2,8 million words from conversations and interviews by dialect speakers from five North Germanic languages.
- It is transcribed and linked to audio and video
- Has a map function, and can be searched in a large variety of ways.
- Can be filtered by age, gender and importantly, place (options go from small place via county to region of country and the whole country)



Taranrød 2011: Findings in the Nordic Dialect Corpus

- Heritage Norwegian
 - Out of twelve relative clauses containing an adverb, **six. i.e. half**, had verb-adverb order. She also looked at her findings in relation to the overall size of the text material. Her six non-standard word order relative clauses were found in a material of altogether 60 000 words. (Taranrød 2011:53)
- European Norwegian
 - Only **three** subordinate clauses had verb movement in a material of a total of 1.5 million words (Taranrød 2011:64).

6:60 000 vs. 3:1 500 000

L & J (2015b): Using Corpus of American Norwegian Speech (CANS) and Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC)

- CANS: 49 000 words
- NDC: a subgroup that amounts to the same number of total words 49 000 words: old informants from Oppland county
- Both corpora contain long stretches conversations between two informants. Searching the corpus will usually give more than one hit per informant.

CANS – Heritage Norwegian

<u>Complementizer</u>	<u>Adverb</u>	<u>Verb- Adverb</u>	<u>Adverb- Verb (word- order in Norway)</u>	<u>Sum</u>
<u>om 'whether'</u>	<u>ikke 'not'</u>	1	2	3
<u>som 'which/who/that'</u>	<u>ikke 'not'</u>	6	7	13
<u>at 'that'</u>	<u>ikke 'not'</u>	15	1	16
<u>Sum</u>		22	10	32

NDC - European Norwegian

<u>Complementiser</u>	Adverb	Verb- Adverb	Adverb- Verb	Sum
<u>om</u> 'whether'	<u>ikke</u> 'not'	0	5	5
<u>som</u> 'which/who/that'	<u>ikke</u> 'not'	1	16	17
<u>at</u> 'that'	<u>ikke</u> 'not'	13	19	32
Sum		14	40	54

What is the next step?

- The numbers are small...
- Using statistic significance tests is tempting...

... but

Bård Uri Jensen (2. Sep 2016)

- "Et viktig premiss for svært mange hypotesetester - de fleste som er i vanlig bruk blant lingvister - er at observasjonene er uavhengige. Dette premisset er ofte brutt i lingvistisk forskning, særlig ved at samme individ er observert flere ganger, f.eks. i et korpus, og hver observasjon er benyttet som en observasjon i testen."
- *[An important premise for numerous hypothesis tests (and most of those used by linguists) is that the observations must be independent. This premise is often broken in linguistic research, especially in that the same individual is observed several times, e.g. In a corpus, and where every observations is used as one observation in the test.]*

- *”Premisset gjelder vanlige tester vi ofte bruker, som **kjikkvadrat-test, Fisher-test, t-test, Wilcoxons rangsum-test (også kalt Mann-Whitney-test), anova, Pearsons korrelasjonstest, Spearmans korrelasjonstest, lineær regresjon, logistisk regresjon.**”*

- “as noted in Saito (1999) and Hatch and Lazaraton (1991), chi-square is a much-abused test in second language research studies, and often one of its assumptions (that of independence of data) is violated as a matter of course.” (Larson-Hall, 2010, s. 206)
- “It is not uncommon to find cases in which the assumption of independence of observations [of the chi-square test] is violated, usually by having the same participant respond more than once.” (Howell, 2010, s. 152)

- “many statistical techniques assume that the individual data points are independent of each other, which is usually not the case in corpus data where one speaker/writer may provide many concordance examples;” (Gries, 2015, s. 14)
- So: If you have few items or unclear data and wish they were clearer, the simple significance tests won't help you.

Lesson: Be careful when using statistics!

- L & J (2015b):
- “We have calculated whether the differences between the tables for each subjunction type is significant. Using Fisher’s Exact Test, we find that the difference between Heritage and European Norwegian for *that* clauses and *som* clauses is highly significant, with p-value = 0.0004649 and p-value = 0.02473.”
- The corpus speakers: 11 ... No. of examples: 32 ...
- The significance calculation is not valid. Each occurrence is not an independent finding, since there is more than one occurrence per speaker.
- So the result is valid, but the statistical measurement is not...

So, even with no direct knowledge of the parents or grandparents of our heritage speakers...

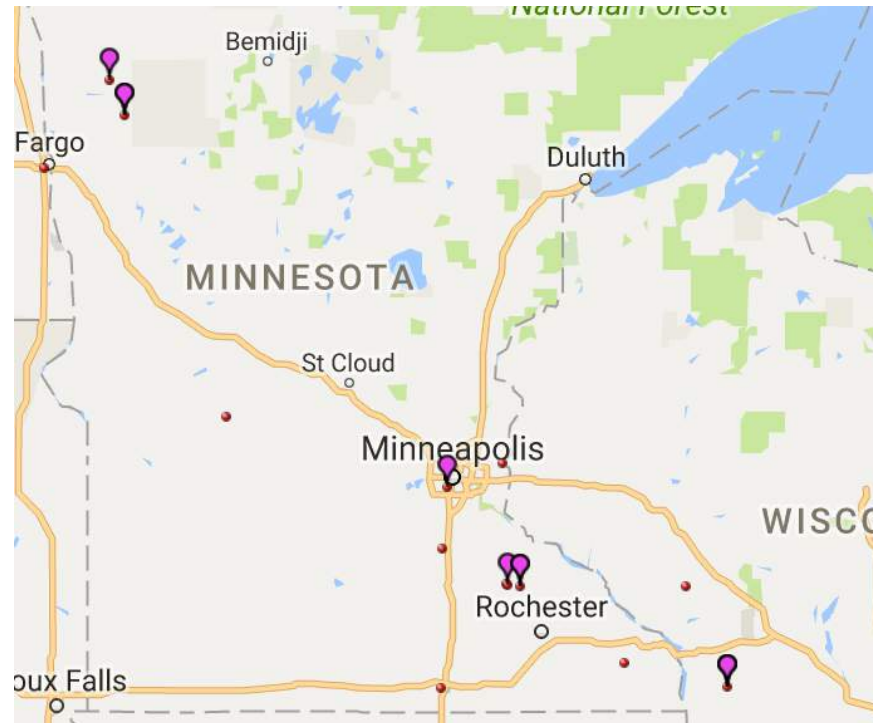
- We can find evidence for what is indeed the baseline, by using:
 - Old recordings and transcriptions
 - A modern dialect corpus
- Finding that Heritage Scandinavian is indeed different from baseline European Norwegian
- **But be careful with statistics!**

Case 2: Grammatical gender

- Popular area of study in Heritage Language Research (Montrul 2013, Montrul et al. 2014, Fuchs, Scontras & Polinsky 2015, Johannessen & Larsson 2015, Nygård et al. 2015, Lohndal & Westergaard 2016)
- Issue: Is there traditional gender agreement in Norwegian Heritage Language? If there is, then the indefinite article should have three forms:
 - *En* (M. SG.INDEF)
 - *Ei* (F. SG.INDEF)
 - *Et* (N. SG.INDEF)

- So whenever other forms are found, it is tempting to conclude that traditional gender agreement is missing.
- If, for example, we find something other than *et* with neuter nouns we could quickly conclude that our informant does not have the traditional system.

et realized as /i/, /ei/ or /æi/ (CANS corpus)



Are the speakers in these six places in MI and WI all attrited? Has the gender system changed?

Check with baseline, European Norwegian



Places in Norway where *et* has been realized as /i/, /ei/, æi/ and /æ/ in the transcribed corpus⁴⁴

- Checking the heritage speakers in America against baseline European speakers is important.
- Compare dialect background in American Norwegian speakers with the same speakers of the same background in Norway.
- Lesson learnt: Know your dialectology! (And use corpora to check your data.)

Case 3: Loan words

- Studying loan words is a topic that has engaged many researchers. (Matras 2009, Annear & Speth 2015, Johannessen & Laake 2012, 2015, Johannessen & Hjelde, to appear, Eide & Hjelde 2015, Åfarli et al. 2013, Grimstad et al. 2014)
- *Ekspekte* (expect), *farm*, *figgure ut* (figure out), *fil* (field), *grævel* (gravel), *råd* (road), *risess* (break), *mil* (mile) (Johannessen & Laake 2012)
- *Æker* (acre), *kaonti* (county), *enjin* (engine), *kændi* (candy), *fær* (fair), *casj* (cash), *geim* (game) og *gråsseri* (grocery) (Johannessen & Hjelde to appear)

- To study loan words in a language, such as Heritage Norwegian, you must make sure you are actually dealing with loan words.

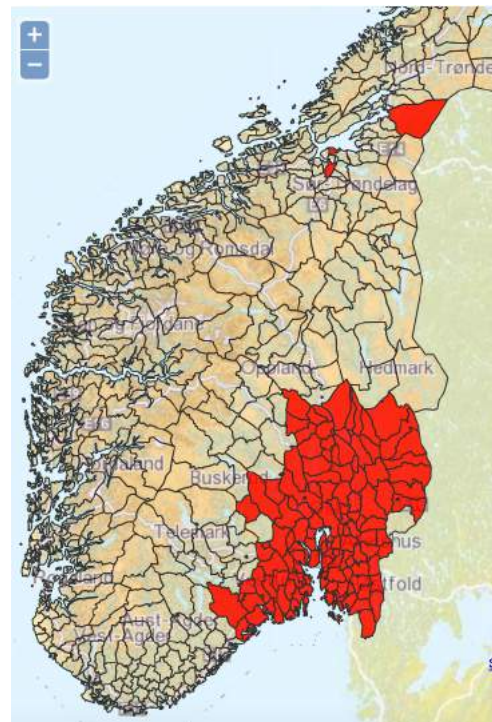


English: *train*
Heritage Norwegian: *træn*
European Norwegian: *tog*

Is *træn* borrowed into Heritage Norwegian?

- Check older versions of Norwegian, and dialects.
- Norsk Ordbok (Dictionary of dialects, with many old sources, written and spoken):
 - *tren* (jarnvegstog, tog)
 - First example from 1878 (from the weekly magazine Fedraheimen).
- Lesson:
- Learn your lexicography!
- Learn your history

Tren in Norway (Norsk Ordbok)



Problem 4: Yet another word

Heritage Norwegian: *Travle* 'walk'

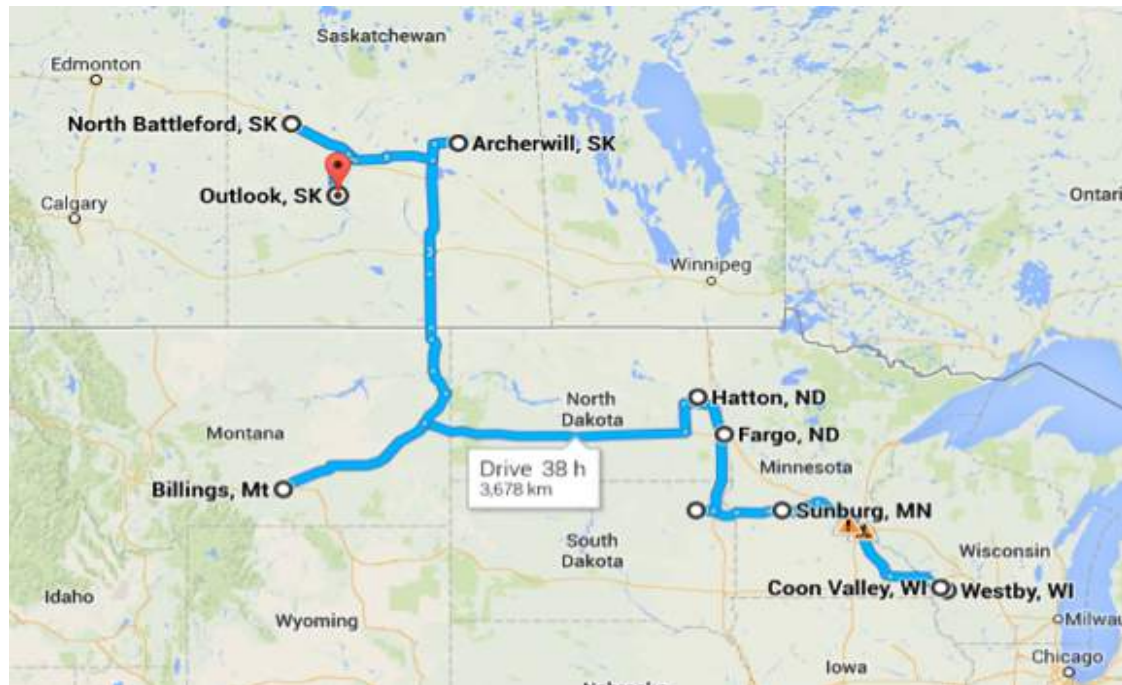
English: *travel* 'to go on a trip or journey : to go to a place and especially one that is far away' (Merriam-Webster)

Norwegian: Non-existent in standard dictionaries



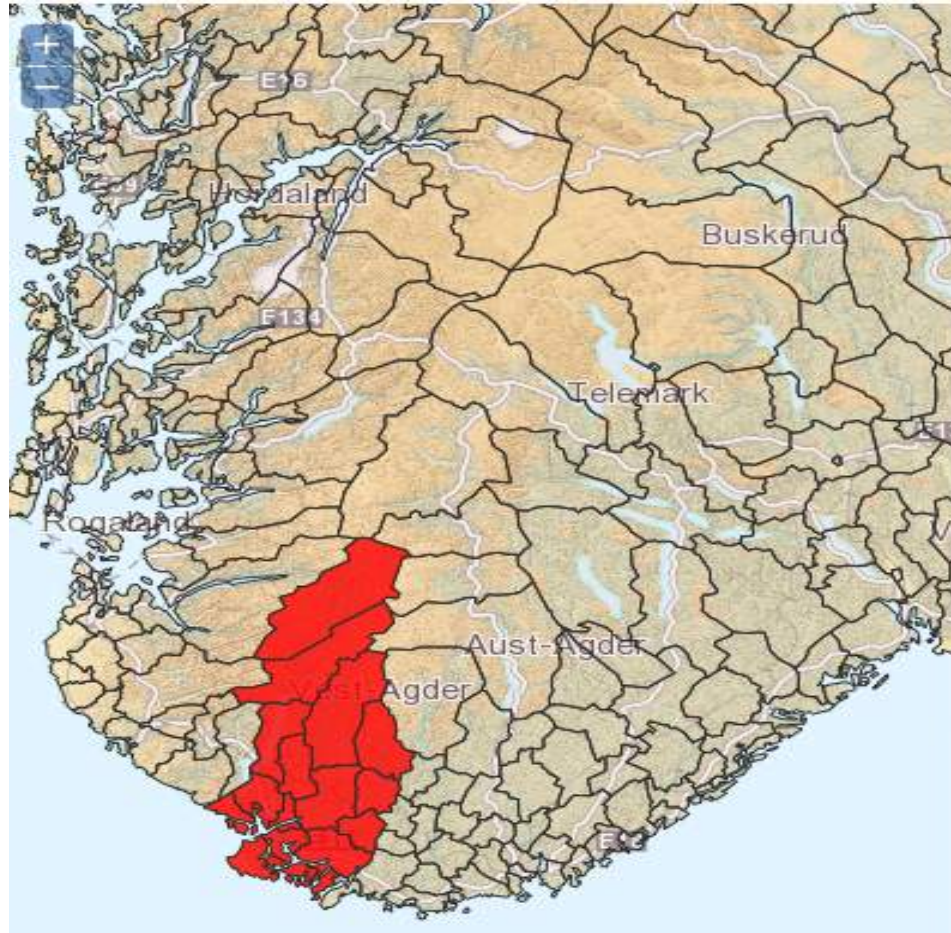
(The discussion is based on Johannessen & Laake 2012, 2017, Johannessen & Hjelde, to appear)

UiO : **Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan**
University of Oslo



Travel: Coon Valley, WI, USA, Westby, WI, USA, Sunburg, MN, USA, Webster, SD, USA, Fargo, ND, USA, Hatton, ND, USA, Billings, Mt, USA, Archerwill, SK, Canada, North Battleford, SK, Canada, Outlook, SK, Canada. Altogether: 3678 km.

- Documented early on: Flom (1901, 1926), Flaten (1901), Haugen (1953), Hjelde (1992), Johannessen & Laake (2012), plus letters from goldminers Onon Bjørnsen Dahle & Knud Halvorsen Dahle (1852).
- Puzzle: Also documented in Danish (Kjær, Iver & Mogens Baumann Larsen 1987) and Swedish (Hasselmo 1974).
- Where does this non-standard meaning come from?
 - British dialects in immigration population? (Haugen 1953)
 - DARE (Dialect Atlas over Regional English states North Carolina)
 - Norwegian dialects?



- Lesson: Search as many sources as you can. But it may not be enough...

Conclusion

- Heritage studies are exciting, but demanding
- There are many resources that can be used to support one's ideas
- But one can never be too careful
 - statistical tests
 - dialectology
 - lexicography
 - language history
 - the dialects of other languages



Thank you!

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