

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

**FINNISH-ENGLISH IMMIGRANT BILINGUALISM:
A case study of Toronto Laestadians**

A Pro Gradu Thesis

by

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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää siirtolaiskaksikielisyyden tämänhetkistä tilaa Toronton lestadiolaisten keskuudessa. Materiaali, joka koostuu kyselylomakkeesta ja kolmesta nauhoitetusta keskustelusta, on kerätty kesällä 1997 kohderyhmän parissa. Varsinainen tutkimusongelma on selvittää, miten etenkin suomen kieli voi sen ollessa kohderyhmälle tärkeä uskonnollisen elämän kannalta. Englanti on puolestaan vallitseva kieli kaikilla muilla elämäalueilla. Tutkimuksessa pohditaan suomen kielen mahdollisuuksia selviytyä ja säilyttää elinvoimaisuutensa Toronton lestadiolaisten parissa.

Kyselylomakkeen tarkoituksena oli selvittää kohderyhmän kielellistä taustaa ja heidän asenteitaan suomen kieltä ja sen säilyttämistä kohtaan. Heiltä kysyttiin suomen tulevaisuudenkuvasta, ja he arvioivat omia taitojaan niin suomen kuin englannin kielen eri osa-alueilla. Lopuksi he saivat kokeilla taitojaan molemmissa kielissä pienten tehtävien avulla.

Haastatteluiden tarkoituksena oli puolestaan kyselylomakkeen tietojen täydentäminen sekä konkreettisen esimerkin antaminen erään perheen suomen kielen tilasta kolmessa sukupolvessa. Haastattelu oli pääosin vapaata keskustelua. Se on kirjallisessa muodossa, jotta siitä voi tehdä havaintoja englannin kielen vaikutuksista ja suomen kielen heikkenemisestä.

Tutkimuksia analysoidessa otetaan huomioon vastaajien ikä, heidän etäisyys itse siirtolaispolveen sekä heidän oma arviointinsa kielitaidostaan. Tuloksissa todetaan, että heidän kielellinen taustansa on hyvin samankaltainen kuin aiemmat tutkimukset siirtolaisuudesta osoittavat. Kuitenkin kotikielenä suomen kieli on vahvempi kuin aikaisempien tutkimusten valossa toisen ja kolmannen siirtolaiskukupolven jäsenten keskuudessa. Suomi on kotikielenä lähes kaikissa nuorissa lapsiperheissä. Englannin kieli tulee näkyvämmiin esille, kun lapset aloittavat koulunkäynnin, jolloin siitä tulee usein sisarusten välinen kommunikointikieli. Vanhemmat pitävät suomen kielen säilyttämistä tärkeänä ja uskovat sen tulevaisuuteen. Ensisijaisena motiivinaan suomen kielen säilyttämiselle he pitävät suomalaisen perinteen vaalimista sekä mahdollisuutta seurustella Suomessa asuvien sukulaisten ja ystävien kanssa. Kaksikielisyyttä pidetään myös itsessään arvokkaana asiana. Kohderyhmän arvioiden mukaan heidän kielitaitonsa niin englannissa kuin suomessa on hyvä, vaikkakin suomen kieli on selvästi heikommin hallussa kuin englanti. Kaksikielisten osuus on yli 80 % Toronton lestadiolaisista, jos kaksikielisyyden perusteena ovat vähintään kohtalaiset taidot kummassakin kielessä. Äänitetyt keskustelut vahvistavat kyselylomakkeen analyysin tuloksia. Valoisia tulevaisuudennäkymiä suomen kielen tulevaisuuden suhteen tukee se tosiasia, että yhteyksien pitäminen Suomeen on erittäin aktiivista.

Asiasanat: immigration. bilingualism. language contact. Laestadianism. Toronto.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Immigration to America has been a phenomenon which has always been a fascinating issue both for the descendants of those who took the brave step of leaving their fatherland and also for those whose ancestors did not have the opportunity or courage to do so. It has also been studied by many historians, anthropologists and also linguists who do not have an immigrant background, but who are interested in the phases and consequences of the massive migration across the ocean.

Being a descendant of a Finnish Canadian and having seen life on both sides of the ocean at a considerably young age has awakened in me a curiosity towards immigration and it can not be quenched by merely talking to family members. The reasons for the departure of my ancestors and those of millions of other fellow Canadians from their ancestral homeland and stepping into the dark by migrating to a vast and unknown continent have often awakened curiosity. The linguistic background in which I grew up, taking in Finnish with my mother's milk and using it solely at play both at home and with friends, not meeting the language of the majority until entering school and soon realising that it was just as natural a part of me as Finnish, seemed like the linguistic path every child walks, a self-evident matter. However, returning to the "old country" and later studying linguistics has caused a linguistic awakening which has resulted in a great interest towards immigration and the language question among the Finnish immigrants.

The more one learns about the history and, in this case, the linguistic background of one's ancestors, the more interesting the whole issue becomes. The reason for undertaking this specific piece of research lies hence primarily in a personal interest in Finnish American immigration and the process which the languages involved in the lives of the immigrants go through. Although immigration has been studied a lot, there still are many questions which have

not been answered: firstly, the question of language, which was not a minor issue in the lives of the immigrants nor among their descendants, has often been passed with a mere mention in literature on immigration. Secondly, although there are scholars who have studied immigrant languages and bilingualism and there even is a considerable amount of study on the lifespan of Finnish in America, the presence of such a preserver of the Finnish language as the Laestadian christianity has not been worth a study, with the exception of an occasional small-scale paper.

There are a lot of interesting questions for research in the linguistic situation among the American Laestadians but finding a topic for a small-scaled research project like a master's thesis made it necessary to limit it to the Toronto Laestadians. They form a small ethnic community which has treasured the Finnish heritage for almost a century and still shows no signs of wanting to give it up in spite of the general consensus which early and recent studies have come to, that immigrant languages have either died or are at least at a very terminal point. English is inevitably present and it deserves its place as the dominant language of the surrounding society. Among the descendants of immigrants it seems to be taking over and replacing the minority language.

The research problem in this thesis is to find out about the vitality of the Finnish-English bilingualism of the Toronto Laestadians and whether it is following the pattern of the lifespan typical to immigrant bilingualism in general, which begins at a low level of interference and ends at language shift and the abandoning of the ancestral language. The objective of this study is hence to test the hypothesis that immigrant bilingualism is still vital among Toronto Laestadians.

This will be done by analysing both a questionnaire handed out to the target group and also the recorded speech of three generations of an immigrant family. The data were collected in August 1997 and they will be discussed in the light of research on immigration, immigrant languages and bilingualism and finally, the background of the target group, Laestadianism.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical background in this study aims at outlining the circumstances into which Finnish-English immigrant bilingualism was born in America and in Toronto, Canada. As the target group of this study are Laestadians, the phases of this particular ethnic group in America will also be viewed as well as earlier studies on the linguistic conditions among them. In short, this could be called a review of the literature on Finnish Laestadian immigration to the area and how the so-called language question arose among the newcomers. Immigration is introduced on a chronological basis, starting from the earliest contacts to the situation today.

The second main theme includes the linguistic viewpoint taken by researchers on immigrant bilingualism, immigrant languages and the lifespan of such linguistic phenomena. Naturally, Finnish and English will be the languages focused on in more detail and the interaction between these two languages will be a crucial question.

2.1 Finnish immigration to North America

Before dealing with the history of Finnish immigration to America more extensively, it is necessary to point out several facts about the terms used in this section. First of all, 'America' refers here to North America as a whole and so the same facts about immigration apply to Canada as to the USA. In both historical and linguistic terms, there is no need to draw a line between the two countries for the only differentiating factor between them is their immigrant policies. Furthermore, on a general level, Canadian immigration is a little newer than in the USA and immigration to the western parts of America is newer than that of the eastern and middle parts. Any other special features

characteristic to one or the other country will be referred to by mentioning them separately.

Secondly, the number of Finnish immigrants is very difficult to estimate, since the way of making these calculations and what factors they are based on vary. The question whether one considers oneself a Finn or a Finnish speaker or not may be formed in many different ways and besides the areal differences, there may be differences resulting of the different methods used at the time the census was taken. (Martin and Jönsson-Korhola 1993: 11-13.)

In the hope of a better future hundreds, thousands, and finally millions of Europeans boarded the steamships rumbling in the ports of the old world in the 19th century. The number of Finns out of the total 2,494,000 from the Nordic countries was about 308,000 (Niitemaa et al. 1976). There had been earlier contacts with North America before the actual America-fever broke out, and to track these first contacts, one needs to look back 350 years.

Among the colonies formed in America there was one called New Sweden, established in 1638. It was a small settlement of only a few hundred Swedes, Finns and Dutch and its significance to the history of America is not worth anything more than a mention. However, it was an important birthmark of the ties formed between North America and Finland. The Swede-Finns were diligent at keeping in touch with their fatherland, as is mentioned by Niitemaa et al. (1976).

As far as the language question was concerned among the earliest American Finns, it was naturally quite difficult to maintain Finnish as the number of Finns was small and the second generation most likely did not learn Finnish at all. Swedish survived better, and surprisingly even the Finnish of those Finns who had emigrated from the area called Sweden in the Sweden-Finland monarchy managed to maintain their mother tongue better than those from the area called Finland, as Kero (1986:11) points out. He continues by mentioning that what the Delaware-Finns left as an inheritance to America was, besides their building and farming skills, the signature of John Morton on

the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Otherwise the 18th century was quite insignificant with respect to Finnish immigrants

The main immigration wave spread in the second half of the 19th century and lasted some 50 years or so, until World War I. During this period Europeans swarmed to America in tens of millions. Although the proportion of Finns was small, it has left its marks in the history of both the United States of America and Canada. Approximately 300,000 Finns left their homeland which then was a Grand Duchy under the Czar of Russia. (Niitemaa et al. 1976.)

The reasons for leaving were manifold. Famine and poor agricultural conditions are examples of the so-called 'push' factors but, correspondingly, there was a lot of work to be done across the ocean, which was a 'pull' factor, since the mines, factories and forests of America suffered from a shortage of manpower. Many fled debts, punishments or other obligations or just the poor economic situation. There has been debate over whether the pulling or pushing factors were stronger. Toivonen (1963:168) emphasizes the power of the pulling forces: from the mere yearning for adventure to finding work and earning money, whereas Kero (1986:90) claims that such a discussion on the whole is quite fruitless, the case being always one of pushing and pulling factors combined.

The majority of Finns who emigrated to America (in 1893-1930) came from the provincial districts of Vaasa (162,232), Oulu (46,295) and Turku-and-Pori (45,170) and most of them settled in the following states: Michigan, Minnesota, Massachusetts, New York, and Washington (Niitemaa et al. 1976). In Canada there were only 2,502 Finnish residents in 1901, the number increasing, however, in 1900-1914 to approximately 20,000, mainly in Ontario (Pilli 1982). The reasons why the distribution of Finnish settlers was so great in these regions, in the northern parts of USA and Central Canada, is that the area is most closely reminiscent of the conditions prevailing in their homeland, at least with respect to the climate and geography. Another factor was that there were plenty of jobs in the copper mines and forests.

As a counterbalance to work, the Finns knew how to relax in their free time. The American Finns joined their forces and worked together in many kinds of organizations and enjoyed each other's company in the churches, sport centres and Finnish 'halls' of their settlements. For the Finns alcoholism has always been a besetting sin and consequently the great amount of saloons and cheap drinks and also their tendency to lead strikes and cause trouble soon made the Finns famous 'hoboes', who wandered around in 'jungle gangs'. Niitemaa et al. (1976) mention these black-listing characteristics of the Finns in America. Of course all the Finns cannot be accused of this type of behavior.

The Finns were separated into two parties, the left- and right-wing parties, of which the latter considered the Finnish halls places of demoralization and chose to preserve the Finnish culture and religion. The others worked for the Finnish labour organizations. Many happenings were enjoyed together also, for instance the annual, still popular Finn-Fest in the USA and the corresponding Grand Festival in Canada. Athletic organizations, theatres, bands and choirs flourished. Finnish newspapers and magazines were printed: *Amerikan Uutiset*, *Päivälehti*, *Työmies*, *Toveritar* and *Canadian Uutiset*, to mention some examples. Finnish American literature was also published. (Niitemaa et al. 1976.)

After World War I immigration from Finland almost ceased in the 1930s. The reasons to this were the growing industry in Finland, which made it possible to make a better living there, and secondly, the years of the great depression in America. The amount of immigrants allowed into the USA became more restricted and this is why the immigration rate to Canada grew during this era (Hoglund 1979). There were small-scale immigration waves later, eg. in the 1950s.

The immigrants who arrived after the war were so-called newer immigrants. They represented a different kind of social structure in that they were more educated. Another characteristic of the newer immigrants was that they were not that interested in the institutions created by the earlier

immigrants. These later generations of Finns in America have lost personal contact with the home country of their ancestors but at an organizational level strong ties are still valid as Niitemaa et al. (1976) point out. This statement is not necessarily true today as the younger generations have rediscovered their roots and have great interest in finding out about and visiting their relatives in Finland. Also members of certain close-knit groups, such as the Laestadians, have maintained contacts and even increased them with friends and relatives across the ocean.

The Finnish immigrants to Canada came mostly after the restrictive immigration legislation was introduced in the United States in 1924. Immigration to Canada was stopped during the depression in 1930. What Canada would have hoped to receive were farmers to populate Western Canada, but they were disappointed because the Finns were not as eager agricultural settlers as they were expected to be. "Finns preferred a mixed timber and prairie region to the plains", a Canadian government observer had noted (in Polyphony 1981:7). Canada finally accepted the fact that the majority of Finns became wage workers in the mines and forests.

Finns were a great help in building Canada but they also caused difficulties because of their tendency to arrange strikes and work radically for labour unions. Furthermore, as an inspector from Fort William explained, "They are determined law-breakers...have no regard for the game and fishery laws, or the Ontario Temperance Act, are professional bootleggers... keen on the use of knives...eighty-five percent are radical in their views..." (in Polyphony 1981). Finland was not a preferred immigrant country until the sympathies of the Canadians once again were with the Finns when Russia attacked Finland, after which Canada invited 100,000 Finns into Northern Ontario. Aside of that, immigration from Finland during 1930-1947 was almost at a standstill. After 1947, when the doors were opened again, the Canadian immigration policy has concentrated on finding permanent settlers who fill the employment requirements of the country. As in the later immigration in general, these immigrants have a higher level of education, come in families and settle in

urban areas and, to Canada's great relief, are of a more conservative view politically. (Polyphony 1981.)

In general most Finns settled in clusters in areas such as Thunder Bay and Sudbury in Ontario and Rock Point in Saskatchewan and the majority of them found their way to Canada through the neighboring USA instead of coming directly from Finland. At the most, there were 59,436 Finns in Canada in 1961, after which many crossed the border to the United States or returned to Finland. (Polyphony 1981.)

As far as Finnish immigration to Toronto is concerned, Vappu Lindström-Best has carried out several studies of Toronto Finns. Toronto was not discovered by the Finns until 1887, when a tailor named James Lindala (Jaakko Lintala) came there discovering how much work there was available for skilled workers and thus encouraged other Finnish tailors to join him. Thirteen years later, in 1900, the Finnish community of Toronto still consisted of the small amount of tailors' families who worked together also in other spheres of life. (Lindström-Best 1981.)

Only two years later, however, the Finnish community had grown to such extent that it was not possible to gather in homes, and the pioneer of the local Finns, Lindala, began to organize The Finnish Society of Toronto (Toronton Suomalainen Seura), which functioned in an atmosphere of friendliness despite the very different political or ideological backgrounds the members had. One year after the constitution of the Finnish Society had been laid, the Finnish community was almost doubled at the arrival of at least 128 newcomers. Some of them were quite revolutionary, which was accepted among most of the members of the society who themselves had become active in the labour movement. However, the other party - the more right-winged and religious ones - shunned such an ideology and left the Society when the constitution was changed in the favour of the more revolutionary members, founding their own temperance society, *Sarastus* in 1905. (Lindstrom-Best 1981.)

One of the organized activities inside the right wing was, as mentioned above, the congregational life. As the amount of immigrants to Toronto

increased, correspondingly the range of different religious movements expanded. Congregations were established and churches built on the corners of Toronto streets. It was not until later that the Laestadians, who are relevant to the present study, began their organized activities.

2.2 Laestadianism and its arrival to Canada

The revival movement called Laestadianism after its leader is mostly a Nordic phenomenon although it has also spread into other parts of the world. It is one of the four revival movements which arose from within the Lutheran Church during the 19th century. Laestadianism was founded by the minister of the Kaaresuvanto parish, Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861), due to his own spiritual awakening in 1844. Until then he had been more interested in the study of botany than in the salvation of his soul, but after 1844 he began to speak about sin and the way God felt towards sinners in a frightening and straightforward manner. The congregation thought their minister had become insane and were afraid to go to church. (Saarnivaara 1947.)

However, the way Laestadius preached began to attract the church folk and after he had preached for a year, the first conversion took place and was experienced as a woman's loud praise of the Lord. Soon Laestadius was able to preach the forgiveness of sins in Jesus' name and blood to his flock, which received it wailing, leaping and clapping their hands. This was sneered on by the so-called unbelievers. The revival spread powerfully in the northern parts of Finland as Laestadius and lay preachers sent by him continued the gospel work despite the opposition and negative publicity the movement received. The "Prophet of Lapland" died in 1861. The work of Laestadius was continued by Juhani Raattamaa, who taught in a more evangelical tone, and the movement spread remaining, however, within the state churches of Finland, Sweden and Norway. (Saarnivaara 1947.)

By the time Laestadianism began its way to America, an important change occurred in the way of preaching the forgiveness of sins. Earlier sins had to be confessed publicly but now it could be done in privacy to any sister or brother in faith, who could then forgive the sins with an authority received from God. It was not a surprise that many of the Finns who settled in America were Laestadians since the Ostrobothnians were the most eager to leave Finland for America and it was one of the main areas, in addition to Lapland, where Laestadianism had spread in the 19th century. The newcomers obtained homesteads and free land from the government and began to farm as did a typical Finnish immigrant of the time. The strong unity among the Laestadians was hoped to be preserved also in the new homeland, but as it appeared, it was not an easy task. (Saarnivaara 1947.)

Although Laestadians consider themselves as belonging to the one and only kingdom of God excluding others, the Laestadians who settled in the Copper Country region of Upper Michigan before 1880 cooperated with the other Lutherans and fellow Finns, Swedes and Norwegians to reorganize a Lutheran congregation called the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in 1867. The Laestadians viewed this church as similar to the national church in Finland (Wääräniemi 1998). Cooperation decreased later, as there began to appear tears between the Lutheran church and also within the Laestadian movement (Saarnivaara 1947). The Laestadians of the Calumet area learnt that they could found their own church in America and the result of this was the Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church in 1879. A Laestadian congregation was founded in the Cokato area as early as 1872, about four years after the first services were held there. A third early settlement of Laestadians was in Astoria, Oregon. The "sowing of the living seed", as Wääräniemi (1988) describes the preaching, could begin through the work of lay preachers who had no seminary training.

The difficulty of finding unity between the believers was very visible throughout the early history of the American Laestadians. The problems started in 1888 continuing into the 1970s. As a result the movement was

finally split into the Apostolic Church, the Heidemanians, the Firstborn, the New Awakenists, and the Evangelicals. All references made to Laestadianism in this study will refer to the most conservative group, the so-called Old Laestadians referred to as Heidemanians above. A.L. Heideman was the first ordained preacher among the Laestadians and served them for 38 years starting in 1890, his son Paul continuing for decades to follow. After the so-called spiritual storms had ceased, the AALC (Association of American Laestadian Congregations) was founded in 1973 (Wääräniemi 1998). Today the initials are LLC for the Laestadian Lutheran Churches. It includes 28 congregations and almost 2000 paying members (adult members who pay the membership fees), a great number of youth, and a "few thousand" children (Wääräniemi 1998). The largest congregations are in Minneapolis (356 paying members), Cokato (200), Seattle, and Phoenix (170 members in both) (LLC:1999). The Laestadians are sprinkled across the continent: "in the middle of the vast prairies, small towns and cities of the midwest; in large cities; in the mountain ranges of the northwest; in the deserts of the southwest; and near the large cities of the east" (Wääräniemi 1998). Financially, the activities of the congregations are funded largely with the monthly membership dues which in many congregations exceed fifty dollars per member.

The Laestadians publish a monthly paper called "The Voice of Zion" (first issue in 1973) and the children's own "Shepherd's Voice" which appears seven times a year. Songs are sung out of the "Songs and Hymns of Zion"-song book which is now under renewal. Many books originally published by the Finnish sister organization SRK (Suomen Rauhanyhdistysten Keskusyhdistys) have been translated into English. (LLC 1999.)

Besides regularly arranged services, which consist of singing and listening to sermons, youth work is an important part of the activities due to the growing younger generation. Confirmation camps, the first one held in 1977, are held at the two LLC owned campsites and recently also on the West Coast

near Seattle. Besides camp work, Bible class, Sunday school and day circle are held weekly in most of the congregations (Wääräniemi, 1998).

Knowledge about the first Old-Laestadians in Toronto, the target group of this study, is based on interviews of those Laestadians who have dwelled in Toronto longest: Martta and Hannes Koski, Lisa (Elizabeth) Mellanen, Hanna Mustola and Hilja Huppunen in a publication of AALC (1983). The information was gathered by Lilja-Marja Heilimo. Also, some information dates to a 1997 interview of Hannes and Marketta Koski.

During the same time when the Finnish community of Toronto began to grow on the whole, the first Laestadians also came to Toronto. In 1901 at least two Laestadian women arrived in the city. There is no information on the activities of the Laestadians of the time but Martta Koski (Passi), who moved to the area in 1929, and others who came in the 1930s have related that service activities had been at a standstill for almost ten years and that after 1931 Lisa Mellanen and Martta Koski wrote to Calumet to ask for speakers to come and hold services in Toronto. The Voutilainen family were asked to accommodate the speakers, although they were closer to the Firstborn group. The first services were held at their home, however, shortly after Mellanen and Koski had sent their letter. Paul Heideman came to speak and after services were held there a second time, the Voutilainens repented and turned into Old-Laestadianism. After this change, the Toronto Laestadians' activities were enlivened.

Services were arranged once a month, pastor Nelson from Detroit being the most frequent speaker, due to the fact that he lived closest to Toronto. Nelson served the Toronto Laestadians for 30 years, but also Ivar Lehtinen and Kusti Salminen were often there to speak. In 1936-1937 the first speakers from Finland visited Toronto. Services were held sometimes for over a week but usually on Sundays and Wednesdays when the believers gathered together to sing and listen to the sermons. The expenses and speakers' wages were divided between those who arranged the services, which were held in different churches until some clergymen became unfavourable towards the Laestadians'

services. After this the All Souls Church was rented by the Laestadians in the 1950s.

Many Laestadians moved to Toronto after 1930 and Sunday School was arranged. It ceased for a while because of the lack of children, but was soon activated again. The 30-member congregation decided to apply for an official status in 1956 from the Ontario government, which granted the permission of the founding of the Toronto Finnish Apostolic Congregation, which continued its work by forming a board of seven members. The congregation bought an old school building in Oak Ridges in 1974 and during the same time, after the American heresy, the splitting of the Laestadian movement, the name was changed to the Toronto Laestadian Congregation. The heresy did not actually tear the congregation in Toronto, but sometimes there have been difficulties in doctrinal matters. Summer services were first hosted in 1976 and a year later the first speaker among the Torontonians was appointed to speak at the weekly services. Services were, and still are, announced in the "Vapaa Sana"-newspaper in addition to the movement's own monthly paper, the Voice of Zion. (AALC 1983.)

Today the members of the Toronto Laestadian Congregation form 3 % of the total amount of the paying members of LLC. There are 70 members altogether (LLC: July 1999). However, in practice, there are about 90 over 18-year-olds. Because the Laestadians do not use contraceptives, the amount of children (0-15 years) and youth (15-18 years) is great, being over 100 in Toronto. They follow their parents to services and participate in the different forms of youth work to become 'rooted' into the congregation. About 175 Laestadians gather at the church in Oak Ridges once a week to sing and listen to a sermon often held in Finnish but always translated into English too, and sometimes vice versa. There are three lay preachers in the congregation.

2.3 The languages of the Finnish-American immigrants

Immigration as a widespread phenomenon during the 19th century brought with it the so-called Language Question which, according to Haugen (1953), who did pioneer work among the languages of immigrants, was a controversy which "raged more or less openly within family, neighborhood, and social institutions..." (1953:233).

What this language question meant among early immigrants in America and what it may be considered to include today is an important issue for both the immigrants themselves and for researchers who are interested particularly in the immigrants' mother tongue and its lifespan as a minority language. This interest has resulted in a wide range of study from language purism and maintenance through questions concerning bilingualism to language shift and death. The vitality of the mother tongue has been a sensitive question especially for the first generation of immigrants. The status of both Finnish and English, Finnish-English bilingualism as well as the hybrid American Finnish in the lives of the immigrants and their descendants will be reviewed to obtain knowledge needed to test the hypothesis of this study, the welfare of immigrant bilingualism among Toronto Laestadians.

But before moving on to any deeper discussion of the topic, it is necessary to define the concept of generation used in this field. Researchers of immigrant languages have seen it wise to divide the language speakers of the immigrant languages according to the generation they belong to on the basis of the closeness of arrival to the new home country. In linguistic terms the definition of generation differs slightly from that of the commonly-known model. The definition used here is that of Virtaranta (1993), who divides the generations as follows: those who migrated to America after having learnt their mother tongue, after the age of 15, are included in first-generation immigrants. Those born in the United States or Canada to immigrant parents or who have immigrated before the age of 15 are said to belong to the second

generation. These are the parents of the third generation immigrants and the grand-parents of the fourth generation etc.

Haugen (1956) has divided the languages of America into different categories. The one essential to this study is called the immigrant languages. Examples of immigrant languages are for instance American German, American Norwegian, or American Finnish. It is important to note the difference between the native language of the immigrants, which is their language at the point of arrival and pure with respect to English, and the immigrant language mentioned above, which is the result of the influence of English upon it. Immigrant bilingualism deals with this whole scope of languages starting from the immigrant's mother tongue through the stages of interference to the shift to English and the changes within them during the lifetime of an immigrant. Immigrant bilingualism is problematic as a term, undeniably, but perhaps the meaning bilingualism has in the study of immigration and the languages associated with it will make it easier to comprehend. This definition will be dealt with next.

According to Haugen, bilingualism is a much wider concept than the common understanding of it being the native-like control of two (or more) languages, as Bloomfield (1933) describes it in the definitions of bilingualism given by Harding and Riley (1986). Haugen (1953:6) does not require a native-like control of the languages, he settles for "the point where the speaker of one language can produce *complete, meaningful utterances* in the other language". In other words bilingualism is viewed as a continuum of all degrees of accomplishment from the fore-mentioned ability to the one of being able to cover all spheres of the language in a native-like manner. He does introduce the word *pre-bilingual*, meaning a person who is "no longer monolingual, but has acquired the power of uttering more than a single word in the other language" (Haugen 1953:6). On the same page he mentions that bilingualism "may be of all degrees of accomplishment". Indeed, bilingualism is not a "black and white, all or nothing phenomenon; it is a more or less one", as Harding and Riley (1986:31) put it. It is naturally very difficult to define the

degree of bilingualism of language speakers. Haugen's definition of bilingualism has been criticized for being inefficient in its requirements of a bilingual (see Baetens Beardsmore 1986). In this study, however, this definition of bilingualism is useful because of the use of Haugen's studies on immigrant bilingualism as background data. Furthermore, bilingualism is here studied as a phenomenon on a more general level, not that much in its individual sense.

What individual bilingualism actually means with comparison to societal bilingualism and what other types and levels of bilingualism have been distinguished must be introduced here because an effort will be made to classify the informants of this study into some "bilingual category." Baetens Beardsmore (1986) will be the the main source of this information. He has pointed out that the distinction between societal and individual bilingualism is obvious when speaking of eg. Switzerland, where there are unilingual territories within the multilingual states. Societal bilingualism is concerned with "what linguistic forces are present in a community, their inter-relationships, the degree of connection between political, economical, social, educative, and cultural forces and language" (Baetens Beardsmore 1986:6). The societal aspects are strongly present in this study although including religion into any of the above-mentioned areas can be discussed.

Another distinction which must be borne in mind is that of the degree of bilingualism, where the continuum starts at Haugen's understanding of it as the ability of being able to produce "complete, meaningful utterances" and ends at Halliday, McKintosh and Strevens' *ambilingualism* (1970, quoted in Baetens Beardsmore 1986:7), i.e. the ability of functioning equally well in either language "in all domains of activity and without any traces of the one language in the use of the other". Several authors, among them Baetens Beardsmore, call into question whether there are any 'true' bilinguals in its latter sense. It does seem to need quite a genius to meet these requirements. *Semilingualism*, commonly known as the retardation of both languages of a bilingual, is a concept which came into the field of bilingualism in the 1950s

and is often referred to in studies by Skuttnab and Toukomaa (in Hansegård 1968). Hansegård (1968) claims that the common-used meaning for semilingualism is superficial and that he prefers to use it to mean the detrimental results of the deprivation of one's mother tongue at a young age.

Furthermore, the distinction between primary, or natural, and secondary bilingualism is important. These concepts are referred to by Baetens Beardsmore (1986) as products of Houston (1972). Bilingualism picked up with no specific training or systematic instruction, or naturally, is primary bilingualism and being taught the language systematically is secondary. The former can be possible in the home or in the surrounding community, whereas the latter could refer to eg. attending a school where the language is taught.

Finally, two more concepts related to bilingualism essential to this study are receptive (or passive) bilingualism and its counterpart productive bilingualism. The former refers to a situation where the language speaker understands the languages but does not necessarily speak or write both, whereas the latter includes not only the ability to understand but also to speak and possibly write two or more languages. (Baetens Beardsmore 1986.)

Wherever two or more languages live side by side with each other, either on an intrapersonal or international level, there occurs some kind of interaction between them. Examples of the results of this phenomenon called *language contact* are pidgins and creoles. The interaction between two languages may result in the loss or death of the weaker language. It would seem natural that within language contact some reconstruction usually takes place, although Romaine (1989) claims that there have been such cases in which speakers have shifted to another language so that their native language has had no effect on the newly acquired one. But possibly the interaction has been visible in the person's native language. Language contact contains such phenomena as *language choice*, *interference* and *code-switching*. The first-named one does not require further discussion but the second one, *interference*, is an issue which has forged a great deal of discussion. Perhaps the greatest reason for this has been its relation to the coexistent notion of

transfer, which at least according to Baetens Beardsmore (1986), would be a more positive way of indicating the presence of elements of language A in language B. Odlin (1989) notes that interference is merely negative transfer and this confirms to Baetens Beardsmore's claims. In this study the term interference will, however, be used because after all the majority of authors use this term, as Baetens Beardsmore has concluded (1986).

Code-switching, similarly, is a difficult notion because of the difficulty to draw a line between it and the above-mentioned interference. Baetens-Beardsmore (1986:47), once again, has pondered about this question mentioning that "A further problem...is that of deciding when the use of elements of one language within the context of another ceases to be interference but represents a switch in language, or *code-switching*." Though drawing the line is problematic, there will be references in this study to both. The result of long-term language contact, *shifting* from one language to another, means the alternate use of two languages (Haugen 1956). This is one of the central themes of this research project because it is often more a norm than an exception that at some stage the immigrant must "betray" his mother tongue or ancestral language because it simply is inevitable. *Language contraction* and *language death*, which lead to or are the terminal phases of a language, will also be questions discussed in this thesis.

When a language dies abruptly, it may be that the last speaker of the language speaks the language perfectly, but in the case of eg. Scottish Gaelic, the dialect studied by Dorian (1981), or in immigrant languages, another language is gradually replacing the originally spoken one and proficiency in the native language varies a lot among the speakers. The originally spoken language becomes weaker and weaker both within the speakers of language as a group and within each individual speaker as time passes. Language change or shift occurs often at all levels of the language from the phonological to the syntactic level.

All in all, in the case of immigrant bilingualism the pattern is a gradual shift towards the dominant language and the native language of the immigrant

becomes inferior. The process which the immigrant language goes through is surprisingly similar between the different languages. In the following the changes in Finnish-English immigrant bilingualism will be focused on.

2.4 The lifespan of immigrant bilingualism

After listening to the chatter of foreign languages during the long journey the early Finnish settler often met his familiar native language once again in the Finnish community where he settled and did not necessarily need to learn the foreign tongue of his new homeland. First generation immigrants often held to their native language, learning possibly just some expressions in the dominating language of the society to manage everyday life. Most likely, today's first generation immigrant would meet a totally different situation since the established communities of different nationalities are quite scarce. Secondly, the reasons for immigrating are very much different from those of the early immigrants, eg. migrating for business reasons enquires at least some level of language proficiency. But during the 19th century it was possible for immigrants in America to speak the language of even very small nations. For example Finnish could be used in almost all spheres of life even in the 1950s in such Finnish communities as the one in Thunder Bay, Canada.

Although the immigrants were aware of the presence of English through the compulsory education of their children, they struggled to maintain their mother tongue within the family, the neighborhood, the activities of social institutions and the Church. Dorian (1981:72), who has studied the language death of a Scottish Gaelic dialect, points out that "so long as the people lived, worked and married among themselves, maintenance of their own home language followed". She came to the conclusion that both social and physical separateness contribute to promoting language maintenance. The Finnish communities which were born in eg. Thunder Bay or Copper County did, thus, offer a place of refuge for the Finnish language.

Haugen (1953:238) found that the Church played an important role in retaining the language of the early Norwegian settlers: "In the case of the Norwegians, as apparently among most immigrants, the Church is the primary institution which provides the immigrants with a justification for the use of the language". This was the case for some while, but Haugen continues by pointing out that eventually the "rebellion against the immigrant language reared its head in the Church also "

The relationship between language purism and language maintenance is a commonly discussed issue in linguistics. It could be suggested that the Finnish of the immigrants could have been maintained better if they had been more careful with letting English influence their language. Woolard (1989) discusses this question in her article on language convergence and death. She also refers to Haugen's studies where he had found that the dying immigrant Norwegian was heavily interlarded with lexical borrowings from English. Woolard (1989) has found that, according to various studies, purity and conservatism are no guarantee of language endurance. She also mentions the common, somewhat Darwinian, notion of flexible languages being able to survive longer, coming to the conclusion that "it is not the survival of the fittest...but the declared fittingness of the survivors; forms that are in use under these social circumstances come to be regarded as fitting and acceptable..." (Woolard 1989:361).

The immigrants were aware of the intruding effects of English and there was a worry about the fate of their ancestral language. The following quotation by Haugen (1953:233) describes the prevailing feelings of the first generation immigrants in the late 19th century quite accurately. It was uttered by the Norwegian Thronð Bothne as early as 1898.

"Now the question no longer is: how shall we learn English so that we may take part in the social life of America and partake of her benefits; the big question is: how can we preserve the language of our ancestors here, in a strange environment, and pass on to our descendents the treasures which it contains?"

The attitudes varied toward teaching Finnish to the following generations but the majority of parents felt that it was their duty to pass Finnish on to their children and grandchildren, and succeeded in doing so. The dialect of the first generation Finns was visible in their speech but by the time it was passed on to the next generation, it had been leveled off at least to some extent. Haugen (1954) mentions that the leveling off of the dialects is one of the steps in the 'drift toward shift'. Kainulainen (1993) has noticed that this indeed was the case within the speech of the first generation Finns. Also, due to the long distance to the fatherland, the Finnish spoken in America did not adopt the changes occurring in it in Finland, and so the Finnish of the second generation was often a bit archaic. This is one of the reasons, according to Martin (1989), for the fact that the speech of American Finns has been considered amusing among Finns who live in Finland. A young well-succeeding businessman may speak Finnish like an old granny from the Savo district.

Martin (1982:368) points out that "The second and third generations naturally run into the same daily speech situations as do their parents and grandparents and have the same choices to make. Their preferences, however, are different. They are comfortable with English and speak it most of the time, although most will speak Finnish if necessary for communication or as an indication of their loyalty to their Finnish heritage" Often the second generation did manage to maintain the ancestral language quite well but on no account were they monolingual in it. Instead, the second generation immigrants were often bilingual: Finnish was the language they spoke in the home and to older people.

Finnish was not considered important by all Finnish immigrants; some even thought it was embarrassing to speak it. At some schools the teachers threatened the children with punishments for speaking their home language but, as Haugen (1953:236) has found "they (the children) often returned to it with pleasure as soon as they were out of her (the teacher's) surveillance".

The bilingualism of the second generation Finns was natural. Abandoning Finnish was not possible because it was the language spoken in the home and English had to be learnt in order to enter the society and succeed in life. Immigrant bilingualism is very visible among the second generation Finns, whereas often third generation immigrants had very restricted skills in speaking the language of their grandparents. Intermarriages of second generation immigrants with people of other nationalities became more and more popular and the language spoken at home was the one common to the spouses, in this case English.

Hirvonen (1988) has taken a special interest in the preserverence of Finnish among the second and third generation. He finds that it is no more the passing on of the same ancestral Finnish which is done between the first and second generation but a "rather poorly learned second language" (Hirvonen 1988:135). He has, by making this observation, not given much hope to the vitality of Finnish among any further generations than the second. He points out, in the light of studies by Thomason & Kaufman (1988) of interference and substratum interference, that the second generation speaks a Finnish containing moderate interference of English in the morphological and morphosyntactic domains. This can still be included in the preserverence of the ancestral language as such, whereas "The contact situation of the third generation, however, is here posited to be one of **language shift**, with their Finnish, an imperfectly learned second language, showing **substratum interference.**" (Hirvonen 1988:139). The concept of the above mentioned substratum interference differs from the mere interference in that it is characteristic to language shift instead of language maintenance (Hirvonen 1988:138). In this study the notion of substratum interference will not, however, be dealt with in further detail.

What comes to the later generations in preserving the Finnish language, the case often is, as Lambert writes (1982), that the features of the minority culture and modes of behavior, including the language, are down-graded. Lambert goes on by revealing that very little has been done in North America

to help ethnolinguistic minority groups maintain respect for their linguistic and cultural heritage. Recently, however, there have been efforts to help ethnic groups maintain their native culture and language. In Canada the Multiculturalism act is the most visible in this sense. Martin (1982:367) claims that "at the moment...most parents feel free to teach Finnish to their children, or even believe that they should do so."

While the attitudes of Finnish among the first generation usually was a faithful commitment to pass the language on, the English language awakened more contradictory opinions. Some thought it necessary and were willing to learn it and others, possibly the majority, thought it useless and too difficult because English pronunciation differs very much from that of their home language and there are letters that 'don't count'. Some even adopted a strong prejudice toward English stating that it was 'an evil language purposely made difficult to foreigners who cannot understand it'. This type of attitude made it naturally impossible to even attempt to learn English. (Martin and Virtaranta 1993:162.)

However, even if the immigrants would have been eager to learn English, it was not possible. Hellström (1979) gives several reasons to this: firstly the overall situation in America was not favorable to learning the language since schools were scarce even for the younger ones, not to mention schools for adults. Secondly, the immigrants had to make a living somehow and the jobs they were offered were regulated to manual work such as mining and logging, which did not contribute to language learning. Finally, they would not have even had time to concentrate on studying because of the long days at work.

The older generations were not, thus, eager to learn English in general as can be proved in a study carried out by Hirvonen (1982). They learnt English to a level that they could communicate and their English became stabilized to that level since they were not motivated to learn any more. In other words their language learning stopped at a point which is called fossilization. Their native language, on the other hand, became more and more affected by

English. Soon it began to remind a mismatch of languages, a Finnish spoken by only Americans.

Immigrant languages did not receive much attention before the 20th century and till the 1930s only a few researchers were interested in them. Although immigration had been studied in more detail, the linguistic approach had remained in the background. In America, where immigration has equalled the birth of a nation, immigrant languages were studied first by H.L. Mencken in a publication called *American Language* (1932), where he studied the interaction between the immigrant languages and American English. After Mencken, it was the American Norwegian Einar Haugen who undertook the job of evaluating the phases of Norwegian in America. Haugen has been the primary inspirer to the study of many immigrant languages in America, eg. for the study of American Finnish by eg. Pentti Virtaranta, Hannele Jönsson-Korhola, Maisa Martin and Maija Kainulainen.

American Finnish, called Finglish or Fin(n)gliska by the immigrants themselves, is a hybrid language which originates from the placing of English elements into Finnish. According to Kero (1986), the foundations of Finglish can be said to lie at least partially in the linguistic laziness of the first-generation Finns. Virtaranta (1982:320) describes it as the Finnish language spoken by Finnish immigrants in America. He has observed that the term 'Finglish' has a pejorative connotation among some Finnish immigrants and suggests the use of 'American Finnish' instead. In this study the references to Finglish will be made using the suggested term American Finnish.

Puotinen (1971) claims that American Finnish is a dialect. He describes American Finnish as a "foreign dialect of English". The definition of American Finnish is not unambiguous in that it seems to contain features characteristic to pidgins, creoles, interlanguages, and dialects. Martin (1993), on her behalf, mentions that American Finnish is an exceptional mode of the Finnish language - a *language* which has been born and survived alongside the dominant language and which will most likely disappear before long.

The peculiarities of American Finnish are most visible on the lexical level because English words were "Finnicized" so that the English sounds unfamiliar to Finnish are modified into a more familiar form resulting in words which sound quite amusing to a monolingual Finnish speaker. Nouns are the most commonly Finnicized words that appear in American Finnish. Virtaranta (1993) has divided the vocabulary of American Finnish into several groups. Examples of these are words which became familiar eg. in the domain of work such as *plaivuuttimylly* (plywood mill) or *aironmaini* (iron mine). These were commonly used words among the Finns who often worked together in lumber or mining jobs. (Virtaranta 1993:74-83.)

In the morphology and phonology of American Finnish, adjustments have been made to English words. In the first-mentioned area, the most common change is the adding of a final vowel to consonant-ending words and verbs eg. 'jug' > *juki* and 'to load' > *lootata*. The Finns in America recognize the morphological changes they make but they cannot use the correct forms in eg. some cases of consonantal gradation and declension (eg. *sikoille* instead of 'sioille'). The phonological changes in the words are often changes which have been inevitable because for example the consonants *b*, *d*, *g* and *f* do not occur in Finnish and they are difficult to pronounce, let alone the letter combinations in the beginning of English words like 'cheese', 'thirsty' or 'sheep'. Therefore a 'baby' became a *peipi*, 'funny' turned into *vani* and 'thirsty' into *törsti*. The local dialect of English may affect the American Finnish pronunciation and English rules in the intonation of the words. (Martin 1993.)

On a structural level, the changing of Finnish sentence constituents into ones reminding English and the simplifying of the complex case ending system are the most common features of American Finnish with comparison to Finnish. For example the formal subjects 'it' and 'there', which do not exist in Finnish, are easily inserted into American Finnish: 'It took all day to drive to Duluth' would be *Se otti koko päivän että ajaa Duluuttiin* in American Finnish, the *se* and *että* being un-Finnish elements. (Jönsson-Korhola 1993.)

The effect of English and the lack of contact with pure Finnish causes the illogical use of case endings and the omission of possessive endings (eg. *Hän soittaa viulu* or *Minun auto on tuolla*.) Additionally Jönsson-Korhola (1993) mentions problematic areas such as indirect questions, connecting sentences, relative pronouns, the passive voice and incongruence between the attribute and main word.

The situation American Finnish is claimed to be in today cannot be given a clear description, but a general consensus is that its future does not look bright. For example, Hellström (1979:93) notes that "The immediate future of Finnish is assured, because the current speakers are too old to learn English, new immigrants are still arriving from Finland...In the long run...Finnish will be phased out as the immigration laws change, and the current generation of bilinguals will take over". Surprisingly, Hannele Jönsson-Korhola (1982) writes that American Finnish, because usually spoken by the descendants of Finnish immigrants, is not expected to be a dying language as long as there are Finnish immigrants in America and to America.

2.5 The immigrant bilingualism of the Laestadians

Although there is very little data on the language question among the Laestadians, this scarce information will still be introduced to create a general impression of the topic. Old-Laestadians have always had strong ties with their fraternal organization in Finland, the SRK, which has already been noted in the section on the arrival of Laestadianism in America. Haugen (1989:62) has claimed, while speaking of American Norwegian that "A high degree of social and religious cohesion was crucial to the retention of the language beyond that of many other North European languages". It seems that every researcher wishes to point out the exceptional vitality of the immigrant language closest to oneself, as also proved by Virtaranta et al. (1993) who claim Finnish to have been exceptionally well-preserved. Whatever the case of

Norwegian or Finnish in general, the Finnish language has been the linguistic corner stone of Laestadian congregations for a long time.

Martin (1982) has observed that the language used in youth work is a crucial question to the preserverence of the immigrant language in religious ethnicities. Finnish has not been forgotten anywhere among the Laestadians, even though, understandably, the shift towards English has been necessary. John Lehtola (1995:24), a theology graduate of the University of Helsinki, points out that "Finnish is still used equally as much as English in the church service, and considered an important part of it". He refers to the services in the largest of the American Laestadian congregations in Minneapolis (356 members in July 1999:LLC) Lehtola has studied the Minneapolis Laestadians as preservers of Finnish Ethnicity. He observes how the Finnish language and ethnicity have maintained their importance among the Laestadians in Minneapolis. The same can be hypothesised as being the result among the Toronto Laestadians where one can be understood in Finnish by, practically speaking, the whole congregation.

Preserving contacts with the Laestadians in Finland has been crucial to the maintenance of the Finnish language. As in Minneapolis, international marriages are very common among the Torontonians Laestadians. A very important field of work is the scholarship program that allows American Laestadians to study at the three folk high schools owned by the SRK (Suomen Rauhanystysten Keskusyhdistys) in Finland for a year. There are language camps in America where the Finnish and American Laestadian youth meet and teach each other their native language. Cooperation continues in many ways.

The shift to English which took place in many congregations in the 1920s through the 1950s was not an easy one because there was a lack of English-speaking ministers in those days and the resistance was quite strong since Finnish was considered the language of worship "in which their spiritual life was rooted and nurtured" (Lehtola 1995:12). The shift was evident because of the lack of Finnish speaking skills among the growing youth. But Finnish still

plays an important role: "While English is now the dominant language in the LLC, Finnish continues to be used to some extent in most of the Associations churches. The AALC (now LLC) has made a conscious effort to promote and preserve Finnish language skills among its members..." This is mentioned in a leaflet called "Excerpts from the History of the Living Christianity in America" published by the AALC in 1993.

Pentikäinen (1988) relates that the ancestral language has been retained longer among the Laestadians than in other Finnish social groups. Furthermore, he concludes that those churches that continue to have close contacts with the ancestral homeland also have the best chance of retaining its language in the future. He points out that, as an exception, the Finnish language might be preserved to the fifth generation among Laestadians. ehtola (1991) claims that the situation is such that Finnish is slowly dying out but not among the Old-Laestadians: "As long as unity remains within this movement and the ties with Finland remain close, the outlook for language preservation remains possible." (Lehtola 1991:21). He also mentions that Finnish remains the most prevalent language in the the sermons and publications, although English is preferred in conversations. He does not believe that Finnish will ever die away. Instead, he claims that its future is bright.

In Toronto, as was related earlier, Finnish was the sole language of all church services as late as 1974, when the sermons were first translated into English. Roughly estimating the stage Finnish immigration was in during that time in Toronto was the birth of the second or third generation of Finns. Finnish still has an important role, although English is becoming more common in youth work.

Bible class, held for the 8-15-year-olds, gathers about 35 young people weekly to study matters of faith, usually in English but occasionally in Finnish. English is also the language spoken in Sunday school with the exception of the group of the youngest 'students', who are 5-6 years in age. They are taught in Finnish, the use of English is sometimes needed to clarify matters. This activity gathers about 60 children divided into seven groups. The

approximately 30 4-7-year-olds come together also weekly to day circle which is held varying the languages depending on the situation. After services there is time to chat over a cup of coffee and a 'pulla'. Both Finnish and English are used.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

As has been shown in the previous sections, there is a general consensus that the chances of immigrant bilingualism surviving in North America are very small. The first generation immigrants of the last immigrant wave to America is slowly but surely passing away one by one. The bilingual second generation immigrants have made their choice whether to teach their children the language of their ancestors and the third generation is not proficient enough in the language to teach it to their children.

However, since the Finnish language is still so vital and considered important among the rapidly growing amount of Laestadians, the hypothesis of the higher status of Finnish-English immigrant bilingualism among this ethnic group than what the results of study on immigrant languages reveal in general is worth testing. It has, indeed, been admitted in several studies that there are exceptions to the maintenance of the Finnish language (see eg. Martin 1993) and in some studies (Pentikäinen 1988) the Laestadians have even been mentioned. There is also a paper by John Lehtola (1995), in which he came to the conclusion that the Laestadian Church has played an important role as a preserver of Finnish ethnicity in Minneapolis (see p. 31).

Still, the status the Finnish language has among the Laestadians and in this case the Toronto Laestadians needs more attention. If a monoglot Finn makes a round and visits all of the Old-Laestadian congregations in America, he

would most likely realize how especially in Toronto there is no difficulty in communicating in Finnish. However, although the situation may seem favourable towards the preservation of the Finnish language, one must be careful in drawing conclusions about the future of Finnish in Toronto. There are many factors which need to be taken into account, such as the continuity of interethnic marriages between Finnish and American Laestadians, which has been popular to this day.

English is present, and it has a much more visible role today than in the 1970's when the congregation was established. The role English has in the lives of the Toronto Laestadians is easier to define because it is the dominant language of the surrounding society and the tool in communication at work and outside the religious domain. The major focus of this study is therefore on the Finnish spoken by the Toronto Laestadians.

The data were collected in August 1997 during a one-month stay among the Toronto Laestadians. The linguistic atmosphere was observed but this is not the best way of getting into the matter, and therefore a questionnaire was planned before the trip to find out what the status of immigrant bilingualism is in the lives of the informants according to their own evaluation and to what extent their own skills or attitudes are in accordance with the traditional pattern introduced in studies on immigrant bilingualism. The questionnaire used in this thesis (see appendix A) will be introduced in more detail later.

Besides having the target group fill in a questionnaire, the Finnish of members of three generations of the target group was recorded to shed light on the stage at which the ancestral tongue is in the lifecycle of immigrant languages. The features reminiscent of the possible vitality or contraction of the Finnish language will hence be taken into account.

The questionnaire was handed out to 70 members of the Toronto Leastadian Congregation, all aged 15 or older. Exactly half of the questionnaires were returned, meaning that the study will be based on these 35. The questions were written in both Finnish and English to avoid misunderstandings. The questionnaire consisted of thirteen questions, of

which the last dealt with the general information on the informants. Although it was the last question, it is necessary to introduce the informants before moving on to the rest of the questionnaire.

Out of the 35 informants 14 were men and 21 were women. This does not necessarily give a realistic picture of the actual distribution of men and women in the congregation. The occupation or educational background of the informants was not asked, which may appear a weak point. However, according to observations made, most men work and married women are housewives, whereas both the single women and men either study or work. The share of married (or widowed) informants is 22, the remaining 13 being single.

As far as the ages of the informants are concerned, the majority of them are below 35 years of age (22); 12 of them being younger than 25. Surprisingly, the youngest ones were the most active at returning the questionnaire. The remaining 13 informants were 36-45 (four informants), 46-55 (5) and 56-65 (4).

The first three questions concerned the Finnish ancestors of the informant, the area they immigrated from and where they first settled in North America. The importance of such background information lies in the knowledge of which immigrant generation the informant belongs to and whether the areal background agrees with the general figures.

The fourth and fifth questions were meant for self-evaluation of both the Finnish and English oral and written skills of the informant, whereas the following six questions all dealt with the informant's attitudes, present use and future outlook considering the Finnish language. The final two questions were fairly simple tasks in which both the Finnish and English skills were tested. The tasks were based on typical Finnish-English language interference cases. To conclude the questionnaire some basic information of the informant were asked, such as age, sex etc.

In addition to the questionnaire, members of three generations of immigrants to the Toronto area were interviewed in a fairly free-structured

interview, or more like a discussion, to receive information mainly concerning the vitality of the Finnish language. The quality of the recordings was not very good, especially in the case of the interview with the second generation informant, due to technical difficulties with the microphone but the interviews have been written down and will be analysed in chapter 3.1.

The informants whose Finnish was recorded belong to the same family and are of Finnish heritage. The eldest speakers are the grandparents of the youngest ones. The retired couple are first and second generation immigrants, the husband being a first generation immigrant who has migrated to Ontario as an adult. He has worked eg. in the mining industry and married to a woman who is a second generation immigrant born in Canada to Finnish parents. She has mainly been a housewife and has taken care of her five children in the home. Finnish has been the home language in the family. In the following a short excerpt of their speech:

S1: kyllä sinäki ku minä olin sinua opettanu ritvan; ritvan sait ja meni lää-- meni sairaalaan ritvaa hakemaan ja piti sitte tietää sitte mitä työtä mies tekee ja no eihän tämä osannu sillon vielä paljo englantia justii vähä muutaman sanan ja mutta ei tienny sitä että ku minä olin porari että mi- mi- mikä se on englanniksi ja se pani käet näin TRRR (laughs) äiti, niin sehän oli heti sanonu *nörssi* että se on *trillör trillörmään*

S2: vaikka kuink kyllä tämä opetti mulle sen sanan mutta en mä sitä (...) muistanu enkä joutanukkaan (laughs)

The second recording is that of the son of the former. He is thus a second generation immigrant from his father's side and a third generation immigrant from his mother's side. He is bilingual in Finnish and English but uses Finnish when speaking to both his parents and children, particularly the younger children. He is married to a Finn who came to Canada after they were married. May the following give a first insight into his Finnish:

S: ja täss on tuota kanadan rajalla amerikan puolella kun mentiin **saskatchewanista** (...) tästä näkyy kuinka syvällä se vesi menee (...)

I: pystyykö tuolla joessa uimaan

S: joo, ja tässä on sitte se poloku tuoss on lapset... (...) se muuttuu joka päivä..

pääjoki on leviämpi (...) keväällä se on korkiammalla... siin on lapset...tässä on sitte sanna ja eemeli ...komioita maisemia preerialla vaikka se on tasasta se on komeeta...näky pitkälle, aurinko ku laskee se laskee ihan maan rajassa **thunder bayssa** oltiin yötä sinne on tuhatkuussataa länsipohjoseen

Finally the children of the former were recorded. Although all nine children aged between 1-12 were very lively and talkative, only the speech of the three eldest will be analysed here in more detail. One of the three describes an incident which took place a little before the recording in the following manner:

I: kerro se kettujuttu

S3: ja ja m minä ja aapeli talvella me mentiin luistelemaan ja siellä oli aa yks koira se näy- se näytti niinkö koira mutta enmä tiiä en mä oo varma jos se oli mutta ja me oltiin luistelemassa siinä ja meillä oli **boss** irti me ajateltiin että se oli **boss so** me huettiin sitä nin se tuli puskasta pois ja sitte se- se toinen koira tuli ja sitte me mentiin kotia ja me nähtiin se siellä pellolla taasen ja **um** sitten - meni pois, **so...**

3.1 Findings of the questionnaire

The questionnaire handed out in August 1997 to the over 15-year-old members of the Toronto Laestadian congregation will be analysed in what follows. The questions will be shown in the form they appeared in the questionnaire in italics before the findings concerning each of them. Tables of the answers will also be shown before the descriptions whenever it is possible.

1. Which of your forefathers/relatives have immigrated to USA/Canada

(Ketkä esivanhempasi/sukulaisesi ovat tulleet siirtolaisina Yhdysvaltoihin/Kanadaan?)

Table 1 Immigrant generation of Toronto Laestadians

Immigrant generation	Number
first	9
first/second	4
second	9
second/third	6
second/third/fourth	7

The informants were asked to tick which of their relatives had immigrated on a list of great-grandparents, grandparents, parents, themselves or their spouses. Additionally space was left to list any other relatives and also a 'do not know'-option was given. The referents were thus asked to recall which of their Finnish ancestors had immigrated to America. This reveals, in other words, only which of their forefathers had come first, not necessarily the immigrant generation they belong to.

Out of the total 35 who returned the questionnaire, nine definitely belonged to the first immigrant generation, being Finnish immigrants themselves. Another nine were clearly second generation immigrants. The majority of the informants reported that their parents had been the first generation to arrive to America (12). Then, there were seven who claimed that it had been their grandparents and the remaining eight who recalled that it was their great-grandparents (or one of them) who first arrived in the new land.

Although many of the informants had relatives who had immigrated in the mid-20th century, there were several who were quite 'fresh' immigrants. As a matter of fact, out of the nine who were themselves immigrants, four were below 40 years of age. The remaining five were in their 50s or 60s. With one exception the first generation immigrants were married and five of them had Canadian spouses. Marriages between Torontonians and Finnish Laestadians are still quite common and bring fresh Finnish blood into the congregation.

2. *If you know where your relatives lived in Finland before they immigrated, state the area (approximately).*

(Jos tiedätte missä sukusi asui Suomessa ennen siirtolaisuutta, mainitse alue (suurinpiirtein).

Almost all the informants (34/35) knew where their roots were in Finland. Not surprisingly, they were mostly in the Oulu and Vaasa area (20) including places like Kalajoki, Perho, Kokkola, Toholampi, Nivala, Sievi, Oulu, Haapajärvi, and Oulainen. Five informants' roots were in Central Finland, mostly in the Viitasaari area. Four had Eastern Finnish ancestors (Kuopio or Joensuu), whereas three reported that their ancestors had come from Karelia, which could mean the part belonging to Finland, referred to in Finland as Northern Karelia or at least in one case it is the area now belonging to Russia (Russian Karelia). Then there were also some who also had roots in the Satakunta region. According to research on the areas of origin, the Laestadians are no exception because in general immigration has been the most active in the Vaasa and Oulu area, Eastern Finland being less represented (see Niitemaa et al. 1976).

3. *Where did they first settle in America/Canada?*

(Mihin he ensin asettuivat Amerikassa/Kanadassa?)

Next, the Torontonians were asked where the immigrating generation settled first in America. Toronto had become the first home for the immigrants in 23 of the cases. Some had ancestors in (most likely spouse of settler) who had found a new home in Sudbury (3), Timmins (1), Copper Country, Michigan (1), and the state of New York (1) in addition to Toronto. The remaining twelve who knew where their ancestors had settled, reported them to have settled in Timmins, Ontario (4), Sudbury, Ontario (4), Port Arthur (1), Hibbing, USA (1) and one somewhere in Ontario. In addition to these ancestors were reported to have settled also in Pennsylvania (1), Copper Cliff,

California (1), and Fitchburg, USA (1). In other words, it may be concluded that in all of the cases except in one the homes in the "new land" of these Toronto Laestadians were in Ontario, Canada.

The areas to which Finns first settled in Canada were according to research (see eg. Polyphony 1981) around the Great Lakes in such areas as Thunder Bay, Sudbury and Toronto and in Central Canada in general. Ontario became the home of many Finnish immigrants to Canada and also the informants in this case were Ontarians. Five had roots in the Finnish communities of Timmins, Sudbury or Port Arthur. The splitting of the Laestadian congregations in places north of Toronto has resulted in very small numbers of Old Laestadians in these places. Many prefer living where there are more believers around them and therefore the largest Laestadian congregation in Ontario is in Toronto. The percentage of Laestadians out of the whole Toronto area population is extremely small. The largest Laestadian congregation in Canada is in Outlook, Saskatchewan (109 members) (LLC 1995).

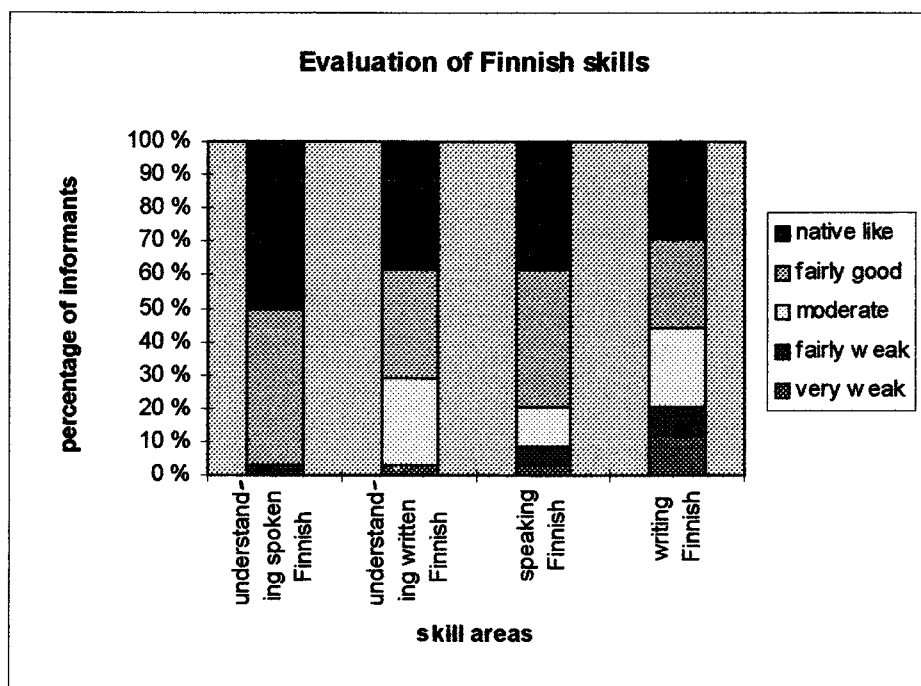
The language brought with the Finnish Laestadian immigrants is the main point of interest in this paper, however. It would be interesting to find out about the state the Finnish language is in in the Outlook area, but that would require a broader study. Next, the actual linguistic part of the questionnaire will follow. The informants were first asked to evaluate their own language skills in Finnish and English.

4. Estimate your own level of Finnish in the following areas by circling the corresponding number:

(Arvioi suomen kielen taitosi seuraavilla alueilla ympyröimällä taitojanne vastaava numero:)

- 1 = *very weak (erittäin heikko)*
 2. = *fairly weak (melko heikko)*
 3 = *moderate (keskinkertainen)*
 4 = *fairly good (melko vahva)*
 5 = *native-like (syntyperäisenomainen)*

Table 2 The Toronto Laestadian's evaluation of their Finnish skills. The four bars indicate the following skill areas:



In the linguistic part of the questionnaire where the informants were first asked to evaluate their own skills in Finnish and English, both understanding the spoken and written language and their ability to speak and write them. Having visited the church of the Toronto Laestadians, it is no surprise that in 33/34 (one informant did not answer this part) of the answers the informants claimed to be able to understand spoken Finnish either in a native-like manner or fairly well. Only one claimed to have fairly weak skills in this area. Understanding written language meant here the ability to read written Finnish

well and nine moderately. Once again, one informant made an exception by evaluating his skills in this area of Finnish to be very weak.

Speaking Finnish was not a problem for the majority, either: 27 reported to be able to speak it in a native-like manner or fairly well, whereas four had moderate skills in this area and the remaining three fairly weak or very weak skills. Finally, writing Finnish which often is problematic for a foreigner, was rated to be easy (native-like skills) by ten informants and fairly easy (skills fairly good) by nine. Eight claimed to have moderate skills and the remaining seven were either fairly weak (3) or very weak (4) in this domain of Finnish.

Table 2 (p.40) shows that according to their own estimations, the Toronto Laestadians consider themselves quite proficient in Finnish. In all domains of language at least half of the informants report to have very good or native-like control in the Finnish language. Even though only about 26% of them belong to the first generation, native-like control of the language is reported to be characteristic to over 41 % of the informants. This reveals that, besides all of the first generation immigrants, half of the second-generation immigrants also consider themselves native-like speakers of Finnish (18-20 points altogether out of the four skill areas). Eight are very good (15-17 points) forming 24% of the informants, which means that the great majority (65%) of the Toronto Laestadians consider themselves quite fluent in all domains of Finnish. Out of the remaining twelve informants, nine (26%) are moderate (12-14 points) and two weak (6%) in them (scoring 9-11). One informant's (3%) skills were very weak (4-8 points)

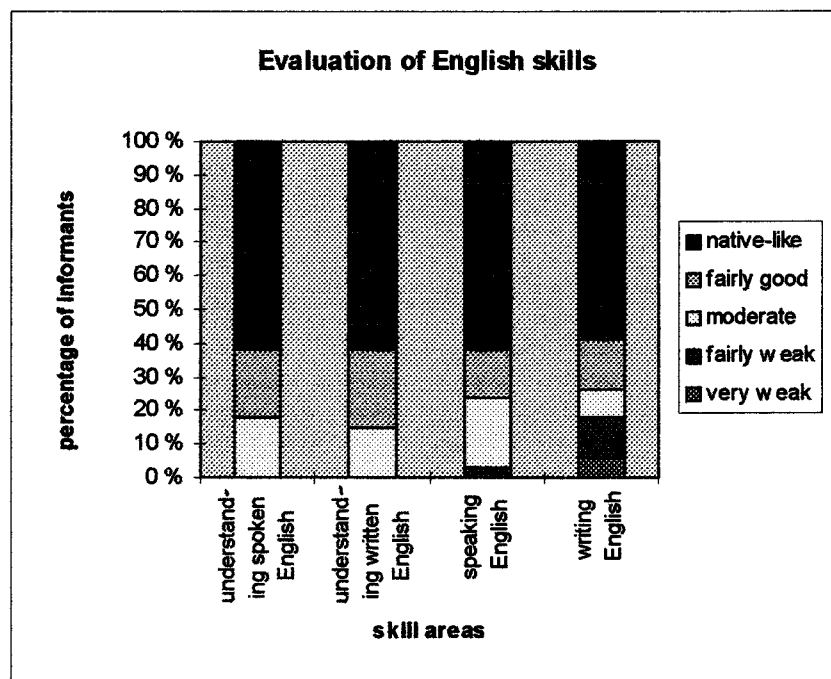
The informant whose skills were very weak, although he is a second generation immigrant, reveals that not all Finnish parents have succeeded in passing on their mother tongue. Of course this is such a small number that it cannot be generalised but it may still be a reminder of exceptional cases. As to cases with weak and moderate-skills, they form 32 % of the answers being exactly the same as the percentage of second, third or fourth generation immigrants. One must keep in mind here, though, that none of these necessarily

are second generation immigrants because of the uncertainty of their parents' age at immigration. But it is certain that most of these are third or fourth generation immigrants (7/11). The fact that the percentage of first or second generation immigrants is 65, could imply that Finnish has been successfully handed down to the second generation.. The Toronto Laestadians seem to be more receptive than productive in Finnish. Whether they are bilingual will be found out after analysing the results of their estimations of their English skills. The question was in the same form as the corresponding one concerning the informants' skills in Finnish

5. Estimate you own level of English in th following areas by circling the corresponding number. (Same scale as in question 4)

Arvioi englannin kielen taitosi ympyröimällä taitojasi vastaava numero. (Sama asteikko kuin kysymyksessä 4)

Table 3. The Toronto Laestadians' evaluation of their English skills



As far as the English skills of the target group are concerned, a similar trend can be seen in the estimations made by its members: understanding spoken English was considered to be performed in a native-like manner (21 informants) or fairly well (7), meaning 28 out of the total of 34 informants, and moderately by six, whereas there were no fairly weak or very weak comprehenders. Reading, or understanding written English, was estimated to be just as native-like as understanding spoken language: 21 informants could master it. Eight informants could handle it very well and five moderately. One informant thought understanding written English was performed a little easier than understanding spoken English.

What comes to speaking and writing skills, in the majority (24/34) of the answers the case was that both were mastered in a native-like manner (20) or fairly well (4). One informant thought that he could speak in native-like manner but his writing skills in English were very weak and similarly one could speak fairly well but his writing skills were fairly poor. Out of the remaining eight informants, seven had moderate skills in speaking English and six of them thought their writing of English was just as poor (1) or even poorer than speaking it. And finally, there was one person who thought his spoken English was fairly poor but his writing was moderate.

Native-like English speakers totalled 20 of the informants and six informants had fairly good skills, totalling 76% of the informants. The moderate and weak-skilled ones total 24% of the informants. None could be considered very weak in English.

All in all, comparing the Finnish and English skills of the informants shows that the English of the Toronto Laestadians was stronger than their Finnish as there were more speakers with native-like or very good skills in English (76%) than in Finnish (65%). Informants who have moderate skills in Finnish are the majority when compared to those who moderate skills in English. The weak and very weak-skilled ones are even.

When the distance from the immigrating generation is taken into account, it seems that all of the definitely first generation immigrants (9) graded their Finnish skills higher than their English skills, which is quite natural. However, two of them thought that their skills in both languages were almost equally good. Hence the remaining seven graded their Finnish skills notably higher than their English skills. There was one informant who most likely is a first generation immigrant and who also thought his Finnish was stronger than his English. Still, his Finnish skills were graded almost as good as his skills in English. It could be concluded that all of those who were stronger in Finnish than in English were first generation immigrants.

The remaining 22/34 who thought they were better in English than in Finnish belonged to the following immigrant generations: all nine of the second generation immigrants were in this group in addition to those who were either second, third or fourth generation immigrants.

Despite the fact that the great majority who evaluated their English skills higher than their Finnish skills, the fact that in 65% (22/34) of the answers the informants thought that they were notably better in Finnish (7) or almost equally proficient in both languages can not be ignored. There were only 35% who were notably better in English than Finnish whereas 71% of the informants belonged to a descending generation, not to the immigrating generation itself. It would be very interesting to be able to study the situation in another fifteen or so years to see whether English would have gained more power.

Sex as a determining factor of the skills of Finnish and English will next be roughly viewed: all in all there were 14 men and 20 women who answered these questions. The ten informants who reported that their Finnish was stronger than their English were mostly women (8/10). These were all first generation immigrants among whom one was single and five were married to a Torontonians man and two had a Finnish immigrant husband. The former had most likely immigrated after being married. The two Finnish men were also married but one had a Canadian wife and the other an immigrant one. Women,

in general, more often thought that their skills were almost as good in both languages (45%) whereas most men thought they were notably stronger in either language (71%).

The age of the informants together with the estimated skills in the two languages will be taken a glance upon. The age group 15-25 years of age, 12 informants altogether, reported that their English is better than their Finnish. What is worth taking notice of is that 33 % of them consider their skills almost equal in both languages. The second age group consists of the ten 26-35-year-olds of which three claim that their English is notably stronger than their Finnish, four claim the opposite. Two of these adults think their English is a little better but not that much better than their Finnish and one cannot make a difference between his skills and thus considers them alike in both languages.

The same trend seems to apply to the four 36-45-year-olds as two of them think their skills are equally good or almost equally good in both languages. The remaining two grade their English skills notably higher than their Finnish skills. There are also four 46-55-year-old informants and three of them consider their Finnish better than their English skills. The eldest ones who participated in this study were the five 56-63-year-olds. One of them did not answer this question at all, but all of those who answered thought their Finnish skills were better than their English skills.

What we could conclude about the evaluated degree of bilingualism of the informants is that 44 % of them can be considered bilingual. Their skills in both languages were almost equally strong, either native-like or very good. Interestingly 15 % consider themselves almost what could be called ambilingual, in other words, that their skills are native-like in all areas in both languages. Moderate skills in either English or Finnish and the native like control of the other equalled 38%. I would consider these bilinguals according to a general definition of bilingualism, totalling the bilinguals up to 82%. As could be expected, writing Finnish was the most difficult area. One reason to this is the complex inflection system and, secondly, the important role of

vowel or consonant length characteristic to the Finnish language. It is interesting to observe how systematically writing Finnish becomes more difficult according to the immigrant generation. Those who found their writing skills weak or very weak were third or fourth generation immigrants (with the exception of one who possibly is a second generation immigrant) and, on the contrary, those who managed it in a native-like manner or fairly well belonged to the first or second immigrant generation.

6. Where have you learnt Finnish?

(Missä olet oppinut suomen kieltä?)

The coexistence of English and Finnish in the lives of the Toronto Laestadians is an everyday matter. English is the language of the surrounding society and the domains of Finnish are in the home and religious life. The latter can be clearly seen in the way the Finnish language has entered the lives of the informants: out of the total 35, 34 answered this question by revealing that Finnish has been their home language and mother tongue or that they have learnt it while living and/or going to school in Finland. Some give additional sources of Finnish: the folk high schools maintained by the Finnish Laestadian organization, SRK, are mentioned as well as visits to Finland, with friends or taking Finnish classes in high school.

Finnish is generally spoken by at least one of the parents until a child enters school. In many cases Finnish is the sole language spoken until there are school-aged children in the family. The earlier studies on the changes in language choice apply to the Torontonians, too, in this sense. The more school-aged children, the more English is spoken in the family. Finnish soon becomes the "little kid's" and the parents' language. It is, however, worth mentioning that in many families the parents continue to speak Finnish to their children even though they have stepped into the world of English.

7 How often do you speak Finnish?

(Kuinka usein puhut suomea?)

The answers to this question were given by ticking one of the following four options: often (daily), sometimes, quite rarely or very rarely. Finnish can be said to be an everyday matter for it is spoken often (daily) by 33/35 informants, sometimes by one, and quite rarely by one informant. The home is an important domain of Finnish, as earlier studies have proved (see eg. Haugen 1953). This can also be seen in the answers to the next question.

8. Who do you speak Finnish to?

(Kenelle puhut suomea?)

Although Finnish is an everyday matter at home, a closer look must be taken to whom Finnish is spoken, to find out about its role in other domains of life, eg. the role of religion. If the carrying on of the Finnish language depends on what the children learn and hand on to the following generations some day, Finnish could have a bright future in Toronto. In the child-wealthy congregation, children are the greatest group Finnish is spoken to: in 23/35 cases children are mentioned separately either as the informants' own children, siblings, grandchildren or nieces and nephews.

In some cases little children are mentioned, e.g. in one answer "especially the little ones (aged 5 and below)" was emphasized. This describes the significance of school and, as earlier studies which date back to the days of early immigration prove, the children were not familiar with English until they entered school.

What comes to the elderly, who in earlier studies have been proved to be the last speakers of a dying language, they are mentioned as grandparents or parents of the informants in 17 cases, meaning that the elderly are yet often those who the ancestral language is spoken to. It is interesting to note which

immigrant generation these elderly belong to: in 11 cases they certainly are first generation immigrants and possibly in two additional cases. Surprisingly, there are four informants who speak Finnish to an older person who is of the second or third immigrant generation. Either Finnish has kept its position very strongly in the home if the person has been in work-life or then he has not had the need to become proficient in English, possibly living and working within one of the Finnish communities. And when checked where the first generation of these Finns settled, in four cases it was Timmins or Sudbury and in one case Toronto. The former two have belonged to strong Finnish communities still at the time the now retired people were working.

All in all, the family, relatives and home are mentioned in all answers as domains of Finnish except in one case where Finnish was spoken quite rarely and with Finnish immigrants or visitors that do not understand English. Another domain of the Finnish language is friendship, which is mentioned in twelve questionnaires. In one of them, friends are specified as ones in Finland, but friends otherwise must mean the friends within the congregation because the majority of those who speak Finnish to friends are 15-25-year-olds and it is not probable that they would speak it to fellow students or at work to colleagues. Similarly, those who are older than 25 are not likely to have daily contacts with other Finns than the ones called friends of faith. Indeed there are two informants who use Finnish daily at work: one of them with his employer and the other with customers and colleagues. Finnish is not, thus, totally restricted to the family and church life.

English is often used among the young people, as reported earlier, in gatherings for the young, which are often called 'hops'. Families visit in Finnish and English, but as observed earlier, it is usually Finnish that is used with these friends. Children under school age speak Finnish and during school age English among each other. But as long as Finnish is the language of the home, it will remain so within the church also. Fresh blood from Finland is brought through the intermarriages with Finns, which are quite common due

to the fact that Laestadians marry fellow-Laestadians and nationality is no barrier when faith unites the couples.

9. *If you have children, have you taught them Finnish? Why? Why not?*

(Jos sinulla on lapsia, oletko opettanut heille suomea? Miksi? Miksei?)

Laestadians often have large families. Teaching Finnish to the children seems to be a conscious project, because, with one exception, all of those who have children (21) answered that they have taught their children Finnish and the reason this one exceptional case had not done it was because he did not know it himself. The motives for passing the language of their forefathers on to the children were manyfold, but they could be categorized as follows:

Table 4. Reasons for the Toronto Laestadians' teaching Finnish to their children.

Reason	Number of answers
Keeping the Finnish heritage	7
Being able to communicate	7
Conveniency of bilingualism	5
Being obligated to do so	3

One person did not have any reasons for bringing up his children in Finnish but the distribution of the reasons of the rest were as follows: keeping the Finnish heritage was crucial for seven of the informants. This contained a strong sense of will and strong feelings toward the importance of Finnish. Equally important was the practical reason of facilitating communication with other Finns (seven informants). Contacts with relatives or friends who cannot communicate in English are inevitable in the daily lives of these people and it is

important to be able to communicate freely. Bilingualism, another practical point of view, was seen as a great gift by five members of the target group. The parents have wanted to pass on the gift they have got themselves or they have wanted to be able to facilitate the life of their children linguistically. Finally, there were three informants who seemed to consider it their duty to teach their children Finnish because they ‘could not bring them up in English’, ‘because we were taught to speak Finnish to our parents’ or because ‘I didn’t speak Finnish when I moved to Canada’.

10. As you see it, what are the chances of Finnish being preserved to the generation following your own?

(Mikä on oma näkemyksesi suomen kielen säilymisestä seuraavalle sukupolvelle?)

The target group seems quite realistic about the chances of Finnish being preserved to the generation following their own. Out of the 35 answers seven were pessimistic and the reasons varied from the power English has and will gain in the world, through the fact that children are not forced to speak it to their parents, to the difficulty of preserving it in Canada. Some merely stated that the knowledge of Finnish will decrease and that it is unlikely that it would be carried on.

Nine of these Finnish descendants gave their home language moderate chances of survival among their children. In these answers the weakening of one’s own Finnish, the dependence on the continuance of the trend of marrying a Finnish spouse or the gradual weakening of the language were pointed out. But still hope was given: ‘worth trying to preserve’, ‘not spoken as much but understood’ , ‘I will speak Finnish’ and ‘It will be somewhat preserved but not as well as my own Finnish’. Surprisingly, the majority were quite optimistic as far as the continuity of the lifespan of Finnish among their children is concerned: 19 of them gave answers such as ‘very good’, ‘quite strong’ , ‘looks good’ or that ‘chances are high’.

Because young people may be considered unrealistic, it is probably necessary to reflect the answers against the ages of the informants. Here, it can be seen that the most gloomy prospects for the future were given by the 26-35-year-old married informants. Most likely they are the ones who are in the process of teaching Finnish to their little children.

The realistic viewpoint can be traced to the youngest informants because most of those who thought Finnish could be preserved but that it will become weaker were 15-25-year-olds. They can see the contraction of the use of Finnish in their own lives as students and working people with their future ahead in upbringing of a family in the surrounding powerfully unilingual society.

The majority of those whose outlooks were positive naturally contains informants of each age group since there were so many optimists but it is worth noting that the 46-55-year-olds have the highest representation among the optimists. The percentages of optimists in each age group are as follows:

15-25	50%	46-55	100%
26-35	33%	56-65	60%
36-45	50%		

Considering these numbers it can be seen that, as argued earlier, the ones in the actual process of trying to pass the language of their ancestors on to their little children are the most pessimistic and the rest see chances of it succeeding, especially those who can now observe with joy how the work they have completed with their own children is being transmitted on to the descending generations. All of these elderly informants have children but not necessarily any grandchildren yet.

According to immigrant generations, the most optimistic ones are the first generation immigrants and the most pessimistic are the second generation immigrants. The third and fourth generation immigrants are evenly distributed among the different viewpoints.

11. Do you consider the Finnish language important? Why? Why not?

(Pidätkö suomen kieltä tärkeänä? Miksi? Miksei?)

The purpose of the next question was to find out about the attitudes toward preserving the immigrant language. It overlaps with the question of teaching one's children Finnish, but it will be analysed separately. All of those (34/35) who answered the question "Do you consider the Finnish language important. Why?" had a favourable attitude toward Finnish. Some had additionally ticked the 'no' option and those who did (5/34) justified it by taking a universal point of view and pointing out that Finnish does not have any worldwide significance or is not important in business life or in everyday life in the surrounding society in general.

The majority, on the other hand, gave their reasons for a positive answer by describing Finnish as a means of communication with friends and relatives, as a beneficial matter in terms of bilingualism, as adding to religious richness or as preserving the Finnish culture and traditions. Once again, friends here most likely mean 'friends of faith' although it is not mentioned separately. Religion was mentioned separately in three cases. The practical viewpoint of being able to communicate with friends and relatives was mentioned in 20/34 answers. Bilingualism was mentioned in four answers and the preserving of Finnish culture, customs or traditions was mentioned in six of them. In addition, there were some occasional answers in which it was described as 'a great gift', 'for personal growth and enjoyment' or 'to me it is important', which all contain a sentimental evaluation of the language. One informant saw the question of preserving the language unrealistic.

Despite the fact that this question overlapped to some extent with the reasoning of the question of teaching Finnish to one's children, after taking a closer look at the answers, it can be seen that practically all the informants had taken a different point of view than in the afore-mentioned question. It can therefore be concluded that the significance the Finnish language has to the

informants is, in the final analysis, very similar when the informants are compared to each other.

Language proficiency tasks

The next part of the questionnaire consisted of some linguistic tasks in Finnish and English; ie. some translation and deciding whether a sentence is correctly translated and making a suggestion to correct it if it was incorrect. The translations chosen were based on Virtaranta et al. (1986) and the typical errors speakers of American Finnish make. Firstly, there were ten words in English and the informant was to give the corresponding word in Finnish.

*12A What word would you use when speaking of: (list of 10 words in English)
(Mitä sanaa käyttäisit puhuessasi seuraavista:)*

Table 5 Distribution of answers to question 12

	correct	incorrect	blank	spelling errors	Am. Finnish	English
a mine	27	3	3	1	1	1
french toast	16	-	7	6	4	3
a jacket	33	-	-	2	-	-
a tire	32	1	2	-	-	-
a hospital	29	-	-	6	1	-
a nurse	24	-	1	11	1	-
a dandelion	21	-	3	8	-	-
a husband	29	-	-	6	-	-
an Italian	27	-	1	7	1	-
a bow tie	21	6	4	4	-	-

The importance of this type of task may not be very great to the general study of language maintenance, but here its purpose was to shed some light on where the difficulties lie with vocabulary. All of these words are based on examples given by Virtaranta (1993) on American Finnish.

The word 'mine' was correctly translated by 28 of the informants into Finnish. Even though the word could be considered to be more familiar to the immigrant generation who often worked in mines, there was no difficulty in finding the Finnish equivalent to the word among the young, either. The word was translated once as *minun* (1st possessive sg), meaning the possessive form 'mine'. Three informants left this answer blank.

The next translation task was the most difficult one: the equivalent for 'french toast' was found by only 16 informants and translated as *köyhät ritarit*, which is the closest one can get to the original meaning. Surprisingly many answered this literally correct, although *paahroleipä*, 'toast', was accepted as a correct answer also. Some informants mentioned that although *köyhät ritarit* is the right translation, they use the American Finnish *frenchtousti* in practice. Seven informants did not give any suggestions for a Finnish equivalent, whereas there were three Finnish American translations (*frenchtousti*) and four answers where the same spelling was used as in English, 'French toast'. The Finnish American version is probably the most commonly used form according to my own experience.

'Jacket' caused no difficulties nor did 'a tire'. In the case of 'a hospital', the spelling was predictably difficult since it contains a long vowel *sairaala* and short consonant following it. This causes difficulties for non-native speakers of Finnish. The word was written **sairala* or **sairalla*. Similarly the next word, 'a nurse', caused difficulties in spelling: 11 informants could not spell it right. Once again the vowel and consonant duration caused problems but the case of choosing between the compound word written together and separately was even more difficult *Sairanhoitaja* was written in the forms **sairanhoitaja*, or *sairan_ hoitaja*. This type of error is not, however, a bad one since this may be difficult for even native Finns. An interesting spelling

mistake was that of one of the youngest informants: **siraanhoitaja*. I assume the writer thought of the English pronunciation of the vowel 'i' in such words as 'siren' or 'hire' and therefore wrote, perhaps by mistake, **siranhoitaja* instead of *sairaanhoitaja*.

Interestingly as many as 21 informants knew the Finnish word for 'a dandelion' and even spelt it right. The problems with this word lay, similarly to the word for 'nurse', in the spelling of the word. Ten informants wrote the parts of the word separately, **voi kukka*, despite the assumption that the meaning of it in Finnish or the double 'k' would cause the most trouble with this word. This error would not, most likely, be made by a native Finn as easily as **sairaan hoitaja* would because the latter could be thought of as 'the nurse of the sick'. A native Finn would not necessarily even think of separating the parts of the word *voikukka*. Furthermore, the word 'a husband', *aviomies* in Finnish, caused trouble in spelling, as all the errors once again had to do with the fact that the word is a compound. Again the two parts were written apart from each other.

A great majority of the informants knew and wrote the word for 'an Italian' correctly (27/34) and the mistakes connected with this word resulted from the Finnish manner of not writing the words for nationalities with capital letters, so most of those who had spelling errors simply wrote **Italialainen* instead of *italialainen*. Not more than one informant used the American Finnish *talimanni* and even this one wrote it in addition to the Finnish word.

Finally, 'a bow tie' was added to test the ability of finding a Finnish equivalent for this rather rare word in one's vocabulary. This word did predictably cause the most difficulties resulting in six completely wrong answers, or misinterpretations in Finnish. However, as many as 21 informants wrote the correct answer.

12B Do the following translations from English to Finnish sound right or wrong? You may also correct the wrong ones, if you like.

(Kuulostavatko seuraavat suomalaiset käännökset ammetuille englanninkielisille lauseille oikeilta vai vääriltä; voit myös halutessasi korjata väärät lauseet)

Table 6. Distribution of answers to question 12B

1. marked correct
2. marked incorrect
3. left blank
4. wrong corrections
5. correctly corrected'

	1	2	3	4	5
Se ottaa viisi tuntia ajaa Newyorkkiin.	8	26	1	3	1
Tätä järveä kutsutaan Wolf Lake.	20	14	1	1	3
En puhu ranskaa.	32	3	-	-	-
Betty soittaa viulua.	34	-	1	-	-
Työskentelin bensa-asemassa Oak-landissa.	10	24	1	-	4
Luulen, että jään tänne.	32	2	1	-	1
Myin minun farmini Smitheille.	12	23	-	5	1

This test, although it has its weaknesses in that it shows incorrect examples of the language is, however, helpful in drawing conclusions on the level of the Finnish of the informants. The sentences given here are based on Jönsson-Korhola's studies on the syntactic features of American Finnish (1993). The first sentence given in English ('It takes five hours to drive to New York') was incorrectly translated as **Se ottaa viisi tuntia ajaa Newyorkkiin.* (Correct

translation would be something like *Ajo New York:iin kestää viisi tuntia.*) The formal subject 'it' and the literal translation of 'to take' as *ottaa* were in the focus of interest here. Eight informants accepted the incorrect translation. Most of these were third or fourth generation immigrants, which could imply that their Finnish was getting weak because they accept such foreign elements. One of the informants who accepted the incorrect form was an elderly first generation immigrant. This is fully understandable since the distance his mother tongue has had to its original and 'pure' form is very great also in terms of time. The great majority (26/35) realised that it was an incorrect translation. Four informants attempted to correct the sentence and three of them succeeded in doing so. In the one incorrect attempt the formal subject *se*, which is not used in Finnish, was still considered acceptable.

The next sentence, 'This lake is called Wolf Lake' was also mistakenly written in Finnish as **Tätä järveä kutsutaan Wolf Lake*. Here, the common mistake made by American Finns is the absence of the case ending of 'Wolf Lake'; in the correct translation it would be ...*Wolf Lake:ksi* (or as a literal translation ...*Susijärveksi.*) 40% of the informants recognized that the sentence was incorrect whereas as great a portion as 57% did not. This sentence caused the most difficulties in recognizing the incorrectness of the translation to Finnish.

The next two sentences were translated correctly: 'I don't speak French' as *En puhu ranskaa* and 'Betty plays the violin.' as *Betty soittaa viulua*. Neither of these caused difficulties in identifying them as correct: in the case of the first one 32/35 knew it was correct and in the latter 34/35. The three informants who marked the first sentence incorrect might have thought that the word 'French' should be capitalized in Finnish too, as the capitalizing question of words associated with nationalities has been proved to cause difficulties in task 12A.

The next sentence, **Työskentelen bensa-asemassa Oaklandissa*, for 'I work at a gas station in Oakland.' was included to test the prepositional interference from English occurring in the word **bensa-asemassa* as the *-ssa*-case ending instead of the correct *-lla* one (*bensa-asemalla*). Almost 1/3 (10) of the informants did not realise that there was an error in the Finnish translation to the sentence. This is, however, only half of the number of those who mistakingly accepted sentence 2 as correct.

'I think I will stay here' (*Luulen, että jään tänne*) did not cause difficulties in realising that it was correct and one informant even offered a more fluent translation (*Luulen jääväni tänne*). The last sentence, on the contrary, caused more problems. 'I sold my farm to the Smiths', incorrectly translated as **Myin minun farmini Smitheille*, was accepted as a correct answer by over 1/3 of the informants. In American Finnish the possessive is often expressed merely by using a possessive pronoun (in this case *minun*) and the possessive suffix is omitted, as it is in spoken Finnish. If the American Finnish word *farmi* is changed into the Finnish *maatila*, the correct translation would be *Myin (minun) maatilani Smitheille*.

There were two parts in the last task: first some words and then some sentences which the testees were asked to translate into English. The words chosen are, once again, based on information given by Virtaranta (1993) on the types of vocabulary where American Finnish is strongly present. It was meant to test whether the correct corresponding word can be found in English or if the word is unknown to the informant.

Table 7. Achievement in task 13A

	correct answers	incorrect answers	no answer	spelling mistakes
anteeksi	33	1	1	-
ylösalaisin	28	4	1	1
vetoketju	33	1	-	1
tapahtua	31	1	-	3
syöpä	33	1	1	-
vaimo	35	-	-	-
vaahtera	33	-	2	-
autotalli	35	-	-	-
karamelli	32	2	-	1
rusetti	35	-	-	-

Translating these ten words into English did not cause difficulties. The most problematic word was *ylösalaisin* meaning ‘upside-down’ but even in the case of this word as many as 28/35 (or 80%) knew the corresponding English word. Whether this could be interpreted as a strong indication of receptive bilingualism will be discussed later.

Finally, five sentences were given in Finnish to be translated into English. Here, the purpose of the task was to test the understanding of five fairly simple sentences in Finnish and the skills in producing the corresponding sentences in English. These could have been more complex, at least to find out about the real ability of understanding Finnish.

1. Täällä on hyvä asua.
2. Heikki on vanhapoika.
3. Kesken kokouksen Matti juoksi sisään.
4. Banaanit ovat herkullisia.
5. Jalkapallojoukkueemme voitti maailmanmestaruuden.

Table 8. Distribution of achievement in task 13B

	correct answers	incorrect answers	no answer	spelling mistakes	misunder standings
1	35	-	-	-	-
2	30	2	1	-	1
3	33	-	2	-	-
4	33	-	1	-	1
5	32	-	1	-	2

Again translating into English did not cause difficulties among the informants. The sentences seem to have been understood in all cases. The tests where Finnish had to be produced appeared to be much more problematic than this one where it had to be merely understood. This gives a very clear indication of receptive bilingualism: Finnish is understood much better than it is produced and simultaneously English has a more powerful status than Finnish in the bilingualism of the target group.

3.2 Findings of recorded speech

The discussions which were recorded on tape were meant to complement the questionnaire on the state of bilingualism, and especially Finnish, among the target group. These are given in transcribed form in appendix B. Making conclusions is facilitated by having some kind of practical evidence on the Finnish of the Toronto Laestadians. Of course very broad generalisations cannot be made with this small an amount of recordings but the discussions will show what the situation is in this chain of immigrants.

First, the eldest interviewee, Hugo (name changed) will be introduced. Hugo is a Finnish born man who immigrated to Canada to find work. His Finnish is very similar to that of any elderly Finnish person in Finland. It is clearly distinguishable that he is from the Ostrobothnean district. The dialect he speaks has been well preserved. His wife Maija-Liisa, who was born in Canada to Finnish parents also participates in the discussion. Hence, there are actually two immigrant generations present in this first section because the husband is a first and the wife a second generation immigrant. Both of them feel comfortable in Canada and among their descendents who consist of five children and over twenty grandchildren.

Their attitude toward the Finnish language has always been positive and they have recommended to their children that they should always speak Finnish at home and now that three of them have their own families, Finnish is spoken also to the children by at least either one of the parents. Hugo and Maija-Liisa speak with a Finnish accent and there is only a little of American Finnish in their language. A nurse, for instance, is referred to as *nörssi*, but on the whole their Finnish is very 'pure' considering that they have lived abroad for at least half a century. Their English, however, contains a strong Finnish accent and is restricted to managing daily matters. An extract of their speech will be given in the following.

S1: niin ja kyllä minä sanon sen että kyllä pohojonen oli kyllä paljon parempi on se, siinä on yks asia se että työmatkat on lyhyitä, kuinka paljon siinä säästää pensassa ja autossa niinkö mullaki oli parhailaan että viistoista minuuttia oli

työmatka ja jos kolome varttituntia oli nii se oli korkeintaan täällähän se on tunti tunti tuota täällä torontossa

S2: ja ilima sitte no nyt tänä kesänäki on sadburissa ollut kuumempi ku täällä, kolomekytäkaheksan oli melekein aina...

After taking a closer look at the speech of Hugo, one can realise that there are only a couple words which reveal that he is not a Finnish Finn. These are firstly, the word *kirkanleikille* where the word 'lake' has become an indicator of American Finnish and secondly, when he speaks about 'eggs' and 'cheese' Although he does not pronounce them as a native English speaker would, it can be heard that the English phonemes for the 'g' in eggs as in the 'ch' in cheese are familiar to him. Furthermore, the use of *trillör* and *trillörmään* are signs of American Finnish, and have been taken into Finnish from the words 'driller' and 'drillerman'. Because the interviewee has worked in mining industry, he probably uses American Finnish terminology when talking about his work because these words have become so familiar in everyday life. Virtaranta (1993) even mentions a 'language' called *mainiengelska*, the Finnish American form of 'mining English' for this type of speech.

In his pronunciation of 'Christmas tree anyhow.', Hugo's Finnish background is very evident. It is pronounced in a very Finnish way, the way a Finn would read: *krismas trii enihau*. This also applies to the pronunciation of 'beautiful north' which is pronounced as the written *piutiful nort* would be pronounced in Finnish.

Hugo's son, Asko, does either not have any problems in pronouncing or in speaking English in general. He has learnt it while being in contact with the surrounding English-speaking world outside the home since childhood, and at school and work. There is no foreign accent in his English and it can not be distinguished from the speech of any native English-speaking Canadian.

As far as his Finnish is concerned, the same fluency in the language can be observed in his home language. He does not hesitate at all and pronounces all the Finnish words in a native-like manner. Even his home dialect has been preserved quite visibly. He adds vowels into words just like his father appears

to do (*kolome* for 'kolme', *pilivi* for 'pilvi' etc.) which is an indicator of the dialect he speaks. No Finnish American examples can be heard, though. Asko's Finnish seems even 'purer' than his father's in this respect. There is no interference to be seen in either of his languages, the only examples of code-switching during the discussion are when he pronounces place names as they are pronounced in English (Peace Gardens, Manitoba, North Dakouta) and once he asks "do you remember?". The beginning of the discussion is given here.

I: Kertositko vähän niistä ajoista kun meidän perhe oli täällä?

S: joo, voin mää, erityisesti yks ...tulee mieleen, isäs oli valamistamassa, en mä tiiä muistaksä ku teillä oli semmonen pakettiauto, vääni,

I: joo

S: **do you remember**

I: joo

S: isäs oli sitä korjaamasa ja tuota se oli pannu (...) pahvia ja sitte jotaki kohotusainetta mitä (..) joku lapsi oli löytäny takapaihalla ja (laughs) isäs lähti (..) kerranki mä olin tuota mä poikkessin teillä ja mä seurasin siinä isäas siinä hommassa ja (...) kahtelin sitä ja mä sanoin että Harri, miten sä oot aikonu tuon maalata ..joo .. eihän siinä... että ruiskulla, mull on se ruisku nyt, että jaa...(..) mä sanoin että kyllä nyt on Harri, nyt on parasta kö meet rautakauppaan ja ostat sieltä maalia ulkomaalia, ja pensseli ja hyvä rulla ja sillä maalaat (laughs) ja ni senhä se sitte teki ja (...) sitte seuraavana aamuna te lähitte (..) seuroihin tuonne stonileikille...mää lupasin jäädä sitte talonmieheksi, mä tulin sinä iltana teille ja aukasin ovet, ja oli iso pilivi karpäsiä vastassa, siellä oli ovet ollu kok päivä auki (...) karpäsiä joka paikasa, ihan täynä karpäsiä ja sitte ne kanit mitä teillä oli, niitä piti aina vähä väliä vahtia kerranki menin töistä kotia ja menin sinne ja (nauraa) kania ei missään näkyny (..)

It is a surprise that Asko's children have a strong English accent in their Finnish even though Finnish has been the language spoken to them until they have gone to school, since their mother is a native Finnish speaker, and originally monolingual. Their Finnish clearly sounds foreign, not only because of the foreign accent but also because there is a considerable amount of interference from English. They hesitate quite often because they cannot find the right words so 'um' is quite commonly heard in their speech.

S1: se meni ulos kö me laitettiin se valo pois keittiöstä ja me laitettiin se ulkovalo päälle, sitte se meni pois ku se tuli sisälle sitten mä äkkiä menin alas ja laitoin mun käjet mun silmiin että mä en nähny (naurua)...ja **ummm**...meill on iso huone ja kuus ihmisistä **um** kuus meitä nukkuu siellä meill on kaks kerrossänkyä ja minä ja veera nukutaan ykssängyssä. ja alakerran ...eemeli ja sini muuttaa kohta pois

I: minnekkä ne muuttaa

S1: ne menee poikien huoneeseen...ja nytten... nyt meiän vessa ei toimi, alakerran vessa ei toimi (giggles)

However, there are no difficulties in understanding their Finnish. A monolingual Finn may naturally wonder what eg. 'minä ja Veera nukutaan *yksässängyssä*' possibly means. This is one clear indication of interference, the direct translation of a 'single bed'. All in all, there were indications of foreign elements in 21 words or structures of the recording which did not last any more than 15 minutes. Other examples of the many interference cases as direct translations are *yks sata ja viisky(mmentä)* (one hundred and fifty) where a Finn would not say the 'one', *se näytti niinkö koira* (it looked like a dog) where a Finn would say '*se näytti koiralta*' or '*mä menin puuhun tikapuun kanss*' where the equivalent of the English preposition 'with' has been used instead of the use of the case ending '*tikapuilla*'. There are many examples of the difficulty of producing the right case endings. This is very common to the learners of Finnish as a second language because of the complex inflectional endings in the 16 cases of Finnish. Mostly the children succeed in it and do not have difficulties in eg. the partitive case, which often is problematic for second language learners of Finnish. Consonant gradation, which is commonly quite difficult for a second-language learner of Finnish is almost native-like with only an occasional example of confusion (Jaana says *kissain* instead of 'kissojen' and *nimit* instead of 'nimet') They do identify the right forms but often cannot produce them themselves. For example Jaana begins to giggle after saying that '*mä tykkään harjastelusta*' when she meant 'art', or 'kuvaamataide' in Finnish. She laughed at the word she created herself. It does indeed have some elements of Finnish, such as the case ending and perhaps it was the Finnish 'harrastus' (hobby) she was thinking of. Jaana also once

indicated that the distinction between the verbs 'to be' and 'to have', which both are 'olla' in Finnish. She says '*se on iso katto*' instead of '*siinä on korkea katto*' and continues by saying '*se on kolme makuuhuonetta*' instead of '*siinä on kolme makuuhuonetta*'.

Code-switching can be heard several times. The only cases where English is used are where the children say something to each other, eg. when Verner whispers to Jaana 'you're scared of spiders' or when Jaana says 'I know' to the others when they try to help her with saying 'acres' in Finnish.

Although there is an English intonation in the speech of the children, the pronunciation of Finnish phonemes is native-like. The code switching into English also indicates that their English is pronounced in a native-like way. All the place names, for instance are pronounced as a native English speaker would.

All in all, when the Finnish of the interviewees is compared to the research on immigrant bilingualism, a conclusion must be made that the first generation speaker, Hugo, has skills typical to an elderly first generation immigrant. This contains eg. Finnish intonation. Also, as Kainulainen (1993) has proved, the attitudes and values of the speaker can even be recognized. Hugo is very comfortable with the freedom the Canadian atmosphere offers and he respects the Finnish language. Also borrowing from English in Hugo's Finnish is evident but these elements have been fitted into Finnish so well that it is not easy to recognize them instantly. Hugo has fitted in the words *nörssi* and *piutiful nort* so that they sound very Finnish. Hugo's speech does not contain other foreign elements, as studies have proved about first generation immigrants. His wife, however, is a native Canadian but her Finnish is just as native-like as Hugo's. Sometimes she hesitates but here it can be observed to be the way she speaks.

Asko is a typical example of a second generation immigrant. Finnish is still important to him and he wants to pass it on to his children, but his English is also fluent. His bilingualism is as natural as is Kaarlo Mäki's, a second generation immigrant who was studied by Kainulainen (1993). She states

about the second generation immigrants that not succeeding in English would have meant being left outside the surrounding society and abandoning Finnish was not possible because it was the home language, and in Asko's case also the language of religious life. Kainulainen (1993) points out that English had to be learnt at school and writing and reading in English required energy so that Finnish was left with less attention. She continues by saying that this trend becomes stronger in adulthood. In Asko's case, it is possibly the marriage to a Finnish woman which has helped him maintain and possibly even learn 'pure' Finnish. The home language has not been forgotten also because of the support the religious domain has offered. Perhaps discussing topics outside everyday-life would have resulted in some signs of interference, but not necessarily. Speaking Finnish does not seem to require any extra energy from Asko, as Kainulainen (1993) noticed in her analysis of the speech of the earlier mentioned Kaarlo Mäki.

Kainulainen (1993) noted that Kevin Mäki, the son of Kaarlo Mäki, spoke poor Finnish. Kainulainen has observed (1993:145) that even his attitude toward Finnish was problematic. He admitted that he is understood better in English at home. He was not motivated to learn Finnish nor did he have very many models of Finnish speakers and he became a reluctant Finnish speaker. Code-switching was very common and the syntax and vocabulary were simple.

When the speech of the three children in this study is compared to that of Kevin, the conclusion must be made that their Finnish plays a strong role in their lives. They do not lack models of Finnish speakers because the language is familiar to them both in the home and among friends. Secondly, they proved to be very motivated to speak Finnish because they have been encouraged to do so not only in the home. The girls showed great interest in coming to study in Finland at a Laestadian-owned folk school. Although their Finnish is similar to that of Kevin's to some extent (eg. difficulties with case endings), it does not contain such elements as extensive lexical borrowing and code-switching. Of course the material was quite limited and the interview situation can have affected the speech of the children. There were, however, no problems with

repect to eagerness to speak Finnish, as in Kevin's case. It was quite the contrary.

As in Asko's case, Hirvonen's (1988) theory does not apply fully to these third generation immigrants. He states that the Finnish that the third generation takes up is by no means the same ancestral language that their parents learnt, instead it is a poorly learnt second language. The type of interference present in the children's speech can not be considered the type which leads to language death. Of course the children were on their mother's side only second generation immigrants so possibly substratum interference may come into question among their children.

4 CONCLUSIONS

Although there is a lot of research on immigration and a considerable amount on even Finnish immigration, the language question has been the focus of very few studies. The Finnish language spoken outside the borders of Finland would seem to become more interesting in the future as a new wave of immigration to EU countries has begun . Perhaps this will result in an interest toward the native language and its maintenance far from its roots. This interest has always been visible among the Laestadians who have left Finland, which also is the spritual home of Laestadianism. But this peristent group of people who want to cherish the Finnish heritage has been studied very little, and their language even less. This study was aimed at finding out about bilingualism which has been an important part of the Toronto Laestadianism throughout its history. The hypothesis was that the Finnish language is still vital among them.

The purpose of the questionnaire used in this study was to get information on the extent of bilingualism in the lives of the informants. Questions were asked about their linguistic background and their attitudes and skills. There

could have been some detailed questions on the role of English in their lives. The conclusions related to this question were made based on observation and personal experience. This information did become partly evident alongside with the questions concerning Finnish but the role of English could have been specified more closely. This would have facilitated the description of bilingualism.

Furthermore, I found that the occupation of the informants could have been useful information in analysing the role of work life on the language of the target group. Additionally, the definition of immigrant generations would have been much clearer if the ages of the immigrating people would have become clear.

Toronto Laestadians are not an exception in the areas they have immigrated from in Finland nor considering the place they settled in Canada. The immigration took place mostly in the mid-20th century but has continued to this day, partly because of the trend of inter-marriages between Torontonians and Finns. This naturally contributes to the maintenance of Finnish in the congregation besides the general eagerness to preserve the Finnish heritage and maintain ties with friends and relatives across the ocean.

According to the results, the language skills within the target group both in Finnish and English are very good. The percentage of bilinguals being over 80%, bilinguals being defined as those whose skills were at least moderate in one of the languages and a native-like control of the other. Bilingualism was most often such that English was the stronger language according to the informants' own evaluation, whereas Finnish was weaker, but not much weaker.

Although Finnish was weaker than English, the attitudes to it and prospects for its future still offer it high chances of survival. An important factor is also the support which the network of friends and relatives in the congregation offers. Finnish is considered very important and worth preserving even though English dominates outside and, to an increasing extent, within the religious domain.

Children are brought up in Finnish in almost all the homes even though the parents are most often second generation immigrants. The third generation is learning the ancestral language as their mother tongue in many cases if either of the parents is a first-generation immigrant. Finnish is becoming weaker but I still conclude that it is not a poorly learnt second language, even though it is beginning to resemble a second language with respect to the English accent at least among the youngest interviewees.

Keeping the Finnish heritage, being able to communicate with friends and relatives in Finland and the convenience of bilingualism were the most important reasons given for attempts to preserve the Finnish language. The reasons were very similar. Preserving Finnish was seen most likely by those who were younger than 26 and older than 35. This revealed that the most pessimistic ones are those who are in the process of teaching their own children Finnish.

The small-scaled tests of English and Finnish included in the questionnaire were not linguistically the very best ones, but they still gave some impression on the situation of the bilingualism of the informants. The vocabulary tests did not cause much trouble and it often was more a question of the difficulty in writing the word correctly than that of understanding the word or knowing how to produce it in the other language. However, English appeared to be easier than Finnish.

On the syntactical level, it was sometimes difficult for the informants to recognize errors in Finnish sentences, although here it was always the great majority who knew which sentences were incorrect and which were not. All in all, producing Finnish was more difficult than understanding it.

The recorded discussions in Finnish showed that the typical situation is that the Finnish language is prevalent in the first generation and to some extent also in the second. But in the second generation, contrary to the general consensus of the weakening of the ancestral language, Finnish was very strong. There were no signs of it becoming weaker, instead, it was still very vital. As far as the third generation is concerned, it seems to be likely that the Finnish

language will still be passed on to the fourth generation. Although the presence of an English intonation was obvious, the language was not as full of other types of interference, such as extensive code-switching. The language of the third generation does not sound like the speech of a native Finnish speaker but interference is not present to such an extent as it has been in earlier studies. Of course, we must remember that these statements are not generalisable because of the small amount of material.

The definition of a bilingual is problematic and this was also seen in this paper. But finding out how bilingual a language community is, is even more difficult and this would require at least a longer stay among the target group. There should also be more interviews and the questionnaires should be planned more like assessment tests. This would make generalisations easier.

However, I hope that this study will contribute, first of all, to the study of the linguistic situation among Finnish immigrants of today and in particular to that of the Laestadians, who have worked for and wish to continue to work for the maintenance of their Finnish heritage. The welfare of Finnish among all the American descendants of Finns calls for more study, not only a broader study of the Laestadians but also all those organisations and individual people who want to maintain something Finnish in themselves.

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APPENDIX A. The questionnaire handed out to the Toronto Laestadians in August 1997

**Questionnaire
for pro gradu thesis
summer 1997
Nina Vänskä**

Hello! I am Nina Vänskä, a student of the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. As a descendent of a Finnish Canadian immigrant, I became interested in writing my pro gradu thesis on the extent to which Finnishness has been handed down to posterity, and in particular how the Finnish language is doing among the Finnish Canadians. Therefore, your contribution is very important and I would be grateful if you could answer the following questions and returned this questionnaire to me by August 24th. Answer in either Finnish or English. No names need to be mentioned. Thank you very much!

Hei! Olen Nina Vänskä, Jyväskylän yliopiston opiskelija Suomesta. Itse kanadansuomalaisen siirtolaisen jälkeläisenä kiinnostuin tekemään pro gradu-työni siitä, miten suomalaisuus on kulkeutunut sukupolvelta toiselle, ennen kaikkea se mitä suomen kielelle kuuluu tämän päivän kanadansuomalaisten keskuudessa. Siksi juuri sinun vastauksesi on minulle todella tärkeä ja olisin kiitollinen jos voisit vastata seuraaviin kysymyksiin ja palauttaa kyselylomake 24.8. mennessä. Vastaa joko suomeksi tai englanniksi. Nimiä ei tarvitse mainita. Paljon kiitoksia!

**1. Which of your forefathers/ relatives have immigrated to USA/Canada?
(Ketkä esivanhemmasi/sukulaisesi ovat tulleet siirtolaisina
Yhdysvaltoihin/Kanadaan?)**

_____ great-grandmother (isoisoäitisi)

_____ great-grandfather (isoisoisäsi)

_____ grandmother (isoäitisi)

_____ grandfather (isoisäsi)

_____ mother (äitisi)

_____ father (isäsi)

_____ you yourself (sinä itse)

_____ your spouse (puolisosi)

If not any of the above-mentioned, then who?
(Jos ei joku yllämainituista, niin kuka?)

_____ do not know (en tiedä)

2 If you know where your relatives lived in Finland before they immigrated, state the area (approximately).

(Jos tiedät missä sukusi asui Suomessa ennen siirtolaisuutta, mainitse alue (suurinpiirtein)).

_____ do not know (en tiedä)

3. Where did they first settle in America/Canada?

(Mihin he ensin asettuivat asumaan Amerikassa/Kanadassa?)

_____ do not know (en tiedä)

4. Estimate you own level in Finnish in the following areas by circling the corresponding number:

(Arvioi suomen kielen taitosi seuraavilla alueilla ympyröimällä taitojanne vastaava numero:)

- 1 = very weak (erittäin heikko)
 2 = fairly weak (melko heikko)
 3 = moderate (keskinkertainen)
 4 = fairly good (melko vahva)
 5 = native-like (syntyperäisenomainen)

understanding spoken language 1 2 3 4 5
(puhutun kielen ymmärtäminen)

understanding written language 1 2 3 4 5
(kirjoitetun kielen ymmärtäminen)

speaking 1 2 3 4 5
(puhuminen)

writing (kirjoittaminen) 1 2 3 4 5

5. Estimate your level of English in the following areas by circling the corresponding number. (Same scale as in question 4)

(Arvioi englannin kielen taitosi ympäröimällä taitojasi vastaava numero; sama asteikko kuin kysymyksessä 4)

understanding spoken language 1 2 3 4 5
(puhutun kielen ymmärtäminen)

understanding written language 1 2 3 4 5
(kirjoitetun kielen ymmärtäminen)

speaking 1 2 3 4 5
(puhuminen)

writing 1 2 3 4 5
(kirjoittaminen)

**6. Where/how have you learnt Finnish?
(Missä/miten olet oppinut suomen kieltä?)**

**7. How often do you speak Finnish?
(Kuinka usein puhut suomea?)**

_____ often (daily)
(usein (päivittäin))

_____ sometimes
(joskus)

_____ quite rarely
(melko harvoin)

_____ very rarely
(erittäin harvoin)

**8. Who do you speak Finnish to?
(Kenelle puhut suomea?)**

**9. If you have children, have you taught them Finnish?
(Jos sinulla on lapsia, oletko opettanut heille suomea?)**

Yes (kyllä)_____ Why? (Miksi?)_____

No (ei)_____ Why not? (Miksei?)_____

**10. As you see it, what are the chances of Finnish being preserved to the generation following your own?
(Mikä on oma näkemyksesi suomen kielen säilymisestä seuraavalle sukupolvelle?)**

**11. Do you consider the Finnish language important? Why? Why not?
(Pidätkö suomen kieltä tärkeänä? Miksi? Miksei?)**

**12. Please complete the following tasks in Finnish on your own.
(Tekisitkö seuraavat tehtävät suomeksi itsekseksi.)**

A. What word would you use when speaking of:
(Mitä sanaa käyttäisit puhuessasi seuraavista:)

a mine _____

french toast _____

a jacket _____

a tire _____

a hospital _____

a nurse _____

a dandelion _____

a husband _____

an Italian _____

a bow tie _____

B. Do the following translations from English to Finnish sound right or wrong? You may also correct the incorrect ones, if you like.)

(Kuulostavatko seuraavat suomalaiset käännökset englanninkielisille lauseille oikeilta vai vääriltä? Voit halutessasi korjata väärät lauseet.)

Right (oikein) _____

Wrong (väärin) _____

It takes five hours to drive to New York.

_____ Se ottaa viisi tuntia ajaa Newyorkkiin.

This lake is called Wolf Lake.

_____ Tätä järveä kutsutaan Wolf Lake.

I don't speak French.

_____ En puhu ranskaa.

Betty plays the violin.

_____ Betty soittaa viulua.

I worked at a gas station in Oakland.

_____ Työskentelin bensa-asemassa Oakland:ssa.

I think I will stay here.

_____ Luulen, että jään tänne.

I sold my farm to the Smiths.

_____ Myin minun farmini Smitheille.

**13. And then, please do the following tasks in English:
(Ja sitten tekisitkö seuraavat tehtävät englanniksi:)**

A. What are the English words for:
(Mitkä ovat englanninkieliset vastineet seuraaville:)

anteeksi _____

ylösalaisin _____

vetoketju _____

tapahtua _____

syöpä _____

vaimo _____

vaahtera _____

autotalli _____

karamelli _____

rusetti _____

B. Translate the following sentences into English.
(Käännä seuraavat lauseet englanniksi:)

Täällä on hyvä asua. _____

Heikki on vanhapoika. _____

Kesken kokouksen Matti juoksi sisään. _____

Banaanit ovat herkullisia. _____

Jalkapallojoukkueemme voitti maailmanmestaruuden. _____

**Finally, please fill in the following information:
(Lopuksi, täyttäisitkö itsestäsi seuraavat tiedot:)**

Home state/province _____
(osavaltio/provinssi, jossa asut)

Sex (sukupuoli) Male (mies) _____ Female (nainen) _____

Year of birth: _____
(syntymävuosi)

Marital status: _____
(siviilisääty)

Any comments can be written in the empty space. Please return this questionnaire by August 24th. THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

Voit halutessasi kommentoida kyselyä tyhjään tilaan. Palautus 24.8. mennessä. SYDÄMELLISET KIITOKSET!

APPENDIX B

Recorded speech in written form

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Hugo

niinkö monesti ajattelee sitä että kato ku sillon ku ite tuli tänne eikä osannu kieltä ja sitte jollaki tavalla ku oli kävelemässäki niin sitä oikein niinku pelekäs vähä ihmisiä ett jos tuo rupiaa jotaki puhumaan, ja monestihan ne rupeski puhumaan niin kyllä se oli se oli minusta, minusta että aina oli kuitenkin semmonen mukava mieli tuli ku joku puhuun

I: niin

S: että...se jollaki lailla se puhuminen niin se niinkö lähentää ihmistä...

S2: sinäkin aikana ku isä ja äitikin on ollu täällä, minä oon syntynyt täällä

I: joo

S2: niin tuota oli menny sitte mä en tiää mistä se riitta oli kotosin ja ne oli kuitenkin menny kauppaan ja niitten piti sitte saaja niin tuota lampaan lihaa ja ne halus keittää tuommostaa...tuota...kaalikeittoa ja niin ne oli ruvennu määkyyn nii saihan ne sitte ja sitte kananmunia niin ne kotkotti

I: silleenhän se käy

S1: oli niitä hupasia juttuja nuista, mä muistan aina ku pojat puhu sitä että ku sinne kirkanleikille tuli paljon eteläpohjanmaan poikia ja sitte myös keskipohjanmaalta ja kannuksesta oli yks kannas-aulis se oli oikein semmonen ter- temperamenttinen mies, urheilija- urheilijamies ja ne asuvat poikain kanssa sitte samassa asunnossa ja niin ja se oli aina sanonu että voi ku sais oikein hyvät LÄSSKIPERUNAT että pitää mennä kauppaan ja ostamaan ja noo.. (laughs) ja pojat sano että ku se oli niin temperamenttinen ni he ajatteli että antaahan sen nyt mennä kun ei ne hekään yhtään pärjänny ku vasta muutaman viikon vasta ollu kanss ja tää meni kauppaan sitte ja aulis meni sinne tiskille ja siihen aikaan ei ainakaan siinä kaupassa ollu ettei se ollu itsepalvelu ja piti tilata, aulis meni ja löi lonkkaan ja sanoi että ÖH ÖH, ÖH ÖH (laughs) sanoi että kauppias lähti siitä je meni sitte takahuoneeseen ja se viipu kauan, se viipu kauan ja sitte se kuitenkin hyvin totisena ja tuota kysy aulikselta että no saisko olla, suomeks, että saisko olla muuta. (laughs) se oli suomalainen kauppias niin tuota aulis sano että mikset sinä HETI sanonu että sinä puhut suomea, minun piti tulla huonolla englannilla (laughs) englannilla (laughs) että tämmöstä se meikäläisen englantti on (laughs) joo

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S2: ja olihan se yks pariskuntakin menny niitten piti saaja juustoa ja mitä se kananmunia ja eihän se ollu kauppias ymmärtäny niitä ja se vaimo oli sanonu sille miehelle että etkö sää siis... muista

S1: etkö sää siis muista

S2: etkö sää siis muista niin se oli se kauppias niin (..) joo että juustoa

S1: kauppias meni ja se toi juustoa ja meni ja tuota ne sai juustoa ja ja tuli toinen suomalainen vastaan sitte siellä kavulla ja ne sano että TUOSSA KAUPASSA PUHUTAAN SUOMIA (laughs)

I: niin tuli eggs ja cheese... eksää siis muista

S2: eksää siis muista niin niin siinä tulis se **eggs** ja sitten sen **cheese**..eksää siis muista, siinä tuli kumpiki sana, olihan se äitiki ja oliko se riittakin ne oli kotkottanu ku ne oli kananmunia hakenu

S1: tämmöstä se on nitä on paljo semmosia hupasia juttuja

I: kyllä ne kuitenkin kaikki yrittää puhua kaikki englantia ihan samalla tavalla että vaikka ois oma ... se on hyvä asia, se on toisin suomessa että ei suomessa tahota oikein millään puhua

S2: täällä ei sitte vaikka minkälaisella huonolla englannilla ei niin ne ei kyllä naura

S1: niin sitä ne ei tee, kyllä ne on kyllä niin viksuja niin että ei ne naura eikä vaikka ainoastaan oli se justiin se kauppias joka meni sinne takahuoneeseen se joutu nauraan kauan (laughs) ennen ku pysty tulemaan totisena (laughs) joo...

S2: tosiaan sadburissa siellä ei kyllä tarvinnu kyllä joka paikassa oli suomalaisia niin jotka ei tainneet hyvin kieltä niin sai pyytää niitä sitte apuun aina on vaikka hammaslääkäri (...)

S1: kyllä sinäki ku minä olin sinua opettanu ritvan; ritvan sait ja meni lää--meni sairaalaan ritvaa hakemaan ja piti sitte tietää sitte mitä työtä mies tekee ja no eihän tämä osannu sillon vielä paljo englantia justii vähä muutaman sanan ja mutta ei tienny sitä että ku minä olin porari että mi- mi- mikä se on englanniksi ja se pani käet näin TRRR (laughs) äiti, niin sehän oli heti sanonu *nörssi* että se on *trillör trillörmään*

S2: vaikka kuink kyllä tämä opetti mulle sen sanan mutta en mä sitä (...) muistanu enkä joutanukkaan (laughs)

I: no sehän kävi se asia näin, mikäs siinä

S1: käytännössä niitä oppii niitä sanoja yhtäkkiä se ei se tulee se minä muistan aine sen ku oli ensimmäinen joulu meillä ja meillä oli ja mä olin töissä tuolla oli

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töissä kyllä mutta se meni konkurssiin se työmaa ja meillä jäi palakat saamatta ja ne tänä päivänäki saamatta ja tuota sitte ku joulukuusi tuli niin piti sitä jotaki joulukuusi saaja ja joulukuusi ainaki ja mää menin sitte sieltä torilta hakemaan joulukuusta ja tuota ja sainkin ja se oli vähä harva, mutta tuota nätin näköinen mutta harva, viiskytä senttiä makso se joulu-, minun työkaveri, kielinen, tuli siellä vastaan ja tuota se sano sano sitte ku tervehittiin ja sano sitte että *krismas trii enihau*, se jäi minun heti päähäni se jäi heti niin että joulukuusi oli miten oli tahansa (laughs)

I: kuusi kumminkin

S1: siinä oppi tuota ja nuorena kun paremmin jäi päähän mitä kuuli, nyt vanhana entisetki sanat tahtoo unehtua ja hm, ja jos televisio tai joku semmonki olisi nii siinähan sitä oppisi ja siinä se säilyis se kieli paljo paremmin, kyllä mää aika paljon ratioo kuuntelen että tuota että siellä pysyy yllä ja sitten naapurin kanssa aina juttelee, kotona puhutaan ihan suomina ja tuota toisten suomalaisten kanssa

I: onko teidän lasten suomen kieli säilyny

S1,S2: joo kyllä kaikki on (...)

S2: ja niitenki lapset on kyllähän se(..) mutta kuitenkin

S1: mä oon aina kovasti yllyttäny että että pitäis puhua vain kotona suomina

S2: niinkö hellart joka oli meillä lääkärinä nii se puhu seittemää eri kieltä se oli hyvä

S1: ku se puhu suomeekin niin se puhu **VARMASTI** suomina

S2: niin se oli ja siihen ei tullu yhtään mitää ja se vaimonsaki sill oli virolainen vaimokin sitte nin se meni täällä naimisiin niin se opetti vaimonsaki puhuun suomea ja se puhu hyvin suomea vaikka ei sillon vielä alakuaikana ku määkin kävin lääkärissä nii ei se osannu vielä yhtään

S1: no se on niinko suomi ja viro on vähä niinko veljeskieliä ja aika äkkiä oppii, se oli kiva ku oli lääkärissä kerran niin sitten kyllä mää tiesin että heelatti puhuu monia kieliä, se oli italialainen italialainen rouva tuli sinne lääkäriin ja se päästi italiaa niinko (...) ja se ihmisellä se ihmisellä ois vaan hyvä ku osais paljo, monta kieltä kyllä se jollaki tavalla avartaa ihmisen näköaloja kun osaa monta kieltä ... ja sitte toinen että ku yhen tai niinkö ensimmäisen kielen oppii niin toinen niinkö kolomaski kieli se on palijo helpompaa, jollaki tavalla se tietää miten sitä opettelee, niinkö minä olin kuus kuukautta olin italialaisten porukassa töissä ja siinä ei ollu ku yks tuota joka puhu tuotaa englantia mutta tuota myös italiaa ja ku niitä oli niitä apureita niin

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ei auttanu mitään minä menin kysymään että mitä minä sanon nyt sille ku minun pitää sen pitäjä tehdä se ja se

I: niin

S1: niin se sano mulle ja minä sanoin ja kyllä se niin hullulta tuntu ku ei itekkään ymmärrä ja että tuo on ku joku narrattu sana ja kuule heti ku sano nii heti ne ymmärsi (laughs) joo... multaki on jo paljo unohtunut mäki aika paljo ymmärsin monesti ku ne puhumisen aikana puhu nii mäki tiesin mitä ne puhu mutt eihän sitä niinkö seikkaperäisesti tienny mutta tuota ... italian kieli on suomalaiselle heleppoo

I: olihan se jyrkikin käyny italiassa ja se sano että oli se kyllä helppoa

S1: joo siinä on samant tuota aakkoset ku suomessaki että kirjoitetaan ja lausutaan samalla lailla se on heleppo oppii. floridassa on missä ne nuo salmet asuu siellä on yläkerrassa on italialainen pariskunta niin semmosia oikein ystävällisiä, ne asuu montrealissa mutta ne on monesti talavella sitte floridassa niin ne ruukaa niitten kanssa aina sitte toimittaa sitä saattaa muistaa aina joitaki sanoja että , kerran mä olin lentokentällä ja siellä oli italialainen ja sillä tuli vissiin joku pariskunta minä sanoin että siirtolaiseksi tuli ja toiset jotka oli tullu jo aikasemmin ja ne siellä lasin takana ootti ja minäki ootin ku tuli ihmisiä suomesta nii niin mukava sitte ku niitä rupesi sitte niitä lapsia tulemaan nii tuli pampiino ja pampiina ja kyllä se muutenki mutt kun mult on aika paljo unohtunu mä silloin ymmärsin vielä aika paljo kyllähän siit on kakskytviis vuotta aikaa, mukava kuunnella ku ne sano lavli pampiina , pampiina, suomessa kyllä nyt ihmiset osaa aika paljo englantia ku sitä on otettu kouluissa ja opetetaan jo sillo jo siinä vaiheessa ku lapset on hyviä oppimaan

S3: nythänne jo vähä ekaluokallaki opettaa

S1: ne on silloin hyviä oppimaa ja vaikka jos ajattelee että vaikka jos silloin ku meki vaikk ois kuinka ollu välinpitämätön sitä kieltä kohtaan mutta kuitenkin sitä ois pitäny PIKKUSEN opetella niin voi kuinka paljon siitä ois ollu apua, ois, mutta ku ei ollu kuullu mitään muuta ku kokkolassa kävin ku ruotsalaiset sano va va va niin ei oikein ollut ikään muuta kieltä kuullu niin sitte ku tullaan iha, niin se oli ihimellistä kun tuli kaupunkiin, sitä oli siirtolaista niitä oli täällä paljo muitaki nii kaikki puhu vaan englantia ja sitte kun ne rupes oppimaan englantia vähä niin sitte huomasi että hyvä ihme eihän tuo puhukkaan englantia sitte ku aikasa oli täällä ollu niin sitä rupesi eri kielet tuntemaan erilleen ku työmaillaki oli erikielisiä nii tiesi että tuo oli puolalainen ja tuo oli saksalainen

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ja sillai että ties ne kielet erilleen italialainen, onhan niitä semmosia kieleiä mitä on vaikia erottaa toisistaan, espanja ja portugalikin on semmonen ett on vaikia
I: tulitteko te sieltä sudburysta suoraan sitte tänne

S1: joo, tänne me tultiin

S2: kakstoista vuotta täällä, kaks vuotta oltiin *ritsmonhillissä* ja nyt kymmenen vuotta täällä

S1: on me ajettu kuinkahan monta kertaa ois ajettu tuo ainaki kakskolomesattaa kertaa tuo sadburin ja toronton väli, se on niin tuttu väli että aina tietää missä menee ku se on neljäsataa kilometriä tuonne meidän mökille ja se tuntuu aina niin lyhyeltä kun aina tietää mutta ku on tie tuntematon niin se tuntuu aina että se on pitkä mä olin siellä hemlossa töissä olin neljä vuotta ja siellä kulin täältä ja aina sitte vielä joka kerta ku oli kahen viikon loma nii me aina käytiin mökillä kun me silloin oltiin sitä rakentamassa

S2: (...)

S1: niin ja kyllä minä sanon sen että kyllä pohojonen oli kyllä paljon parempi on se, siinä on yks asia se että työmatkat on lyhyitä, kuinka paljon siinä säästää pensassa ja autossa niinkö mullaki oli parhaillaan että viistoista minuuttia oli työmatka ja jos kolome varttituntia oli nii se oli korkeintaan täällähän se on tunti tunti tuota täällä torontossa

S2: ja ilima sitte no nyt tänä kesänäki on sadburissa ollut kuumempi ku täällä , kolomekytäkaheksan oli melekein aina

S1: hildeenikki oli siellä mökillä je ne sano ja kahto ei ollu aurinko ei ollu pitkään aikaan ollu paistanu sinne paikkaan missä se mittari on ni kolokytäkaheksan,

S2 :mutta sehän on semmosta kuivaa se ei oo semmosta kostiaa niinkö täällä

S1: se on niinku supperi se on niinku siinä muistaakseni hyvin lähellä puolta kilometriä korkiammalla ku täällä nii se muuttuu se ilimasto hyvin äkkiä, mää aina kiusaanki täällä torontolaisia että mä lähen *piutiful nort* ja se on kyllä tosi, ootko sä käyny sadburissa

I: oonhan minä mummolan matkoilla siitä ohi kulkenu

S1 justiin jo silloinhan sä oot kulkenu, se ympäristö se kaupunki no nythän se on ollu menny ku (...) rakensi sen pitkän savupiipun niin savut menee kauemmaksi (...) ne kalliothan ne on kaikki niin vihreitä rupeiaa olemaan että se on muuttunu, siinä on hirivän isoja komeita järviä ympärillä joka puolella , ihan lähellä ihan semmosta vähä niinku suomalaista maisemaa vähän vehreempää mitä suomessa on mutta thunder bay on niinkö lähempänä suomalaista

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Asko

I: Kertositko vähän niistä ajoista kun meidän perhe oli täällä?

S: joo, voin mää, erityisesti yks ...tulee mieleen, isäs oli valamistamassa, en mä tiä muistaksä ku teillä oli semmonen pakettiauto, vääni,

I: joo

S: **do you remember**

I: joo

S: isäs oli sitä korjaamasa ja tuota se oli pannu (...) pahvia ja sitte jotaki kohotusainetta mitä (...) joku lapsi oli löytäny takapaihalla ja (laughs) isäs lähti (...) kerranki mä olin tuota mä poikkesin teillä ja mä seurasin siinä isäas siinä hommassa ja (...) kahtelin sitä ja mä sanoin että Harri, miten sä oot aikonu tuon maalata ..joo .. eihän siinä... että ruiskulla, mull on se ruisku nyt, että jaa...(..) mä sanoin että kyllä nyt on Harri, nyt on parasta kö meet rautakauppaan ja ostat sieltä maalia, ulkomaalia, ja pensseli ja hyvä rulla ja sillä maalaat (laughs) ja ni senhä se sitte teki ja (...) sitte seuraavana aamuna te lähitte (...) seuroihin tuonne **stonileikille**...mää lupasin jäädä sitte talonmieheksi, mä tulin sinä iltana teille ja aukasin ovet, ja oli iso pilivi karpäsiä vastassa, siellä oli ovet ollu koko päivä auki (...) karpäsiä joka paikasa, ihan täynä karpäsiä ja sitte ne kanit mitä teillä oli, niitä piti aina vähä väliä vahtia kerranki menin töistä kotia ja menin sinne ja (naurua) kania ei missään näkyny (...)

I: oliko ne karannu vai mita

S: karannu...sitte mä naapurista niitä keräsin

S:tässä kato ...toinenki asia tuli mieleen ku aina ku te olitte kylässä lapset nukahti joka paikkaan, seinän viereen ja aina sai isäs kantaa nitä autoon (...) te tietysti juoksitte ja hyppäsitte koko päivän ja väsyitte'

I: ai jaa

S: täss on tuota, ku ruvetaan kuvia kahtoon, tässä on me asuttiin (...) ja täälä on (...) nuo veet jää sitte aina työnty sinne rannalle..

I: menikö ne aallot tuosta yli..

S: Ei, se oli ihan umpijäässä (...) tässä on nykyestä paikasta ...tästä paikasta me lähetään parin kuukauen päästä...(..) tässä on tuota minneappelissa se oli

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kaheksankymmentääkaks. vuonna (..) suviseurat oli tuola oulunsalossa ja sitte saila oli tullu amerikassa käymään se oli justii joku pitkä viikonloppu, ei se vappuaatto ollu, tämä on elokuun lopulla syyskuun alusa työmiesten päivä ja niinku täällä on syksysin ja sinä viikonloppuna tuola **peace gardens manitoban** ja **northdakoutan** rajalla ja siell on semmonen puisto ja sinne kokoontuu kaikki nuoret ja siell on seurat ja on keskustelua ja tilaisuuksia ja mitä kaikkia ja sinä vuonna mä sitte lähin mä otin pari viikkoo lomaa (..)ja mä lähin kiertään (:) tapasin sailan ei siinä mitään tapahtumia jääny siinä tilanteesa mieleen mutta ...siitä se lähti...tässä me ollaan nuorilla oli kanoottiretki ...me oltiin jo naimisissa ja tuota oltiin tästä pohjoseen pari tuntia **...algonquin park..**

I: ai jaa

S: EKSÄÄ TIÄ MITTÄÄN MAANTIIOSTA, hyvänen aika kanadalainen oot eikä tiä yhttään, sun pittää tutkia tarkkaan kartasta että muistat...tosiaan tämä oli lauantaiamu ja oli oikein komia auringonpaiste (...) mutt sitte seuraavana päivänä sunnuntaina alko sataan kaatamalla...

I: oliko siellä toronton nuoria vai oliko siellä muita

S: iihan vaan toronton nuoria ...siinä on ku me oltiin haapajärvellä Sailan veli se on kunnanjohtajana pulkkilassa

I: iso herra

S: sen poika tullee syyskuussa

I: onko sailalla miten sisaruksia

S: kolome..poikia...se on ainut tyttö...täss on tuota sailan tatin paikasta...haapajärvellä...siinä Sailan isäpuoli

I: ootteko käynneet suomessa sen jälkeen ku muutitte, ku naimisiin menitte

S: kaheksankytkaheksanko me mentiin lasten kanss meillä oli kolme lasta...se oli kesäkuuta, tultiin viikkoo ennen suviseuroja ja (...) tässä saila ja malla kävi yheksänkymmentäyks vuonna (...) sinä on pohjos **michigani** kuparisaaren seuroista en muista vuotta

I: tullee ko paljon reissattua amerikoissa

S: kyllä joka vuosi aina, kyllä me kaäyään **hasscibillä** ainaki kerran tai pari vuoesa

I: leireillä

S: leireillä ja sitte isäntänä... parin viikon päästä meill on leiri ...viime vuonna suviseurat oli tuola lännelä **sasketchewanissa, outlookissa**

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I: järjestääkö ne muuten majotusta noitten isojen seurojen aikana vai pittääkö ottaa asuntovaunu

S: kyll ne järjestää jos ilmottaa sinne kyll ne järjestää...(.) koteihin.. täss on tuo **saskatchewan** river tässä on niinkö korkea rinne, tam on joki tässä..

I: mikä tuon perheen nimi oli

S: se oli...saimonson .täss on sailan veli jaakko (...)

..

S: ja täss on tuota kanadan rajalla amerikan puolella kun mentiin **saskatchewanista** (...) tästä näkyy kuinka syvällä se vesi menee (...)

I: pystyykö tuolla joessa uimaan

S: joo, ja tässä on sitte se poloku tuoss on lapset...(.) se muuttuu joka päivä.. pääjoki on leviämpi (...) keväällä se on korkiammalla... siin on lapset...tässä on sitte sanna ja eemeli ...komioita maisemia preerialla vaikka se on tasasta se on komeeta...näkyy pitkälle, aurinko ku laskee se laskee ihan maan rajassa **thunder bayssa** oltiin yötä sinne on tuhatkuussataa länsipohjoseen

Jaana, Veera, and Verner

S1: täälä jaana sarita puhuu, mä oon kakstoista vuotta ja mä meen seitsemälle luokalle, mä tykkään kissoista...**um**...meiän me- meiän kissain nimi , me-meill on kolme kissaa niien nimit on brauni... **um** lumikki ja musti eikö...**midnight** ja ja mä tykkään mennä kouluun, mä tykkään harjastelusta (giggles) eikö

I: mistä

S1: **art**...**um**...mikä se on

I:se on kuvaamataide

S1 kuvaamataide ja **um**

I: kerroppa sie tästä teiän talosta

S1: meiön talo on iso, se on iso katto ja se on kolme makuuhuonetta, kaks vessaa, keittiö ja .aa.. ruokailuhuone..nytte me istutaan olohuoneessa ja...

I: kerroppa minkälainen huone se on

S1: se on iso huone, kolme ss-, kaks soffaa ja kaks tuolia ja meill' on piano

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kanssa ja mä osaan soittaa kanss um meiän jaa..

I: minkälaista teillä on tuolla ulkona

S1: meill' on iso piha ulkona, me aa aa yks sata ja viisky- yk- yks aa

I: sataviiskymmentä

S1: sataviiskymmentä e- umm.. e- e-

I: eekkeriä

S3: eekkeriä

S1: joo, **i know**, mä tiän ja siell' on paljon peuroja ne ...**am**... keväällä ne mennee siitä yli ja ne nukkuu siellä ja siellä on ollu... elukoita ja... paljon **um**.. eläimiä siellä takapihalla

S2 (whispers): **you 're scared of spiders**

S1: mä pelkään hämähäkkejä

mother: ja mitä muita

S1: ja lepakoita, eilen illalla oli yksi lepakko meiän talossakki, keittiössä

I: mitä te teitte

S1: se meni ulos kö me laitettiin se valo pois keittiöstä ja me laitettiin se ulkovalo päälle, sitte se meni pois ku se tuli sisälle sitten mä äkkiä menin alas ja laitoin mun käjet mun silmiin että mä en nähny (naurua)...ja **ummm**...meill on iso huone ja kuus ihmisistä um kuus meitä nukkuu siellä meill on kaks kerrossänkyä ja minä ja veera nukutaan ykssängyssä..ja alakerran ...eemeli ja sini muuttaa kohta pois

I: minnekkä ne muuttaa

S1: ne menee poikien huoneeseen...ja nytten... nyt meiän vessa ei toimi, alakerran vessa ei toimi (giggles)

mother: jaana!

S1: (giggles) ja meill on kaks vessaa...kellarissa mutta ne...likaset vaatteet siellä homehtuu ku ne on likaset (giggles) **okay** nytten se on veeran vuoro

S2: täällä on veera ja mä oon kymmenen ja.. mä tykkään koulusta ja mä tykkään hevosista ja...**umm umm**

I: kerropa hevosista jotaki

S2: mä tykkään **glidestale**...niissä on paljon **umm** karvaa tässä jaloissa ja umm..kun me mentiin sinne sieniin me nähtiin **glidestales** ja paljon toisia hevosia ja niillä oli kärryjä niiden perässä ja ...en mä tiä...

I: mitä ne teki

S2: ne... ne kattoo kuka oli paras ja ja ...**umm** mä tykkään kirjottaa **umm**

I: mitäs sinä kirjoitat, kirjeitä vai

S2: kirjei- mä kirjoitan kirjeitä suomeen ...ja...**um**.. mä.. tykkään matkoilla

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I: missä te ootte matkustaneet

S2: me on menty **saskatchewan** yks kerta ja me on menty **um michigan paljon kerta** ja me va me varmaan mennään **ottawa** ja ja **umm** nyttten verner voi puhua

S3: kiitos, **okay** täällä on verner kalevi mattila kanadasta puhuu, olohuoneesta, meiän talolla ..ja ...

I: kerro se kettujuttu

S3: ja ja m minä ja aapeli talvella me mentiin luistelemaan ja siellä oli aa yks koira se näy- se näytti niinkö koira mutta enmä tiiä en mä oo varma jos se oli mutta ja me oltiin luistelemassa siinä ja meillä oli **boss** irti me ajateltiin että se oli **boss so** me huettiin sitä nin se tuli puskasta pois ja sitte se- se toinen koira tuli ja sitte me mentiin kotia ja me nähtiin se siellä pellolla taasen ja **um** sitten - meni pois, **so**

I: kerroppas mitä sulle tapahtui tuolla pihalla

S3: kei, pihalla minun mi-- mulla on kipsi nyt se oli valkoinen, nyttten se on sininen

I: mistä sä sait sen

S3: mä sain sen **um** ku... mä pudos puusta **umm** kaks- kolme vii-viikkoa sitte aa sitte aa ömm se oli **um** markus meiän serkku oli täällä, yötä, ja mä menin puuhun tikapuun kanss' ja siinä oli naru, ja, ma kokeilin tulla alas ja mä luiskahin, ja, putosin mun käten, ja se on noin kymmenen jalkaa ylös ja... minun paras eläin on hevonen...**um** ja .. mä haluan aa mennä töihin...hevos **farmille**, se ois hauskaa sitten mä voin ratsastaa siellä pelloilla ja mulla on nyt mopo, mutta ei toimi, ja meiän isi varmaan korjaa sen...se on vaan varmaan korjaa

I: mitä se teiän isi tekkee

S3: meiän isi tekkee ikkunaluukkoja, ei tee, mutta se se vie ikkunaluukkoja amm, kaupolle niinkö **home hardware**...kaikki semmosta ja meill on toinen **suzuki** semmonen aa mopo toinen mitä ei sii oo ei siinä oo **umm** moottoria ja peterillä minun kaveri- öö joonas niitten naapurilla **um**, niitä on, niillä on **suzuki** ja, se on je , eikö se on **kawasaki** ja sen on **sucky cow** me aina sanotaan kö ei se toimi ja millon on millon se ei oo pensaa me aina sanotaan missä se **sucky cow** on, ja sitten je sitten me aina naurataan ja sitten minä ja **georgie** aina mennään sinne ja me aina sanottaan että si on **sucky cow** ei oo yhtään pensaa