A Linguistic Comparison of Three Generations of Finnish-Americans and Finnish-Australians with Special Reference to Linguistic Dominance and Sociolinguistic Variables

Catherine A. Rohlich
University of Joensuu, Finland

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present the initial findings of a study conducted on the oral-reading miscues of three generations of Finnish-American informants and three generations of Finnish-Australian informants. An oral-reading miscue is present when, as defined by Goodman (1969: 19), "…a reader's observed response (OR) differs from the expected response (ER)". The hypothesis of the research is, firstly, that the type and number of oral-reading miscues can indicate the linguistic dominance of each individual immigrant and, secondly, that the linguistic dominance of each generation of immigrants can be inferred from the patterns of miscues found in a reading-aloud exercise. Another goal of this study is to investigate the informants' sociolinguistic backgrounds and the relationship between this background and linguistic dominance. It will be argued that, to some degree, these sociolinguistic factors influence the patterns of linguistic dominance, but that they play a minor role in the overall picture of determining dominance.

In relation to linguistic dominance configurations and domains, this study draws support from the writings of Weinreich (1953/1974), Hamers and Blanc (1989), and van Coetsem (1995). With respect to background material for sociolinguistic factors, I have drawn upon theories presented by Haugen (1972), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and Romaine (2000).

To begin with, I present a brief outline of the emigration patterns of Finns during the 19th and 20th centuries, along with an overview of the socio-political factors that spurred this emigration. Next, the pertinent theories of linguistic dominance are presented, along with the approach used for this study. A brief overview of sociolinguistic factors relevant to immigrant languages is then presented. This section is followed by a description of the informants, the corpus material, the method of analysis and the procedure used in the study. The results are then presented. In the final sections, I present a discussion of the results, followed by conclusions about the linguistic dominance of the Finnish-American and Finnish-Australian informants in this study.

2. Emigration from Finland

Finnish emigration figures for the 19th and 20th centuries are considerably high in relation to the total population of Finland which, during that period, was less than 5 million. Koivukangas (1986: 41) estimates that during these two centuries a total of around 750,000 persons emigrated from Finland. According to the statistics available, about 300,000 persons emigrated to North America, nearly the same number went to Sweden and about 200,000 went to Russia and other areas.

Approximately 300,000 Finns emigrated to North America between the years 1866 and 1930. The rural and agricultural areas of Finland could account for 85% of these migrants, with most of them coming from western Finland. Several factors gave rise to this wave of emigration, one of them being related to the land-ownership traditions that affected countless families. Many of the emigrants from rural backgrounds were siblings who were left without the inheritance of a farm since, traditionally, land inheritance was given to the eldest son. This situation left landless siblings with the prospect of an uncertain future in Finland: at worst, one of poverty and hunger, and at best, one of life-long

subservience to others. As Kolehmainen suggests (1977: 2-3), those siblings who were left without land were not eager to be mere farmhands when just beyond the ocean lay the possibility of owning a farmstead of their own. Another reason for emigration was related to the political situation in Finland. Up until 1917, Finland was a member of the Russian Empire. When conscription into the Russian military forces became obligatory in 1878, many Finns desperately wanted to avoid the possibility of dying for an Empire for which they had neither love nor loyalty. Clearly, this combination of economic and political troubles led to a feeling of restlessness in many Finns.

Although North American was by far the preferred choice for emigrating Finns, Australia was also a favored destination during the early 1900s. In spite of the fact that Finnish migration statistics are not complete or totally reliable, Koivukangas suggests (1986: 41) that the Finnish migration to Australia can be estimated at 5 000 to 6 000 before the Second World War, and around 24 000 since the mid-19th century.

When comparing the groups of Finnish-Americans and Finnish-Australians, one should keep in mind several factors: reasons for migration, single men versus family migration, areas to which the migrants went, and the intended length of stay. Those Finns who migrated to North America, both Canada and the United States, were generally migrating in order to establish a better life for themselves. Generally speaking, they were escaping the economic and political problems that were troubling Finland at the time. Admittedly, some of the Finnish immigrants who set out for North America were enticed by the adventure of the excursion, which was true of most migrants who arrived during the Gold Rush of 1849. However, a great number of the migrants were probably more seriously searching for land and freedom, rather than seeking adventure and wealth. Although it was often single men who initially migrated, they were eager to let their loved ones back home know just how good life was in the New World. Kolehmainen indicates (1977:17-18) that Finns who had settled in America sometimes lured their friends and families to join them by sending money or tickets in order to finance the trip. A great deal of the Finns arriving in North America headed for the areas where they could settle a farmstead or work in the forest or the mines. Although some of the Finnish migrants opted for settling in large cities, the most popular areas of Finnish settlement were small-town communities in the Great Lakes region, Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.

In contrast to the migration flow to North America, the main stream of migration to Australia was undertaken by Finnish males who were probably more interested in seeking adventure than in settling down and beginning a new life. The earliest migrants were mostly single men, generally sailors who had abandoned ship while at port. In fact, according to Koivukangas (1986: 56-59), the first recorded landing of a Finn in Australia was made in 1770, when Herman Dietrich Spöring arrived on the east coast of Australia with Captain James Cook and his crew of sailors and scientists. Besides the Finnish sailors who migrated to Australia, another large group of migrants consisted of young men simply looking for adventure; Koivukangas (1986: 79) points out that two-thirds of the Finnish migrants to Australia were 20 to 30 years old. He stresses the fact that (1986: 80) "[o]verall, the migration to Australia is relatively more dominated by young adults than was the case for North America, where there were more children and more older people." There was, as well, as Koivukangas points out (1986: 98), a trend for some Finnish men to migrate to Australia in groups and, when available, they received assisted travel funds. The hardships of the journey and the length of travel to Australia were considerable barriers to many who contemplated leaving Finland; the young men were usually not accompanied by wives or sweethearts, although some migrants later sent for their fiancées or families. Koivukangas (1986: 75) estimates that in 1921, males made up ninety percent of the Finnish population in Australia. Many of those who migrated to Australia worked in mines, on the railway, or in the opal fields. Clearance of land for sugarcane farming was also one of the main types of work for the Finnish migrants. Reportedly, (Koivukangas 1986: 139) the migrants who returned came back in groups, as they had left, because of the harsh climate, the lack of Finnish women and the fact that they had only originally planned to stay a few years.

Clearly, the choice to head for either North America or Australia was influenced by several factors. To begin with, the journey to North America was shorter and less costly than the trip to Australia. American immigrants were left with more resources than Australian immigrants, simply because there were fewer costs for those going to America. Finnish-Australians were often indebted to family or acquaintances for a lengthy period of time. Only after paying back their debt were these

Australian immigrants finally 'free' to pursue their own road to wealth—or begin saving for their return journey's fare. In addition to the costs of the journey, there were also considerations to be made of what opportunities were available to the immigrant once he arrived. Promises of what lay at the journey's end were often colorful embellishments of the harsh realities. The roads 'paved with gold' in America or the high wages offered in the sugarcane fields in Australia were deceptive incentives for migration. However, whether to choose America or Australia was not always up to the immigrant. It was only after America began closing its doors against immigration with quota acts in the early 1920s that Australia began to open up by providing assisted passages (Koivukangas 1986: 106). This naturally resulted in a preference for migration to Australia, which was strongest between 1921 and 1924. Koivukangas contends (1986: 111) that the Australian immigrants were often "goal-oriented" and set out for Australia in order to save enough money to buy a farm of their own back in Finland. In contrast, the Finns in American seemed intent on establishing roots and farming land of their own in the New World.

3. Theories of linguistic dominance
3.1 Weinreich's approach

Weinreich (1974: 75-80) offers an in-depth discussion of several criteria that could be used to infer the dominant language of an individual. The following are seven criteria which he finds particularly important (1974: 75): "…relative proficiency, mode of use, order of learning and age, usefulness in communication, emotional involvement, function in social advance, and literary-cultural value." Although Weinreich (1974: 79) admits that there may possibly be other variations and even additional criteria that could be considered, he contends that it would be permissible to generalize on the linguistic dominance of an individual by judging these proposed configurations collectively. In fact, this is what we often tend to do when considering the dominant language of an individual.

Weinreich (1974: 74) carefully avoids blanket categorization of a bilingual's dominant language as being equal to her native language, or first language, because he suggests that it is irrelevant (from a structural point of view) which language was learned first. He proposes (1974: 74) that it is enough to know the direction of interference, or "...which language is the source or model and which the recipient or replica, and also whether in a given contact situation, a language can be both a source and a recipient of interference..." The interference phenomena, as Weinreich (1974: 1) defines them, are "[t]hose instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact..." When examining occurrences of interference, the researcher can infer the degree to which, as Weinreich (1974: 75) states it, the "...'dominant' language serves as a source of interference in [the informant's] speech." It is precisely these phenomena, interference, which are analyzed in the present study concerning the story that was read aloud by the Finnish-American and Finnish-Australian informants. The results of the search for miscues, that is, the number of deviations from the expected responses, suggest to the researcher the degree to which the dominant language may be a source of interference.

Weinreich (1974: 79-80) admits that it is an enormous task to correlate each of his proposed seven criteria with types of interference while the other factors are held constant. As a practical solution to this complicated venture, he suggests (1974: 80) that the researcher may decide to treat the dominance configuration as a whole. This would be acceptable, he concedes (1974: 80), if the researcher studies informants with similar configurations and if the researcher constantly takes into account the complex nature of the configurations.

3.2 Hamers and Blanc's approach

Dominance, according to Hamers and Blanc (1989: 8), "...is not equally distributed for all domains and functions of language; each individual has his own dominance configuration." Hamers and Blanc (1989: 9) list a series of six psychological dimensions of bilinguality, which are similar to the seven configurations of dominance criteria proposed by Weinreich (1974: 80). Hamers and Blanc suggest (1989: 9-10) that the psychological dimensions of bilinguality include the following items: competence in both languages, cognitive organization, age of acquisition, presence of an L2 (second

language) community in the environment, relative status of the two languages, and group membership and cultural identity. It is clear that Hamers and Blanc attest to the complexity of the dimensions of a bilingual individual. Note, too, the extensive amount of information that needs to be available to the researcher in order to evaluate the dominance configuration of an individual.

If we were planning to use the table which Hamers and Blanc propose (1989: 9-10) in order to measure and study the bilingual informant, each dimension would have to be thoroughly analyzed and calculated. As was the case with Weinreich's (1974: 80) dominance configuration, these six dimensions of Hamers and Blanc's (1989: 9) are complex, and the researcher does not always have access to the information needed. It is often necessary for the researcher to combine factors and generalize on the basis of the information available. Nevertheless, the researcher should always remember that she is dealing with a complex notion.

3.3 Van Coetsem's approach

As van Coetsem (1995) points out, we must be aware of the fact that linguistic dominance is not a stable state. According to van Coetsem (1995: 81), linguistic dominance, "...being based on language proficiency, is very much subject to variation and change." This change may be evident from the speech of the same individual in different speech contexts. He illustrates this claim (1995: 81) with an observation that is familiar to many bilinguals; a given speaker has language A as a dominant language with certain topics, while language B is dominant in another context. As van Coetsem (1995: 81) points out, Weinreich (1974: 81) observed similar findings in the case of bilingual children who have developed "specialized uses" of a language. School subjects may be more readily discussed in the language of the school as opposed to the language of the home. Changes in linguistic dominance might also occur over time. As examples of this type of change over time, Van Coetsem (1995: 81) suggests that we consider cases of immigrants in the USA who become more fluent in English than in their native language. Therefore, it is important to remember that when we categorize an individual as linguistically dominant in language X, we are specifying a particular situation at a given moment that is, as well, quite possibly subject to change.

Furthermore, van Coetsem (1995) stresses that the dominant language of an individual is not necessarily by definition the same as the source language with regard to the instances of interference in the speech of bilinguals. His observations are remarkably similar to Weinreich's (1974), although van Coetsem describes his proposal in relation to *transfer*. He describes (1995: 63-64) *transfer* as "...transmission of materials or elements from one language to another..." Van Coetsem (1995: 63) proposes two factors which determine the transfer of materials from one language to another: 1) *the agent* and 2) *the stability gradient of language*.

The first of these two factors, the agent, is either the *source language speaker* or the *recipient language speaker*, depending on which of the two languages is the speaker's more dominant language. Van Coetsem (1995: 64) uses the terms *source language* (SL) and *recipient language* (RL) to refer to the contact of two languages within one speaker. In such contacts, materials are transferred from the SL to the RL. According to van Coetsem (1995: 64), "...the concepts of *source* in *SL* and *recipient* in *RL* are by definition and in connection with the direction of the arrow irreversible." (italics original) Van Coetsem (1995: 65) explains that the transfer phenomenon may result in two different types of transfer, depending on the agent of the action, be it the SL speaker or the RL speaker. Note here the similarity to Weinreich's (1974: 74) comment (above) which suggests that it is not necessary to know which language was learned first but that it is enough to know the direction of the interference.

It is in connection with the agentivity that van Coetsem (1995) refers to the linguistic dominance of a speaker. If the SL speaker is the agent, van Coetsem (1995: 65-66) refers to the transfer as *imposition transfer*. He depicts this situation (1995: 66) as <u>SL</u>→RL (SL speaker = agent of the transfer), where the relationship between the SL and the RL is indicated by underlining the dominant member. The other type of transfer is *borrowing transfer*, in which the recipient language is the dominant one and the speaker borrows from the source language. This is depicted by van Coetsem (1995: 66) as SL→<u>RL</u> (RL speaker = agent of the transfer). Accordingly, van Coetsem (1995: 67) concludes that the dominant language of the speaker will indicate the type of transfer and will result in

a different effect on the RL. The agent, either the SL speaker or the RL speaker, is considered the first of two factors that effect the RL.

If we apply van Coetsem's (1995) theory to the present study, we would need to determine the dominant language of the informant before being able to deduce the type of interaction that emerges from the language contact. This would seem impractical in some cases because the linguistic dominance is either not calculable by testing or it is only deducible by an in-depth study of the informant. If, in answer to this problem, a proposal were to be made that the type of interference suggests the dominance, then it would solve this dilemma for the researcher. As we can see from van Coetsem's model (1995), all cases of interference or, as he prefers to regard them—transfer, would be accounted for. Nevertheless, we are left with the problem of determining the dominant language as a presupposition to beginning the research. For this reason I feel it necessary to modify this model for the research on Finnish-American and Finnish-Australian immigrants.

3.4 The approach concerning linguistic dominance adopted for this study

Following van Coetsem (1995: 81), I propose that linguistic dominance is primarily, and for most practical purposes of language research, based on language proficiency. Nevertheless, I suggest that aspects of linguistic dominance proposed by Weinreich (1974: 74-80) and Hamers and Blanc (1989: 8-12) affect, in part, the dominance configuration. Thus, language proficiency can be seen as the main, though not the only, aspect of linguistic dominance. In this study assumptions about the linguistic dominance of informants will be based on their language proficiency.

Keeping in mind the theories concerning linguistic dominance proposed by Weinreich (1974), Hamers and Blanc (1989), and van Coetsem (1995), we can assume that an informant's dominance is not equal in all of the dimensions and functions mentioned above. In addition to this, Weinreich (1974) and Hamers and Blanc (1989) suggest that each individual has her own dominance configuration. If we accept both of these proposals, it is difficult to ascertain how we can expect patterns of conformity within the generations of Finnish-Americans and Finnish-Australians. I propose that, in spite of the individuality of the dominance configuration tabulations, there may be an indicative pattern visible across each generation. If this pattern is unique for each generation, this information could supply the researcher with a clue as to the trends of linguistic dominance for each generation. After careful analysis and comparison, the findings will be categorized according to the assumptions made regarding the linguistic dominance of each generation of Finnish-American and Finnish-Australian immigrants. Following this, I intend to compare one generation with another and attempt to discover a possible shift in linguistic dominance from Finnish to English.

Linguistic dominance, as used in this study, is the state in which one of the languages of a bilingual speaker is interfering with or influencing the other language in a given speech situation. This definition stresses the proficiency configuration more than the other aspects of the configuration. It is also contended that other factors (see above list) , will most likely influence the proficiency to a great extent, but that these factors do not necessarily outweigh the factor of proficiency. Thus, it will be argued that if an informant manifests dominance in language X in the proficiency configuration but does not manifest dominance for language X in the other configurations, nevertheless, the total effect will be that the informant has greater interference from the language that is dominant from the proficiency point of view.

The definition I have chosen to use suggests that, in some situations, language X will be the dominant language, whereas in other situations, language Y may be dominant. Thus, a reference is made to Weinreich's (1974: 75) proposal that suggests that we investigate "...to what extent (other things being equal) the individual's 'dominant' language serves as the source of interference in his speech." This may, of course, vary according to the topic or the situation. In addition to this, we should consider the observation made by van Coetsem (1995: 81) that linguistic dominance is "...very much subject to variation and change…" and, as well, we should be aware of Weinreich's (1974: 81) specialized areas when inferring the linguistic dominance of the bilingual individual. Therefore, the results of the reading-aloud exercise will need to be compared with the speech in the interviews in order to discover if the same trends of miscues (divergence from the norm) are present in both situations.

Unfortunately, the present study does not allow for such an extensive project and this task will have to be left for future research.

As is often true with linguistic studies based on corpora of this size, the numerous factors by which the linguistic dominance for each individual could be measured are not necessarily known. Therefore, I propose that in such cases we could proceed to use 'controlled' methods, such as reading aloud, in order to interpret the linguistic dominance of an informant or group of informants. By using such a restricted form of data, we reduce spontaneous speech to a controlled or 'expected' norm. The reading aloud of a passage is a convenient controlled method in that it is comparatively difficult for the informants to choose any alternative words to use during the performance of such an exercise. Given this, it is more likely that the possible diversions from the expected norm—miscues—may be manifestations of the dominant language of the individual. With this in mind, the concept of dominance becomes more manageable.

4. Sociolinguistic factors relevant to immigrant languages

Countless researchers, among them Haugen (1972), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and Romaine (2000), maintain the importance of investigating social factors in relation to language maintenance. Although there is still wide dispute as to which factors play the more significant roles in the maintenance of language, most experts would probably agree that each particular language contact situation should be investigated with several social factors in mind.

4.1 Haugen's analysis of factors which play a role in language maintenance

Haugen suggests (1972: 336) that we must address the following questions concerning any language under investigation: classification of the language in relation to other languages, who its users are, the domains of use, the degree of bilingualism present, the internal varieties used, the written traditions of the language and their relationship to speech, the degree to which the written form has been standardized, the type of institutional support it has won, the attitudes of its users towards the language (in terms of intimacy and status), and finally, its status in a typology of ecological classification. Needless to say, this is a very formidable task for the linguist. Admittedly, all of Haugen's proposals (1972) are important to consider. Nevertheless, he himself suggests (1972: 331) that "communicative potential" is a significant factor in language choice and quite vital to our understanding of the immigrants' language. The immigrant uses the tools she has available to her. However, in terms of language choice, Haugen argues (1972: 330) that the immigrant uses the tools with the "…expectation (or knowledge) of the interlocutor's linguistic potential." This aspect is vital to our understanding of the changes that the immigrants' language goes through over the three-generation span under investigation in this study.

4.2 Thomason and Kaufman's views on linguistic maintenance and external explanations

In addition to Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) valuable contributions to the field of language contact and, in particular, to the study of creolization and genetic linguistics, they are also concerned with language interference. They support (1988: 4) observations made by Weinreich, Labov and Hymes, and state that they, themselves, are reminding their readers that "…languages are a product of, and a vehicle for, communication among people." This basic premise also includes a fundamental idea that has set them apart from other linguists studying language contact and creolization. This distinction lies in their idea that language change must be considered along with the idea that "…the history of a language is a function of the history of its speaker, and not an independent phenomenon that can be thoroughly studied without reference to the **social context** in which it is embedded." (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 4, emphasis added) Conceding to the acceptance of relevant linguistic factors as factors of change, they nevertheless suggest that (1988: 4) social factors may play a more central role than even those "…linguistic factors such as pattern pressure and markedness…" These repeated references to social context and social influence suggest to the reader that a study of language interference is only

partially complete when the analysis of the language has been made; it is clear that references to social factors relevant to the situation of language change must be made in order to complete the analysis.

In addition to this, Thomason and Kaufman stress (1988: 19) that we must "…rely on social predictors: it is the social context, not the structure of the languages involved, that determines the direction and the degree of interference." The premise from which they work is stated as follows:

> …it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact. Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall. Ultimately, all the proposed structural constraints […] fail because linguistic interference is conditioned in the first instance by social factors, not linguistic ones. Both the direction of interference and the extent of interference are socially determined; so, to a considerable degree, are the kinds of features transferred from one language to another. (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 35)

In the present study, this observation is particularly significant because I contend that social factors such as age, gender, occupation, and education may have some influence on the direction and extent of interference as well as the type of interference.

4.3 Romaine's analysis of sociolinguistic factors which influence language maintenance

According to Romaine (2000: 49), there is evidence that there are "…many bilingual situations which do not last for more than three generations…" This type of situation is all too clear with the language of immigrants to the United States and Australia. It is evident to most linguists that immigrant speakers generally acquire the language of their new homeland and, after one, two, or three generations, their native language faces language shift or even language death within their community. This trend is evident in most cases of immigrants to America and Australia, although a few exceptions have been noted. Romaine points out (2000: 54) that Chinese-Americans living and working in the microclimate of a 'Chinese' environment, such as China-town, tend to retain their language more readily than those who live and work outside of China-town. Similarly, as Romaine puts it (2000: 54), if an immigrant language has a special function, such as German for the Pennsylvanian Dutch in their religious ceremonies, the language will more likely keep a stronghold within the community. Clyne (cited in Romaine 2000: 50) suggests that some immigrant groups clearly retain their language, as can be seen in the case of Greek-Australians and their more profuse use of Greek rather than English. Admittedly, some groups will retain their immigrant language even in the face of overwhelming pressures to conform to the dominant language. Nevertheless, most immigrant groups fall into the category of those who, for one reason or another, have lost their native tongue by the third generation.

Romaine (2000: 82) defines sociolinguistic patterns as "…regular, recurrent correlations between language and external factors such as social class, style, age, [and] sex." The clue to analyzing such correlations may be found, Romaine (2000: 83) suggests, by identifying the "…relationship between linguistic variables and society." She points out that several variables have already been identified:

> …'indicators', which show regular distribution over socio-economic, ethnic, or age groups, but are used by each individual more or less in the same way in any context; 'stereotypes', socially marked forms stereotyped by society such as Brooklyn 'toity toid' and 'terlet', which may or may not conform to any objective reality; and 'markers', such as *(ing)*, which are stable reflectors of social class and style. (Romaine 2000: 83)

These three variables, indicators, stereotypes, and markers have often been correlated with groups of social classes, sometimes without realization of the possibilities of variation with the groups. Romaine suggests (2000: 83) a more broad-minded approach, which would begin with individual informants and

continue with investigation of the patterns of speech. She contends (2000: 83) that the emphasis might then be put on the "…nature of contact and networks in a society." Such an approach would take into account, she argues, the significant influence that our interlocutors have on our speech.

4.3.1 Gender

Numerous researchers have examined the question of gender influence with respect to language maintenance or language loss. Romaine states that (2000: 78) "[a] number of sociolinguistic studies have found that women tend to use higher-status variants more frequently than men." On the basis of this observation, women, rather than men, would more likely use the dominant language of a society. At the same time, Romaine contends that (2000: 148) women and men may have quite differing roles in a community and that this could lead to earlier acquisition of the dominant language by either one group or another. She cites (2000: 148) the case of Norwegian first-generation immigrants in the United States in which the men acquired English more readily than the women. This was, Romaine claims (2000: 148), rectified by the second generation. Thus, we can see that there are complications in trying to draw simple conclusions from the relationship between gender and language; the complexities of each situation must be taken into consideration.

4.3.2 Education

In many ways, obligatory formal education contributes to establishing linguistic standards and norms of speech. In order to be successful in school, students must conform to prescribed, standardized norms. School systems decide not only the language declared as the norm for education, but the form of language that is acceptable. Standard and non-standard forms of speech compete with each other in the school environment and there is often a certain resistance by some students to the norms of language set by the school system.

Many educational systems have witnessed conflicts when dealing with immigrants and their language diversities and there are countless cases where problems have arisen when the language in the school differed from the language at home. Due to an ever-increasing trend of migration, many societies have become more multicultural and, at the same time, multilingual. Nevertheless, teachers often demand that students leave their home language at home and adopt the school language when in school. In the following, Romaine points out the severity of retribution used in some cases for speaking a minority language:

> It was not too long ago that minority children in countries like Australia, the United States, Britain, and Sweden were subjected to physical violence in school simply for speaking their home language. Some Finnish schoolchildren in the Tornedal area of Sweden had to carry heavy logs on their shoulders or wear a stiff collar because they had spoken Finnish. In other parts of Sweden, like Norrbotten, there were workhouses which poor children attended, earning their keep by doing most of the daily domestic work. When one of the children spoke Finnish, they were all lined up and had their ears boxed one by one. In Wales, a child caught speaking Welsh at school had to wear a wooden sign (the so-called Welsh 'not') around his or her neck. (Romaine 2000: 209)

While extreme cases such as these have abated in many democratic countries, a considerable amount of intolerance still abides in many of these areas. Romaine suggests (2000: 209-210) that some countries cite "national unity" as an argument for linguistic conformity. Admittedly, there are no simple answers to the question of bilingual education. What remains to be seen is the extent to which minority languages will be condoned, or even supported, within the sphere of education.

4.3.3 Social class and social networks

As Romaine points out (2000: 64), we have been aware of the relationship between social class and differences in language for many decades. During the 1950s and the 1960s, extensive sociolinguistic research was conducted in regional areas and in urban centers. Social stratification, increased by the rise of urbanization, Romaine says (2000: 65-66), was evident in language usage among the various social classes. The rise of urbanization led to complex sociolinguistic outcomes, simply because, as Romaine suggests (2000: 66), both linguistic diversity and linguistic uniformity were promoted. Immigrant migration to the cities, based on the needs of employment and a search for social contacts, brought with it a diverse population with diverse linguistic facilities. Romaine cites (2000: 66) the interesting fact that Melbourne is now the city with the largest collection of Greek speakers in the world. Although this diversity is evident in cities such as Melbourne and London, multilingual urban centers also had standardizing effects on the immigrants' languages. This interplay of diversity and uniformity can be seen in many urban areas with large populations of immigrants. Modern urban life may expose an individual to a variety of cultural backgrounds, as well as a variety of linguistic backgrounds. Nonetheless, the need for communication skills which are successful tends to pressure the urban immigrant to, as Romaine puts it (2000: 66), "…discard marked dialect forms as part of the process of accommodation to urban speech ways."

In addition, Romaine suggests (2000: 83) that the class-based approach to language variation studies has been reevaluated because of the realization that not all speakers can be grouped into social classes that are stable. This reevaluation gave rise to investigations into 'social networks', which are networks of contact which, according to Romaine (2000: 84), "…cut across social class boundaries and …may also reveal differences within social class." A study done in Belfast, Northern Ireland (see Romaine 2000: 84-85) has shown that two women, whose living conditions and employment conditions were very similar, nevertheless had quite different linguistic habits. The explanation for this discrepancy lies in the differences in the socializing patterns of these women. The woman who had more local networks also had more non-standard speech, whereas the woman who had very little local contact used more standard speech. The use of network ties in relation to linguistic patterns should be kept in mind when investigating immigrants' speech patterns, precisely because it may be of importance when examining the linguistic patterns of both male and female immigrants of all ages.

4.3.4 Age

Romaine suggests (2000: 83) that in some communities, "…sociolinguistics patterns are acquired quite early…" She cites the case of Scottish schoolchildren (2000: 82 and 124-125) who are using certain variables and are quite conscious of the social significance of their choice of language. These children learn the prescriptive forms of 'proper and acceptable' language and they may be very sensitive to the situations in which these forms should be used. Clearly the need for young children and young adults to be accepted by peers has some influence on the linguistic forms used by children and young adults. Romaine (2000: 125) points out that peer pressure to use language acceptable to the 'in' group's style of speaking may be very strong and, at times, may conflict with the norms suggested by family and school. Consequently, many young people develop several codes of communication: one for use among peer, one for home and with family, and one for school with teachers. Romaine claims (2000: 126) that this clearly indicates how affinity with certain groups may have an influence on the linguistic choices which a speaker makes.

Clearly, age is a significant factor in language choice and language use. Identification with a peer group will most likely effect the speaker's choice of language, but there may be other factors, such as innovation or preservation, which influence the speaker as well. Romaine suggests (2000: 151) that "…'age–grading' (i.e. variation in relation to age) may reflect a passing fad […] or simply be repeated anew in each generation […] or may represent change in progress." Whether the speech variations of various age groups are temporary or whether they indicate long-lasting changes in progress may be evident only after several generations.

Romaine also suggests (2000:241) that "…one goal of sociolinguistics would be to explain patterns of variation in language by identifying some social force(s) or agent(s) which caused them."

Nevertheless, she contends (2000: 242) that we cannot equate scientific laws with social factors in terms of cause and effect relationships. She stresses (2000: 242) that an individual sometimes makes a linguistic choice because of social factors but sometimes the choice is made in spite of these factors. One important point to be remembered, she argues (2000: 242), is that linguistic choices are based on the "…desire to be understood." This, quite surely, is one of the main aims of communication.

5. Materials and methodology
5.1 Description of informants

The informants of the present study are representatives of three generations of Finnish-Americans residing in and around Duluth, Minnesota and representatives of three generations of Finnish-Australians residing in Brisbane, Melbourne, Canberra, and nearby areas in Australia. Although some of the informants have lived in other areas of their respective countries, it is quite likely that this has no bearing on this study. As indicated in research by Pietilä (1983) and Lauttamus (1991), Finnish-speaking groups can be used for research purposes as being representative of certain types of Finns who immigrated. The pools of immigrants investigated in this study are probably not linguistically unique, but are most likely homogenous linguistic groups which represent the Finnish immigrants as a whole. However, it would be necessary to make more detailed investigations that could support this supposition.

5.2 Finnish-American informants

Information from twenty-five Finnish-American informants will be analyzed. I will use data from ten informants from both the first and second generation, and five from the third generation. The first generation is classified as such if they were born in Finland and then emigrated to the United States after reaching the age of sixteen. The term 'second generation' refers to children of the first generation who were born in America or who emigrated to America before the age of twelve. The third generation is defined as children of second-generation Finns. Following the need to be as neutral as possible when choosing from the available informants, I attempted to choose an even ratio of male and female informants from each generation. Because of the data available, it was necessary to use six males and four females for both the first and second generations. There were three female informants and two male informants in the third generation. Among these informants are representatives from various occupations, including such diverse groups as farmers, medical assistants, plumbers and teachers. Most informants were married.

The age difference between the youngest informant and the oldest informant of the first-generation Finnish-American group is twenty-four years and the average age of the first-generation informants at the beginning of the interview time was 66.7 years old. Their education is rather similar; most of them attended a school in Finland that is roughly equivalent to the American elementary school. In addition to this, half of them had some extra training or further education at higher levels.

The age range in the second generation is 71 years, which is 47 years more than the range in the first generation. The average age of the informants at the beginning of the interview time was 75.8 years old. It should be noted that there was one informant who was 99 and one who was 28; however, the others ranged from 62 to 88 years old. These informants all attended some form of elementary school, and more than half of them attended some grades of high school or other type of further education. Five of these informants had schooling beyond high school.

The age range in the third generation is twenty-three years, roughly similar to that of the first generation. The average age of these informants is 66.4 years old. Because these informants were all schooled in the United States educational system, they had all attended elementary school and high school within the system and two of the five have a university degree.

5.3 Finnish-Australian informants

With the Australian corpus, it was possible to examine information from ten informants from each of the three generations represented in the corpus. These groups are slightly differently defined than the

three generations of Finnish-Americans. According to Watson (personal interview), the 1A group consists of those Finns who were 18 years or older upon arrival to Australia. The 1B group is made up of the children of this 1A group, and of those who were born in Finland but migrated to Australia before the age of 12. The 2nd generation consists of those who were born in Australia of Finnish-immigrant parents. Although this slight difference may be of significance in some studies, it seems to be negligible in this study. For convenience, I will refer to these groups as first-, second- and third-generation. I was able to use an even number of informants of both genders in the analysis of the Finnish-Australians.

The age range of the first-generation informants of Finnish-Australians is sixteen years, with the average age being 63.4 years old. All of these informants attended the basic elementary school in Finland and five of them continued their education at a higher level, either high school or business college. Only one of them has a university degree; the degree is from an Australian university.

The age range of the second-generation informants is 25 years, with an average age of 63.4 years. Six of the ten second-generation informants have a university-level education, three of them have at least 10 years of schooling along with some technical training, and only one has no training beyond high school.

The third-generation informants have an average age of 33.7 years, with an age range of 33 years. Generally speaking, this group is more highly educated than the other groups. They have been educated in the Australian school system and all have had some education beyond the high school level, most of them were students of a university or graduates of a university.

5.4 Corpus material
5.4.1 The Finnish-American corpus

The material to be used for the American part of this study is a small section taken from an extensive Finnish-American corpus which was compiled between 1988 and 2001 by Professor Pekka Hirvonen of the University of Joensuu and Professor Michael Linn of the University of Minnesota, Duluth. They conducted interviews from representatives of three generations of Finnish-Americans residing in and around Duluth, Minnesota. The section used from the interviews was the typewritten story (see below) which was read aloud by the informant in English. Hirvonen and Linn modified the story from an original text that Labov used for dialect research. The miscues of each informant will be calculated according to the following grammatical categories: auxiliary phrases, articles, and the plural 's'. This choice is based on indications from several researchers (e.g. Chesterman 1991 Påhlsson 1983, Ringbom 1978, Sajavaara 1983) who suggest that these categories are all somewhat problematic for Finnish speakers. Note that although the test items are highlighted below, they were not highlighted in the interview. The story, as taken from Hirvonen and Linn, is as follows:

Text Used for Oral Reading in the Finnish-American Corpus

When I was nine or ten, my *friends* and I *would play* over at my house. I remember Henry's big feet and *a* boy named Billy. He had no neck, or at least none to look at. He was *a* funny kid, all right.

We always had chocolate milk and coffee cake around four o'clock at our house. My dog was always *a* lot of trouble. He jumped all over us when he saw *the* coffee cake. We called him Hungry Sam.

We *used to play* kick-*the*-can. One man is "it". You run past him as fast as you *can*, and you kick *a* tin can so he *can't tag* you. Sammy, our dog, *used to grab the* can and run down *the* street. We*'d chase* him on both *sides* with *a* baseball bat and yell, "Bad Boy! Bad! Bad!". But he was faster. Only my aunt *could catch* him. She taught him *tricks*, too: She made him ask for *a* glass of milk and jump into *a* paper bag.

I remember where he was hit by *a* car, fifteen feet from our corner. He ran out of *the* yard, into *the* street, and *a* car hit him. We

didn't feel like playing ball or *cards* all morning. We *didn't know* we loved him so much until he was hurt.

There's something strange about this—how I remember everything he did: this thing, that thing, and *the* other thing. He *used to carry* three *newspapers* in his mouth at *the* same time. I suppose it's *the* same thing with most of us: Your first dog is like your first girl. She's *a* lot of trouble, but you *can't seem* to forget her.

It should be noted that the text itself is not very challenging as a reading-aloud exercise. Just prior to this exercise, the informants read aloud a series of words; the problems of that reading appeared to be phonological rather than reading-miscue problems. The method used for examining the material made it possible to obtain rather detailed results. There are a total of 282 words in the text, with the total number of tested areas being thirty-five. There are 5 instances of plural 's', 11 auxiliaries, and 19 articles (9 'the' and 10 'a'). These thirty-five areas are examined for miscues involving omissions, substitutions, and insertions. This range of possible miscues offers a wide scope for research despite the fact that the story itself is not longer than one page.

5.4.2 The Finnish-Australian corpus

In 1994, Dr Gregory Watson of the University of Joensuu, Finland compiled the Finnish-Australian English corpus (FAEC). This corpus is approximately 1.2 million words and includes a total of 120 informants representing three groups of Finnish-Australians. I have chosen to use information from ten informants of each group. This corpus also included a story which, during each interview, was read aloud by the informant. Analysis of this section will be made and miscues will be calculated according to the same categories as those of the Finnish-American story: articles, auxiliaries (excluding passive auxiliaries), and the plural 's'. The items are italicized in the story for easy reference for the reader.

Text used for Oral Reading in the Finnish-Australian Corpus
The little girl and *the* wolf.

One afternoon *a* big wolf waited in *a* dark forest for *a* little girl to come along carrying *a* basket of food to her grandmother. Finally, *a* little girl *did come along* and she was carrying *a* basket of food. "Are you carrying that basket to your grandmother?" asked *the* wolf. *The* little girl said yes she was. So *the* wolf asked her where her grandmother lived and *the* little girl told him and he disappeared into *the* wood.

When *the* little girl opened *the* door of her grandmother's house she saw that there was somebody in bed with *a* nightcap and nightgown on. She *had approached* no nearer than twenty-five feet from *the* bed when she saw that it was not her grandmother but *the* wolf, for even in *a* nightcap *a* wolf *does not look* any more like your grandmother than *the* Queen of England looks like Madonna. So *the* little girl took an automatic out of her basket and shot *the* wolf dead.

Moral: It is not so easy to fool little *girls* nowadays as it *used to be.*

It should be noted that this text is somewhat shorter than the text used for the Finnish-American informants. The total number of words is 188 and the number of tested areas is twenty-eight. Twenty-three articles, 14 'the' and 9 'a', one plural 's' and 4 auxiliaries are tested.

5.4.3 Method used for analysis

The method to be used for analyzing the data will be to calculate the miscues from an oral-reading exercise and, on the basis of these miscues, attempt to discover possible patterns for individual informants and for the three Finnish-American and Finnish-Australian generations. Goodman (1969:

19) states that a miscue is present where "…a reader's observed response (OR) differs from the expected response (ER)". In other words, anything that is written in the text should be produced in an oral reading and anything that is not in the text should be left out. Goodman found that oral reading has, in almost all cases, miscues. Goodman's model (1969), modified by Cambourne (1976-1977: 605-635), is as follows:

MISCUES
1. Insertions	Items added to those already in the text
2. Omissions	Items deleted from those which appear in the text
3. Substitutions	An item is substituted for one in the text
4. Reversals	The relative position of a text item is altered
5. Regression	A portion of the text is repeated

The first three items (insertions, omissions, and substitutions) will be used in this study but the reversals and the regression items will be omitted because these two categories are a more complex form of miscue and they seem to be of little use in relation to linguistic dominance. In these corpora, I will concentrate on the areas of grammar that are challenging for Finnish speakers. As many researchers have indicated (e.g. Ringbom 1978, Påhlsson 1983, Sajavaara 1983, and Chesterman 1991), auxiliaries, articles and the plural 's' are all somewhat problematic for Finnish speakers of English. Many experts, among them Sajavaara (1983: 72-87) and Chesterman (1991: 90-109), have pointed out particular problems that Finnish speakers have with these grammatical categories. Following are examples of the three types of miscues researched in this study:

Examples of Miscues (taken from the Finnish-American study)
Insertions (within an auxiliary phrase)
Expected Response   ...and you kick a tin can so he can't tag you.
Observed Response   ...and you kick a tin can so he can't **to** tag you.
Omissions (with the plural 's')
Expected Response   He used to carry three newspapers in his mouth...
Observed Response   He used to carry three newspaperθ in his mouth...
Substitutions (with articles.)
Expected Response   …chase him on both sides with a baseball bat...
Observed Response   …chase him on both sides with **the** baseball bat...

Examples of Miscues (taken from the Finnish-Australian study)
Insertions (with articles)
Expected Response   …the Queen of England….
Observed Response   …the Queen of **the** England…
Omissions   (with plural 's')
Expected Response   …so easy to fool little girls nowadays…
Observed Response   …so easy to fool little girlθ nowadays…
Substitutions (with an auxiliary phrase)
Expected Response   …finally a little girl did come along…
Observed Response   …finally a little girl **came** along…

The reading-aloud exercise of each first-generation informant will be analyzed for miscues and, following this, a collective count for that generation will be made. This will then be repeated for the second and third generations.

6. Results

The results of the oral-reading miscues of both the Finnish-American informants and the Finnish-Australian informants were tabulated according to the number of miscues and a calculation of the percentage of informants with miscues. The statistical significance of several combinations of

differences among the generations in the distribution of miscues was tested by means of a chi-square test. The significance levels used were the standard levels: .05 (*) = probably significant, .01 (**) = significant, and .001 (***)= highly significant (see, e.g. Hatch and Farhady 1982: 165-173).

6.1 Results of the Finnish-American informants

The following tables (Tables 1, 2, and 3) present the total number of miscues per informant and per generation of the Finnish-American informants.

Table 1. Miscues of the First-Generation Finnish-American Informants

Informant	Auxiliaries	Articles	Plural 's'	Total
AKG1F01	1	9	0	10
ALG1F02	1	9	0	10
IMG1F03	1	5	0	6
TOG1F04	3	8	3	14
MLRG1F05	1	3	0	4
EJG1F09	0	2	0	2
AKG1M02	1	4	0	5
SKG1M03	0	0	1	1
KLG1M05	1	1	1	3
ARG1M06	0	4	0	4
10 informants	9 miscues	45 miscues	5 miscues	59 miscues

The first-generation Finnish-American informants had a total of 59 miscues in the areas tested. There were 9 auxiliary miscues, 45 article miscues, and 5 plural 's' miscues. All 10 of the informants had at least one miscue and half of the informants had five or more miscues in total.

Table 2. Miscues of the Second-Generation Finnish-American Informants

Informant	Auxiliaries	Articles	Plural 's'	Total
EEG2F01	0	0	0	0
HHG2F02	0	1	0	1
MLKG2F03	0	0	0	0
JKG2F04	0	0	0	0
ELG2F06	0	0	0	0
SSG2F07	0	0	0	0
DWG2MO5	0	0	0	0
MKG2M08	0	0	0	0
ALG2M09	0	0	0	0
LEG2M10	0	0	0	0
10 informants	0 miscues	1 miscue	0 miscues	1 miscue

There was only one miscue, an article miscue, from the second generation in the areas tested.

Table 3. Miscues of the Third-Generation Finnish-American Informants

Informant	Auxiliaries	Articles	Plural 's'	Total
ALG3F04	0	0	0	0
AMG3F05	0	1	0	1
ASG3F08	0	0	0	0
MMG3M05	0	0	0	0
CJG3M10	0	1	0	1
5 informants	0 miscues	2 miscues	0 miscues	2 miscues

In the areas tested, the total number of miscues from the third generation is two, both of them article miscues. They are from two separate informants.

The results show that the first-generation informants had four omissions and five substitutions with auxiliaries. Altogether, 7 of the 10 first-generation informants had miscues in the auxiliary area. The second-generation and third-generation informants had no miscues in the auxiliary category. The first-generation informants had 45 article miscues, the second generation had 1 article miscue, and the third generation had two article miscues. Three of the 10 informants of the first generation had miscues for the plural 's' and the second and third generations had no miscues with the plural 's'.

The following figure (Fig. 1) depicts the total number of miscues per generation in numerical form.
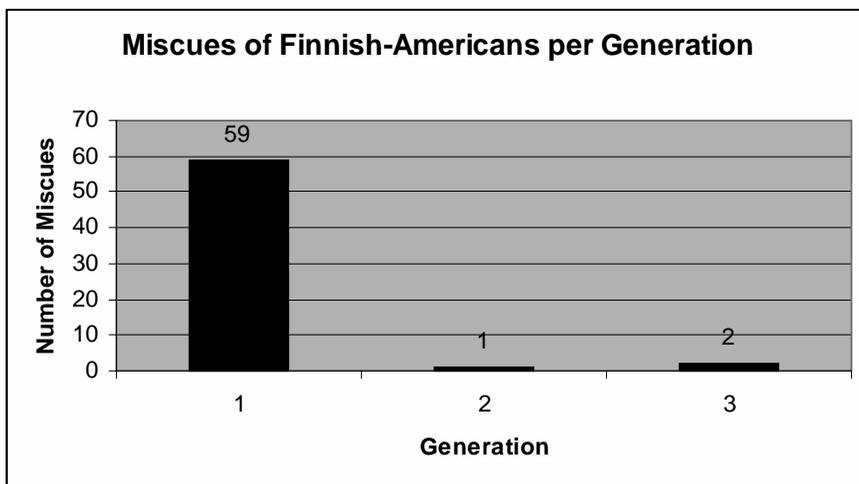
Fig. 1 Miscues of Finnish-Americans per Generation

The first generation of Finnish-Americans had a total of 59 miscues in the grammatical areas tested; 45 of these miscues were article miscues. All 10 of the informants had at least one miscue and half of the informants had five or more miscues in total. There was only one miscue from the second-generation informants for the areas tested and this was an article miscue. There were two miscues from the third generation, both being article miscues.

The percentage of Finnish-American informants with miscues is shown in Figure 2, below.
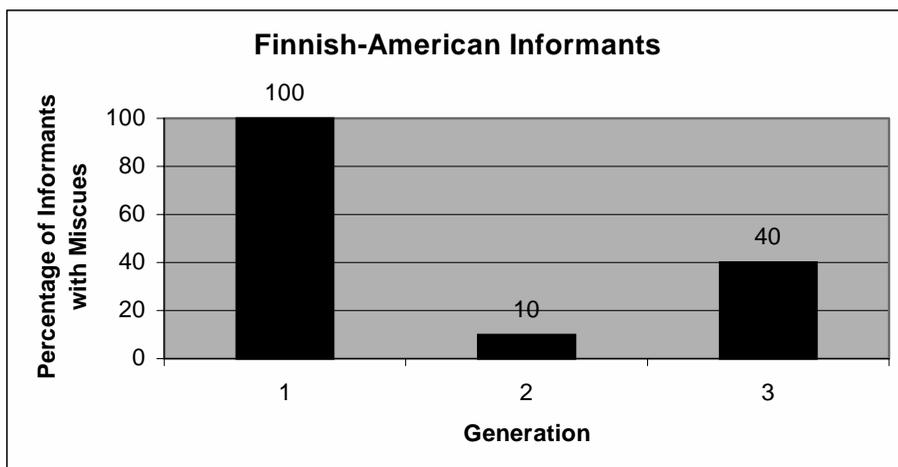
Fig. 2 Percentage of Finnish-American informants with miscues

All ten of the first-generation Finnish-American informants had miscues in the areas tested. The number of miscues ranged from 1 to 14, and half of the informants had five or more miscues. Only one of the ten second-generation informants had a miscue and two of the five third-generation informants had a miscue.

When the first-generation Finnish-American informants' results were tabulated according to gender, there were 46 miscues by women and 13 by men. There is a significant difference between the number of miscues by males and the number of miscues by females. There is no definite pattern that emerges within the first generation in terms of the number of miscues according to education. Some of the more educated first-generation informants had more miscues than informants of the same generation who had received a lower form of education. The social networks of the first-generation informants are superficially rather similar, yet, on the basis of this investigation, no strong deductions can be made concerning the relationship between social networks and language use. Six of the ten informants were, at the time of the interview, married to Finnish-Americans. This, in combination with the tendency of this generation to attend activities sponsored by the Finnish clubs, tends to suggest that many informants of this generation conducted a fair amount of social networking with Finnish-speaking people. Nevertheless, more in-depth investigation should be made regarding this aspect. When the informants' miscues were tabulated in descending order according to age, no evident pattern emerged. Although the eldest informant of the first generation did have the highest number of miscues, there was no other indication of age being related to the number of miscues.

The second- and third-generation Finnish-American informants had so few miscues in the categories tested that no generalizations can be made concerning results within the generation groups. The results of these two groups and the first generation will be compared and discussed in section seven.

6.2 Results of the Finnish-Australian informants

The results of the miscues from the Finnish-Australian informants have been tabulated in the same manner as above. Tables 4, 5, and 6 (below) show the miscues from each informant for each generation.

Table 4. Miscues of the First-Generation Finnish-Australian Informants

Informant	Auxiliaries	Articles	Plural 's'	Total
1A15M	1	7	1	9
1A2M	1	12	0	13
1A5M	1	4	0	5
1A7M	0	6	1	7
1A43M	0	9	0	9
1A1F	0	2	0	2
1A3F	0	7	0	7
1A8F	1	3	1	5
1A11F	0	3	0	3
1A33F	0	3	0	3
10 informants	4 miscues	56 miscues	3 miscues	63 miscues

The first-generation Finnish-Australian informants had 63 miscues in the areas tested. There were 4 auxiliary miscues and 3 plural 's' miscues. Article miscues accounted for 56 of the miscues. There were at least two miscues from each informant and seven of the informants had five or more miscues.

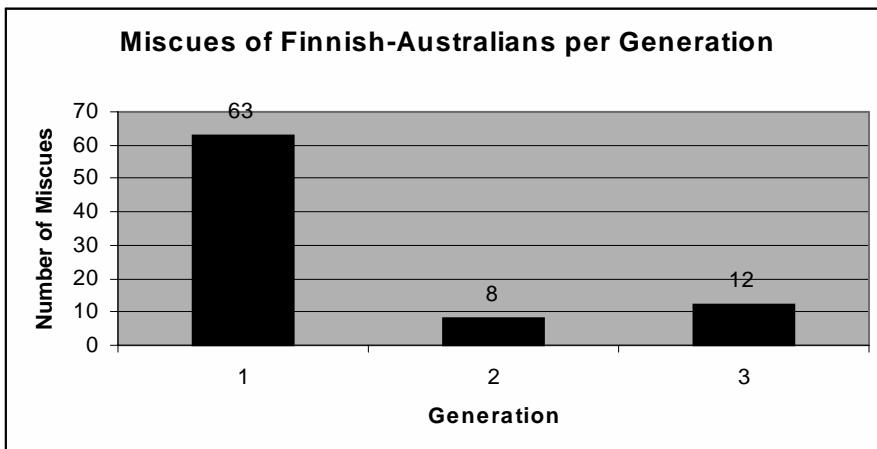**Table 5. Miscues of the Second-Generation Finnish-Australian Informants**

Informant	Auxiliaries	Articles	Plural 's'	Total
1B21F	0	0	0	0
1B9F	0	1	0	1
1B24M	0	1	0	1
1B15F	0	0	0	0
1B30F	0	0	0	0
1B18M	0	1	1	2
1B8F	0	0	0	0
1B16M	1	0	0	1
1B2M	0	1	0	1
1B14M	0	2	0	2
10 informants	1 miscue	6 miscues	1 miscue	8 miscues

The second-generation Finnish-Australian informants had 8 miscues in the areas tested. There was one auxiliary miscue and one plural 's' miscue. Six of the eight miscues were article miscues. Six of the ten informants had one or more miscue.

Table 6. Miscues of the Third-Generation Finnish-Australian Informants

| Informant	Auxiliaries	Articles	Plural 's'	Total
2F1AK	0	0	0	0
2F2AJ	0	0	0	0
2F3TV	1	1	0	2
2F4HA	0	3	0	3
2F5MO	0	0	0	0
2M1PA	0	4	0	4
2M2EI	1	0	0	1
2M3WS	0	0	0	0
2M4TL	0	1	0	1
2M5AR	0	1	0	1
10 informants	2 miscue	10 miscues	0 miscue	12 miscues

The third-generation Finnish-Australian informants had 12 miscues in the areas tested. Two of the miscues were auxiliary miscues and ten were article miscues. Six of the ten informants had miscues. The following figure (Figure 3) represents the miscues of Finnish-Australians by generation

.   **Fig. 3 Miscues of Finnish-Australians per Generation**

The first generation of Finnish-Australians had 63 miscues in the areas tested. A total of 56 of these miscues were article miscues. The second-generation informants had 8 miscues, 6 of which were article miscues. The third-generation informants had 12 miscues, 10 of which were article miscues.

The following figure (Figure 4) represents the percentage of Finnish-Australian informants with miscues.

Finnish-Australian Informants
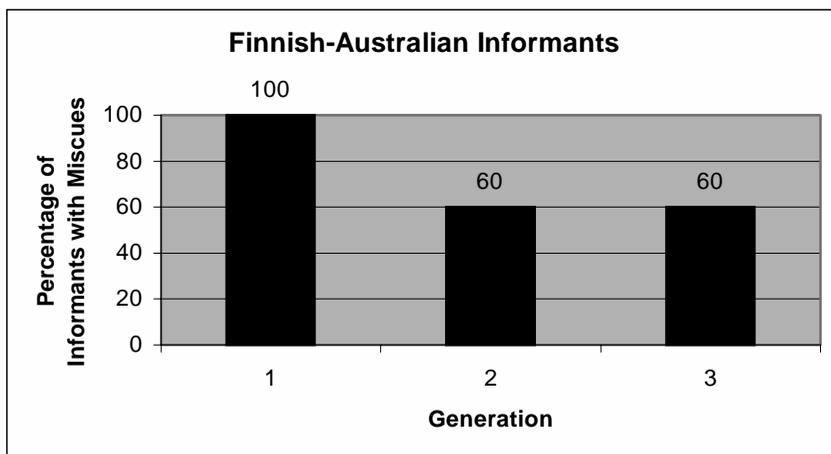
Fig. 4 Percentage of Finnish-Australian informants with miscues

All ten of the first-generation Finnish-Australian informants had miscues. The number of miscues ranged from 3 to 13, with seven of the informants having five or more miscues. Six of the ten second-generation informants had either one or two miscues. The third-generation informants had a range of one to four miscues, with six informants having miscues in the areas tested.

When the first-generation Finnish-Australian informants' results were counted according to gender, there were 20 miscues by women and 43 by men. There is a significant difference between the number of miscues by males and the number of miscues by females. The result is opposite that of the first-generation Finnish-Americans, where there were more miscues by females. In terms of patterns of miscues according to education, as in the Finnish-American corpus, no patterns arose within the first-generation Finnish-Australian informants. In terms of social networks, five of the first-generation Finnish-Australian informants claim that they use Finnish about half the time during a normal week and one informant says that Finnish is used 60% of the time. Three of the first-generation informants claim that they use English predominantly and one informant says that she uses Finnish predominantly. When these combinations were investigated according to the number of miscues, no patterns emerged. In fact, those informants who claimed that they use English predominantly had two of the highest scores of miscues. As was the case with the first-generation Finnish-American informants, the first-generation Finnish-Australian informants showed no pattern when the informants' miscues were tabulated in descending order according to age.

The second-generation Finnish-Australian male informants had seven miscues, while there was only one miscue by a female. The difference between the number of miscues by males and the number of miscues by females is not significant. The informants of this generation all have a very similar educational background and no patterns within the generation emerged in regard to education. Although all of the informants claim that they use Finnish with their parents and two of them claimed to have used Finnish to their own children when the children were very young, they all claim that in a typical week they mostly use English. No evident patterns emerged when considering these informants' social networks. There were also no patterns that formed when the miscues were counted according to age.

The third-generation Finnish-Australian informants had 12 miscues, 7 from male informants and 5 from female informants. The difference according to gender is not significant. In addition to this, there were no evident patterns when the miscues were tabulated according to age.

7. Discussion

In my initial analysis of the oral-reading miscues of three generations of Finnish-English informants, I applied three sections of Cambourne's (1976-1977: 621) proposals based on Goodman's (1969) categories of miscues. Goodman found that, in almost all circumstances, oral reading has miscues. This was also evident in the present study, as almost all readings that I analyzed had miscues to some extent. Nevertheless, the interesting fact in this study was the *number* and *type* of miscues that were produced. I had suspected that the oral-reading miscues found in the performance of three generations of Finnish-American informants and Finnish-Australian informants would reflect their dominant language. For that reason, I wanted to concentrate on some aspects of language that would be of interest in Finnish-English language-contact situations. Investigation of the use of auxiliaries, articles, and the plural 's' proved to be of value because of the differences between Finnish and English in all of these grammatical areas. As was expected, the articles were the most problematic for the first-generation informants.

The overall results of the search for oral-reading miscues seem to support my hypothesis that, for both the Finnish-American and the Finnish-Australian corpora, the first-generation informants belong to one separate category and the second and third belong to another category. There is a significant difference in the total number of miscues of the three generations of Finnish-Americans. The difference between the second and third generation of Finnish-Americans is not significant Likewise, for the Finnish-Australians there is a significant difference in the total number of miscues of the three generations and the difference between the second and third generation is not significant.. According to the reading-aloud test in English and the subsequent search for miscues, the results seem to indicate that the first-generation Finnish immigrant informants differ from the second and third generations in terms of linguistic dominance. These results tend to indicate that we might be able to use the proficiency of each collective generation in this reading-aloud exercise to help us to infer the linguistic dominance, or lack of linguistic dominance, in the language tested. On the other hand, it seems that, on the basis of this exercise alone, it is not possible to infer the linguistic dominance of an individual. Although the results seem to indicate the linguistic dominance of a generation, it should be noted that this type of proficiency is only one aspect of the total proficiency of an informant and therefore other aspects of linguistic proficiency must be taken into account and tested.

Research problem 1) Can we infer the linguistic dominance of an individual from the type and number of miscues in a reading-aloud exercise?

Although there is a pattern of miscues for each generation, the actual number of miscues per individual informant is sometimes misleading. There are first-generation Australian informants who have only two or three miscues, while there are informants from the third-generation who have three or four miscues. For this reason, it is premature to confirm the hypothesis that the linguistic dominance of an individual can be inferred from the number of miscues in the reading-aloud exercise. In future studies it would be useful to investigate all of the miscues of the story and to categorize these results. It is possible that the overall findings of the type and number of miscues would give us more insight into the linguistic dominance of an individual.

As has been noted, the individual scoring of the informants varies to such a degree that we cannot infer the linguistic dominance of an individual on the basis of the **number** of her/his miscues during the reading-aloud exercise. Nevertheless, if we look at the **type** of miscues, we should be able to deduce a probable reason for the miscues. This will be taken up in the discussion under the second research problem.

Research problem 2) Can the linguistic dominance of a generation be inferred from the patterns of miscues found in a reading-aloud exercise?

When studying the miscues for auxiliaries, I found that they were spread out over 7 of the 10 first-generation American informants and over 4 of the 10 first-generation Australian informants. This tends to indicate that the first-generation informants have some difficulties with auxiliaries. This corresponds to the expectation I had that speakers of Finnish would have difficulties with auxiliaries and gives some support to my hypothesis that the miscues will reflect the linguistically-dominant language of the

informants as a collective group. It does not, however, give support to the hypothesis of inferring the linguistic dominance of individuals because there are some individuals who had no miscues in the area of auxiliaries. Perhaps at this point it is reasonable to generalize for the generation as a group and assume that no generalizations can be made for the individuals.

Article omissions in the first-generation American informants' readings of the text ranged from one omission to seven omissions; with nine of the ten informants omitting at least one article. No informants of the second- or third-generation Americans had an omission of an article. Article omission in the first-generation Australian informants' readings of the text ranged from one omission to 12 omissions, with 7 of the ten informants omitting at least one article. In the second generation, two informants omitted an article, and there were no omissions from the third-generation informants. Some of the article omissions of the first-generation informants were:

Omissions from the American corpus:
...and θ boy named Billy...
...he was θ funny kid, all right...
...ask for θ glass of milk...

Omissions from the Australian corpus:
The little girl and θ wolf.
...disappeared into θ wood.
...when θ little girl...

In light of these examples, the argument for the first generation being linguistically dominant in Finnish, rather than in English, would be strengthened. A typical native English speaker would not normally delete these articles in a reading-aloud exercise without an immediate correction. Common linguistic sense tells us that such miscues would be noticed as being 'odd'.

It is not surprising that articles were a major problem for the first-generation informants. Chesterman (1991: 90-109) and Sajavaara (1983: 72-87) both suggest that Finnish speakers who are learning English have difficulties with articles. Sajavaara observes (1983: 77-78) that, in his study, "[t]he most common type of error...[is]...the omission of the indefinite article...next comes the omission of the definite article...[and altogether] the omissions of the article total 85% of all article errors." Sajavaara suggests in his study of articles that the omissions occurring are clearly interference from Finnish.

> It seems that for some time at the beginning of English studies the mere existence of the category of an article is a problem for the learner. It cannot be called a transfer from Finnish, because there are no articles in standard Finnish, but it is *definitely interference of L1*. (Sajavaara 1983: 78. Emphasis added)

In the present study, interference from Finnish can clearly be suspected in the case of the first-generation informants and their miscues involving articles.

The expectations of the results of the search for miscues for the plural 's' were, of course, that the third-generation informants would have no trouble with this part of the oral reading. In fact, neither the Finnish-Americans nor the Finnish-Australians of the third generation had any miscues in this area, a result which would indicate a linguistic dominance in English. The one informant of the second generation who had a plural 's' miscue corrected the miscue immediately. It seems reasonable to assume that the second generation has a similar linguistic dominance because of comparable findings.

On the whole, the first-generation informants, both Finnish-American and Finnish-Australians, have far more miscues than either the second- or third-generation informants. The chi-square test shows a significant difference in the total number of miscues of the three generations of Finnish-Americans. The difference between the second and third generation of Finnish-Americans is not significant Likewise, for the Finnish-Australians there is a significant difference in the total number of miscues of the three generations and the difference between the second and third generation is not significant. In this case my expectations have been confirmed. All of the informants of the first generation have miscues in some areas and the average number is proportionally higher than the second- and third-generation informants' miscues. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that the first generation is not linguistically dominant in English.

In the case of the second-generation Finnish-American informants, the expected results were not confirmed. However, the expected results were confirmed by the Finnish-Australian informants. A fair number of miscues were expected from the second generation because Finnish is the mother tongue of all ten of the second-generation Finnish-Australians and most likely the mother tongue of all of the second-generation Finnish-American informants. In addition to this, the Finnish language must have played a rather important part in their lives. Nevertheless, given the education level of the informants and the fact that they have been surrounded by English all their lives, we can expect that their English is near-native speaker proficiency in almost all cases. However, it is important to realize that Finnish may influence their speech to some extent. The background information on the second-generation Finnish-American informants shows that 5 of the 10 are married to other second-generation Finns. The second-generation Finnish-Australians claim that they sometimes use Finnish at home with their parents; however, because they are younger than the second-generation Finnish-Americans and have grown up in a more culturally diverse community than the second-generation Finnish-Americans, they tend to use English with most of their acquaintances. Again because of the age difference, only two of the second-generation Finnish-Australians admitted that they spoke Finnish to their children when the children were very young, but discontinued when the children got older. However, we must be careful with the conclusions we make about the linguistic dominance of the second-generation Finnish-American informants. The results here may mean that they are good at English but the results cannot decipher whether or not they are better at English than Finnish, i.e. which language is dominant, because there is no equivalent reading-aloud exercise in Finnish.

It is interesting to note that the overall results show no distinct difference between the second and third generation of either corpus in regards to their proficiency in English. One reason for this may be that the reading-aloud exercise does not challenge a person at their level of education. Another possible explanation may be that they have all spent a fair amount of time speaking English various contexts. Almost all of the second- and third-generation informants worked in jobs that demanded an extensive use of the English language. Perhaps an investigation of the interviews and a study of the reading-aloud exercise would give us more clues as to the dominant language of the second generation.

In spite of the indecisive results, the overall findings tend to indicate that the second and third generations have a similar linguistic dominance, English, whereas the first generation has another linguistic dominance, most likely Finnish. Exceptions to the general trends within the generations could possibly be explained by sociolinguistic factors such as social networks and education. It would be important to choose other grammatical categories to test in order to widen the basis on which the inferences about linguistic dominance are made. This could lead to stronger support for the hypothesis and might account for the exceptions. Reference was made to the need for a comparable study done in the area of the free speech of the interviews. This, too, might provide more insight into the dominance configuration.

Some of the results that emerge in regard to the sociolinguistic factors relevant to this study tend to indicate controversial patterns. The first-generation Finnish-American informants' results show that the number of miscues by females is double that of the number of miscues by males. The opposite results emerge in the findings from the first- and second-generation Finnish-Australian informants; both second- and third-generation results show that males have more miscues than female. There seem to be no clear indications of why these conflicting results occur. Perhaps the Finnish-American women of the first generation were more isolated within their own Finnish-speaking community than the counter-part generation of Finnish-Australians, due to the rural areas in which the Finnish-Americans settled. However, in order to make any definite conclusions about these results, it would be necessary to make a more thorough investigation of the factors involved.

The results of the numbers of miscues according to education within the generations do not give any clear patterns. However, when one compares the generations against each other, a pattern emerges. It is clear that the second- and third-generation informants have fewer miscues than the first-generation informants. Interestingly enough, in both the Finnish-American and the Finnish-Australian corpora, the third-generation informants, who are the most highly educated, had more miscues than the second-generation informants. This could be accounted for when the type of miscue is analyzed. The two miscues of the third-generation Finnish-American informants were article substitution miscues, both of which result in a grammatically correct form—a form that could be used by native English speakers.

Ten of the twelve miscues of the third-generation Finnish-Australians are article miscues. They are, with one exception, insertions and substitutions that are grammatically correct and could be used by native English speakers. In both corpora, the second- and third-generation informants have, altogether, only two omissions of articles; both of these result in an ungrammatical form and cannot satisfactorily be accounted for without more sophisticated technical listening devices; it is possible that a contracted form is present but undetectable with normal listening devices. None of the informants of the second or third generations make the type of omission miscues that occur in data from the first-generation informants. These miscues, such as "the little girl and θ wolf" only occur in the data from the first-generation informants. These results seem to confirm the observation by Sajavaara (1983: 78) that Finnish speakers learning English may have interference from Finnish that will be evident through the omissions of articles.

Whether age, social networks, and gender play a significant role in the patterns of dominance cannot be ascertained from such a specifically targeted research as this; more thorough investigations would be necessary before any definite conclusions can be made. On the other hand, education most probably plays an important role in the case of the language of the informant in this study. Clearly, reading aloud in English is a skill that most informants who have been educated in the English-language school system have learned in school. On the other hand, those who have not been in this system have probably not had access to such training. Nevertheless, educational factors, of course, work hand in hand with other sociolinguistic factors and it should be remembered that broad generalizations are quite easily refuted. It seems that because of the conflicting results, we can make no general assumptions about the role that sociolinguistic factors play in this analysis of the reading-aloud exercise.

8. Conclusions

Linguistic dominance is a phenomenon that has been an important factor in many bilingual studies. Determining the linguistic dominance of a group or of an individual has often been based on a presupposed notion rather than a scientifically-based conclusion. It is important for researchers to be able to support their instinctive presumptions with evidence from the linguistic information supplied by informants. The aims of this study were to establish a method for testing linguistic dominance for both individuals and collective groups, such as the three generations of Finnish-Americans and Finnish-Australians. In this study, I have proposed a method by which the linguistic dominance of each generation could be inferred. This method counts and tabulates the miscues of three grammatical areas (auxiliaries, articles, and the plural 's') occurring during a reading-aloud exercise. The results which emerge from the data tend to show that individual linguistic dominance is more difficult to decipher than group linguistic dominance if done solely on the basis of a reading-aloud exercise. In some cases, the linguistic dominance for individuals could not be correctly ascertained through the results of the evidence, therefore suggesting that alternative methods need to be discovered. As the results seem to indicate, some informants of the first generation have only one or two miscues, whereas some informants of the second and third generations have three or four miscues. Such results would suggest that an individual belongs to another generation. This was not accounted for in the testing done and would need to be investigated through other methods in order to discover if these exceptions are possibly caused by factors that are not related to linguistic dominance.

The linguistic dominance of each generation as a group, on the other hand, seems to be easier to infer from the material available. The findings tend to support my hypothesis that the linguistic dominance of the three generations can be inferred from the miscues occurring during a reading-aloud exercise. However, it was shown that there is a need for a comparable study of the possible miscues that might occur during a similar reading-aloud exercise in Finnish. A study of this type could then be compared to the present study and possibly lend more support to the tentative findings presented here.

As Goodman (1988[1975]: 20) points out, "[r]eading is language, so what's true for language must apply to reading." In light of this, I would argue that the dominant language of a speaker will most likely influence the manner in which s/he reads. This seems to hold true for the informants studied in this case. Although I expected that there might be some exceptional cases in each generation, I assumed that there would be a general trend within each generation. For this reason, it was important to consider

the informants both as individuals and as a collective group representing a particular generation. My argument, then, is that the miscues of the first, second and third generations tend to reflect the language proficiency and, in this case, the linguistic dominance, or non-dominance, of the informants. According to the type and number of miscues elicited from an informant reading-aloud in English, it can be inferred whether the linguistic dominance of the generation is likely to be English or not.

It is not clear what role the sociolinguistic factors of gender, education, social networks, and age play in this study. Contradicting results tend to indicate that the focus of the study may be too narrow to allow for generalizations. It would be beneficial to extend the study to more sections of the interviews and use these sections in combination with the oral reading in order to make more definite claims.

One of the aims of this study was to establish support for a theory which could generalize about the three generations of Finnish Americans and their linguistic dominance based, in part, on their reading miscues. Research on language contact provides us with many avenues for investigating the bilingual and her/his use of language. The approach taken here is one that might support and supplement other interesting findings already available in this field of research. The question of linguistic competence and dominance remains a topic that needs to be investigated more thoroughly.

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ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism

edited by James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan

Cascadilla Press   Somerville, MA   2005