

Introduction

BIRNA ARNBJÖRNSDÓTTIR, HÖSKULDUR THRÁINSSON,
AND ÚLFAR BRAGASON

|| THE ROOTS OF NORTH AMERICAN ICELANDIC

Emigrations from Iceland began late in the immigration history of North America. The first Icelandic emigrants settled in Utah in the 1850s, but organized emigration from Iceland to North America began in the 1870s and ceased in 1914. Approximately 15,000, or 20 percent of the Icelandic population, are documented as having moved to North America during this period (Kristinsson 1983).

While some of the early Icelandic immigrants to North America settled in the Midwestern United States, such as Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Nebraska (see the chapters by Alda Möller and Úlfar Bragason, this volume), the largest group initially found their home in Manitoba, Canada. The impetus was the Canadian government's offer of land and financial support to newcomers. Organizers of the Icelandic immigration made use of this offer and chose to settle on a parcel of land in the Interlake region in Manitoba (between Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba), which they named "New Iceland" (Eyford 2016, 22–44). Many place names in the area still bear witness to their Icelandic origins (Gerrard 1979), and New Iceland remains the hub of Icelandic heritage culture in North America. Immigration from Iceland

continued until the beginning of the First World War in 1914, when it ceased almost entirely. Descendants of the Icelandic emigrants later dispersed over much of Canada and parts of the United States, as shown in Figure 0.1. North American Icelandic language and culture continued to thrive in these enclaves, developing their own characteristics that reflected the new geographic and social context (see, for example, Ásta Svavarsdóttir's chapter, this volume; Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006).



FIGURE 0.1. Distribution of persons claiming Icelandic ethnic origin on the 2006 Canadian Census and 2011 U.S. Census.

The goal of this volume is to describe the Icelandic linguistic and cultural heritage in North America and make this description accessible to English speakers. While some of the chapters were elicited specifically for the book and have not been published elsewhere, other chapters report findings of the

project North American Icelandic: Heritage Language, Linguistic Change and Cultural Identity (henceforth the Heritage Language Project), a three-year (2013 to 2015) Icelandic Research Fund–supported project whose purpose was to study the nature of North American Icelandic (NAI). The project examined NAI as a “heritage language” within the context of the development and maintenance of the cultural identity of NAI speakers. Data for the project were partly collected in Iceland (letters from the emigrants, diaries, interviews, narratives, recordings) but mainly during three field trips to North America in 2013 and 2014 to Icelandic-language enclaves in Canada and the United States. The project teams visited communities that were believed to have speakers of North American Icelandic with the purpose of gaining insight into the status of the language and the cultural identity of Canadians and Americans of Icelandic descent. The following areas were visited.

In Canada:

Winnipeg, Gimli, Riverton, Arborg, Lundar, Brandon, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba; Regina, Wynyard, and Foam Lake in Saskatchewan; Edmonton in Alberta; Vancouver and Nanaimo (Vancouver Island) in British Columbia.

In the U.S.:

Point Roberts, Blaine, and Seattle in Washington; Fargo and Mountain in North Dakota.

Contact persons in each community were instrumental in identifying and inviting volunteers of Icelandic descent to participate in the study, and this proved crucial to its success. The volunteers were enthusiastic and interested in sharing their language, culture, and views with the researchers. Furthermore, and contrary to previously reported heritage language studies (Benmamoun, Montrul, and Polinsky 2013), many of our informants spoke Icelandic to the extent that they were able to express their views and provide responses to the many and varied linguistic challenges laid before them. The team conducted interviews and tests in Icelandic involving 126 participants (fifty-two men and seventy-four women) and a further 101 participants who were interviewed in



FIGURE 0.2. Heritage Language Project researchers in Manitoba in May 2013: Matthew Whelpton, Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Kristín M. Jóhannsdóttir, and Höskuldur Thráinsson. (Courtesy of Höskuldur Thráinsson)



FIGURE 0.3. Heritage Language Project researchers in Alberta, Washington, and British Columbia in May 2014: Kristín M. Jóhannsdóttir, Sigríður Mjöll Björnsdóttir, and Úlfar Bragason. (Courtesy of Kristín M. Jóhannsdóttir)

English. The average age of the participants was seventy-seven years, with ages ranging from twenty-six to ninety-eight years old.

The Heritage Language Project was a cross-disciplinary research project that emphasized the connection between the development of Icelandic as a heritage language and its geographical, social, and cultural context. Findings of the Heritage Language Project have been described in various papers, particularly in the volume *Sigurtunga: Vesturíslenskt mál og menning* (2018), published in Icelandic by the University of Iceland Press. Some of the chapters from that book appear also in this volume but have been revised, some substantially, for an English-speaking audience.

The editors of this volume believe that the findings of the project would also be of interest, and more accessible in English, to the hundreds of participants in the study and to the growing number of Canadian and American descendants of the early Icelandic immigrants who are curious about their cultural heritage. This volume contains chapters with a cultural focus and chapters that illustrate the language. North American Icelandic is the central core and essence of the



FIGURE 0.4. Heritage Language Project researchers in North Dakota, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba in August 2014: Höskuldur Thráinsson, Sigríður Magnúsdóttir, Daisy Neijmann, and Matthew Whelpton. (Courtesy of Höskuldur Thráinsson)

culture, and critical to an understanding of the Icelandic heritage in North America. In the first part of the book the significance of the language and culture is discussed with reference to the literature and the cultural functions of the Icelandic language in the Icelandic immigrant communities, and in the second part their manifestations are illustrated. Efforts have been made to make the language chapters accessible to non-linguists. We hope that the findings of the Heritage Language Project will inform the international discussion on heritage linguistics and contribute to a better understanding of heritage languages and cultures in the context of the opportunities and challenges that meet the courageous people who emigrate to a distant land in search of a better life.

Inevitably, the Heritage Language Project builds on the results of several previous and ongoing research projects on the Icelandic heritage in North America. The findings of many of these are available only in Icelandic. Although a comprehensive review of previous research will not be presented here, it is necessary to provide the reader with the background and context of the book's content and acknowledge the contributions of previous scholars (for further details, see Bragason 2018; Ambjörnsdóttir and Thráinsson 2018). Therefore,

a general description of the history of the Icelandic immigrant experience is presented with an effort to extract the basic themes that seem to characterize the Icelandic inheritance in North America today. This is followed by an overview of previous research on North American Icelandic history, literature, culture, and language that is accessible to readers of English.

|| THE ICELANDIC-LANGUAGE ENCLAVES IN NORTH AMERICA

As the name of the initial Icelandic settlement in North America, New Iceland, suggests, and by all accounts, some of the early immigrants thought of themselves as Icelanders who would live together in a community separated from other ethnic groups. Icelandic would remain their main conduit of education, communication, and governance. New Iceland was also a land reserve created by the Canadian government as part of its colonization policy (see the discussions by Thor 2002; Eyford 2016; see also Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006).

One of the more salient characteristics of the Icelandic heritage in North America is the importance placed on literacy in Icelandic and English. There is a prevailing view among the Icelandic heritage groups that many of the immigrant families brought Icelandic books with them rather than tools. Whether that view is real or imagined, many informants recounted the importance of literacy and education in their families. The emphasis on the written word has undoubtedly contributed to the maintenance of Icelandic among the immigrants.

Almost upon the Icelanders' arrival in New Iceland, instruction for the children was organized by the immigrants. Although some of the first teachers were Icelandic, the main emphasis from the outset was on reading, writing, and speaking English (Arngrímsson 1997, 270–71). At the same time, the immigrants sent a request to local education authorities to join the Canadian school system, thus laying the foundation for the bilingualism and biculturalism that seemed to prevail among many people of the early generations of Icelandic Canadians and Icelandic Americans (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006). The idea of dual-language proficiency was supported in the writings of prominent members of the community. One proponent was the educator Jón Bjarnason, who founded an Icelandic Academy in Winnipeg that operated until 1940 (Ruth 1964). Another one was the poet Stephan G. Stephansson. At a meeting in Markerville,

Alberta, in March 1919, he argued forcefully for bilingualism. He maintained that teaching Icelandic to children would not interfere with their English. He claimed, “People who only know one home, who have only read one book and only know one language will be narrow-minded” (Hreinsson 2003, 307).

Formal schooling was in English (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006, 35–51). However, itinerant teachers continued to teach Icelandic in the enclaves, and Icelandic was taught officially in various ways from 1885 up until today (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006, 38–40; Ruth 1964). This practice encouraged an active bilingualism during the early decades of settlement. When the editors of the present volume were collecting data on NAI for the Heritage Language Project, many of the subjects told a similar story: “We spoke Icelandic at home when I was a kid, partly because my grandparents’ English wasn’t perfect. But in school everybody spoke English, so English soon became the default language at home.” Despite this view there is some indication that in the early years, Icelandic literacy practices continued in immigrant homes and many of the early immigrant children learned how to read Icelandic at home prior to entering formal schooling (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006). The fact that Icelandic immigrants in many cases came in family groups and that literacy training continued in the home must surely have extended the life of Icelandic in North America. Church services and Sunday school were conducted in Icelandic for many years in the North Dakota enclaves (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006, 40), and visiting pastors from Iceland served in a few congregations as late as the 1960s. Some of the subjects interviewed for the Heritage Language Project were confirmed into the Lutheran Church in Icelandic. Bilingualism seems to have prevailed, as the manifold literary activities in the Icelandic communities attest to, and the home language continued to be Icelandic up until the third and fourth generations (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006; see Laura Moquin and Kirsten Wolf, this volume).

General literacy among the immigrants (see Ásta Svavarsdóttir, this volume) supported prolific publishing activities in the Icelandic heritage community, which included a number of newsletters, journals, and books in Icelandic. As early as 1877 an Icelandic printing press (Prentfjelag Nýja Íslands) was established, which published the Icelandic newspaper *Framfari* (1877 to 1880). Several other short-lived periodicals were published in Icelandic by the immigrants from early on (Jónsson 2009, 163–64). Journals for Icelandic-

speaking children were available until 1940 (Kristjánsdóttir 2014), and the women's journal *Freyja* was circulated from 1898 to 1910 (for a list of the journals, see Arngrímsson 1998, 201). In addition, numerous handwritten manuscripts of different types circulated among the Icelandic speakers (see Katelin Parsons, this volume). The oldest printed newspaper (a weekly), *Heimskringla*, was founded in 1886 and its rival, *Lögberg*, was first published in 1888. In the beginning these two newspapers were written exclusively in Icelandic, sometimes by well-known editors from Iceland temporarily residing in Canada. Gradually, English became more prominent in these newspapers and they subsequently merged into *Lögberg-Heimskringla* in 1959. *Lögberg-Heimskringla* was a dual-language publication for many years. It is still published but now exclusively in English (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006, 38–42). *Lögberg-Heimskringla* remains the oldest continuously published heritage community newspaper in North America.¹

In addition to printing periodicals and newspapers, traditional Icelandic literary practices prospered among Icelandic immigrants in North America. They published general immigrant histories, chronicles of the settlement of the different Icelandic enclaves, family histories and biographies, genealogies, and annals, as well as novels and books of poetry and drama. Peter Salus (1971) tallied the number of publications in Icelandic from 1900 to 1961 and identified forty-one volumes of poetry, twenty-two novels or collections of stories, thirty-five volumes of histories and biographies, and ten dramas. The chapters by Guðrún Björk Guðsteinsdóttir, Dagný Kristjánsdóttir, and Birna Bjarnadóttir in this volume discuss different aspects of NAI literary endeavours. The history of the Icelandic amateur dramatical societies that staged plays in Icelandic up until the 1950s is just beginning to appear (Þorbergsson 2020).

The Icelandic immigrants in North America also founded various cultural, political, and religious organizations (see the chapter by Vilhelm Vilhelmsson, this volume; see also Wolf 2001; Thor 2002, 110–29; Jónsson 2005, 5–9; Þorbergsson 2020). These organizations often provided forums for debates about issues affecting the community. One of the issues that was discussed in some of these societies, and in the Icelandic newspapers, was the question of acculturation versus separation. The language obviously played a major role in this context, as indicated by the early ideas about a separate Icelandic “colony”

or *nýlenda*. One of the Icelandic societies that was active in the beginning of the twentieth century was Íslenzka stúdentafélagið (The Icelandic Students' Society). In 1906 the society organized a debate about *afnám* 'abolishment' versus *viðhald* 'preservation' of the Icelandic language among the Icelandic immigrants. This was a formal debate with two proponents for each position. At the end of the meeting, a panel of three judges concluded that the proponents of abolishment had won the debate (see *Lögberg*, 22 November 1906, 5). But nonetheless, disputes continued in the newspapers and elsewhere.

Another dispute was fostered by an early controversy about religious affiliations. The dispute eventually divided the reserve of New Iceland, and a group of people relocated to Pembina County in Dakota Territory in the United States (Thor 2002). No doubt the social and religious debates conducted in Icelandic served to enhance the longevity of NAI. The immigrants and their descendants continued to actively use Icelandic for longer than the two generations it commonly takes for migrants to transition to a new language (Fishman 1972).

The onset of the First World War halted the influx of Icelandic immigrants to North America, and after that there was very little renewal of inhabitants to the Icelandic enclaves. The war also pushed Icelandic immigrants, like other immigrants in North America, towards integration and a display of allegiance to their adopted countries. This was accompanied by a general push for monolingualism in the U.S. after the war (see Úlfar Bragason, this volume; Spolsky 2004, 93–96; Sontag 2007, 163–66). A considerable number of Canadians and Americans of Icelandic descent fought in the “war to end all wars” (*Minningarrit íslenzkra hermannanna 1914–1918*). Úlfar Bragason (this volume) discusses the conceivable cultural dissonance between love of country and a culturally bred pacifism among servicepeople of Icelandic origin.

But there were also forces at work in the opposite direction among the Icelandic community in North America during the postwar years. Þjóðræknisfélag Íslendinga í Vesturheimi (Icelandic National League of North America, INLNA or INL) was established in 1919, partly to “work for the preservation of the Icelandic language and literature in America” (Ruth 1964, 47; see also Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006, 39). The preservation issue was debated at various meetings in the INL, especially in the 1930s, and eventually it was concluded

that “Icelandic culture could be passed on to future generations through the use of the English language to express Icelandic ideas” (Ruth 1964, 47; see Laura Moquin and Kirsten Wolf, this volume). In recent years, the INL has grown exponentially and is still very active, and so is its sister organization in Iceland, Þjóðræknisfélag Íslendinga, established in 1939. According to its website the purpose of the INL is “to promote the Icelandic heritage, culture and traditions that our families brought to this continent through cooperation among North American Icelandic cultural groups and by maintaining ties with the people of Iceland.”²²

The phenomenal success of the Winnipeg Falcons hockey team around 1920 may have served to instill pride in all things Icelandic in Canada. The ethnic Icelandic underdog team went on to win the first Olympic Gold Medal in Ice Hockey in 1920. Almost 100 years later, in 2019, Parks Canada designated the Olympic victory of the Falcons as a “National Historical Event.”²³ The effect on the Icelandic community in North America may have cemented the external presence of Icelandic immigrants (see Eyford 2006). The triumphs of the Falcons can only have supported the efforts of the newly established Icelandic National League.

Icelandic was taught at Wesley College in Winnipeg from 1901 to 1927 (see Ruth 1964; see also Bedford 1975), but the Icelandic immigrants in Manitoba began discussing the possibility of promoting Icelandic language and culture by endowing a University Chair of Icelandic Studies as early as 1905. In 1936 the Icelandic Collection was founded at the University of Manitoba (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006, 38). The website for the collection states that through various stages, the collection has now developed into “the largest collection of Icelandic materials in Canada and the second largest in North America. This area studies collection serves as a primary research tool for the study of Icelandic language, literature, history and culture, while enabling the Icelandic community to preserve, reinforce and cultivate its cultural identity in the North American cultural mosaic.”²⁴

In 1951 an Icelandic Chair and a Department of Icelandic were established at the University of Manitoba (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006, 38–39). Cooperation between the Department of Icelandic and the University of Iceland continues to be fortified with student and scholar exchanges and biannual partnership

conferences. In 2020 the Stephan G. Stephansson Chair was founded at the University of Iceland to strengthen collaboration between the University of Iceland and the University of Manitoba in research and instruction. The chair is supported by the Icelandic government and the Vigdís Finnbogadóttir Institute, with important support from Canadians and Americans of Icelandic descent. The University of Victoria hosts Icelandic exchange professors through the Beck Foundation. These successful collaborations have met with an enthusiastic response on both sides of the Atlantic.

To some extent the Second World War had a similar effect on immigrants in North America as the previous world war had. Several descendants of the Icelandic immigrants fought in that war also (see *Veterans of Icelandic Descent, World War II, 1939–1945*). It is likely that having family members serving in the wars made the immigrants feel more like Americans or Canadians (see Úlfar Bragason, this volume). After the Second World War, there was even less contact between Iceland and “Western Icelanders” (as they are called in Iceland) for a considerable period (see Ólafur Arnar Sveinsson, this volume). This is in line with general findings about the effect of the war on the assimilation of immigrants in North America. This also supports notions that second-generation immigrants focus on “belonging,” while third and fourth generations from emigration become more curious about their ethnic background (see Laura Moquin and Kirsten Wolf, this volume).

In 1974 more frequent and regular travel began between Winnipeg and Iceland with Icelandic Canadians and Icelandic Americans seeking their roots in Iceland, while Icelanders satisfied their interest and curiosity about their cousins in “Vesturheimur” (the Western world). Regular exchanges take place among young people and students through organized programs such as the Snorri Programs, established by the Snorri Foundation in Iceland in partnership with the Icelandic National League of Iceland, among others.⁵ Participants in these programs are required to take the course Icelandic Online,⁶ which is available free of charge and used by over 80,000 learners worldwide, including those who learn Icelandic as a heritage language. The genealogical database Icelandic Roots, based in Fargo, North Dakota,⁷ and the Icelandic Emigration Center (Vesturfarasetrið) in Hofsvós, Iceland,⁸ have contributed to and benefited from this heightened interest in cultivating the Icelandic-Canadian and -American

cultural heritage. On the Canadian side the New Iceland Heritage Museum in Gimli⁹ has played an important role in this connection.

|| RESEARCH ON ICELANDIC CULTURAL HERITAGE IN NORTH AMERICA

Icelandic immigration to North America, the development of the various settlements, and the social and cultural life of the immigrants have been the topic of various research projects, studies, and publications. Andrea McIntosh (2004), Laurie Bertram (2010), and Ryan Eyford (2010) discuss different aspects of the history and culture in their dissertations and subsequent books, in which, for example, Bertram describes the expressions of Icelandic-Canadian identity through clothing and food, and Eyford re-examines the settlement history of the Icelandic immigrants in the context of Canadian settlement history in general. As part of the Heritage Language Project, Daisy Neijmann interviewed descendants of the Icelandic immigrants, exploring the communicative and symbolic functions of NAI and its role in the cultural self-image of the participants (Neijmann 2018). Laura Moquin and Kirsten Wolf (this volume) discuss a similar topic, namely the evolution of identity in Icelandic heritage communities.

Bertram (2010) and Eyford (2010) both shed light on the underresearched contact between the Icelandic immigrants and Indigenous peoples already living in the Interlake region in Manitoba (see also Bertram 2020; Eyford 2016). Short, general descriptions of immigrant histories are given by Elva Simundsson (1981) and Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir (2006), and more extensive accounts by Wilhelm Kristjanson (1965), Nelson Gerrard (1985), Guðjón Arngrímsson (2000), and Jonas Thor (2002). Accounts of the religious controversies that played a major role in the life and activities of many of the immigrants are described by George Houser (1990), Jonas Thor (2002), and Fred Woods (2005). More informal accounts of the life of the early immigrants can be found in the collection *My Parents: Memoirs of New World Icelanders*, edited by Birna Bjarnadóttir and Finnbogi Guðmundsson (2007). Many of the works by the writers listed above focus on the development of the different settlements in Canada, especially in Manitoba, and the life of the immigrants there. But as discussed in the chapters by Alda Möller and Úlfar Bragason in this volume,

the experiences of those who settled in the United States may have followed a different trajectory.

Acculturation of the Icelandic immigrants is an important topic explored in Vilhelm Vilhelmsson's chapter in this volume. The topic is further examined by Ólafur Arnar Sveinsson (this volume), who discusses the emigration from Iceland, including the views of Icelanders towards emigrants and the development of the concept *Vestur-Íslendingur* 'Western Icelander', the term that has been used in Icelandic to this day about the descendants of the Icelandic immigrants in North America. He examines the acculturation from a theoretical perspective and from the point of view of the immigrants themselves.

In the early years of settlement, the Icelandic immigrants and their descendants in North America penned literature in Icelandic (Neijmann 2006; Guðsteinsdóttir 2006). Some of these writers and poets became well-known, both in North America and in Iceland, especially Stephan G. Stephansson (Hreinsson 2012). Later, descendants of the immigrants wrote literature in English as described most extensively by Neijmann (1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 1999–2000, 2006) and Wolf (1991, 1992, 1994, 1996a—see also her edited volumes *Western Icelandic Short Stories*, 1992b, and *Writings by Western Icelandic Women*, 1996b).

Folklore and oral narratives formed an important part of the cultural environment of the Icelandic immigrants in North America. Magnús Einarsson published a selection of folklore narratives and related poems, in Icelandic and with English translations (*Icelandic-Canadian Oral Narratives*, 1991, and *Icelandic-Canadian Memory Lore*, 1992). Laurie Bertram discusses the notion of *hjátrú* 'superstition/folk belief' in her recent book, *Viking Immigrants* (2020). She describes how Icelandic stories about apparitions and *huldufólk* 'hidden people' found new contexts among North American Icelandic immigrants, albeit with the same effect. *Hjátrú* is also the topic of some of the interviews and narratives reported in Gísli Sigurðsson's chapter in this volume. His chapter is drawn from an extensive corpus of data from interviews conducted by Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson and Olga María Franzdóttir in 1972–73 (*Sögur úr Vesturheimi* 2012).

The research presented in this volume has been conducted mainly by Icelandic scholars and the findings should be read as such. In a sense the

perspective is that of an outsider looking in. The outsider-versus-insider perspective is an age-old debate in sociolinguistic research and especially in ethnographic research (Geertz 1973), and there is no resolution that favours one or the other. Research by insiders in the NAI community is available in English and has been referenced here, including the important works by Gerrard (1985), Bertram (2010, 2020), and Eyford (2006, 2010, 2016), and others. We look forward to future studies by these and other Canadian and American scholars that will strengthen the knowledge base and inform the discussion on the Icelandic heritage in North America.

|| NORTH AMERICAN ICELANDIC

Those who study Icelandic as a heritage language are in a privileged position. One consequence of general literacy in the community is that the language is better documented than most heritage languages, and linguists have had access to informants who are conversant in the language. As described above, the immigrants wrote in Icelandic from early on and continued to do so for decades. In the beginning their language was obviously indistinguishable from the language spoken at the time in Iceland. But the social environment and the role and function of NAI in the society were very different from the Icelandic in Iceland (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006), and this has obviously had an effect on its development, as described by Ásta Svavarsdóttir in this volume. Haraldur Bessason maintained that NAI was the only variety of Icelandic that existed outside Iceland (1984) and the only variety of Icelandic that could be called a separate dialect (1980, 7).

To some extent the development of Icelandic can be traced in the publications in NAI but also in private diaries and letters written by the immigrants and their descendants to recipients in Iceland. Some of these have been collected and edited and published in Iceland. Böðvar Guðmundsson based his important novel *Where the Winds Dwell* (2000) partly on material from such letters. Chapters by Alda Möller and Úlfar Bragason in this volume are based on extensive correspondence between immigrants in Nebraska and relatives in Iceland.

Another important source of information about NAI, as it was spoken before frequent exchanges with Iceland began in 1974, is found in the narratives published in *Sögur úr Vesturheimi*, the volume of interviews conducted by Eiríksson and Franzdóttir. The speakers involved were typically second- or third-generation immigrants, yet their language is remarkably similar to Icelandic as it is spoken in Iceland—or was spoken in the early twentieth century—except for loan words depicting a way of life in North America (see Gísli Sigurðsson, this volume).

The first “scholarly” effort to describe NAI was published in 1903, when the famous Arctic explorer and ethnologist Vilhjálmur Stefánsson (Pálsson 2005) wrote an article on English loan words in the language of the immigrants. In the 1930s the Icelandic scholar Stefán Einarsson wrote two articles (1933 and 1937) pointing out possible research topics in NAI. The phonological properties of the language are the main topic of Stephen Clausen’s dissertation and book (1981, 1986), with special emphasis on the possible influence of English and a comparison with American German. Haraldur Bessason discussed Icelandic names in North America, English loan words in NAI, and other aspects of the language (1958, 1967, 1971). The most comprehensive study of NAI to date is Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir’s book on the social history of the language (2006), partly based on a doctoral thesis on the phonology of NAI vowels that developed in a different direction in the North American social context from that in Iceland (1990). A more recent paper by Kristín M. Jóhannsdóttir (2006) contains a brief sketch of the status of NAI around 2000.

A more extensive description, the results of previous research on NAI, can be found in the overview by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir and Höskuldur Thráinsson (2018).

|| LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN THE HERITAGE LANGUAGE PROJECT

The linguistic research in the Heritage Language Project is based on different types of data:

- existing material (personal letters, diaries, interviews, narratives)
- additional letters copied and transcribed by research assistants in the project

- semi-formal interviews conducted in the three field trips
- spontaneous speech samples, partly elicited with the help of material like the story *Frog, Where Are You?* (Mayer 1969)
- data elicited by using a variety of tests targeting particular aspects of the language.

In the following sections, we will describe some of the linguistic results that have emerged from the Heritage Language Project. This overview is thematically organized (for a more detailed description see Arnbjörnsdóttir and Thráinsson 2018).

Phonology and Phonetics

The main method used to systematically study pronunciation was a picture-naming task. One of the goals was to see to what extent the various regional dialects in Iceland had been preserved in NAI. Since many of the immigrants came from northeastern Iceland, we expected that some of the northeastern dialectal features might have been preserved to some extent (see Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006).¹⁰ The features are included here for the benefit of future linguistic studies. The features include:

1. a. aspirated stops after long vowels: *api* [a:p^hɪ] ‘monkey’, *fata* [fa:t^ha] ‘bucket’, *aka* [a:k^ha] ‘drive’ (the majority of Modern Icelandic speakers have unaspirated stops in this environment, for example, [a:pɪ])
- b. voiced sonorants before /p,t,k/: *hempa* [hɛmp^ha] ‘coat’, *svunta* [svʏnt^ha] ‘apron’, *stúlka* [stulk^ha] ‘girl’ (most speakers of Modern Icelandic have voiceless /l,m,n/ in this environment, for example, [hɛmpa])
- c. stop-pronunciation of *ngl*-sequences: *englar* [eɪŋk^hlar] ‘angels’ (this is rare in Modern Icelandic—most speakers would say [eɪŋlar]).

As Katrín María Viðisdóttir has shown (2016), these northeastern features are only partially preserved in NAI. While aspirated stops after long vowels are well preserved in NAI, and stop-pronunciation of *ngl*-sequences is sporadically

found, voiced /l,m,n/ before /p,t,k/ seem to be surprisingly rare. Aspirated stops are not foreign to English, and neither is the stop-pronunciation of *ngl*-sequences, but voiceless sonorants do not occur in English—hence the fact that voiceless /l,m,n/ are common (and the voiced counterparts rare) before /p,t,k/ in NAI is surprising. It suggests that the devoicing involved is a “natural phenomenon” in Icelandic and this is supported by the fact that voiced sonorants in this environment are actually disappearing in northeastern Icelandic.

As part of the Heritage Language Project team, Nicole Dehé’s objective was to study intonation and stress in NAI and compare the results with Icelandic in Iceland and with Canadian English—for example, in *yes/no* questions (polar questions). She found that NAI did not differ markedly from Icelandic in this respect. When her subjects switched over to English during the test session, it was sometimes possible to detect Icelandic influence in their intonation (Dehé 2018).

Inflection and Auxiliary Constructions

Two tests were used to study the development of inflection or case markings in NAI. The first one is the classic *wug*-type plural test (see Berko 1958) where the subjects are asked to give the plural form of both actual and nonsense nouns. The pictures were presented to the participants in Icelandic, leaving it to them to come up with the plural form: *Hér er einn bolti* ‘Here is one ball’ and *Hér eru tveir ___* ‘Here are two ___’, et cetera. Because of the form of the numerals *einn* (m.) versus *ein* (f.) ‘one’, *tveir* (m.) versus *tvær* (f.) ‘two’, the participants were expected to be able to tell the gender of the nouns and hence be able to form the plural. Interestingly, it turned out that the heritage speakers typically had a good command of the plural of familiar nouns like *bolti* ‘ball’, but most of them did not seem to have mastered the plural formation rules that would make it possible for them to form the plural of unknown words. In this respect their performance was very different from that of adult speakers of Icelandic and more like that of children acquiring the language (see Thráinsson, Nowenstein, and Magnúsdóttir 2021).

The other morphology test was designed to investigate the formation and use of simple present and past tense of verbs versus the use of auxiliary constructions like the so-called progressive aspect; cf. the examples in (2):

2. a. Hann saumar / er að sauma.
 he sews (pres.) / is to sew (inf.)
 'He sews/is sewing.'
- b. Hann saumaði / var að sauma í gær.
 he sewed (past.) / was to sew (inf.) yesterday
 'He sewed/was sewing yesterday.'

The main results of this investigation are reported on in the chapter by Kristín M. Jóhannsdóttir (this volume). She shows that heritage speakers tend to use the progressive construction much more frequently than do speakers of Icelandic in Iceland. Differences were also found between these groups when comparing their narrations of the story *Frog, Where Are You?* (Mayer 1969). This may be because the progressive construction is morphologically simpler than the present and past tense inflection of verbs (in the progressive aspect it is only the auxiliary verb *vera* 'be' that needs to be inflected).

Syntax

We elicited information on the syntactic properties of NAI in various ways, concentrating on the issues described below.

Word Order

Certain aspects of word order were of particular interest to us as these constructions had appeared in earlier data sets (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006). We designed special tests to elicit judgments about relative positions of finite verbs and adverbs in constructions like the following:

3. a. Kristín **talar stundum** / **stundum talar** íslensku.
 Kristín speaks sometimes / sometimes speaks Icelandic
 'Kristín sometimes speaks Icelandic'
- b. Næst **ætlar hún** / **hún ætlar** að læra ítölsku.
 next intends she / she intends to learn Italian
 'Next she intends to learn Italian.'

What is at stake here is the so-called verb-second (V2) phenomenon. The finite verb in Icelandic typically comes in second position in the sentence,

as it does in the first alternative in (3a, 3b). In English, on the other hand, the verb would come in third position in sentences of this sort, as can be seen from the idiomatic translations. As shown by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Iris Edda Nowenstein (2018), speakers of NAI tend to use the English (verb-third) order in constructions like these, especially when a non-subject occurs in the initial position of the sentence as in (3b). The test data were confirmed by spontaneous speech data, mainly elicited by using the well-known *Frog* story (Mayer 1969). But there is considerable inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation here.

Another word order phenomenon investigated in our project has to do with the relative position of adverbs and objects in examples like the following:

4. a. Ég las **ekki bókina** / **bókina ekki**.
 I read not the book / the book not
 ‘I didn’t read the book.’
- b. Ég las **ekki hana** / **hana ekki**.
 I read not her / her not
 ‘I didn’t read it.’

In examples like (4a) the object *bókina* can be “shifted” around the negation (and other adverbs, such as *aldrei* ‘never’), as shown in the second alternative. This phenomenon is called “object shift” in the linguistic literature. It is basically optional when the object is a noun (or a full noun phrase) as in (4a). If the object is a pronoun, then it *has* to shift around the negation (or similar adverbs) unless it is heavily stressed. This phenomenon does not have an exact parallel in English.¹¹ But Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson (2018) found a number of examples in the collection of narratives *Sögur úr Vesturheimi* where a pronoun follows the negation:

5. a. Mér líkaði **ekki það**.
 me liked not it
 ‘I didn’t like it.’

b. ég...skildi **ekki þetta.**

I understood not this

‘I didn’t understand this.’

Having listened to the relevant recordings of the narratives, Jóhannes Gíslí concludes that the unshifted pronouns typically carry some stress, although they are not heavily stressed. In Icelandic in Iceland these pronouns would probably be unstressed in examples of this sort. Jóhannes Gíslí maintains that this is the reason why pronominal objects shift less readily in NAI than in Icelandic.

Object shift in NAI was also investigated in our project in a multiple-choice test that involved various syntactic constructions. Here, the speakers were asked to choose between the following alternatives, among others (see Arnbjörnsdóttir and Thráinsson 2018, 243–44):

6. a. Þau drukku **bjórin** ekki / ekki bjórin

they drank the beer not / not the beer

‘They didn’t drink the beer.’

b. Hann notar **hana** aldrei / aldrei hana

he uses her never / never her

‘He never uses it.’

Approximately half the speakers left the object noun unshifted in sentences like (6a), and very few chose to leave a pronominal object unshifted, as in the latter alternative in (6b). This shows that the heritage speakers have a similar feel for the “shiftability” of nouns and pronouns as do speakers of Icelandic in Iceland.

Pronouns and Reflexives

As is well-known among linguists, Icelandic has so-called long-distance reflexives. A representative example is given in (7):

7. Hann heldur að þú elskir **sig.**

he thinks that you love (subjunct.) REFL

‘He thinks that you love him.’

Here, the reflexive pronoun *sig* in the embedded subjunctive clause refers back to the pronoun *hann* in the main clause. A corresponding sentence in English would be **He thinks that you love himself*, which is completely ungrammatical. For many speakers of Icelandic, long-distance reflexives are possible only in subjunctive clauses. Since the indicative is often used in embedded clauses in NAI where the subjunctive would be expected (Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006, 105), one might think that long-distance reflexives would also be vulnerable. Michael Putnam and Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir (2015) have argued that this is actually the case.¹²

Subject Case Marking

Verbs that take non-nominative subjects do not show any subject agreement and hence they are often called “impersonal verbs” in the linguistic literature. Recent research has shown that the case marking of these subjects is unstable in Icelandic, but the development can go in two different directions (Eythórsson and Thráinsson 2017, and references cited therein):

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 8. a. | hana langar | > | henni langar | Dative substitution |
| | her (acc.) wants | > | her (dat.) wants | |
| | ‘she wants’ | | | |
| b. | bátinn rak | > | báturinn rak | Nominative substitution |
| | the boat (acc.) drifted | > | the boat (nom.) drifted | |
| c. | leiknum lauk | > | leikurinn lauk | Nominative substitution |
| | game (dat.) finished | > | game (nom.) finished | |

Dative substitution is quite common in Icelandic (sometimes referred to as “dative sickness”) and so is the substitution of nominative for accusative in examples like (7b). Substitution of nominative for dative is (still) rare, however. But Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir has shown (2006, 89ff.) that both dative substitution and nominative substitution are quite common in NAI, including the substitution of nominative for dative of experiencer subjects, as in example (9) from NAI, which does not really occur in Icelandic in Iceland:

9. **Ég** var alltaf illa við fisk.
 I (nom.) was always badly with fish
 'I always hated fish.'

The Icelandic counterpart of (9) would necessarily have a dative subject: *Mér var . . .* lit. "me (dat.) was"

Case marking of subjects was studied in the Heritage Language Project. In a test targeting various syntactic phenomena, the speakers were presented with sentences on a computer screen. The sentences were read aloud to them and then they had to choose between different variants. One of the examples was the following:

10. Mennirnir
 Mennina vantar peninga.
 Mönnunum
 Mannanna
 the men (nom./acc./dat./gen.) need money.

Here, the choice would indicate which subject case the speakers would prefer. The results showed considerable intra-speaker variation. Salbjörg Óskarsdóttir also searched for selected potentially "impersonal" verbs in the narratives in *Sögur úr Vesturheimi* and in unpublished interviews that Gísli Sigurðsson conducted with speakers of NAI in 1982 (Sigurðsson 1984; Óskarsdóttir and Thráinsson 2017). She found extensive evidence for both "substitutions" (dative and nominative), but one of her main results was the extensive inter- and intra-speaker variation observed: Several speakers would use different subject cases with a given verb in the same interview. In her study of personal letters written by a single speaker over seventy years, a longitudinal corpus of about 82,000 words, Sigríður Mjöll Björnsdóttir (2018) also found evidence for similar fluctuation in subject case marking in the later letters.

Object Case Marking and Agreement

Case marking of verbal and prepositional objects is only partially predictable and hence difficult to acquire. As Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir reports (2006, 99–103), unexpected object case marking frequently occurs in spontaneous speech of Icelandic heritage speakers. In the series of letters that Sigríður Mjöll

Björnsdóttir analyzed, the letters reveal the development of the language spoken by a single individual over several decades. The language of the first letters is virtually indistinguishable from the Icelandic spoken in Iceland (IceIce) at the time, but in later letters Sigríður finds evidence for systematic overgeneralization errors: for example, extensive use of dative case marking of objects. Gender agreement is also affected in the later letters, where neuter gender seems to be used as a default where gender agreement is expected. But there is significant variation in the letters throughout, with target-consistent forms co-existing with non-target-consistent forms. This is also true of the case marking of prepositional objects and similar results have been reported for these by Dehé and Kupisch (2021).

Understanding Syntactically Complex Sentences

Research on the linguistics of heritage languages usually concentrates on language production rather than comprehension. The vocabulary of heritage languages is often different from that of the corresponding “home languages,” and this obviously affects mutual understanding by speakers of heritage languages and home languages. We wanted to know, however, to what extent the structure of sentences influenced their interpretability for speakers of NAI. This was done by using a special test that is described in the chapter by Sigríður Magnúsdóttir, Iris Edda Nowenstein, and Höskuldur Thráinsson in this volume. The main result is that the non-canonical order of arguments (that is, nouns referring to agents and patients of actions) makes sentences difficult to interpret for heritage speakers, partly because they can only rarely make use of the interpretation cues provided by case marking. This is not surprising in the light of the results about case marking outlined above.

Lexical Semantics

Selected aspects of the lexical semantics of NAI were studied formally in the Heritage Language Project. These studies were related to the international project Evolution of Semantic Systems (EoSS; see, for example, Majid, Jordan, and Dunn 2015). Þórhalla Guðmundsdóttir Beck and Matthew Whelpton report on a part of this subproject in a paper comparing the colour naming in NAI, Icelandic, British English, and North American English (2018). Although

the division of the colour spectrum is similar in the four languages, there are certain differences in the naming of the colours. In some cases, NAI is similar to Icelandic in Iceland in this respect, for example, with respect to word formation such as extensive compounding. In other instances, NAI uses English loan words, partly because the colour term in question did not exist in Icelandic at the time of the emigration to North America. Another outgrowth of this subproject is described in the chapter by Matthew Whelpton in this volume, where he compares the naming of body parts, containers, and spatial relations, in addition to colours, in the same four languages with some additional information about Icelandic sign language. He concludes that the cultural influence of North American English on NAI is obvious in some of these categories, except that NAI is very close to Icelandic in the prepositional marking of spatial relations like *under*, *above*, *behind*, et cetera, where the influence of the shared grammatical systems of the “two Icelandics” shines through.

|| CONCLUDING REMARKS

The chapters in this volume give a representative illustration of the interaction between history, culture, and language in the Icelandic-language enclaves in North America and their development to the present day, but they obviously do not tell the whole story. Further information can be found in the numerous references in this introduction as well as the references in the individual chapters of this volume. There is also a wealth of material for future research, including data collected, transcribed, and partially analyzed statistically in the Heritage Language Project. Much of this data is now being made public, and the editors of this volume hope that it will spur further research. In the last chapter of this book, Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir briefly discusses the important contributions that the study of NAI as a heritage language makes to our knowledge and understanding of heritage languages and language in general, a viewpoint that has been largely absent from studies of NAI until recently.

NOTES

- 1 See <https://www.lh-inc.ca/>.
- 2 See <https://inlofna.org/what-we-do>.
- 3 See https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=15752.
- 4 See <https://libguides.lib.umanitoba.ca/c.php?g=723161>.
- 5 See <http://www.snorri.is/>.
- 6 See <https://icelandiconline.com/>.
- 7 See <https://www.icelandicroots.com/>.
- 8 See <http://hofsos.is/en/the-icelandic-emigration-center/>.
- 9 See <https://nihm.ca/>.
- 10 See, in particular, her discussion of vowel mergers and flámæli in Chapters 6 and 7.
- 11 The so-called particle shift in English is somewhat similar. The sentences *I looked the address up*, *I looked up the address*, and *I looked it up* are fine, but if the object is an unstressed pronoun, it has to shift around the particle. Thus **I looked up it* is not acceptable. Note that * refers to an unacceptable construction in English.
- 12 An extensive survey of the relationship between subjunctive and long-distance reflexives in the Icelandic spoken in Iceland (IceIce) indicates that it is not as robust as often assumed (Thráinsson and Strahan 2015).

REFERENCES

- Arnbjörnsdóttir, Birna. 1990. “The Linguistic and Social Context of Apparent Vowel Mergers in North American Icelandic.” PhD diss., University of Texas.
- . 2006. *North American Icelandic: The Life of a Language*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Arnbjörnsdóttir, Birna, and Höskuldur Thráinsson. 2018. “Hvað einkennir vesturíslensku? Yfirlit um fyrri rit og rannsóknir” [What is North American Icelandic like? An overview of previous research]. In *Sigurtunga: Vesturíslenskt mál og menning*, edited by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Úlfar Bragason, 211–55. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan.
- Arnbjörnsdóttir, Birna, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Iris Edda Nowenstein. 2018. “V2 and V3 Orders in North-American Icelandic.” *Journal of Language Contact* 11 (3): 379–412.
- Arngrímsson, Guðjón. 1997. *Nýja Ísland. Örlagasaga vesturfarana í máli og myndum* [New Iceland. An illustrated account of the Icelandic emigration to North America]. Reykjavík: Mál og menning.

- . 1998. *Annað Ísland. Gullöld Vestur-Íslendinga í máli og myndum* [Another Iceland. An illustrated account of the golden age of western Icelanders]. Reykjavík: Mál og menning.
- . 2000. *Nýja Ísland. Saga of the Journey to the New World*. Translated by Robert Christie. Winnipeg: Turnstone Press.
- Bedford, Allan Gerald. 1975. *The University of Winnipeg: A History of the Founding Colleges*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Benmamoun, Elabbas, Silvina Montrul, and Maria Polinsky. 2013. “Heritage Languages and Their Speakers: Opportunities and Challenges for Linguistics.” *Theoretical Linguistics* 39: 129–81.
- Berko, Jean. 1958. “The Child’s Learning of English Morphology.” *Word* 14 (2–3): 150–77.
- Bertram, Laurie K. 2010. “New Icelandic Ethnoscapes: Material, Visual and Oral Terrains of Cultural Expression in Icelandic-Canadian History, 1875–Present.” PhD diss., University of Toronto.
- . 2020. *The Viking Immigrants: Icelandic North Americans*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bessason, Haraldur. 1958. “Um íslensk mannanöfn í Vesturheimi” [On Icelandic names in North America]. *Tímarit Þjóðræknisfélags Íslendinga í Vesturheimi* 39: 57–65.
- . 1967. “A Few Specimens of North American-Icelandic.” *Scandinavian Studies* 39 (2): 115–46.
- . 1971. “Ísländskan í Nordamerika.” *Sprog i Norden*: 57–77.
- . 1980. “Um íslenska tungu í Vesturheimi” [On Icelandic in North America]. *Lögberg-Heimskringla*, 21 March, 7.
- . 1984. “Íslenska er lifseigari en nokkurt annað þjóðarbrotsmál í Kanada.” [Icelandic is more resilient than any other heritage language in Canada]. Interview in *Morgunblaðið*, 12 February, 64–65.
- Bjarnadóttir, Birna, and Finnboði Guðmundsson, eds. 2007. *My Parents: Memoirs of New World Icelanders*. [Translations by Katelin Parsons, Davíð Gíslason, and Árný Hjaltadóttir of selected chapters of the book *Foreldrar mínir*, edited by Finnboði Guðmundsson, 1956.] Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Björnsdóttir, Sigríður Mjöll. 2018. “‘Hún er svo montin af að vera íslenskt.’ Málbreytingar í sendibréfum Vestur-Íslendinga” [She is so proud of being Icelandic. Language change in the letters of a North American Icelander]. In *Sigurtunga: Vesturíslenskt mál og menning*, edited by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Úlfar Bragason, 341–59. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan.
- Bragason, Úlfar. 2018. “Menning og saga. Yfirlit um fyrri rit og rannsóknir” [Culture and history. An overview of previous research]. In *Sigurtunga: Vesturíslenskt mál og menning*, edited by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Úlfar Bragason, 21–34. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan.
- Clausing, Stephen. 1981. “English Influence on the American German Dialects with a Comparison to American Icelandic.” PhD. diss., University of Wisconsin.

- . 1986. *English Influence on American German and American Icelandic*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Dehé, Nicole. 2018. “The Intonation of Polar Questions in North American (‘Heritage’) Icelandic.” *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 30 (3): 213–59.
- Dehé, Nicole, and Tanja Kupisch. 2021. “Prepositional phrases and Case in North American (Heritage) Icelandic.” *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*: 1–27. doi:10.1017/S033258652100018.
- Einarsson, Magnús, ed. 1991. *Icelandic-Canadian Oral Narratives*. Selected by Magnús Einarsson. Mercury Series Paper. Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies 63. Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- , ed. 1992. *Icelandic-Canadian Memory Lore*. Selected by Magnús Einarsson. Mercury Series Paper. Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies 64. Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Einarsson, Stefán. 1933. “Hvað geta Vestur-íslendingar gert fyrir íslenska tungu?” [What can Western Icelanders do for the Icelandic language]. *Tímarit Þjóðræknisfélags Íslendinga* 15 (1): 9–17.
- . 1937. “Nokkur sýnishorn af vestur-íslenzku og rannsóknum um hana” [Examples of Western Icelandic and related research]. *Lögberg—Fimmtíu Ára Minningarblað*. *Lögberg*, 22 December, 18–19 and 22–23.
- Eyford, Ryan C. 2006. “From Prairie Goolies to Canadian Cyclones: The Transformation of the 1920 Winnipeg Falcons.” *Sport History Review* 37 (1): 5–18.
- . 2010. “An Experiment in Immigrant Colonization: Canada and the Icelandic Reserve 1875–1897.” PhD diss., University of Manitoba.
- . 2016. *White Settler Reserve: New Iceland and the Colonization of the Canadian West*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Eythórsson, Thórhallur, and Höskuldur Thráinsson. 2017. “Variation in Oblique Subject Constructions in Insular Scandinavian.” In *Syntactic Variation in Insular Scandinavian*, edited by Höskuldur Thráinsson, Caroline Heycock, Hjalmar P. Petersen, and Zakaris Svabo Hansen, 53–90. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Fishman, Joshua. 1972. *The Sociology of Language*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Culture*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gerrard, Nelson. 1979. “Pioneers and Place Names of New Iceland.” *Icelandic Canadian* (Winter 1978–Spring 1979). <http://sagapublications.com/articles.html>.
- . 1985. *Icelandic River Saga*. Arborg, MB: Saga Publications.
- Guðmundsdóttir Beck, Þórhalla, and Matthew Whelpton. 2018. “Það besta úr báðum heimum. Um litaheiti í vesturíslensku” [The best of both worlds. On colour naming in IAI]. In *Sigurtunga: Vesturíslenskt mál og menning*, edited by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Úlfar Bragason, 375–400. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan.
- Guðmundsson, Böðvar. 2000. *Where the Winds Dwell*. Translated by Keneva Kunz. Winnipeg: Turnstone Press.

- Guðsteinsdóttir, Guðrún Björk. 2006. "Home and Exile in Early Icelandic-Canadian Poetry." In *Home and Exile: Selected Papers from the 4th International Tartu Conference on Canadian Studies*, edited by Eva Rein og Krista Vogelberg, 71–81. Tartu: Baltic Center for North-American Studies and Estonian Association for Canadian Studies, University of Tartu.
- Houser, George J. 1990. *Pioneer Icelandic Pastor: The Life of Reverend Paul Thorlaksson*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society.
- Hreinsson, Viðar. 2003. *Andvökuskáld. Ævisaga Stephans G. Stephanssonar*. Vol. 2. Reykjavík: Bjartur.
- . 2012. *Wakeful Nights. Stephan G. Stephansson—Icelandic-Canadian Poet*. Calgary: Benson Ranches.
- Jóhannsdóttir, Kristín M. 2006. "The Status of Icelandic in Canada." *Icelandic Canadian* 60 (2): 63–68.
- Jónsson, Bergsteinn. 2005. *Báran ris og hnígur: Dauðastríð íslenskrar tungu meðal afkomenda íslenskra landnema í Norður-Dakota eins og það birtist í gerðabókum Þjóðræknisdeildarinnar Bárunnar 1938–1977* [Evidence for the deterioration of Icelandic in the minutes of the national league chapter Báran]. Reykjavík: Sagnfræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands and Háskólaútgáfan.
- . 2009. *Til Vesturheims: Um vesturferðir, Vesturheim og Vestur-Íslendinga* [On the emigration of Icelanders to North America]. Reykjavík: Skrudda.
- Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 2018. "'Þú skilur ekki þetta.' Andlagsstökk í vesturíslensku" [You understand not this. Object shift in NAI]. In *Sigurtunga: Vesturíslenskt mál og menning*, edited by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Úlfar Bragason, 361–74. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan.
- Kristinsson, Júníus H. 1983. *Vesturfaraskrá 1870–1914*. Reykjavík: Sagnfræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands.
- Kristjánsdóttir, Dagný. 2014. "'Við héma í vestrinu'. Um bernsku og barnaefni í íslenskum barnablöðum í Vesturheimi" [We in the West. On childhood and material for children in Icelandic children's journals in America]. *Ritið* 1: 103–19.
- Kristjanson, Wilhelm. 1965. *The Icelandic People in Manitoba: A Manitoba Saga*. Winnipeg: Wallingford Press.
- McIntosh, Andrea. 2004. "In Plain Sight: The Development of Western Icelandic Ethnicity and Class Division 1910–1920." PhD diss., University of Manitoba.
- Majid, Asifa, Fiona Jordan, and Michael Dunn. 2015. "Semantic Systems in Closely Related Languages." *Language Sciences* 49: 1–18.
- Mayer, Mercer. 1969. *Frog, Where Are You?* New York: Dial Press.
- Minningarrit íslenskra hermanna 1914–1918* [In memory of Icelandic soldiers 1914–1918]. Edited by Rögnvaldur Pétursson. Winnipeg: Félagið Jón Sigurðsson, 1923.
- Neijmann, Daisy L. 1995. "Laura Goodman Salverson, Guttormur J. Guttormsson, and the Dual World of Second-generation Canadian Authors." *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies* 8: 19–36.

- . 1997a. “Community and Identity in Icelandic-Canadian Literature.” *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies* 10: 53–75.
- . 1997b. *The Icelandic Voice in Canadian Letters: The Contribution of Icelandic-Canadian Writers to Canadian Literature*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
- . 1999. “Fighting with Blunt Swords: Laura Goodman Salverson and the Canadian Literary Canon.” *Essays on Canadian Writing* 67: 138–73.
- . 1999–2000. “Damned with Faint Praise: The Reception of Laura Goodman Salverson’s Works by the Icelandic-Canadian Community.” *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies* 12: 40–62.
- . 2006. “Icelandic-Canadian Literature.” In *A History of Icelandic Literature*, edited by Daisy L. Neijmann, 608–42. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- . 2018. “Mál til samskipta eða tengsla. Gildi íslenskunnar í Vesturheimi” [Communicative and symbolic functions of North American Icelandic]. In *Sigurtunga: Vesturíslenskt mál og menning*, edited by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Úlfar Bragason, 279–302. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan.
- Óskarsdóttir, Salbjörg, and Höskuldur Thráinsson. 2017. “Hann þótti gott í staupinu. Um breytingar á aukafallsfrumlögum í vesturíslensku” [He liked a drink. On changes in the case marking of oblique subjects in NAI]. In *Tilbrigði í íslenskri setningagerð III* [Variation in Icelandic syntax], edited by Höskuldur Thráinsson, Ásgrímur Angantýsson, and Einar Freyr Sigurðsson, 101–24. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.
- Pálsson, Gísli. 2005. *Travelling Passions: The Hidden Life of Vilhjálmur Stefánsson*. Translated from Icelandic by Keneva Kunz. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth.
- Putnam, Michael T., and Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir. 2015. “Minimizing (Interface) Domains: The Loss of Long-Distance Binding in North American Icelandic.” In *Moribund Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Findings*, edited by B. Richard Page and Michael T. Putnam, 203–23. Leiden: Brill.
- Ruth, Roy H. 1964. *Educational Echoes: A History of Education of the Icelandic Canadians in Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Columbia Printers.
- Salus, Peter H. 1971. “Icelandic in Canada: A Survey of Immigration and Language Loyalty.” In *Linguistic Diversity in Canadian Society*, edited by Regna Darnell, 231–43. Edmonton: Linguistic Research.
- Sigurðsson, Gísli. 1984. “Viðtöl við Vestur-Íslendinga, ásamt orðasafni úr vesturíslensku” [Interviews with North American Icelanders, together with a word list]. Manuscript. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar.
- Sigurtunga: Vesturíslenskt mál og menning* [Victorious language. North American Icelandic language and culture]. 2018. Edited by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Úlfar Bragason, and Höskuldur Thráinsson. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan.

- Simundsson, Elva. 1981. *Icelandic Settlers in America*. Illustrations by Nelson Gerrard. Winnipeg: Queenston House Publishing.
- Sögur úr Vesturheimi [Stories from North America]. 2012. Interviews with descendants of Icelandic immigrants in North America, conducted by Hallfréður Örn Eiríksson and Olga María Franzdóttir 1972–1973. Edited by Gísli Sigurðsson. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. [The interviews largely consist of folk tales and they are accessible at <http://www.arnastofnun.is/sogururvesturheimi>.]
- Sontag, Susan. 2007. *At the Same Time: Essays and Speeches*. Edited by Paolo Dilonardo and Anne Jump. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 2004. *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stefánsson, Vilhjálmur. 1903. “English Loan-Nouns Used in the Colony of North Dakota.” *Dialect Notes* 2: 354–62.
- Thor, Jonas. 2002. *Icelanders in North America: The First Settlers*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur, Iris Edda Nowenstein, and Sigríður Magnúsdóttir. 2021. “Hvað gerist þegar ein *darga* fjölgar sér í Vesturheimi? Um fleirtölu nafnorða í vesturislensku” [What happens when one *darga* multiplies in North America? On the plural formation of nouns in NAI]. In *Sálubót. Afmælisrit til heiðurs Jörgen L. Pind*, edited by Árni Kristjánsson, Heiða María Sigurðardóttir, and Kristján Árnason, 123–50. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur, and Tania Strahan. 2015. “Fornöfn.” In *Tilbrigði í íslenski setningagerð III* [Variation in Icelandic syntax], edited by Höskuldur Thráinsson, Ásgrímur Angantýsson, and Einar Freyr Sigurðsson, 155–76. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.
- Veterans of Icelandic Descent, World War II, 1939–1945*. 1990–1993. A sequel to *Minningarrit íslenskra hermanna 1914–1918*. Winnipeg: Jon Sigurdsson Chapter IODE.
- Víðisdóttir, Katrín María. 2016. “Hér og þar. Afdrif norðlenskra framburðareinkenna heima fyrir og vestanhafs” [Here and there. The development of northern dialect traits in Iceland and in North America]. Master’s thesis, University of Iceland.
- Wolf, Kirsten. 1991. “Heroic Past, Heroic Present. Western Icelandic Literature.” *Scandinavian Studies* 63: 432–52.
- . 1992a. “Icelandic-Canadian Literature: Problems in Generic Classification.” *Scandinavian Studies* 64: 439–53.
- , ed. 1992b. *Western Icelandic Short Stories*. Translated by Kirsten Wolf and Árný Hjaltadóttir. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- . 1994. “Western Icelandic Women Writers: Their Contribution to the Literary Canon.” *Scandinavian Studies* 66: 154–203.
- . 1996a. “The Pioneer Woman in Icelandic-Canadian Women’s Literature.” *Scandinavica* 35: 187–211.
- , ed. and transl. 1996b. *Writings by Western Icelandic Women*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

- . 2001. “Emigration and Mythmaking: The Case of Icelanders in Canada.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33: 1–15.
- Woods, Fred E. 2005. *Fire and Ice: The Story of Icelandic Latter-Day Saints at Home and Abroad*. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University.
- Þorbergsson, Magnús Þór. 2020. “‘Ég brenni flest leikrit mín’: Um leikskáldið Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason” [I burn most of my dramas. On the playwright Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason]. *Skírnir* 194: 294–320.