

## West Frisian in Wisconsin: A historical profile of immigrant language use in Randolph Township\*

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### Gearfetting

Dit artikel beskriuwt hoe't taal brûkt wurdt yn in Fryske immigrantemienskip yn 'e Feriene Steaten. It doel is om mei it stik in bydrage te leverjen ta it begripen fan it hâlden en dragen foar (de) taal oer fan immigranten yn it algemien. Spesjaal omtinken wurdt jûn oan 'e ûnderskate eleminten dy't de struktuer fan in immigrantemienskip sjen litte. Dat binne saken as geografysk isolemint, de taal dy't brûkt wurdt troch ynstitúsjen en ynhoefier't praat wurde kin fan it lokaal of regionaal organisearre-wêzen. Dy dingen kinne nammentlik ynfloed hawwe op oft praters yn in mienskip trochgean mei it brûken fan har minderheidstaal foar in langer skoft, of dat se al gauftich oerskeakelje op de mearderheidstaal.

Earder ûndersyk hat in teory opsmiten dêr't yn útlein wurdt wat oft it effekt fan 'e krektneamde struktueren op taalbehâld of taalferoaring is. Neffens de ûndersiken fan Lucht (2007), Salmons (2005) en Warren (1963) referearje horizontale struktueren oan 'e lokale struktueren yn in mienskip; fertikale struktueren, dêrfoar, referearje oan struktueren dy't tsjinje om in ferbining te lizzen mei de gruttere mienskip om de lytse hinne. Warren hat de neamde struktueren ûndersocht yn ferbân mei wat er neamt *The Great Change* ('De Grutte Feroaring'), dy't ferwiist nei grutte sosjale feroarings yn 'e Feriene Steaten. De útkomst wie: in ferskowing fan horizontale nei fertikale struktueren. Dy feroaring yn 'e struktuer fan in mienskip wurdt 'fertikalisaasje' neamd. Op grûn fan Warren syn model kin de linguistyske ûntjouwing fan in mienskip keppele wurde oan har sosjale struktuer en 'e feroarings dy't dy mienskip ûndergien hat. Yn Salmons en Lucht har stúdzjes fan in Dútsktalige mienskip yn Wisconsin is Warren syn model tapast op hoe't immigranten taal brûke. It hat bliken dien, dat horizontale struktueren meihelpe ta it behâlden fan 'e (eigen) minderheidstaal, wylst fertikale struktueren it oergean nei de mearderheidstaal as útkomst hawwe. Op sa'n wize hat, yn it spoar fan 'De Grutte Feroaring', it oergean nei fertikale struktueren in feroaring fan 'e immigrante- nei de dominante taal as gefolch.

De minder bekende en lytsere groep dêr't it yn dizze bydrage oer giet, is dy fan Fryske immigranten yn in agraryske mienskip op it plattelân fan Wisconsin, dy't, ferlykjenderwize, frijwat struktueren mist, dy't de oare, gruttere, mienskippen wol hawwe. Troch it missen fan dy struktueren, is goed it ferskil waar te nimmen mei dy gruttere mienskippen en is it mooglik om it fertikalisaasje-model ta te passen op in lytsere mienskip. It neigean fan 'e demografyske ûntjouwing en it taalgebrûk

*fan 'e ynwenners fan it stedsje Friesland yn Columbia County, Wisconsin, yn 'e earste jierren fan 'e 20ste ieu, smyt oar ljocht op it taalgebrûk troch immigranten yn dy ieu. Boppedat jouwe dy data ynsjoch yn ynhoefier't mienskiptsstruktueren de grutste rol spylje kinne wat harren bydrage oan taalbehâld of taalferoarig oanbelanget. De data dy't yn dit artikel op 't aljemint brocht wurde, litte fierder in ferbân sjen tusken it nivo fan konsintraasje fan 'e etnyske Fryske populaasje en 'e relatyfhege mjitte fan Fryske taalbehearsking. Hoewol't yn de skoallen en tsjerken yn Friesland in oare taal brûkt wurdt as it Frysk, funksjonearje dy ynstitútsjes wól as horizontale struktueren yn 'e mienskip. Op sa'n wize wurdt it mienskiptsfielen yn en om Friesland befoardere en wurdt it proses fan fertikalisaasje fertrage.*

#### *o.o Introduction*

This paper provides a profile of language use in a West Frisian immigrant community in the United States, seeking to contribute to understanding immigrant language maintenance more generally. Of particular interest in this study are the different elements of community structure such as geographical isolation, institutional language use, and the balance of local and regional organization that may have an effect on whether speakers in this community either continue to speak their minority language for an extended period, or whether they end up adopting the majority language in a relatively short time span. Previous scholarship has pursued a theory to organize and explain these structures in terms of their effect on language maintenance or shift. Following the work of Lucht (2007), Salmons (2005), and Warren (1963), *horizontal* structures refer to the local structures within a community; *vertical* refers to structures which serve to link a community to the larger society surrounding it. Warren's work examines these structures in connection with what he calls *The Great Change*, which refers to major societal changes in the United States that resulted in a shift from horizontal to vertical structures. This transformation in community structure is referred to as verticalization. Using Warren's model, the linguistic development of a community has been linked with the social structure and changes undergone in the community. In Salmons' and Lucht's studies of a German communities in Wisconsin, Warren's model is applied to immigrant language use, where vertical structures tend to promote language maintenance and horizontal structures result in a shift to the majority language. Thus, in the wake of The Great Change, the shift towards vertical structures results in the shift from the immigrant to the dominant language. Many studies on minority language use (e.g. Lucht 2007; Loudon 2003; Dutkova-Cope 2001) have focused on such groups as German immigrants in the Midwestern United States, Orthodox Jewish communities in urban settings or the Pennsylvania German population,

many of which had (or have) the newspapers and religious institutions that are often connected with language maintenance. These groups also represent sizeable communities that are recognizable even to people outside the community.

This investigation examines a lesser-known and smaller community of Frisian immigrants in a farming community in rural Wisconsin, which by comparison lacks many of these community structures, thus providing a good contrast with these larger communities and allowing the verticalization model to be tested in a smaller community. Tracing the demographic development and language use of the inhabitants of the town of Friesland, Columbia County, Wisconsin during the early 20th century gives another perspective on immigrant language use in America in the 1900s. Moreover, these data provide insight as to which community structures may play the largest role in contributing to maintenance or shift. The data used in this paper shows a correlation between high concentrations of the ethnic Frisian population and comparatively high measures of Frisian language proficiency. We argue that although schools and churches in Friesland operated in languages other than Frisian, they still functioned as horizontal structures in the community, thus promoting both cohesion in and around Friesland and slowing verticalization. Furthermore, these locally controlled entities operated under a similar system of language domain separation experienced by Frisians before emigrating to the United States. These factors, in concert with geographic concentration of Frisian-proficient speakers and rural isolation of the farming community in and around Friesland, created an environment conducive to Frisian language use and maintenance in a diaspora community. Key data will be drawn from the 1910 US Census of Randolph Township, Columbia County, Wisconsin, the 1915 plat map of Randolph Center showing land ownership in the area, and the 1926 plat map of Friesland, WI. These data will be supplemented with recorded interviews from 2008 and 2009 with Frisian-speaking residents of Friesland, WI.

Section 1 outlines Warren's Great Change, and the demographics, location and background of Randolph Township and Friesland, Wisconsin. Section 2 provides a description of the methods of collecting and analyzing data, with subcategories specific to immigration and to language proficiency. These subcategories are echoed in section 3, discussing the data collected from interviews and primary sources. Section 4 contains the discussion of the findings of this research, with special attention paid to linguistic proficiency; an analysis of the vertical and horizontal social structures present in Randolph and Friesland, WI; and how

the social structures present in these locations do not follow a similar pattern for successful immigrant language maintenance described in previous research. Section 5 summarizes the findings of this research.

### 1.1 Warren's Great Change

Roland L. Warren's book *Community in America* provides a framework for understanding how the structure of the community can affect language use. In his model, horizontal, or local structures promote cohesion of smaller units of the community, while vertical, or regional/national structures lead to a stronger influence on the community from the society at large. In the case of American communities, Warren posits a 'Great Change' during the early 20th century, which sees the rising importance of vertical structures, and therefore more extensive regional and national links between communities. The Great Change marks the reorientation of an individual American community towards vertical structures at the expense of horizontal ones, where '[T]he ties between different local community units are weakened, and community autonomy, defined as control by local people over the establishment, goals, policies, and operations of local community units, is likewise reduced' (Warren 53-54). Central to his model is the idea that loss of autonomy associated with the transition to vertical structures leads to the diffusion of a small community into the community at large, resulting in cultural homogenization in the direction of the dominant culture. Verticalization is then characterized as 'the increasing orientation of local community units toward extracommunity systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesions and autonomy...' (Warren 53-54).

A similar model is proposed by Fishman (1966). Seeing the same cultural shift in American communities, Fishman attributes this transformation of society not to a change in social structure or to a loss of autonomy in smaller communities, but to immigrants' awareness of the benefits and economic opportunities afforded by being part of the larger community (Fishman 29):

'The Americanization of immigrants has been explained on the basis of: the irresistible attractiveness of American mass culture; the destruction of immigrant folkways under the impact of rapid American industrialization and urbanization; the openness and amplex of the American reward system through public education to social mobility; the geographic mobility of a highly diversified population which worked *against* the entrenchment of regional traditionalism and for a lingua franca and other shifting but common cultural de-

nominators; the emphases on childhood and youth, and the outdated of adult values and patterns, whether ethnic or non-ethnic; and even an “Old World weariness” which immigrants purportedly carried with them at a subconscious level.’

Unlike Warren, Fishman applies his model of modernization to language shift, his argument being based almost entirely on the agency of motivated immigrants to shift to the dominant culture and language. In other words, where Fishman sees the shift towards the dominant language as being the cause, and verticalization (in Warren’s sense – Fishman does not use the term) to be the effect, Warren’s framework appropriately treats assimilation to the dominant culture as the result of the transformation of American communities and of social structures. While agency on the part of the speaker might play a role in the language use of an individual, Fishman’s arguments are not as quantifiable or uniformly applicable to a wide immigrant population as Warren’s framework applied to immigrant language shift: while all immigrants in

a given community are subject to the influence of the dominant culture to a degree determined by social structures, it cannot be accurately predicted that any given body of immigrants will independently make the same conscious decisions regarding language use. For this work, we adhere to Warren’s Model of The Great Change.

Applied to language use, horizontal structures promote minority language maintenance, whereas vertical structures accelerate the process of language shift towards the dominant language. In her 2007 dissertation on German communities in Lebanon, Wisconsin, Lucht applies Warren’s framework to the use of German, asserting that internal ties within the community (which can arise in the form of newspapers, density of settlement, churches or locally-run schools) lead to an extended period of language maintenance. It is particularly important with respect to this discussion that these structures have a dual nature; that is, they can act as both vertical and horizontal structures. For example, local control of schools and a geographically tight student base is a horizontal structure, while standardized curricula or regional school boards would act as a vertical influence. It will become clear below that schools in Friesland, despite being English-speaking, could still act as a horizontal structure in that they contributed to cohesion in the community and corresponded with a distinct separation of language domains. Lucht’s study concludes further that as these institutions began to verticalize during Warren’s period of ‘Great Change’, more centralized bureaucracies and vertical structures developed and the gradual demise of the immigrant lan-

guage followed. The role of formal institutions as horizontal structures is discussed as critical in Salmons' work on Wisconsin-Germans: 'In the nineteenth century, Germans in Wisconsin were remarkably successful in creating and maintaining their own institutions, which directly supported language maintenance until they were vitiated by the Great Change' (Salmons 2005: 136). In the Hustisford community, local control of the church and the availability of German-language media acted as horizontal structures that not only provided an avenue for active use of the minority language, but also were local institutions that delayed the trend towards verticalization. As discussed below, the types of horizontal structures present in the Friesland and Randolph communities do not correlate exactly with those of other communities researched, though Warren's model remains central to the discussion.<sup>1</sup>

### *1.1 Community Background*

Friesland lies roughly 50 miles north northeast of Madison, Wisconsin, in the north central United States, and currently has 303 inhabitants. Prior to its incorporation as Friesland in 1946, the area was a part of Randolph Township, known as Randolph Center. From the first European settlement, the town has been a farming community, with the town itself comprising only government services and a single grocery store. The population was settled heavily by European immigrants including Frisians, Dutch, Germans, Polish-Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Welsh, English, Scotch and Irish, as well as single individuals from France, Belgium and Switzerland. By the 1910 US census, the overwhelming majority of Randolph Township, of which Randolph Center was a part, was populated by either 1st or 2nd generation Europeans. Frisian has been spoken in this community from the first records of Frisian immigration to Randolph Center in 1881 to the present. The history of those 129 years provides not only an important period in Wisconsin and American history, but also provides an opportunity to study a branch of West Frisian distinct from the European continent, both as a record of a colonial variety of West Frisian, and as an example of a West Frisian dialect that developed independent of the European variety, and without a strong influence from Dutch. Additionally, the situation provides a model of a highly-concentrated, isolated community that exhibits sociolinguistic factors conducive to language maintenance.

### *2.0 Method*

We begin with 1910 US Census data from Randolph Township, Columbia County, Wisconsin. The 1910 Census was selected because it is the first year in which the population is specifically listed as 'Holland Frisian',

thus making the distinction between Frisians and Dutch, and provides additional information regarding language proficiency. This census also directly follows the largest influx of Frisian immigrants to Randolph Township, from the late 19th to early 20th century. The 1910 data, in addition to plat maps showing property ownership, provides information on immigrants' country of origin; language proficiency, specifically non-English monolingual speakers; and the geographic distribution and local concentration of groups relative to both ethnicity and linguistic proficiency.

Wisconsin-Frisian speakers were also recorded on two separate occasions in spring 2008 and 2009 in Friesland, Wisconsin. The open source program Praat (Boersma and Weenink) was used for the recordings. In 2008, individual sessions of approximately 15 minutes were recorded in addition to group recordings of informal conversation. The 2009 session consisted primarily of tasks aimed at acoustic analysis of the dialect; however, content and free conversation from this session was also applied to this study. Interviewers spoke English during both the individual session and group conversation. Speakers were identified and contacted in coordination with the Max Kade Institute, and all speakers recorded reported using Frisian on occasion with family members and friends proficient in the language. In total, nine fluent speakers of Frisian were recorded, two of which are Wisconsin-born and seven of which came to the US after World War Two. The two Wisconsin-born speakers report that their parents came to the US around the turn of the century, coinciding with the reported immigration dates of most Frisians in the census data outlined earlier. The first-generation Wisconsin-Frisians moved to Wisconsin between 1947 and 1953. All speakers were from the areas near the central north Frisian city of Dokkum, and represent one dialect of continental West Frisian, *Noardseasthoeksk*, though variation among speakers is still apparent.

In individual recordings, the speakers provided a short biographical sketch, and completed a series of directed tasks, including: translation tasks, picture description tasks, and production of tokens from a word list in frames, producing the token both phrase-medially and phrase-finally. The group discussions were informal by design, and covered largely the topics of language use, immigration, and stories of Friesland, Netherlands as well as Friesland, Wisconsin. Many of these specific stories contain useful information not contained in the census about how language was used and perceived among members of the community. This anecdotal interview data was then compared to the 1910 U.S. Census data and Plat map data.

### 2.1 *Immigration*

Census data provided includes the individuals' place of birth, and the place of birth of the individuals' mother and father. Categories were created reflecting the language and country of origin of immigrants to Friesland, WI: Holland-Fries, Holland-Dutch, German (including German-speakers from formerly Polish regions of the Empire, and one German-speaking Swiss), Welsh, English (including Scottish), Swedish, Norwegian and Irish. Categories created for this study are reflective of those recorded on the census, though some categories have been collapsed into single categories where the language spoken prior to immigration is the same. Individual speakers of French were noted separately, as there were only two. Place of birth of individuals as well as that of their parents was identified in the census. Using this information, the immigrant population was identified as either first or second-generation. First-generation immigrants were defined as those who were born in Europe; and second-generation immigrants as those who were born in North America, who had at least one European-born parent. Those whose parents were born in North America were defined as American Heritage, because census data could not provide further data.<sup>2</sup>

This information was then organized geographically based on street/road names appearing on the census records, and cross-referenced with plat maps of Randolph Center from 1915, and Friesland, WI from 1926, thus deriving the location(s) and degree of ethnic concentration. In many instances, census data based on street address does not correspond perfectly with the actual distribution of a rural population, nor do present-day road names and locations correspond necessarily to data from a century prior. For these reasons, locations listed on the census by street names are given graphically as a central point in a region where census data show correlation with property ownership records, e.g. derived census data regarding households on Randolph Center North Road are plotted at a central geographic point between the adjacent properties specifically matched in the census and on the Platt map, rather than by a random location somewhere along Randolph Center North Road. Using this method, it is clear which areas of the county were settled most densely by Frisians and Germans respectively.

### 2.2 *Linguistic Proficiency*

The degree of linguistic proficiency in languages other than English was calculated, both by individual, and within a given household. The wording of the census does not list linguistic proficiency in a language other than English, nor does it list linguistic dominance. Rather, the census records merely whether the individual is a proficient English speaker.



If the individual is not a proficient English speaker, then the language of proficiency is given. The exact wording is, 'Whether able to speak English or, if not, give language spoken'. Each instance of non-English monolingualism was recorded, with further derivation required for Frisians and Dutch: while there was a distinction made between ethnic Frisians and Dutch, no such distinction was made linguistically – all were listed as 'Holland'. In this case, 'Holland' was further divided, under the fair assumption that ethnic Frisians reporting 'Holland' monolingualism were Frisian-speakers, and that ethnic Dutch 'Holland' monolinguals spoke Dutch.<sup>3</sup>

Linguistic proficiency was further divided into two categories, demonstrably proficient and likely proficient, building on Wilkerson & Salmons (2008). Linguistic proficiency categories were created for the three languages for which individuals stated monolingualism: Frisian, Dutch and German.

The first category consisted of those who were demonstrably proficient (DP) in an immigrant language, being either explicitly listed as proficient in an immigrant language, or by necessity proficient in an immigrant language to facilitate communication within a household. Following census reporting, demonstrably proficient was calculated as the sum of reported non-English monolinguals, first-generation immigrants who report English proficiency (who must have spoken their own language before emigrating, but who were not previously tabulated as non-English monolinguals), and second-generation immigrants who report English proficiency, but who live in a household with at least one reported monolingual. In this last category, it can be assumed with certainty that these speakers were still indeed proficient in that particular immigrant language because they needed to communicate with the monolingual(s) present in the family.

A second category was created including those who were likely proficient (LP). This category consists of speakers who cannot be proven proficient in an immigrant language based on available data, but who nevertheless lived in an environment conducive to possible immigrant language maintenance. Likely Proficient is defined as second-generation immigrants who report English proficiency, but live in a household with a demonstrably proficient speaker who also reports English proficiency. Proximity to other proficient speakers was also taken into consideration. For example, the Visser family on Markesan Road consisted of two first-generation parents, and four second-generation children, and all members of the household reported English proficiency. The parents would be listed as demonstrably proficient, because they were born in Friesland, Netherlands. The children would be listed as likely proficient, be-

cause they live in a household with proficient speakers, but census data does not provide substantial evidence to certify their Frisian proficiency. Furthermore, the family lives on a road that is 91% ethnic Frisian, including 29 Frisian monolinguals, 48 demonstrably proficient speakers, and 8 likely proficient speakers. We therefore assume that the environment provided additional opportunities for Frisian-language input and use outside of the home as well.

Name	Relationship	Birth Date	Proficiency	Other
Vissers, Frank	Head	1870	Fl. Frisian	
Vissers, Mary	Wife	1875	Fl. Frisian	
Vissers, John	Son	1905	Fl. Frisian	
Vissers, Mary	Daughter	1910	Fl. Frisian	
Vissers, John	Son	1915	Fl. Frisian	
Vissers, Mary	Daughter	1920	Fl. Frisian	

The Vissers' neighbors, the Burmanias, consisted of two first-generation Wisconsin-Frisians, one first-generation child, three second-generation children, and the mother of the wife. Mrs. Burmania and her mother both reported Frisian monolingualism, so it can be assumed that Frisian was spoken at home. Therefore, all members of the household are recorded as demonstrably proficient speakers of Frisian (see fig. below).

Name	Relationship	Birth Date	Proficiency	Other
Burmanias, Frank	Head	1870	Fl. Frisian	
Burmanias, Mary	Wife	1875	Fl. Frisian	
Burmanias, John	Son	1905	Fl. Frisian	
Burmanias, Mary	Daughter	1910	Fl. Frisian	
Burmanias, John	Son	1915	Fl. Frisian	
Burmanias, Mary	Daughter	1920	Fl. Frisian	

A third category of English-Only Proficiency (EO) was created, consisting of those individuals who listed English proficiency, and who could not be justifiably deemed demonstrably nor likely proficient in a language other than English. One example of this type of household would be the Sauer family on Proscarian Road.

Name	Relationship	Birth Date	Proficiency	Other
Sauer, Frank	Head	1870	English	
Sauer, Mary	Wife	1875	English	
Sauer, John	Son	1905	English	

The Sauer household has no demonstrably proficient speakers: both parents are second-generation German reporting English proficiency, and the household's only child is an English-proficient daughter. Furthermore, their hired-hand, John Synes, is a first-generation Frisian who reports English proficiency.<sup>4</sup> English was presumably the common language between the second-generation Wisconsin-Germans and the first-generation Wisconsin-Frisian. While 36 of 38 people living on Proscarian Road are ethnic German, 32 of 36 are second-generation, resulting in lower numbers of demonstrably proficient speakers. Only 12 of

36 are demonstrably proficient in German, with only one of them being monolingual. These numbers suggest a lower degree of the immigrant language being used outside of the household than was seen in the Frisian community on Markesan Road. Therefore, in the absence of more definitive evidence, it cannot be assumed that a language other than English was spoken in the Sauer household. In addition to households such as the Sauer family, where use of the immigrant language could not be argued based on available data, the English-Only category contained also Welsh, Irish, Scottish and American heritage speakers who spoke English as a native language.

Census data also groups individuals by household, making it possible to determine with relative certainty the language spoken in a given family. Using a similar method to that used with respect to individual language proficiency, the number of demonstrably proficient households was tabulated as the sum of households in which at least one reported monolingual lived. It is clear that each member of the household must have been proficient in an immigrant language in order to communicate with the monolingual speaker(s), regardless of proficiency reporting. Also recorded was the number of households in which the immigrant language was likely spoken, following data related to the individual likely proficient category. These households included first-generation immigrants who reported English proficiency. It is clear that at least some members of a likely proficient household would have been bilingual, but the exact degree of proficiency, language dominance, and language domain are uncertain. The resultant statistics are the combination of the most accurate picture of immigrant language use we can draw with certainty based on available data (DP); and the conservative extrapolation of that admittedly limited data (LP).

Geographic distribution of language proficiency was then compared to geographic distribution of immigrant nationality, to test whether there was a correlation between high localized concentrations of a given immigrant population and high degree of linguistic proficiency. This factor, as well as other factors regarding immigrant language maintenance, will be discussed at length in section 4.

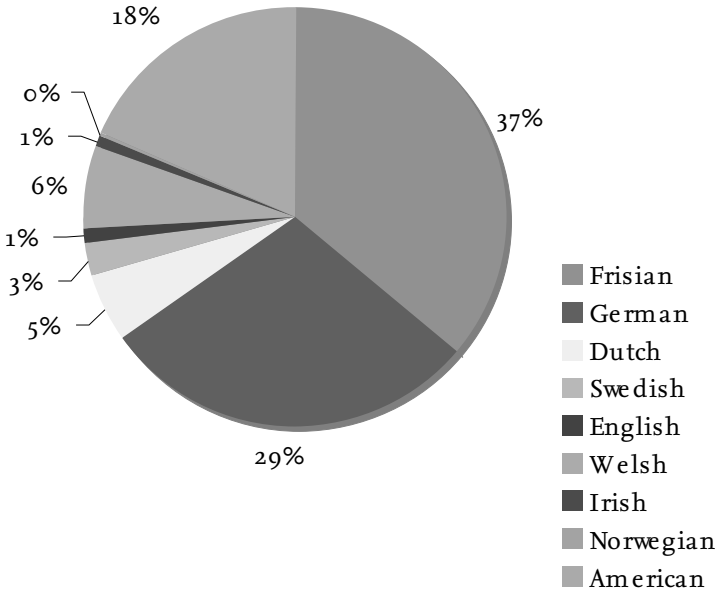
### 3.0 *Results*

#### 3.1 *Immigration*

Census data show a high degree of immigration in the two generations directly preceding the 1910 census: Of 1094 individuals living in Randolph Township, 835, or 81% of the area, were either first or second-generation immigrants. Of those immigrant populations, 393 were Frisians

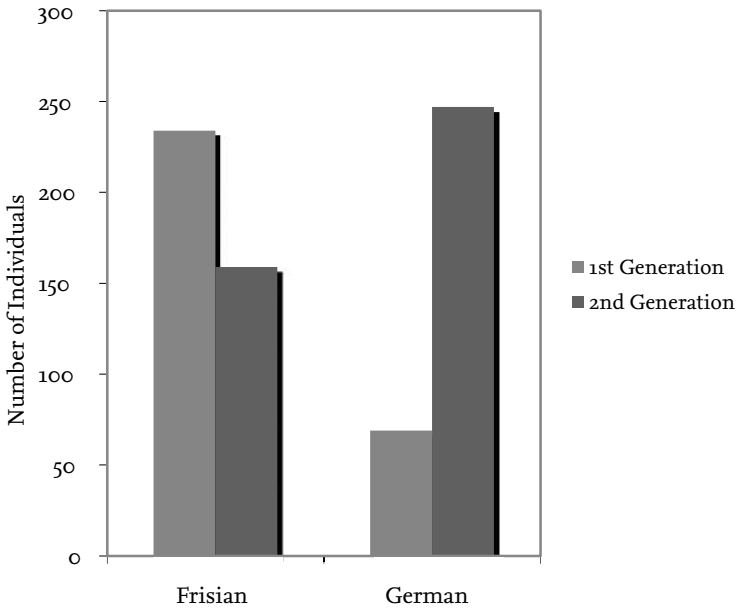
(234 first-generation; 159 second-generation); 316 were German (69 first-generation; 247 second-generation); 69 were Welsh (15 first-generation and 54 second-generation); 53 were Dutch (18 first-generation; 35 second-generation); and 199 were American Heritage, with 64 various other European immigrants represented. See figure 4 below.

### Ethnic Background in Randolph Township



The data show that Frisian is not only the single largest ethnic population in Randolph Township, but also that it is the only population comprised of more first-generation than second-generation individuals. Census data confirms by year of arrival that German and Welsh populations generally arrived in the mid to late 19th century, whereas Frisian immigration occurred in higher numbers a generation later, in the early 20th century. The first Frisian immigrants came to Randolph Center as early as 1881, but the largest influx of Frisians to the area came between 1890 and 1910. Comparison of the two largest ethnic populations, Frisian and German, shows that the character of immigration had shifted in the last two generations. Frisians comprised the largest first-generation population at the time of the 1910 census, in a township that one generation previous saw mostly German immigration (see figure 5 below).

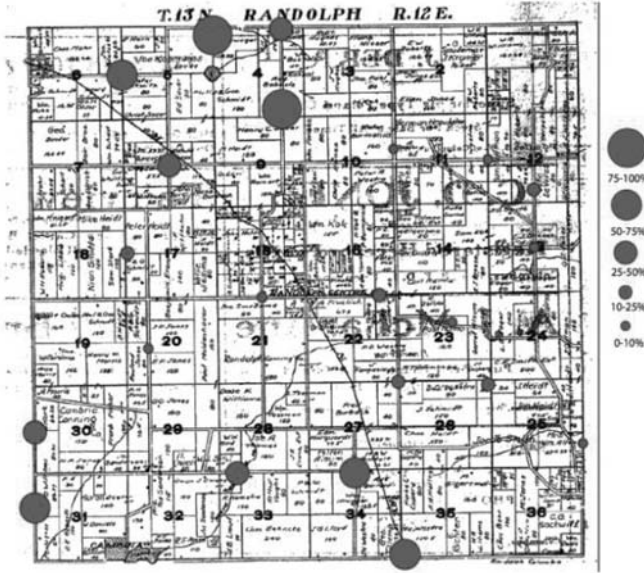
### 1st and 2nd Generation Immigrants



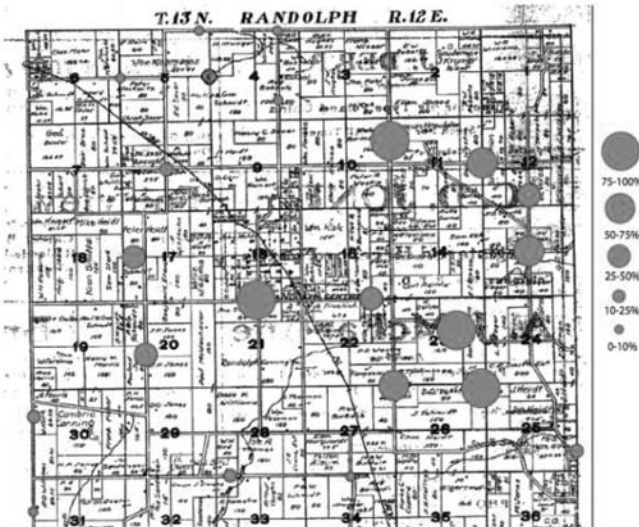
A higher number of demonstrably proficient speakers is recorded among the Frisian population than among the German and other populations that are further removed from the European homeland.

As would be expected, English proficiency reporting tends to be higher among second-generation Wisconsin-Frisians than first-generation, and English proficiency is higher among individuals who have been in Wisconsin longer. A good example of this is the Schmid family, farmers, who immigrated to Wisconsin in 1904. The parents as well as the first seven children were first-generation Wisconsin-Frisians, with the youngest child, a four year-old second-generation Wisconsin-Frisian, almost certainly a proficient Frisian speaker, though no linguistic proficiency is noted. Similarly fitting the pattern, but on the other end of the spectrum, is the Dykstra family, also farmers, who immigrated in 1881: both parents report Frisian monolingualism, but their three children report English proficiency.

In addition to the high percentage of immigrants in the population, it can also be seen that immigrants tended to settle in areas of common ethnicity. The German immigrant population (shown in figure 6) was locally concentrated in areas outside of Randolph Center.

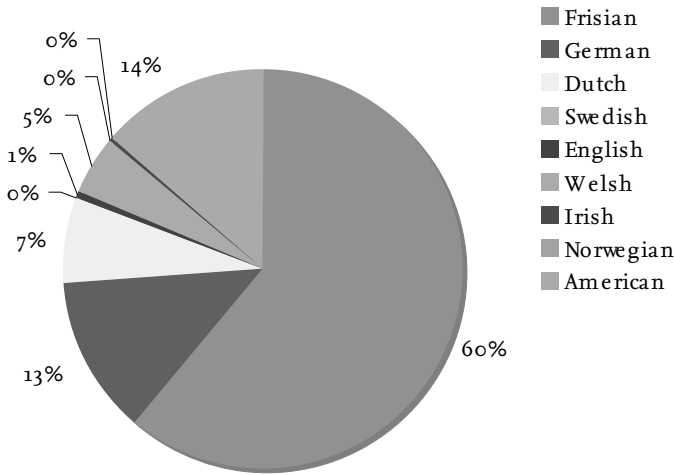


The most highly concentrated pockets of Frisian habitation were in Randolph Center and the area directly east, shown in blue in figure 7. Multiple roads consisted of over 75% Frisian population, and some streets were entirely Wisconsin-Frisian. It should be noted that Randolph Center was renamed Friesland, WI by the 1926 plat map, and incorporated by the same name in 1946.



As can be seen by figures 6 and 7, German and Frisian populations settled in different areas. The Frisian population was locally concentrated in Randolph Center and the area directly east, including the streets of: Randolph Center East & West, Markesan Road, Old Military Road, Bonny Meade Road, Fox Lake Road, 1st and 2nd Street East and West, and 2nd Randolph Road North. Relative ethnic concentration of the area of highest Frisian density is shown below in figure 8.

Ethnicity in Eastern Randolph Township



Current Frisian-Proficient speakers from both Friesland, WI and Randolph, WI provided supplementary evidence of language use in Randolph Township. These speakers consisted of 7 first-generation Wisconsin-Frisians, and 2 second-generation Wisconsin-Frisians. The parents of the 2 second-generation speakers emigrated in the early 20th century, whereas the first-generation speakers came to Wisconsin in the late 1940's.

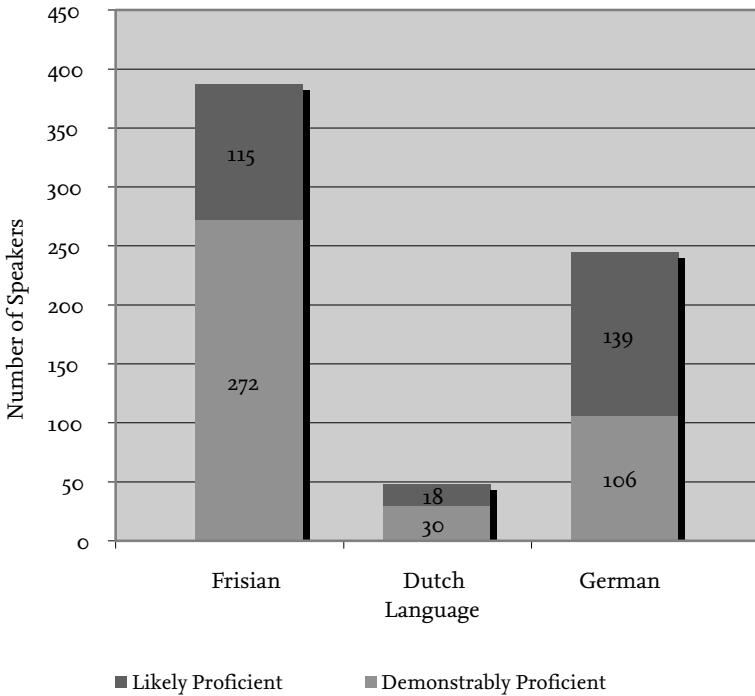
### 3.2 Linguistic Proficiency

Ethnic and language use data from the 1910 census show 105 'Holland' monolinguals, of which 102 were Frisian-monolingual, and 3 were speakers of Dutch. There were also 8 German monolinguals, with none other reported.

The number of demonstrably proficient Frisian speakers was 272, constituting 69% of the Wisconsin-Frisian community, and 25% of the total population of Randolph Township. The total number of likely proficient

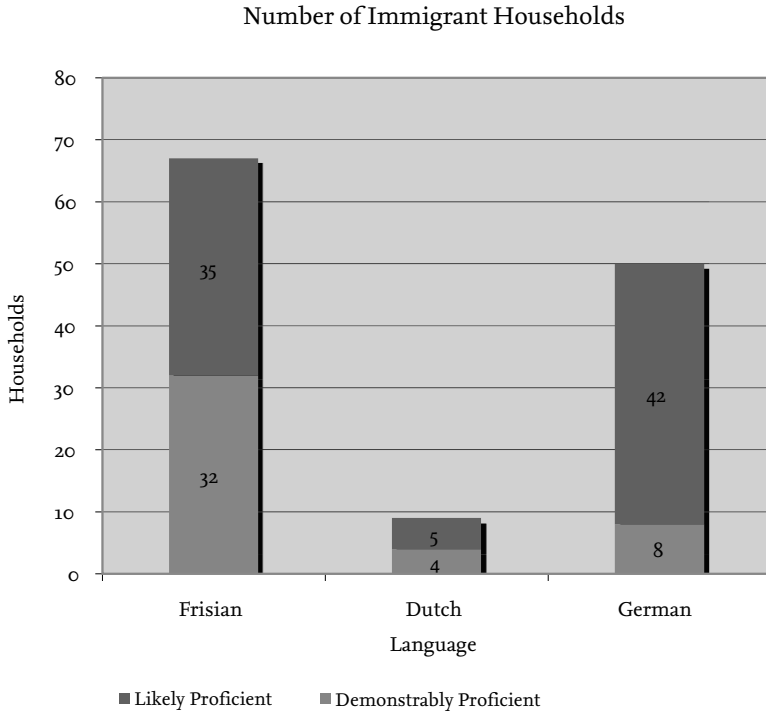
was 115, which brings the total number of proficient Frisian speakers in the county to 389. By comparison, the number of demonstrably proficient German-speakers totaled 106; less than 10% of the township, and 33% of the ethnic German population, with an additional 139 likely proficient. There were only 30 individuals recorded that were demonstrably proficient in Dutch, or less than 3% of Randolph Township. There were an additional 18 individuals that were likely proficient, for a total of 48 individuals.

Language Use in Randolph Township



Statistics for language use for households show a similar dominance of Frisian among use of immigrant language in and around Friesland. 32 of 204 total households in Randolph Township are demonstrably Frisian-speaking due to the presence of at least one resident Frisian monolingual, and there were 35 likely proficient households. This accounts for almost 33% of the total number of households in the township. Dutch-speaking households totaled only 9 (4 demonstrably, 5 likely) and German-speaking households totaled 50 (8 demonstrably, 42 likely). See figure 10 below.





Though these numbers are striking as is, it will be argued in section 4 that underreporting and the character of settlement in the county suggest that these numbers actually underestimate immigrant language use in these communities.

Consultants confirmed that hearing Frisian – not only at home, but also in town and among friends and neighbors – was part of everyday life. With 60% of the population of Friesland, WI in 1910 having at least one Frisian parent, it is no surprise that the language was not limited to private home life. One speaker reported how a new member of the community from Germany, who was also proficient in English, learned Frisian in order to function and fit into the social life of the town. (‘Eye dialect’ spelling was used in interview transcriptions to approximate the Wisconsin-Frisian.)

*De meestn die tot skoale gingen dan...’r wienen meer Friezen dan Dutsers. Dat he sei ... dat he de eerste dei dat he na de skoale gyng. Da kaam he thuus en sei it z’n mam...ik moat it Fries lere oos ben ik net meer ien bij de oaren wan’ de oaren prate altyd Fries.*

The most that went to school then...there were more Frisians than Germans. He saw that ... on first day that he went to school. Then he came home and said it to his mom...I have to learn Frisian or else I won't fit in with the others because the others always speak Frisian.

Such a comment would suggest that the use of Frisian within the community had extended even to members of the community that were not of ethnic Frisian descent, supplanting English as the *lingua Franca* in Randolph Center. Wilkerson & Salmons (2009) describe a similar situation in Hustisford, WI, where individuals without German background became English/German bilingual.

#### 4.0 Discussion

The data show conclusively that a large part of the population was proficient in an immigrant language, though it is likely that members of the community, both German and Frisian, were underreporting immigrant language proficiency, and that the actual number of proficient speakers of immigrant languages was higher than reported. Labov argues,

Using census data for language study has several known limitations: (1) the subjectivity of self-reports of the ability to speak English or read or write a language; (2) undercounts of minority groups and hence of minority speakers; and (3) reliance on enumerators' evaluations of respondents' language abilities (especially prior to 1960 when the use of mail-in forms was introduced). The 1910 Census came at a time of great migration, yet enumerators were discouraged from hiring interpreters.' (Labov 380)

Labov's first argument notes the unreliability of a subject's self-evaluation, due to its 'subjective' nature. This parallels her third argument, which notes the unreliability of the 'enumerators' evaluations' in that neither the immigrant nor the census worker is qualified to evaluate English proficiency. Labov's second argument is most relevant to the discussion of small, isolated immigrant communities such as those present in Randolph Township: immigrant populations might be reluctant to admit monolingualism in the immigrant language, and would underreport immigrant language proficiency in favor of acquiescing to the vertical structures of the Federal Government through the 1910 census, and the pressures outside the isolated community that push for – or expect – English language proficiency. In the case of Ran-

dolph Township this reluctance was intensified by the fact that ability of the census taker to evaluate linguistic proficiency is not proven. It cannot be assumed that one ethnic community underreports to a larger degree than another, but rather that immigrant language proficiency in all communities was higher than was reported in the 1910 census, and therefore higher than the data can reliably show. Therefore, comparison of the various immigrant communities based on the available data remains relevant.

#### *4.1 Language Proficiency*

Linguistic proficiency largely echoes the immigrant distribution, so that higher numbers of individuals with a common background and immigrant language result in the highest degree of linguistic proficiency. This is to be expected given that derived linguistic proficiency data (beyond monolingualism) was based on country of origin to a large degree. However, the difference between DP and LP speakers between the Frisian and German populations sheds some light on the differences between Wisconsin-Germans and Wisconsin-Frisians in Randolph Township. Namely, the Frisian community still showed larger numbers of demonstrably than likely proficient speakers, while the German community shows a large number of likely proficient German speakers, but a relatively small number of demonstrably proficient. This fact suggests that the German population was in fact at a more advanced stage of language shift toward English.

The majority of the Frisian population consisted of demonstrably proficient speakers due to the high number of Frisian monolinguals and first-generation Wisconsin-Frisians, with only 30% being LP. 105 of the 113 reported monolinguals were Wisconsin-Frisians, which strongly illustrates the higher use of Frisian in the Wisconsin-Frisian community as compared to the German and Dutch communities. Among the German population, however, the majority of speakers (57%) are listed as LP, with a comparatively smaller number of demonstrably proficient speakers. It can be seen that Wisconsin-Frisians in Randolph Center spoke Frisian in higher numbers, and that a higher percentage of Wisconsin-Frisians were demonstrably proficient in their own language than speakers among the Wisconsin-German community. Wisconsin-Frisians actively spoke their language – and apparently had no immediate need to learn English to survive in their community – whereas even demonstrably proficient speakers among German and Dutch communities had moved to at least a passable degree of bilingualism, with 88% of first-generation Wisconsin-Germans reporting English proficiency.

The Dutch community seemed to pattern more closely after the Wisconsin-Frisian community, having more DP than LP speakers, though with only 3 reported monolinguals, and 50 speakers, the total number of Wisconsin-Dutch proficient speakers amounts to less than 5% of Randolph Center. Additionally, the Wisconsin-Dutch community was not concentrated, as both the Wisconsin-Frisian and Wisconsin-German populations were.<sup>6</sup> One must consider that the Wisconsin-Dutch community would have needed to become proficient a common language in order to interact with the other 95% of the Township. That Dutch monolingualism was rare supports this idea. Dutch language use would have been restricted to individual farms or households, whereas Frisian (and even German, to a larger extent at least than Dutch) could be used more widely in the community.

It is worth noting that there are different degrees of likely proficient: the category of LP includes a spectrum of speakers that are more or less likely to be proficient. For instance, higher numbers of first-generation immigrants in a household (such as both parents, perhaps the oldest siblings) would result in higher numbers of demonstrably proficient speakers, and increase the possibility that the immigrant language was the language spoken at home. Conversely, if only one parent is demonstrably proficient but also proficient in English, then several things remain uncertain: 1) whether the other parent is proficient in the immigrant language, and to what degree; 2) if the given immigrant language is spoken at home, how often, and at what proficiency level, and in what domains; and 3) whether the children born in Wisconsin maintain the immigrant language, or become English-dominant. In calculating likely proficient speakers, it was found that language proficiency among the LP Wisconsin-Frisians is often more likely, often with two first-generation parents, possibly with first-generation children, and Frisian neighbors. The German community has more second-generation individuals, meaning that there are fewer demonstrably proficient speakers both in total number, and by percentage within the community. As a result, the lower number of demonstrably proficient speakers provides a weaker impetus for German use, so that members of the Wisconsin-German community were moving by necessity or simply naturally to the larger vertical structures in the community that require a common language such as English (or even Frisian, as interview data shows). In comparison, the Frisian community, with its higher number and percentage of demonstrably proficient speakers (especially monolinguals), produces a very strong impetus for Frisian language use, and is more likely to result in higher numbers and higher degrees of linguistic proficiency among second-generation Wisconsin-Frisians.

#### 4.2 *Domain and Horizontal Structures*

To this point, discussion has been concerned only with the individual, and has only slightly addressed the issue of the first domain – the home. Households typically consist of four categories of individuals: the father, the mother, the children, and other dependents. The father and mother are often first-generation among Frisian, German and Dutch communities, but the father typically reports English proficiency more often than the mother.

Gender differences in minority language shift in the United States have been found by, amongst others, Stevens (1986), who made use of the 1976 Survey of Income and Education (SIE). Stevens argued that opportunities for men to acquire and use English are greater than for women. Using 1980 Census data, Sole (1990) reported a larger proportion of Hispanic women (25%) had limited or no skills in English as compared with Hispanic men (20%). (Labov 379)

As gender roles of the late 19th and early 20th century farming communities like Randolph Township typically relegated the men to work outside the home, and women to maintenance of the household, it can be assumed that vertical structures may have made it necessary (or possible) for the father to learn English, while the mothers' higher degree of reported monolingualism reflects the use of the immigrant language in the domestic domain. The mother's language proficiency and use in the domestic domain has its implications for child language acquisition and language maintenance across generations. However, this vein of research is beyond the scope of this current work; this article focuses on the mother's language proficiency only as a reflection of language use, but not as it relates to child language acquisition, or to transmission of the language to the next generation.<sup>7</sup>

Other dependents include hired farm hands, servant women, boarders (whose interaction with the household would be uncertain) and elderly dependents. Farm hands and servant women correspond to the domain of the father/field/community and the mother/home, respectively. Servant women appeared with less frequency in the 1910 census than hired farm-hands, but showed a similar pattern. One speaker, who was recorded in group conversation but not individually (so does not appear on the reference table) told of how easy the transition was for her to come to Friesland, WI from Friesland, Netherlands, because she was able to continue using Frisian while doing housework for other residents of Friesland, WI.

*Wel, en ik die later huswurk, ya know, for different meisken. Ik leek it ook zo goed om hjir bij Randolph en Friesland te wurkje, en er kon de meisken altyd een wurd Friesen.*

Well, and later I did housework, you know, for different ladies. I also liked working here in Randolph and Friesland a lot, and the women could always speak a word of Frisian.

This anecdote from a post-WWII immigrant parallels the situation apparent in the 1910 census regarding hired farm-hands and female household servants. Additionally, she had family in Friesland, Wisconsin, including speaker 1, with whom she could also speak Frisian. Decades after the initial wave of Frisian immigration, Randolph Center (now Friesland, WI) remained an inviting place for Frisian immigrants to settle due to the wide use of Frisian.

As could be expected, hired farm hands are typically recent immigrants who do not own land, or sons of a large family hired out to work for a neighbor. They match overwhelmingly with the ethnicity and linguistic proficiency of their employer. It is not uncommon to see recently immigrated farm hands who report Frisian monolingualism, and who work for a Wisconsin- Frisian family. The hiring of farm laborers and household workers affirm immigrant language use, both in the field/community domain, and in the domestic domain. This parallels previous work of Jasso and Rosenzweig, who found that both the 1900 and the 1980 census periods showed that ‘those less able (or unable) to speak English do reside in communities with a higher proportion of persons from countries with the same national language’. Furthermore, areas with higher immigrant concentration are more attractive to potential immigrants of the same language background (Jasso and Rosenzweig 327). The situation in Randolph Center also suggests not only that the high concentration of proficient speakers resulted in higher use of the immigrant language, but also that language islands are appealing to immigrants, whose transition to a new community is eased by a common language. A cyclical situation then arises where the language island continually attracts new immigrants because of the use of the immigrant language in the community. These monolingual recent immigrants then in turn provide a more concentrated immigrant language community. Randolph Center continued to draw immigrants from Friesland, Netherlands, in the decades following the 1910 US Census, resulting in comparatively much higher numbers of non-English proficient speakers.

Elderly dependents are predominantly first-generation demonstrably proficient, and often monolingual. The presence of an elderly dependent

in the domestic domain, especially a monolingual speaker, may reflect language use as much as influence it, in the same way that the mother's language proficiency reflects language use in the home. And like the language proficiency of the mother, the language proficiency of an elderly dependent may have not only reflected, but affected language use in the domestic domain.

Outside of the domestic domain in Randolph Township was interaction between speakers at the community level. This domain has the potential to maintain strong local links, but can also act as a centralizing agent in the community. Thus, while such structures as regionally or state-operated schools oriented the community in the direction of English proficiency, the large percentage and high concentrations of immigrant populations - particularly among the Wisconsin-Frisian population - slowed the transition to English proficiency and eventual English dominance or monolingualism. It is difficult to assign a number or percentage to consider a 'critical mass' necessary for language maintenance, but among the Wisconsin-Frisian population - high concentration of an ethnic community (approaching 60% in Randolph Center, and over 90% locally on Markesan Road), high language proficiency (27% monolingual; 69% demonstrably proficient; up to 98% likely proficient), and isolation from larger urban areas - it would be safe to assume that such a critical mass had been reached.

#### *4.3 Verticalization, Formal Institutions and Domain*

As is outlined in section 1.1, Warren's framework and the subsequent work on German in Wisconsin identify a set of horizontal structures that can resist verticalization, both in the form of formal institutions and social ties. However, this study suggests it is not necessary for all types of horizontal structures to be present in a community in order to delay verticalization and maintain the minority language; the situation varies from one community to the next. Furthermore, some factors may play a larger role in language maintenance in a given community than other factors. In Randolph Center, the largest factors were the high density of proficient speakers, which contributed to the existence of a language island, and the presence of diglossic institutions that promoted use of Frisian in distinct social domains. The former factor has been discussed in sections 3.2 and 4.1 above, and previously by Kloss (1966) and Wilkerson & Salmons (2009), among many others. A language island is by definition an isolated community. In terms of Warren's model, this leads to minimal influence from vertical structures. Randolph Center was a rural farming community and thus isolated geographically, but was also a self-contained community with local schools, churches and businesses

located within the Frisian-speaking territory. While Randolph Center's isolation was in a rural setting, Labov argues that a language island may similarly be created in an urban area, 'In both rural and urban areas, the salient structural factors in language retention would seem to be the same: isolation from English speakers and concentration of non-English speakers' (Labov 377). The main element of the language island is the isolation from English speakers, though Labov also fittingly points out the high concentration of speakers of the minority language, which parallels Lucht's work. Specific to Randolph Township, the high number of monolinguals and demonstrably proficient speakers in 1910 creates the exact scenario Labov describes. Specific to Warren's framework is that isolation is not the result of only geography, or of the agency of a selective or restrictive economic or religious community. Isolation in Warren's framework is facilitated by the ability of a community to exist without interdependency with the society at large, while at the same time possessing the necessary horizontal structures to orientate the community inwards.

As argued above, Warren's framework predicts that an increase or strengthening of vertical structures results in an accelerated shift toward the dominant language. Drawing largely on direct reports from interviewees in this study, it becomes clear that subsequent generations of Frisians in Randolph Township continued to use Frisian in many domains. Second-generation Wisconsin-Frisians exhibit the interaction of horizontal and vertical structures as verticalization slowly pushed the community towards English use. Children born in Wisconsin reflect both the domestic domain - where language use may be more apparent in the reported language proficiency of the mother - and a higher, second domain that is subject to heavy vertical structure influence - namely: school. Education, as well as religion, were the most immediate examples of vertical structure influence on language shift, 'In religion linguistic verticalization was hotly debated within churches and denominations at the local, regional, and national levels. In education laws mandating English in schools were often passed early, but states did not or could not enforce those laws until much later' (Salmons 2005). Interviews with Wisconsin-Frisians confirm the use of English in school, which resulted in what can be seen on the 1910 census: a higher degree of English proficiency among children of immigrants than among the parents.<sup>8</sup> Based on these two domains and reported language proficiency, both education and home, high (but possibly varied) levels of bilingualism can be expected for second-generation children.

Post-WWII immigrants to Friesland, WI recounted their language use while in school in Friesland, Netherlands. They spoke Frisian at home



and on the farm, and Dutch in school in Dokkum. The threshold of the school door represented an invisible boundary between speaking Dutch and Frisian. As soon as they set foot outside the school at the end of the day, they instantly switched back to Frisian. Speaker 4 notes,

‘Here was the door. Here you spoke Frisian [motioning to the outside]; here you spoke Dutch [motioning to the inside]’

First, it can be seen that language use is strictly enforced in the schools, and Frisian vis-à-vis Dutch were restricted to specific domains. Secondly, pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts is one factor that contributes to minority language maintenance, in that the domain of minority language use is not infringed upon (c.f. Kloss 1966). Wisconsin- Frisians were already familiar with operating in a bilingual society, restricting Dutch to settings such as school and business in Dokkum. These Wisconsin-Frisians only needed to supplant their already restricted use of Dutch with use of English in the same restricted settings. Thus, Frisian language use continued in Wisconsin, and in the same domain as in the Netherlands.

Similar to schools, churches with regional or national hierarchies are vertical structures that promote assimilation to the formal language of worship. However, immigrant communities often had their own church, such that services are given in the immigrant language and thereby maintain language use through the church as a horizontal, and not vertical structure. The situation in Randolph Center and later Friesland, WI, falls somewhere outside of both of these situations: church services were typically in English, but occasionally in Dutch, as our interview subjects attest to. It was reported by multiple speakers that, up until roughly 1999, a Dutch preacher had been coming to Friesland, WI, from the Netherlands to deliver a church service entirely in Dutch. This had been done approximately every two years. Interviewed speakers reported that attendance for the Dutch-language services was always very high, and though many Frisian-proficient Wisconsin-Frisians could understand a good deal of the Dutch spoken, complete intelligibility was not the case. The language of worship, be it English or Dutch, was restricted to the church domain, and did not supplant Frisian language use.

The use of languages other than Frisian in church failed to supplant Frisian language use in other religious language domains outside of Sunday services. According to interviewed speakers, the family bible was read in Dutch, but prayers were said in Frisian. Interview subjects attest to prayers before and after meals being said in Frisian, and one speaker produced the Lord’s Prayer in Frisian from memory. Both in the church,

and in the religious domestic domain, English and Dutch failed to affect the spoken language in the community, in this instance, the spoken language being prayer. Dutch language use was restricted to the domain of reading the bible, and hearing the church service, but being thus restricted, did not make any other impositions on Frisian language use. The Pennsylvania Dutch community parallels this phenomenon almost exactly: they read the bible in High German, but continue to speak Low German or Palatinate dialects. Parallels might also be drawn to the Catholic Church before Vatican II, when services were given in Latin to parishes that did not speak the language: though this is a more extreme example, language use was similarly restricted to a particular religious domain.

Frisian language media were not present in Friesland, WI. Oehlerts's 1958 survey of papers from 1833-1957 encompasses the period of peak Frisian immigration and Frisian language use in Randolph Township and Friesland, Wisconsin. That the community continued to use Frisian despite the lack of printed media contrasts with the situation described in Wilkerson & Salmons (2009), in which German language media served to support the language maintenance structures present in the community. While such immigrant language media has been shown in previous research to aid in immigrant language maintenance, the situation in Randolph and Friesland, Wisconsin, provides an alternate model in which strong horizontal structures such as community isolation, high immigrant language proficiency, and previous experience with bilingualism in restricted domains provides the impetus for immigrant language maintenance, irrespective of the presence of printed media. However, the Wisconsin-Frisian situation is not unique in this respect. Dutkova-Cope's 2001 study of Texas Czech speakers describes a similar situation. Immigrant Czech-speaking communities in Texas resulted from the transplantation of entire ethnic Czech villages from the Austro-Hungarian Empire that moved to the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries. Paralleling the Wisconsin-Frisian situation, these Czech communities were also places of high immigrant language proficiency in a language island. Similar also to the Wisconsin-Frisian community is the lack of any mention of printed media, without which the Texas Czech communities have maintained Czech as a spoken language into the fourth generation.

Bilingualism, whether familiar to the immigrant community before emigration or not, plays a large role in either maintenance of the immigrant language or assimilation to the dominant language, though isolation of the community remains a factor. By necessity, the Texas Czech communities were also bilingual, but where bilingualism in restricted

domains has maintained spoken Frisian in Wisconsin, Dutkova-Cope argues that bilingual situations merely delay the eventual transition to English monolingualism called GRADUAL DEATH, borrowed from Campbell and Muntzel (1989), which is a 'gradual language shift towards the dominant language' (Dutkova-Cope 38). In the Old Order Mennonite and Old Order Amish communities of Pennsylvania, bilingualism is maintained and minority language preserved due to the active efforts of sectarian communities to maintain both isolation and language. By contrast, the non-sectarian communities, though initially isolated in rural communities, have become more influenced by the larger community and vertical structures, and have shifted to the dominant language of English (Louden 2003).

### *5.0 Conclusions*

The data examined in this study provide additional evidence that the unique composition of an immigrant community – and more precisely the interplay between factors affecting language maintenance and language shift – help in determining the life span of a minority or immigrant language. This community specifically shows that structures such as newspapers are not necessarily prerequisites for intergenerational maintenance. Rather, it shows that structures such as ethnic density of the community (or the presence of language islands), high localized concentrations of proficient speakers, and the arrival of subsequent waves of new immigrants to refresh and replenish the language community, all played a crucial role in the maintenance of Frisian in Wisconsin. Indeed, as the effects of Warren's Great Change began to be felt in Friesland in the decades following the 1910 census, the language would have disappeared much sooner without the fresh arrival of post-war immigrants from the same region of Friesland. Though not acquired beyond second generation immigrants, Frisian continued as a relevant means of communication between first and second generation speakers in the community well into the 20th century. This model of immigrant language use (and subsequent maintenance) varies from the model of Wisconsin-German communities, in which formal German-language institutions and media contributed to language maintenance. Furthermore, the restricted domains of language use facilitated continued use of Frisian: the Dutch-Frisian bilingualism inherited from Europe transitioned to an English-Frisian bilingualism. Formal English-language institutions in Wisconsin supplanted formerly Dutch language domains in Europe, and thus did not initially encroach on Frisian language use in the domestic domain, nor at the community level. This further slowed the transition to English monolingualism in Friesland, WI.

In addition to providing an interesting case study for current language maintenance theories, Wisconsin Frisian also provides a springboard for future linguistic analysis of a variety which diverged from continental West Frisian. Our research currently underway about Friesland, WI, traces the parallel development of European and Wisconsin Frisian introduced in this work, with the goal of identifying features of Wisconsin Frisian that may represent an earlier stage of the language as it was spoken in Europe.

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## Notes

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1. Language use in Friesland was also examined in a 2004 study by Gemma Bakker published in *It Beaken*. Though we agree with Bakker's conclusion that community cohesion is a key aspect in language maintenance, it will later be argued that community structures play the crucial role in continued minority language use.
  2. A complete table containing the data collected from the 1910 census can be found in Appendix A.
  3. Recorded interviews from 2008 and 2009 confirm high Frisian proficiency and low Dutch proficiency. Additionally, only 3 ethnic Dutch reported monolingualism.

4. Linguistic proficiency of hired-hands will be discussed below.
5. Hereafter referred to collectively as Wisconsin-Frisian.
6. See appendix for ethnic Dutch distribution.
7. With respect to transmission, the published results of a survey of over 2,400 Frisian émigrés found that “Frisian or Dutch is still used in somewhat less than one-third of all emigrant households, but children only use Frisian 3% and Dutch 6% of the time amongst each other. The third generation’s ability to speak these languages is almost non-existent” (Gorter 45). While this lack of transmission to second and third generation is similar to what we find in Friesland and Randolph, WI, it cannot be concluded that the social or linguistic situations are parallel.
8. Though English was the language of instruction in Randolph Township schools, varied degrees of English proficiency among Wisconsin-Frisian children resulted in occasional necessary use of Frisian. One interviewee recalls how one student was relied upon for facilitating communication between the teacher and Frisian monolingual students.

