

OBITUARY: EINAR HAUGEN

The field of sociolinguistics has lost a major wellspring of insights. Einar Ingvald Haugen, 88, died on June 20, 1994, after a short illness. While Haugen's major publications on language contact phenomena and language planning came many years ago, the observations and postulations they contain have remained fresh. Analyzing new data sets, researchers of today who attempt to characterize bilingual speech often find that Haugen had their ideas first. For example, my hypothesis (Myers-Scotton 1993:217) about the differential roles of the Matrix vs. the Embedded Language(s) involved in a contact situation is recognized by Haugen in the very terms that my model would predict. In reference to Norwegian immigrants in America, he wrote ([1953] 1969:71): "At practically every point they maintained the basic phonetic and grammatical structure of their native dialects, but they filled in the lexical content of these structures from the vocabulary of English."

Haugen held the Victor S. Thomas chair in Scandinavian and Linguistics at Harvard University from 1964 until his retirement in 1975. He and his wife, Eva, lived in Belmont, Massachusetts, for the last 30 years. Before coming to Harvard, Haugen held the chair of Vilas Research Professor at the University of Wisconsin. He was born on April 19, 1906, in Sioux City, Iowa. His parents were Norwegian immigrants, and they took him back to Norway for two years when he was 8 years old. Perhaps this was the impetus for his lifelong interest in Norwegian language and culture. The subject of his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Illinois was "The origins and early history of the New Norse movement in Norway."

Haugen's early publications, beginning in the early 1930s, were largely on Norwegian culture and included a 1937 grammar of Norwegian; however, his reputation in linguistics was made by a number of works on bilingualism in the 1950s. In many ways, he was introducing a "new" subject, since most linguists had treated languages as if they existed in an idealized state which did not include external influences. In 1950 his often-cited articles appeared, "The analysis of linguistic borrowing" and "Problems of bilingualism." Not surprisingly, both cited examples largely drawn from the speech of Norwegian immigrants in America. A major two-volume work followed in 1953, *The Norwegian language in America: A study of bilingual behavior*. In addition, Haugen's *Bilingualism in the Americas: A bibliography and research guide* appeared in 1956.

Many other publications followed throughout Haugen's long career. From the 1960s on, he developed a major interest in language policy and language

planning (see his *Language conflict and language planning: The case of modern Norwegian*, 1966b). In 1972 a collection of his essays was published under the title *The ecology of language*.

Haugen received many honors, including numerous honorary academic degrees and the Order of St. Olaf, the highest honor given by the Norwegian government; the Swedish government designated him Commander of the Order of the North Star.

Many will remember Haugen for the ability, not to mention his willingness, to present his knowledge and insights in straightforward prose. He also could write with wit; thus, in his "Dialect, language, nation," he characterized dialects by stating: "As a social norm, then, a dialect is a language that is excluded from polite society" ([1966a] 1972:100).

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