

Pulmonic Ingressive Speech in Icelandic

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ABSTRACT: Pulmonic ingressive speech – utterances spoken on the in-breath – is a common feature of many languages including Icelandic. This paper presents findings from a survey-based study conducted in Iceland and in Icelandic-speaking communities in North America on the use of ingressive speech in Icelandic. It includes a general inquiry into the phenomenon in Icelandic and addresses three hypotheses. Results of the survey did not fully confirm our first hypothesis—that ingressive speech continues to be used in Icelandic and that it is used primarily by females. Although it is still used, survey respondents reported that ingressive speech was used about the same by males as by females in both Iceland and North America. However, participants reported hearing it somewhat more in females. Our second hypothesis – that its use is on the wane – was only confirmed by the North American respondents' reports. Our third hypothesis – that ingressive speech is non-existent in North American Icelandic was not confirmed by the survey results.

RÉSUMÉ: La parole ingressive pulmonaire - les énoncés prononcés à l'inspiration - est une caractéristique commune à de nombreuses langues, y compris l'islandais. Cet article présente les résultats d'une étude menée en Islande et dans les communautés islandophones en Amérique du Nord sur l'usage de la parole ingressive en islandais. Il comprend une enquête générale sur le phénomène en islandais et aborde trois hypothèses. Les résultats de l'enquête n'ont pas entièrement confirmé notre première hypothèse que la parole ingressive continue d'être utilisée en islandais et qu'elle est principalement utilisée par les femmes. Bien qu'elle soit toujours utilisée, les personnes interrogées ont indiqué que la parole ingressive était utilisée à peu près de la même manière par les hommes et par les femmes, tant en Islande qu'en Amérique du Nord. Cependant, les participants ont rapporté l'avoir entendu un peu plus souvent chez les femmes. Notre deuxième hypothèse - que son usage se diminue - n'a été confirmée que par les rapports des répondants nord-américains. Notre troisième hypothèse, soit que la parole ingressive n'existe pas en islandais d'Amérique du Nord, n'a pas été confirmée par les résultats de l'enquête.

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Introduction

Speech sounds can be broadly categorized by the source and direction of airflow. Three sources of airflow have been identified as being used in human language: pulmonic (airflow originating in the lungs), glottalic (airflow originating from the glottis or vocal folds), and lingual or velaric (airflow originating from the closure of the tongue and the roof of the mouth). Airflow can also be egressive (flowing outwards) or ingressive (flowing inwards) (Eklund, 236-245). This article is concerned with pulmonic ingressive speech, which is cross-linguistically rare in phoneme inventories but much more common as a speech modality, modifying normal speech patterns to communicate extra information.

The most extensive study of pulmonic ingressive speech to date is that of Robert Eklund. His paper describes pulmonic ingressive phonation and speech from many angles and “covers widely different areas, such as zoology, physiology, acoustics, pathology, anthropology, ventriloquism, shamanism, musicology, general linguistics, paralinguistics, phonetics, and sociolinguistics” (236). Many languages are covered in his article, including Arabic, Austrian, Danish, Finnish, French, Frisian, Gaelic, German, Icelandic, Japanese, Latvian, Mongolian, Norwegian, Russian, Swedish, as well as in English in areas influenced by those languages. Eklund concludes that “ingressive speech is reported in far more countries and languages than perhaps would be expected given the wide-spread opinion that ingressive speech is a characteristic of mainly Scandinavian languages” (278-79).¹

There has been little research on pulmonic ingressive speech in Icelandic. Eklund refers to Francis Joseph Peters’s doctoral dissertation, in which Peters mentions that “Icelandic students at the University of Trondheim have been observed to use the JA [yes] form ingressive when speaking English and Norwegian” (41).² Peters’s scholarship is the first to connect ingressive speech in the North Atlantic/Baltic area to migration in that he observes ingressive conversations in Ireland, Norway, and Maine and proposes that the influence of Scandinavian immigrants may have fostered and/or maintained ingressive articulations in pockets of the US. Eklund also refers to Louis A. Pitschmann’s article, who comments that “close observation has shown that the ingressive articulation occurs in German and the Scandinavian languages most frequently with the affirmative particle *ja* [yes] and occasionally with the negatives *nej*, *nei*, [no] etc.; only in Icelandic it is used to articulate full sentences” (154).³ He elaborates on his point, arguing:

Among the Scandinavian languages, it is Icelandic in which speakers employ the ingressive air-stream in speech production most frequently ... As in Scandinavia and Germany, the ingressive affirmative, *ja*, [yes] can be observed in Iceland

among both men and women, but ... most particularly among women. Moreover, Icelanders also use the ingressive air-stream when speaking English (157).

Sandra Clarke and Gunnel Melchers develop his hypothesis further, claiming that ingressive speech patterns dispersed in two waves, first across Northern Europe through Viking settlements and later across the Atlantic when Northern Europeans emigrated to North America (55).⁴ They call this area with ingressive pulmonic speech the North Atlantic/Baltic Zone.

We certainly do not contradict that pulmonic ingressive speech exists in Icelandic. The aim of our study was to study the reported use of ingressive speech by Icelanders in both Iceland and North America. Specifically, we designed a survey in order to explore three hypotheses while also seeking to learn more in general about the use of ingressive speech in both localities. Our hypotheses included: 1) pulmonic ingressive speech is used primarily by women; 2) it is on the wane;⁵ and 3) it hardly exists in North-American Icelandic.

This paper begins with a description of our methodology. We then provide participant demographic information. Next, we discuss the survey results for both closed and open-ended questions. In the discussion section that follows, we examine survey findings in relation to our three hypotheses. In this section, we also compare participants' reports of ingressive speech use in Icelandic with previous scholarship on ingressive speech in the North Atlantic/Baltic Zone. The paper concludes with suggestions for further research.

Methodology

In order to test our hypotheses, we conducted a survey. We wrote 24 questions, some of which were open-ended and allowed respondents to be as detailed about their thoughts and experiences as they wished. Any question could be skipped, which meant that not every respondent answered every question in the survey.

We relied on colleagues and friends in Iceland and the Department of Icelandic at the University of Manitoba for the distribution of the survey. The survey was launched on 15 May 2022. It was provided online through the survey software Qualtrics. A copy of the survey is included in the appendix. When on 17 July 2022 we ended the collection of data, we had received 130 responses. More than half the surveys (70) were removed from the study because very few questions had been answered. Of the 60 completed surveys included in the dataset, a further six were discarded due to a complete lack of data on ingressive speech. Some respondents, for example, did not understand the term ingressive speech (in Icelandic *innsög*) and those were thus deemed unreliable as to whether or not they had heard or used ingressive speech. Others completed the demographics portion but had no connection with the Icelandic language based

on their responses, and these surveys were also discarded. Discounting those surveys that were incomplete,⁶ our sample size eventually was 54, with 25 of the completed surveys from Iceland (23 from Iceland and two from those who grew up in Iceland who currently live in Denmark) and 29 from North America (24 from Canada and five from the United States).⁷

We recognize, of course, that there is a caveat to a survey of this kind and – by extension – our study and conclusions. Although we reached out to as many people as we possibly could via organizations and word of mouth, we were probably able to contact primarily academics in Iceland and people in North America who are connected to and active within Icelandic heritage groups and organizations.

Participant Overview

Participants in the study were asked where they grew up and where they currently lived. We decided to use where participants currently lived – in Iceland or in North America – as a basis of comparison for our results. Of the 54 respondents in the study, 25 (46%) lived in Iceland – with two living in Denmark whom we include in the “Iceland” sample – and 29 (54%) lived in North America (with five of those participants living in the US). Tables 1 and 2 provide demographic details about the Iceland and North American groups.

Table 1: Age, gender, and education.

Population group	Age						Gender			Education		
	18-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	70-80	80+	M	F	Other	HS	Trade	Uni
Icelandic	4	2	9	8	2	0	8	17	0	1	0	24
North America	1	2	5	9	7	5	6	21	2	6	3	19
Totals	5	4	14	17	9	5	14	38	2	7	3	43

Throughout the rest of this study, the age groups have been broken into two percentage groups, age 50 and below (-50) and age 50 and above (50+).⁸

Table 2: Living situation.

Population group	Where respondents grew up			Respondents' current living environment			Raised in multigenerational home		Living in multigenerational home	
	Urban	Suburb	Rural	Urban	Suburb	Rural	Yes	No	Yes	No
Icelandic	16	6	3	23	1	1	7	18	2	23
North American	7	1	20	15	2	12	10	19	5	24
Totals	23	7	23	38	3	13	17	27	7	47

It should be noted that there were a few changes in the country of residence when participants reported where they currently lived at the time of the survey. For example, 23 (92%) participants lived in Iceland and two (8%) participants lived on Bornholm and in Copenhagen, Denmark. Furthermore, many participants reported Reykjavík as their current residence with 18 total (72%). Thus, our data set is derived from a mostly urban community often located in and around Reykjavík. In the North American group, 25 (86%) respondents grew up in Canada. Three (10%) grew up in the US, and one (3%) grew up in Iceland. In contrast to the Iceland group, most of the North American participants answered that they grew up in “rural” locations.

Moreover, we asked respondents if they were raised in a multigenerational home or were currently living in a multigenerational home, because we wanted to find out if pulmonic ingressive speech had perhaps been used and transmitted from an older generation to a younger generation due to cohabitation. Of the participants from Iceland, seven (28%) people were raised in multigenerational homes. However, none of them lived in multigenerational homes at the time of the survey. The ten participants (34%) from North America who reported growing up in multigenerational homes were all Canadians.

Next, respondents were asked about their experiences hearing Icelandic growing up as well as if they currently used Icelandic in their everyday lives. Four demographic variables often correlate with respondents’ linguistic conservatism – speakers’ gender, speakers who live in the same place where they grew up (non-mobile), older speakers, and speakers who live in rural areas. The breakdown of our respondents according to these variables are represented in Table 3, in which respondents are sorted by gender. Male, female, and “none” sufficed as gender categories, as no respondents self-identified as transgender or nonbinary. In addition, we asked how urbanized their current places of residence were (rural, suburban, or urban), and whether or not they had moved from where they were raised.

Table 3. Conservative linguistics variables and sample.⁹

Four variables	Iceland				North America					
	Male		Female		Male		Female		None	
Gender	-50	50+	-50	50+	-50	50+	-50	50+	-50	50+
Age	-50	50+	-50	50+	-50	50+	-50	50+	-50	50+
Non-mobile, live where they grew up	1	2	1	5	0	1	1	8	0	1
Mobile, moved from where they grew up	1	4	3	8	1	3	0	10	0	1
Now live in rural areas	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	6	0	1
Now live in suburban areas	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Now live in urban areas	1	6	4	12	1	4	0	7	0	1

Results

Not surprisingly, answers to Questions 9-12 show that Icelanders have memories of Icelandic being used while growing up, and they use Icelandic in their everyday lives. As evident from Table 4, the only exception is a respondent raised in the US but now living in Iceland, who did not hear Icelandic growing up. In contrast, only five (14%) of 29 respondents from North America still use Icelandic in their daily lives. Three respondents were from Canada, one was from the US, and one originally from Iceland. The others have only recollections of the language.

Table 4. Use of Icelandic.

Q9	Iceland					North America					
	All	M	F	-50	50+	All	M	F	None	-50	50+
Number	25	8	17	6	19	5	2	3	0	1	4
Percent of variable	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	17%	33%	14%	0%	33%	15%

In answer to Question 10 about their memories of people speaking Icelandic in their everyday lives, most respondents answered in the affirmative. As Table 5 shows, 24 (96%) participants currently living in Iceland and Denmark answered “yes.”

Table 5: Memories of people using Icelandic.

Q 10	Iceland					North America					
	All	M	F	-50	50+	All	M	F	None	-50	50+
Number	24	8	16	5	19	27	6	19	2	3	24
Percent of variable	96%	100%	94%	83%	100%	93%	100%	90%	100%	100%	92%

The only participant who answered “no” was a woman, age -50, who lived in Iceland at the time of the survey but grew up in the US.

Answers to Question 11 (Do you use ingressive speech (innsog) when speaking Icelandic?) are shown in Table 6, which provides information about those who answered “yes” to this question. The table indicates that the affirmative percentage responses to ingressive speech usage in the North American group is slightly lower than in the Icelandic group.

Table 6: Personal use of ingressive speech in the present.

Q 11	Iceland					North America					
	All	M	F	-50	50+	All	M	F	None	-50	50+
Number	16	4	12	6	10	12	3	7	2	0	12
Percent of variable	64%	67%	71%	100%	53%	41%	50%	33%	100%	0%	100%

In response to Question 12 (Have you used ingressive speech (innsog) in the past when speaking Icelandic?), the majority of respondents in the Icelandic sample reported in the affirmative as Table 7 shows.

Table 7: Personal use of ingressive speech in the past.

Q 12	Iceland					North America					
	All	M	F	-50	50+	All	M	F	None	-50	50+
Number	18	6	12	6	12	15	4	9	2	1	14
Percent of variable	72%	75%	71%	100%	63%	52%	67%	43%	100%	33%	54%

The percentage is similar among men and women in Iceland. It is interesting that a higher percentage of “yes” answers came from lower age ranges. A smaller percentage of respondents in the North American sample answered “yes” to this question than those in the Iceland sample. However, one of those affirmative answers in the North American sample was from a man who was raised in Iceland. Therefore, we consider the that affirmative answers of the male and female North American to be similar.

Table 8 provides answers to Question 13 (Have you recently heard someone using ingressive speech (innsog) when speaking Icelandic?).

Table 8: Recently heard use of ingressive speech.

Q 13	Iceland					North America					
	All	M	F	-50	50+	All	M	F	None	-50	50+
Number	20	6	14	5	17	12	1	10	1	1	11
Percent of variable	80%	75%	82%	83%	89%	41%	17%	48%	50%	33%	42%

Respondents also provided information about whom they had heard using ingressive speech. The results are presented in Tables 9 and 10:

Table 9: People heard using ingressive speech in Iceland.

Q 14	Iceland									
	Elderly men (grand-parent age)	Elderly women (grand-parent age)	Older men (parent age)	Older women (parent age)	Men your age	Women your age	Younger adult men	Younger adult women	Young boys	Young girls
All	6 (24%)	10 (40%)	7 (28%)	15 (60%)	9 (36%)	17 (68%)	5 (20%)	10 (40%)	4 (16%)	7 (28%)
M	2 (25%)	3 (38%)	3 (38%)	4 (50%)	3 (38%)	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	3 (38%)	1 (13%)	2 (25%)
F	4 (24%)	7 (41%)	4 (24%)	17 (64%)	6 (35%)	11 (65%)	3 (18%)	7 (41%)	3 (18%)	5 (29%)
50-	2 (25%)	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	5 (83%)	3 (50%)	4 (67%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)
50+	4 (21%)	7 (37%)	4 (21%)	10 (52%)	6 (32%)	13 (68%)	4 (21%)	9 (47%)	4 (21%)	6 (31%)

Table 10: People heard using ingressive speech in North America.

Q 14	North America									
	Elderly men (grand-parent age)	Elderly women (grand-parent age)	Older men (parent age)	Older women (parent age)	Men your age	Women your age	Younger adult men	Younger adult women	Young boys	Young girls
All	4 (14%)	7 (24%)	8 (27%)	11 (38%)	4 (14%)	6 (21%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
M	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)
F	2 (10%)	6 (29%)	7 (33%)	10 (48%)	3 (14%)	4 (19%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
None	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
50-	0 (0%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
50+	4 (15%)	6 (23%)	7 (27%)	10 (38%)	4 (15%)	6 (23%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)

The majority of participants in Iceland and North America responded “yes” to Question 15 (Have you heard someone using ingressive speech (innsog) in the past (not recently) when speaking Icelandic?). Table 11 shows the results from both the Icelandic and North American participants.

Table 11: Heard ingressive speech in the past.

Q 15	Iceland					North America					
	All	M	F	-50	50+	All	M	F	None	-50	50+
Number	20	8	12	5	15	24	4	18	2	2	22
Percent of variable	80%	100%	71%	83%	79%	83%	67%	86%	100%	67%	85%

Moreover, participants were asked from whom they had heard ingressive speech in the past. The results are presented in Tables 12 and 13.

Table 12: Iceland. Whom did you hear ingressive speech (innsog) from?

Q 16	Iceland									
	Elderly men (grand-parent age)	Elderly women (grand-parent age)	Older men (parent age)	Older women (parent age)	Men your age	Women your age	Younger adult men	Younger adult women	Young boys	Young girls
All	7 (28%)	12 (48%)	7 (28%)	16 (64%)	9 (36%)	16 (64%)	4 (16%)	8 (28%)	5 (25%)	7 (29%)
M	2 (25%)	4 (50%)	3 (38%)	6 (75%)	4 (50%)	60 (75%)	1 (13%)	3 (38%)	1 (13%)	2 (25%)
F	5 (29%)	8 (47%)	4 (23%)	10 (60%)	5 (29%)	10 (59%)	3 (18%)	5 (29%)	4 (24%)	5 (29%)
50-	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	6 (100%)	4 (67%)	5 (83%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)
50+	4 (21%)	9 (47%)	4 (21%)	10 (52%)	5 (26%)	11 (59%)	3 (16%)	7 (37%)	4 (21%)	6 (32%)

Table 13: North America. Whom did you hear ingressive speech (innsog) from?

Q 16	North America									
	Elderly men (grand-parent age)	Elderly women (grand-parent age)	Older men (parent age)	Older women (parent age)	Men your age	Women your age	Younger adult men	Younger adult women	Young boys	Young girls
All	10 (34%)	15 (52%)	14 (48%)	16 (55%)	6 (21%)	9 (31%)	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	2 (7%)
M	3 (50%)	2 (33%)	2 (33%)	2 (33%)	2 (33%)	2 (33%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)
F	6 (29%)	12 (41%)	10 (34%)	13 (62%)	4 (19%)	7 (33%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)
None	0 (0%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
50-	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
50+	9 (35%)	14 (54%)	13 (50%)	12 (46%)	6 (23%)	9 (35%)	2 (8%)	2 (8%)	2 (8%)	2 (8%)

Question 17 asked: “In your experience do some groups of people tend to use ingressive speech (innsog) more than others?” Table 14 shows the results for both the Iceland and North America groups.

Table 14: Some using ingressive speech more than others?

Q 17	Iceland					North America					
	All	M	F	-50	50+	All	M	F	None	-50	50+
Number	16	5	11	6	10	14	1	12	1	2	12
Percent of variable	64%	63%	65%	100%	53%	48%	17%	57%	50%	67%	46%

Respondents who answered “yes” to Question 17 were asked to elaborate in an open-ended response in Question 18. Fifteen (60%) respondents in the Iceland group elaborated. Among these, 11 (73% of those responding) claimed that females use ingressive speech most often. However, four (27%) stated that both males and females use ingressive speech. Regarding age, four (27%) participants claimed that ingressive speech was more prevalent in an older generation (50+). In contrast, two respondents (8%) were of the opinion that youth use ingressive speech, writing in “young people” and “girls.” Finally, one respondent (4%) wrote that “gay people” use ingressive speech, which might be worth further study.¹⁰

Additionally, respondents were asked in Question 18 to describe the circumstances under which people use ingressive speech. One respondent claimed that it is part of “excited speech,” and another wrote that it is used to indicate “surprise or support.” Finally, one female respondent, age -50, provided a description of how ingressive speech was used by her mother and her mother’s friends:

Perhaps not specific groups [use ingressive speech] but on special occasion. My mother, gossiping on the phone or

meeting up with friends and talking specifically about something in relation to other people they were slightly shocked about and could hardly say it out loud.

Ten (34%) North American participants provided experiences similar to those reported by the Iceland group in response to Question 18. Five (50% of those responding) respondents wrote that they associated ingressive speech with older people. Similarly, six (60%) wrote that females used ingressive speech more often than males. In contrast, however, one respondent argued that it is more prevalent among young people than older people. Another participant wrote that “subordinates more than bosses” use ingressive speech. Finally, three (30%) respondents claimed that people with an Icelandic background (i.e., those born in Iceland) and “Icelanders more than Canadians” use ingressive speech more often than others. One female participant in the 80+ year-old category gave details about hearing Icelandic and ingressive speech while growing up in Canada:

Those whom I heard as a child were my grandmother’s sisters or friends. I don’t remember hearing it used by any elderly male. It probably was in the Icelandic form of “yes” [já], or in *jæja* [well], as my grandmother chatted with someone...

Answers to Question 19 (When or under which circumstances do people use ingressive speech (innsög)?) revealed that a majority of participants in both Iceland and North America perceived of ingressive speech as positive reinforcement in conversation. Participants could select multiple answers from the list shown in Table 15, which provides the results for both Iceland and North America with percentages for each variable per geographical zone.

Table 15: Circumstances under which people use ingressive speech.

Q 19	Iceland					North America					
	All	M	W	-50	50+	All	M	W	None	-50	50+
To be sympathetic	10 40%	2 25%	8 47%	2 33%	8 47%	7 24%	1 17%	6 29%	0 0%	0 0%	7 27%
To be unsympathetic	1 4%	0 0%	1 6%	1 17%	0 0%	1 3%	1 17%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 4%
To be affirmative	10 40%	6 75%	4 24%	3 50%	7 37%	13 45%	2 33%	10 48%	1 50%	1 33%	12 46%
To be contradictory	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	3 10%	1 17%	2 10%	0 0%	0 0%	3 12%
To acknowledge what the other speaker is saying	12 48%	6 75%	6 35%	3 50%	9 53%	14 48%	0 0%	12 57%	2 100%	1 33%	13 50%
To dismiss what the other speaker is saying	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 3%	0 0%	1 5%	0 0%	0 0%	1 4%
To keep conversation flowing	7 28%	3 38%	4 24%	4 67%	3 18%	12 41%	2 33%	10 48%	0 0%	0 0%	12 46%
To avoid interruption in conversation	3 12%	1 13%	2 12%	2 33%	1 5%	7 24%	3 50%	4 19%	0 0%	0 0%	7 27%
To interrupt the conversation	1 4%	1 13%	0 0%	0 0%	1 5%	1 3%	0 0%	1 5%	0 0%	0 0%	1 4%
To indicate engagement in conversation	7 28%	4 50%	3 18%	2 33%	5 26%	11 38%	1 17%	10 48%	0 0%	0 0%	11 42%
To indicate surprise	11 44%	3 38%	8 47%	2 33%	9 47%	10 34%	1 17%	8 38%	1 50%	0 0%	10 38%
To indicate lack of surprise	1 4%	0 0%	1 6%	0 0%	1 5%	1 3%	0 0%	1 5%	0 0%	0 0%	1 4%
Uncertain	4 16%	1 13%	3 18%	1 17%	3 16%	5 17%	0 0%	4 19%	1 50%	1 33%	4 15%
Not listed (please elaborate)	4 16%	2 25%	2 12%	1 17%	2 11%	2 7%	1 17%	1 5%	0 0%	0 0%	2 8%

Most of the respondents from Iceland clearly perceived ingressive speech as a positive aspect of conversations. The four respondents, who selected that the answer was not listed, elaborated. One commented that ingressive speech could be used “ironically.” Another noted that it could be used “to be judgmental.” The last two respondents suggested that ingressive speech was used in conversations “to express mild outrage” or “when excited/passionate having much to say.”

Question 20 asked if respondents had heard ingressive speech in connection with certain words or phrases and requested them to check all that applied from the list shown in Table 16.

Table 16: Words and phrases connected with ingressive speech.

Q 20	Iceland					North America					
	All	M	W	-50	50+	All	M	W	None	-50	50+
Já [yes]	23 92%	8 100%	15 88%	6 100%	17 89%	19 66%	2 33%	16 76%	1 50%	2 67%	17 65%
Jú [yes]	17 68%	7 88%	10 59%	6 100%	11 58%	16 55%	3 50%	13 62%	0 0%	1 33%	15 58%
Nei [no]	16 64%	7 88%	9 53%	5 83%	11 58%	14 48%	2 33%	12 57%	0 0%	2 67%	12 46%
Longer segment of speech	20 80%	8 100%	12 71%	6 100%	14 74%	6 20%	2 33%	4 19%	0 0%	0 0%	6 23%
Uncertain	2 8%	0 0%	2 12%	0 0%	2 11%	3 10%	0 0%	2 10%	1 50%	0 0%	3 12%
Not listed (please elaborate)	2 8%	0 0%	2 12%	0 0%	2 11%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Two participants in the Iceland group commented and added the following phrases or words as examples: “Veit það ekki” [I don’t know], “guð! jiii” [god! ugh], and suchlike. In addition, two respondents noted that they were uncertain of how ingressive speech was used, and two others claimed that the answer was “not listed.” In contrast to the Iceland group, only very few respondents in the North American group had heard ingressive speech used in a longer segment of speech.

Questions 21-24 were open-ended and allowed respondents to describe more fully their perceptions of the use of ingressive speech. In the following, we discuss first the Icelandic group and next the North American group. Question 21 asked participants to note what particular ingressive speech users came to mind. Seventeen (68%) of the Iceland group provided answers to this question. The results are shown in Table 17.

Table 17: Particular users of ingressive speech (Iceland).

Q 21 (a) Ingressive speech users	Iceland				
	All	W	M	-50	50+
Myself	3 (18%)	2 (18%)	1 (17%)	2 (40%)	1 (8%)
Particular women I know	7 (41%)	4 (36%)	3 (50%)	2 (40%)	1 (8%)
Particular men I know	1 (6%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)
Women in general	3 (18%)	3 (27%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	2 (17%)
Common for everyone	2 (12%)	1 (9%)	1 (17%)	1 (20%)	1 (8%)
Children	2 (12%)	1 (9%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)	2 (17%)
Mostly women, sometimes men	2 (12%)	1 (9%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)	2 (17%)
My friends	3 (18%)	3 (27%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (25%)

Many respondents reported that women were the predominant users of ingressive speech. Some provided details about particular women known to them. For example, a male 50+ wrote of an elderly woman:

My childhood friend's mother was an expert in ingressive speech, ending other peoples' sentences by echoing the last syllable using ingressive speech. She was a housewife, had seven children. An extremely nice and agreeable person.

A female, age -50, wrote:

An older woman from the West Fjords. She uses it so intensely, when she's speaking about something important and doesn't want to stop talking [that] she will continue her speech with innsog instead of stopping to breathe.

Another female, age -50, offered comments about females using ingressive speech when shocked:

I use it myself quite often when I say "Já" [yes] in conversations but mainly when I am quite surprised, for example when I say "Ha?" [What?] or "Guð minn góður" [Oh my God]. Sometimes me and my friends use it mockingly as well, imitating a specific type of woman. The type of woman would be middle aged – elderly talking about something we find innocent but that type of woman would be shocked by – if that makes sense.

Finally, participants gave details on wide-spread use. For example, a woman 50+ wrote:

A male colleague of mine, who is in his eighties, comes to mind because I think he uses ingressive speech more than other men. The fact that I immediately think of him might also mean that I hear men seldom use innsog, or less frequently than I hear women doing the same thing.

The aforementioned responses to Question 21 not only describe ingressive speech users, but also indicate the circumstances under which ingressive speech was used. The main themes in their comments are shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Why do some speakers use ingressive speech (Iceland)?

Q 21(a)	Iceland				
	Used when deeply immersed in conversation; can express surprise, shock, or engagement	A way of breathing and speaking at the same time and to continue talking	Repeating what is spoken to the speaker at the end of sentences	Used with animated storytelling	Used in women's gossip and conversation
All	3	2	1	1	1
M	2	1	1	1	0
W	1	1	0	0	1
50-	1	1	0	0	0
50+	2	1	1	1	1

The responses show that ingressive speech is typically used when a person is deeply immersed in a conversation or when a person is engaged in animated storytelling. They also suggest that it is likely prevalent in women's conversations. One male participant, age 50+, mentioned some of these instances and noted that ingressive speech can be used in tandem with egressive speech:

I associate this phenomenon primarily with women although I think I may also have heard men use it. My impression is that this occurs mostly when the speaker is excited or passionate or deeply engaged in a conversation, has a lot to say, and keeps talking while inhaling. I can think of several women of different ages that I recall doing this. Children also do this under similar circumstances, especially with an affirmative “já” or “jú” [yes].

In contrast to the Icelandic group, the North American respondents' answers revealed that they have recollections mostly of elderly family members using ingressive speech. Fourteen (48%) of the 29 participants provided a response to this question.

As shown in Table 19, most North Americans provided details about one or more older family members within a generation older than their own who used ingressive speech.

Table 19: Particular users of ingressive speech (North America)?

Q 21 (b) Ingressive speech users	North America					
	All (14)	M (1)	W (12)	None (1)	-50 (1)	50+ (13)
Elderly people age 60+ who heard ingressive speech growing up/fluent in Icelandic	2 (14%)	0 (0%)	2 (17%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (15%)
Great- grandparents	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
Grandparents and/or their friends	6 (45%)	0 (0%)	6 (50%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	5 (38%)
Parents and their siblings	4 (28%)	0 (0%)	4 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (31%)
Icelandic family	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Those with Icelandic background	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)
Icelandic professor	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Nova Scotian spouse of child	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)
Mostly women	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)
Myself	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)

One respondent, a female age 50+, commented: “*Amma* [Grandma] and *Afi* [Grandpa], aunts and uncles, Icelandic Professor, parents ... Icelandic family and others while I was growing up.” Another, a female age 50+, provided insight into the transfer of ingressive speech into English in Canada, claiming that users of ingressive speech are:

Many elderly people (aged 80 and up) and others in my age group (60-70s) who heard innsog when they were growing up. I used it without thinking while I am speaking English, mainly in the affirmative sense.

Yet another respondent, a female age 50+, described how ingressive speech may have transferred into English in prior generations prior and associates it with comic storytelling:

Long, engaged discussion about contestable subjects where innsog is used in all its aspects of meaning as listed above. It is like an extra expressive dimension of speech. And one other element unlisted above - humour. My uncles, especially,

typically used innsog both in Icelandic and English to signal an upcoming joke, or just the punchline. Both of them adapted it to English as part of their storytelling mode.

Other North American respondents provided insight into when ingressive speech was used within conversation. One respondent, a female age 50+, suggested that it is used by “women who are in casual conversation and especially if a comment is coming to a conclusion.” Another respondent, a male age 50+, drew attention to the phrase “guð minn góður” [Oh my God], which was not listed in the survey.

Similar responses were found in the answers to Question 22 (Do you have any associations with the use of ingressive speech [innsog]?) In the Iceland group, 13 (52%) respondents answered the question. One male participant, age 50+, wrote: “I think ingressive speech can be rather inelegant.” Two female respondents, age -50, commented on the circumstances in which it is used: “A mild one [association] with women sharing their experiences and supporting each other.” One of these two females also noted that it is used in private discussions while reiterating her comment in her answer to Question 20:

I doubt it would have been used in a larger group. It's more like a part of a more private talk between 2-4 people. If I use it or people around my age, I think it would be done more like a joke to pretend that you are really shocked about something (usually related to behaviour of other people) or trying to gossip.

Two participants suggested more types of conversations in which innsog is used. A female respondent, age 50+, listed “humor, ironical,” and a male, age 50+, mentioned “surprise or slander.” Finally, a female, age 50+, responded that she occasionally used ingressive speech and provided some phrases, such as “já, ég held það” [Yes, I think so] and “ég held ekki” [I don't think so].

In the North American group, eight (26%) respondents provided comments. One female, age 50+, mentioned “Icelandic Association of Manitoba” as a specific organization. Another female, also age 50+, mentioned extended family networks in Canada that maintain(ed) Icelandic. A third female, age 50+, remembered ingressive speech while “listening to conversations among my mother and her sisters-in-laws (my aunts).” In addition, a female, age 50+, commented that one of her friends had visited Iceland to search for her roots and explained to her that she had heard ingressive speech. Finally, three respondents reflected on their own usage of ingressive speech. Two women, age 50+, commented “I do sometimes use it (but seldom)” and “Maybe when I try to

speak Icelandic.” The third, a female -50, suggested a limited range for ingressive speech, writing “only really used with *já* or *nei* [yes or no].”

In Question 23, participants were asked if they had perceived a change in ingressive speech usage over time. Sixteen (64%) of 25 participants in the Iceland group provided an answer. Table 20 summarizes the type of responses and provides percentages for each variable.

Table 20: Changes in ingressive speech over time (Iceland).

Q 23	Iceland				
	All (16)	M (6)	W (10)	-50 (3)	50+ (13)
Decreasing	7 (43%)	2 (33%)	5 (50%)	2 (67%)	5 (38%)
Stable	4 (25%)	2 (33%)	2 (20%)	1 (33%)	3 (23%)
Increasing	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)
Uncertain	4 (25%)	2 (33%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	4 (31%)

The table shows that most respondents are of the opinion that the use of ingressive speech has decreased over time, though a slight minority stated that it is stable or increasing. One male, age 50+, suggested that urbanization might be a factor in its decline:

I hear less of ingressive speech nowadays, I think, than I did in childhood. I grew up in the countryside, partly. Perhaps it was used more there than in the city of Reykjavík nowadays.

Two participants reiterated that ingressive speech is used only under special circumstances and that, accordingly, it would be difficult to track a decline. One female, age 50+, wrote:

I think it may have decreased, i.e. that younger people use it less than my generation and people older than me. But then it is possible that I don't have many conversations with younger people of that kind that would elicit innsög.

The other, a male, age 50+, argued that it had always been occasionally used and likely under certain circumstances: “No, I don’t think so. I hear it occasionally, not very often; I think it has always been like that.” Finally, a woman, age 50+, suggested that unconscious use of ingressive speech may prevent the acknowledgement of personal use of ingressive speech: “I think it has not changed that much. Younger people tend to make fun of it as if they would never do it, but they still do it unconsciously.”

In contrast, North American responses showed that participants believed that ingressive speech has decreased over time. Seventeen (60%) participants

provided responses to this open-ended question. Table 21 shows the results with percentages for each variable.

Table 21: Changes in ingressive speech over time (North America).

Q 23	North America					
	All (17)	M (1)	W (15)	None (1)	-50 (0)	50+ (17)
Decreasing	8 (50%)	1 (100%)	7 (47%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (47%)
No or stable	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (6%)
Need more interactions to know	4 (25%)	0 (0%)	4 (27%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (24%)
Uncertain	5 (31%)	0 (0%)	3 (20%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	4 (24%)

Two participants elaborated on their statements. One, a female, age 50+, commented:

Mostly elderly people in Canada might use innsog and not as much as before. Younger people don't even joke about it as we used to do. I can't make much of an assessment about its use in Iceland.

The other, a female, age 50+, noted that “those raised in Canada do not use it.” In addition, four (25%) respondents reported that they had very little interaction with North American Icelandic and could not surmise what had changed regarding use of ingressive speech. A female participant, age 50+, wrote: “I can't answer this, having been away from Gimli since I was 17.” Another female, age 50+, claimed that there had been no change.

In the last question (Question 24), participants were asked if they had further comments about ingressive speech that they would like to make. Seven (28%) in the Iceland group provided substantive responses, and ten (34%) of the North American group had comments. Table 22 provides these survey responses for both the Iceland and North America groups by theme.

Table 22: Final comments on ingressive speech arranged by theme.

Q 24	Iceland	North America
Unconscious of when self or others use it	2	2
It transfers into English	1	2
(Women's) speech that is comic	2	1
(Women's) speech that is sexualized	1	0
(Women's) speech indicating lack of education	1	0
No term for innsog in North America	0	2
A lack due to the decline in fluency in Icelandic	0	2
Spoken in limited geographical zones in Canada	0	1
Used with private or informal speech	1	0
Used for insertions during a lull in conversation	0	1

Four participants in the Iceland group claimed that they were not conscious of when they used ingressive speech or heard it in conversation. One respondent wrote: "I have to say I might not be the best judge because I don't think I always notice it when people use it." Three comments further reiterated scholars' findings that ingressive speech easily transfers into English. One respondent from the North American group wrote: "It is used with English speech by people of Icelandic background and is often not a conscious decision to speak in this way." Moreover, respondents commented on females as the primary users of ingressive speech. One Icelandic respondent suggested that there might be a stereotype:

I think innsog is usually seen as a symptom of a lack of education and theatrical or dramatical exaggeration, more feminine, and generally rather derided, which makes it fun to use, especially when speaking with educated males.

Another associated it with female sexualized speech:

I lived in the UK for several years and was told by one or two Englishmen (who heard me speak Icelandic with a compatriot) that they found ingressive speech sexy. I have never thought of it that way!

Generally, the comments from the North American group were inconclusive, evidently because some of the respondents were unfamiliar with the term ingressive speech (innsog). One respondent wrote:

...if you thought we were going to get reasonable answers from ordinary Icelandic speakers in North America, I think you are mistaken. My mother, aunt and uncle would not know what you were talking about re innsog. I had to google it many times to even begin to figure out what it is. And I had to say já [yes] several times to figure out if I used it when I talk to my mother in my few Icelandic words.

Two females (50+) suggested that there was a lack of ingressive speech due to a decline in Icelandic fluency in North America. One of the two highlighted nexuses where North American Icelandic was spoken:

There aren't any Icelandic speakers in Edmonton any more except a couple of recent immigrant families. There were speakers when I first moved here, they were older than me,

having moved from New Iceland, or the settlements in Southwest Manitoba, or central Saskatchewan, Vatnabyggd.

Discussion

Our first hypothesis – that ingressive speech in Icelandic is used primarily by women – is somewhat confirmed by participants' responses to our survey, yet our results are not completely consistent with most findings targeting communities in the North Atlantic/Baltic Zone. For example, in their study of ingressive speech in Finnish and Danish, Auli Hakulinen, Tine Larsen, and Jakob Steensig found that it was used mostly, though not exclusively, by women (104). Marianne Stølen, too, reported that significantly more women used Danish affirmative “ja” [yes] with ingressive articulation (1994, 673; 1995, 222-23). In addition, Sandra Clarke and Gunnar Melchers demonstrated that in both Sweden and Newfoundland women used ingressive particles with higher frequency than men (63). Five other studies in the North Atlantic/Baltic Zone shared and confirmed their findings.¹¹ Sandra Clarke and Gunnar Melchers even argue that the spread of ingressive speech in Viking settlements likely happened through women (9, 64). Therefore, there is a likelihood that women are the primary speakers of ingressive speech in Iceland.

In contrast to these findings, our analysis of Questions 11 and 12 suggests that reported use of ingressive speech is similar across genders in the Iceland group – with 67% of males and 70% of females claiming that they used it in the present and 75% of males and 71% of females claiming that they used it in the past. In addition, the North American group had a higher percentage of males (50%) reporting that they used it in the present than females (33%) reported. Furthermore, 67% of males and 43% of females in the North American group claimed that they used ingressive speech in the past. However, it should be noted that one male participant in this group grew up in Iceland. If we consider these reports without including him, the numbers appear more similar, with 33% of males and females claiming to still use ingressive speech in the present and 50% of males and 43% of females claiming to have used it in the past. In conclusion, both males and females reported using ingressive speech to roughly the same degree in both the Iceland and North American survey groups.

Women, however, were often identified by survey respondents as the primary ingressive speech users in closed and open-ended questions that asked for memories of heard speech or whether there were certain users of ingressive speech. For example, in Questions 14 and 16 (shown in Tables 9, 10, 12, and 13), females were perceived as more frequent users of ingressive speech than males, especially in Iceland. The exception was in the children's age category in the past where participants reported hearing ingressive speech equally for boys and

girls. Similarly, reports of heard ingressive speech in the present for the North American sample vaguely favored females in the present and past, except in the age categories that were younger-than-self.

Moreover, in answer to Question 17 and Question 18 (Table 14), a larger percentage of Icelanders reported that females were ingressive speech users and provided specific examples. However, there was no definite sway toward females in the North American group in answer to these questions. Accordingly, there may be some kind of communal knowledge or a belief that ingressive speech is a women's conversational tool more often than for men. For this reason, it is possible that participants highlighted experiences with female speakers. Furthermore, most of our participants were women and may be reporting on themselves and their female social networks. It is possible that men also use ingressive speech in conversation but that this was downplayed in survey responses. It should be noted here that some scholars argue that men demonstrate a non-verbal counterpart to ingressive speech in the North Atlantic/Baltic Zone. Peters argues that men in Norway used an inaudible ingressive that matched women's voiced articulation in a similar body language (81). Sundkvist claims that men used voiceless ingressives in the Shetland Islands (192). And Sundkvist and Gao suggest that men pucker their lips as supportive listeners in the Orkney Islands (10). In light of this, an observational study of males and females might have great potential for further understanding of ingressive speech in Icelandic.

Our second hypothesis is that ingressive speech is on the wane in Iceland and the Icelandic communities in North America. Several studies of the use of ingressive speech in other languages conclude that it is diminishing. In their examination of Newfoundland, Clarke and Melchers argue that "in some areas of the 'North Atlantic/Baltic Zone' ingressive use appears to be declining among younger and more urban or urbanized speakers" (61). Peter Sundkvist, who studied the Shetland Islands, notes that ingressive speech is used primarily by elderly people and claims that its use is declining (200-1). In their study of residents born in the Orkney Islands between 1905-1910, Sundkvist and Man Gao also provide hearsay that ingressive speech is in drastic decline (11). Thom's work on Scottish shows that 69% of study participants were of the opinion that elderly people are the primary users of ingressive speech, which suggests a decline in that language as well (31). Finally, Peters's study of Vinalhaven, Maine, describes some informants who moved away from Vinalhaven for college or became fishermen after high school and stopped using ingressive speech (191). Accordingly, he argues that the decline in ingressive speech use might be associated with their change of residence or professional life (188-94). In contrast, Pitschmann documents how ingressive particles may have spread from Germany to young women in Austria, which indicates that ingressive

speech can potentially spread from one population to another through youth or even experience a resurgence in subsequent generations (154-55).

The responses to our survey reveal only a minute decline in the use of ingressive speech as perceived by the respondents in the Iceland group with 64% of participants reporting using ingressive speech in the present versus 72% reporting using ingressive speech in the past (Questions 11 and 12). However, 80% of the Iceland group claimed they had heard ingressive speech in the present and past, suggesting no decline (Questions 13 and 15). It is difficult to discern a felt decline when examining the age distribution of those participants who had heard ingressive speech both recently and in the past. In addition, in responses to open-ended Question 23, 43% were of the opinion that ingressive speech was decreasing compared with 56% who believed it was stable or increasing or who were uncertain.

The North American group's results on decline in usage were difficult to interpret. Participants' reports suggest a small decline in their own use with 41% reporting using ingressive speech in the present and 52% reporting they used ingressive speech in the past (Question 11 and 12). However, reports of heard speech in the present and past showed a decline in this community, with 83% claiming to have heard ingressive speech in the past and only 43% claiming to have heard it at the time of the survey. Furthermore, answers to Questions 14 and 16 show that respondents rarely heard ingressive speech in younger-than-self categories in the past and present. Accordingly, the use of ingressive speech may have been more prevalent in older generations in North America.

Our third hypothesis—that ingressive speech is almost non-existent in North American Icelandic—was not confirmed by the respondents. For example, Questions 11 and 13 show that 41% of the North American group claimed that they used ingressive speech themselves and had heard it in the present. Community networks, key localities, and interactions with people in Iceland may play pivotal roles in the continuation of ingressive speech in the North American immigrant communities. In addition, North American Icelandic remains inclusive of a range of ingressive articulations as shown by answers to Question 20 and some of the open-ended questions.

With regard to the situations in which ingressive speech is used in Icelandic, many of our findings confirm the research of other scholars. One is that ingressive speech is often considered an affirming or sympathetic contribution to a conversation. Clarke and Melchers (67); Eklund (280); Hakulinen (52); Kobayashi (78-80, 83-84); Hakulinen, Larsen, and Steensig (112); Peters (3-4, 99); Pitschmann (156-58); Stølen (1994, 672-73, 675); Stølen (1995, 221-22); and Thom (84) all arrived at similar conclusions in their studies. For instance, Clarke and Melchers found examples of short phrases in their study of ingressive speech in Swedish and are of the opinion that these are likely response formulae (54). Sundkvist and Gao found an ingressive "I know" in the Orkney Islands (9).

Thom argues that women are prevalent users of longer speech segments in Scotland, and that longer speech segments are also common in the Faroe Islands (32, 37-38). Furthermore, Hakulinen, Larsen, and Steensig attest to longer ingressive speech segments in Finnish (105). This is in contrast to the study conducted by Pitchman, who claims that “only in Icelandic is it [ingressive speech] used to articulate full sentences” (156). Some of our respondents argued that ingressive speech was part of intimate, informal conversations between friends and family members. These findings, too, are echoed in Clarke and Melchers (54, 62, 66-67), Hakulinen (52, 62-63), Kobayashi (58), and Thom (35). Sundkvist, however, claims that ingressive articulations can be found in any context in the Shetland Islands (196). Similarly, Hakulinen, Larsen, and Steensig argue that it can occur in both private and public discourse in Danish and Finnish (103-4).

In addition, our respondents mentioned that ingressive speech is sometimes used in women’s conversations and gossip. Thom’s study of Scottish also associates the use of ingressive articulations with gossip (35). In Coates’s opinion, women are socialized into private discourse where gossip occurs and that providing support for one another may take precedence over informative talk (202). Stølen is of a similar opinion and argues that ingressive “ja” [yes] in Danish builds a “cooperative framework in conversations” for women and supports female bonding (1995, 224), and Kobayashi is of the opinion that women use ingressive particles more often than men because they are more concerned with politeness (77-78).

Finally, some of our respondents commented on instances of ingressive insertion in conversations. One survey participant noted the use of ingressive speech to end a person’s sentence. Hakulinen (52-56), Hakulinen, Larsen, and Steensig (112), Kobayashi (84), and Peters (5) all note the use of this use of ingressive response given by the listener, when the speaker concludes a topic or his/her speaking turn.¹² Not particularly noted by our respondents but worth mentioning is that some scholars argue that ingressive speakers may continue to speak on excitedly while using ingressives. This phenomenon is described by Peters in his study of speakers in Norway, which suggests that without ingressives from others, speakers sometimes generate their own ingressive listening devices in self-affirmation or reflection while continuing their speaking turn (83-85). Insertions of ingressive utterances into lulls in conversation has been discussed by Hakulinen (55-56, 62-63), who points out that ingressives are inserted when conversations stall or ebb in Finnish. Also, Kobayashi notes that when there is a long pause and at other turn-taking junctures ingressives might be used in Norwegian (81, 88).

Conclusion

The similarity in the percentages of males and females who claimed they were ingressive speech users in the past and present in both Iceland and North America suggests that our first hypothesis—that females use pulmonic ingressive speech more than men—does not hold. It should be noted, however, that some participants noted that they heard females using ingressive speech slightly more often in Iceland and among older generations in North America. Accordingly, the results for this first hypothesis are unclear and somewhat inconsistent with findings from other studies in the North Atlantic/Baltic Zone. Further research with a larger sample might clarify the answer to this research question. Moreover, ingressive speech does not appear to be on the wane in Iceland, but seems to be declining in North America. Therefore, survey data confirmed the second hypothesis for North America. Our third hypothesis – that it does not exist in North America—does not hold and may be irrelevant.

Appendix

1. Where did you grow up?: Country [Free Response]; Town/City [Free Response]; Is this location rural, suburban, or urban? [Free Response]
2. Where do you currently live?: Country [Free Response]; Town/City [Free Response]; Is this location rural, suburban, or urban? [Free Response]
3. What is your age?: 18-30; 30-40; 40-50; 50-60; 60-70; 70-80; 80+
- 4a. What is your current gender? (Check all that apply): Man; Non-binary; Woman; Not listed, please specify; Prefer not to answer
- 4b. Are you transgender / do you identify as part of the transgender community?: Yes; No; It's complicated / other; Prefer not to answer
5. Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation? (Check all that apply): Asexual; Bisexual; Heterosexual/Straight; Gay; Lesbian; Queer; Not listed, please specify; Prefer not to answer
6. Were you raised in a multigenerational home?: Yes; No
7. Do you live in a multigenerational home?: Yes; No
8. What is your highest level of completed education?: Primary school; High school; Trade school; University
9. Do you use Icelandic in your everyday life?: Yes; No
10. Do you have memories of people using Icelandic in your everyday life?: Yes; No
11. Do you use ingressive speech (innsog) when speaking Icelandic?: Yes; No
12. Have you used ingressive speech (innsog) in the past when speaking Icelandic?: Yes; No

13. Have you recently heard someone using ingressive speech (innsog) when speaking Icelandic?: Yes; No
14. Whom did you hear ingressive speech (innsog) from? (Check all that apply): Elderly men (grandparents' generation and up); Elderly women (grandparent's generation and up); Older men (parents' generation); Older women (parent's generation); Men of your age; Women of your age; Younger adult men; Younger adult women; Young boys; Young girls
15. Have you heard someone using ingressive speech (innsog) in the past (not recently) when speaking Icelandic?: Yes; No
16. Whom did you hear ingressive speech (innsog) from? (Check all that apply): Elderly men (grandparents' generation and up); Elderly women (grandparent's generation and up); Older men (parents' generation); Older women (parent's generation); Men of your age; Women of your age; Younger adult men; Younger adult women; Young boys; Young girls
17. In your experience do some groups of people tend to use ingressive speech (innsog) more than others?: Yes; No
18. Please elaborate. [Free Response; displayed if respondent answered Yes to 17]
19. When or under which circumstances do people use ingressive speech (innsog)? (Check all that apply): To be sympathetic; To be unsympathetic; To be affirmative; To be contradictory; To acknowledge what the other speaker is saying; To dismiss what the other speaker is saying; To keep conversation flowing; To avoid interruption in conversation; To interrupt the conversation; To indicate engagement in conversation; To indicate surprise; To indicate lack of surprise; Uncertain; Not listed (please elaborate)
20. Have you heard ingressive speech (innsog) connected with the following words or phrases? (Check all that apply): Já; Jú; Nei; A longer segment of speech, such as part of a sentence or a whole sentence; Uncertain; Not listed (please elaborate)
21. Do any particular users of ingressive speech (innsog) come to mind? Without using names please provide details about them. [Free Response]
22. Do you have any associations with the use of ingressive speech (innsog)? [Free Response]
23. In your view, has the use of ingressive speech (innsog) changed over time? (e.g., has it increased, decreased, changed meaning, have different groups of people changed their usage of it, etc?) [Free Response]
24. Do you have any further comments that you would like to share with us, either about the survey itself or ingressive speech (innsog) in Icelandic? [Free Response]

Acknowledgements: We wish to thank Laura Moquin and Heather Mayo for help with putting together the survey. Heather Mayo was also of assistance in terms of finding secondary reading materials on pulmonic ingressive speech and digested much of the demographic information from the respondents.

NOTES

1. Eklund comments that “The list cannot be considered exhaustive – especially since new sources that mention ingressive speech are being found on a regular basis, implying that there might still be a substantial hidden number of languages with pulmonic ingressive speech. However, inquiries made to native speakers of south-European languages have only yielded negative responses, so it would seem that there might be areas where ingressive speech seemingly does not occur. Thus, it does not seem too far-fetched to claim that the list is at least fairly indicative as to the geographical distribution of ingressively produced speech world-wide. The main observation, however, is clearly that contrary to the notion that ingressive speech is a phenomenon that is restricted to Scandinavia, we have seen that it exists on all continents (except Antarctica), although admittedly varying in both frequency and concerning the linguistic items that are produced” (279).
2. It should be noted that the major portion of the research for the dissertation was done in Trondheim, Norway, and in the United States at Vinalhaven (69, 104). He comments that his Icelandic examples were gathered only in Norway from Icelandic speakers (41-2). It is unclear if Peters refers to Icelanders using an ingressive “yes” in English or transferring the Nordic “ja” to English.
3. Pitschmann’s observations “were made primarily during a three-year period beginning in 1973 and ending in 1976” (154). Pitschmann notes that “with the exception of speakers of Norwegian and one Icelandic informant, all occurrences of the ingressive air-stream cited ... were observed in conversations among native speakers residing in their own countries” (154).
4. Note that Eklund’s survey of ingressive speech studies reveals that ingressive speech extends further along borders of cultural contact. For example, ingressive speech is prevalent in French and extant in many North American indigenous populations, namely in Greenland and Canadian Inuit communities (255-56, 266-67, 270, 272-73).
5. Clarke and Melchers note that previous scholarship has suggested that ingressive speech articulations are rare or non-existent in the Midwestern states and provinces in the US and Canada with the largest Scandinavian immigrant populations (57-58).
6. Most of these surveys came from Canada and were from very elderly people.

7. Survey data were placed into an Access database for analysis. Responses to the open-ended questions were coded using a constant comparison method.
8. In a survey design oversight, decade numerals were repeated for each age group. Therefore, we have repeated the age 50 in our older and younger groups.
9. We have removed three participants only from Table 3. Three female participants all aged 50+ gave unclear information on either the city where they grew up or the city where they lived at the time of the survey.
10. Pitschmann argues that ingressive speech is construed as effeminate when used by men in Germany (154).
11. Further studies suggesting that ingressive speech is more common in females than in males include Kobayashi's study of eight recorded Norwegian University students, which revealed that women produced 82% of ingressive ja [yes] articulations (77-78, 95); and Peters's studies of Ireland, Norway, and Vinalhaven, Maine, showed that women used ingressive articulations more often than men in each locality (44, 75, 151). Additionally, Pitschmann observed that more German women using affirmative "ja" particles with innsog than men (154), and Sundkvist and Gao found both male and female but significantly more female ingressive speakers in the Orkney Islands, and just slightly more female than male speakers in the Shetland Islands (6). In contrast, Thom's study of ingressive speech in Scotland showed that participants perceived a much higher percentage of male ingressive speech users than female, and yet in the Western Isles, participants were of the opinion that females were the primary users in this locale (31).
12. Peters suggests that ingressive tokens could be used as a "forceful finality" at the closing of another speaker's statement (5).

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