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The influence of English on the languages in the Nordic countries

KARIN AIJMER, GUNNEL MELCHERS

English has a special position in the world as a global or international language. This global English is sometimes described as a "lingua franca"; it is used by a large number of speakers in Europe and internationally. It functions as a life-line for the tourist and as a language for communication in the sciences, transport and business world and is important for cultural exchange.

An important aspect of the increasing dominance of English in the "expanding circle" is its effect on other languages. The influence of English on other languages has given rise to much heated debate. What happens to other languages if English comes to dominate the linguistic scene? English has spread into and partly taken over domains such as popular music and entertainment, fashion, sports, advertising and trade. Massive borrowing has taken place on all levels of languge. The rise of English has resulted in a concern with issues such as the loss of particular domains and the maintenance and preservation of the domestic language. As one contributor to this volume suggests with regard to the language situation in the Scandinavian countries, "language death in Scandinavia should by no means be ruled out" (Gottlieb).

As Stig Johansson has pointed out, "considering the frequency and the heat of debate, there have been surprisingly few major studies that systematically survey the use of English in Scandinavia and the influence of English on the Scandinavian languages, although there has been a tendency in recent years to pay more attention to the topic"(2002: 90). There are also differences between the Nordic countries which need to be described. It has, for instance, been suggested that Norwegian has been more influenced by English than Swedish (Graedler & Johansson 1995:271). The aim in this special issue of *Nordic Journal of English Studies* is to bring together a number of original contributions by scholars dealing with the role of English in the Nordic countries and the possible effect of English on the languages spoken there.

The collection of articles reflects the rich spectrum of ongoing work in this field. The articles not only describe the English impact in the vocabulary of the Nordic languages but also deal with broader issues such as attitudes to English loan words and the language policies in the different countries, the threat of English in a more global world, interlanguage phenomena such as transfer in professional writing or "Finglish" in Finnish advertisements.

The spread of English looks different across languages and attitudes towards the English influx vary depending on factors like social class, education and age. Large-scale projects facilitating the comparison between speech communities are now underway. **Anne-Line Graedler** presents the Nordic project "Modern loanwords in the Nordic Countries" including Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish in Finland and Swedish in Sweden. The new project has the purpose to investigate the volume of loanwords, their adaptation to the domestic language, native substitute forms and standardisation. It is also concerned with attitudes towards loanwords and substitute forms.

Jacob Thøgersen deals with the issue whether some Nordic populations are more purist than others. Attitudes to the influx of English were investigated by the use of questionnaires. Another issue discussed in this contribution is whether a society's official purism (as in Iceland) or laissez-faire attitude (as in Denmark or Sweden) is the official language policy or represents the educated elite's self-image.

Most observers agree that the English language has a more important position in Denmark than in the other Nordic countries. As **Henrik Gottlieb** shows, modern English loans tend to retain their spelling and morphological endings. Gottlieb proposes a model of Anglicisms distinguishing for example between code-shifts and loans. Moreover he shows that some loans which seem to be unnecessary in fact fill a void in the lexical field.

Philip Shaw shows that academic writing by Danes writing in English may be structured differently from "Anglos" writing in their native language. For example, the placement of adverbials is influenced by Danish when Danes write in English. However, according to Shaw, Danish writers "want English to be a foreign language for them" and write in English as spoken by native speakers of English.

We also need historical studies taking into account changes over time. Within the framework of the Swedish project ORDAT, **Mall Stålhammar**

has investigated the influx of English loanwords on the Swedish vocabulary 1800-2000. The focus is on their diachronic distribution on the basis of when they first appeared in the Swedish vocabulary and their frequencies in different domains of use. As for the development in quantitative terms it is shown that there is a steady increase of loanwords over the whole period with a peak after the Second World War.

The construction *den förste att gå* studied by **Magnus Ljung** is a so-called "construction loan" where a grammatical construction has been copied using Swedish linguistic elements. The study is particularly welcome, since previous work on this type of borrowing is virtually negligible. Ljung shows on the basis of data from Swedish newspapers that the construction is growing in frequency. **Anders Lindström's** article deals with the influence of English on spoken Swedish with regard to word formation and segmental phonology. .In the Xenophones production study the aim was to identify "foreign" speech sounds. On the basis of this study and studies on other spoken corpora it is shown that English influence on Swedish can be a problem for speech and language technology applications.

In Iceland there is a well established interest in the national language and the official policy has been that of keeping the language free from loanwords. In the last decades English influence on the language, especially the vocabulary has grown considerably with an increased interest in the phenomenon as a result. In her article **Gudrun Kvaran** deals with Icelandic language politics and the impacÁ of language purism. It is shown that in order to be accepted into the borrowing language a word has to fulfil a number of criteria involving for example phonological and morphological rules. In **Ásta Svavarsdóttir's** article, lexical borrowings are looked at in connection with the age of speakers in an apparent-time study. The article also reports on a study based on a collection of personal diary entries by a number of Icelanders. The results confirm the claim that younger people use more words from English than older and that the choice of words is also different.

We also need studies of English in particular domains. The study by **Irma Taavitsainen** and **Päivi Pahta** is an in-depth study of English in advertisements on the yellow pages of the Helsinki telephone directories over the past fifty years. It is found that some of the new names and coinages are in a language imitating English but not quite what native speakers would use.

References:

Graedler, Anne-Line and Stig Johansson. 1995. *Rocka, hipt* and *snacksy*: Some aspects of English influence on present-day Norwegian: In Melchers, G. and B. Warren (eds). *Studies in Anglistics*. Stockholm Studies in English LXXXV. 269-287.

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Modern Loanwords in the Nordic Countries. Presentation of a project.[1]

ANNE-LINE GRAEDLER

1. Background

In the first chapter of his book on English as a global language, David Crystal sums up the present status of English in the world:

> Within little more than a generation, we have moved from a situation where a world language was a theoretical possibility to one where it is a rapidly approaching reality. No government has yet found it possible to plan confidently, in such circumstances. Languages of identity need to be maintained. Access to the emerging global language – widely perceived as a language of opportunity – needs to be guaranteed. [...] Fundamental decisions about priorities have to be made. Those making the decisions need to bear in mind that we may well be approaching a critical moment in human linguistic history. (Crystal 1997: 22)

In the Nordic countries, tensions between indigenous "languages of identity" and English, the global language, have been felt and expressed with an increasing sense of urgency over the past few decades. National language councils have to a varying extent and in different ways addressed the topic, but so far there has been no attempt at a unified Nordic policy on linguistic globalization.

In 1998, at the request of the Nordic Language Council[2], Professor Helge Sandøy at the University of Bergen was asked to outline a Nordic

[1] I would like to thank Professor Stig Johansson, Oslo, and Professor Helge Sandøy, Bergen, for their helpful comments on the draft of this article.

[2] The Nordic Language Council is the co-ordinating body of the language councils of the Nordic countries, and represents one of the major sources of funding for the project. The project receives funding from various other sources, the most important of which are The Nordic Joint Committe for Research in the Humanities (NOS-H), The Nordic Academy for Advanced Study (NorFa), The Language Policy Reference Group of the Nordic Council of Ministers, "The New Norwegian" (a project under the Globalisation and

research project on the treatment of foreign words in the Nordic languages. After a brainstorming session with participants from several Nordic countries, a plan for a project proposal[3] entitled "*Moderne importord i språka i Norden*" ("Modern loanwords[4] in the languages of the Nordic countries"; hereafter referred to as MISN) was formed, the main components of which were to be

- a comparison of the *volume* of loanwords in the individual Nordic languages
- the frequency and usage of native *substitute forms*
- the *adaptation* of loanwords to the domestic languages
- official standardization, and
- *attitudes* toward loanwords and substitute forms.

The languages included in the project are Danish, Faroese, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish in Finland and Swedish in Sweden.[5] Although the scope of the project is not limited to English influence, but includes influence from all foreign languages, English, for obvious reasons, is the focus of attention.

The project held its first meeting in Stockholm in November 2001, and a final conference is planned for the fall of 2005.

2. Aims

The primary aims of the project, as expressed in the project outline, are

1. to make a comparative survey of the treatment of modern loanwords in the languages in the Nordic countries (regarding usage and norms), and

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Internationalisation Programme of the Research Council of Norway), The Faroese Research Council, The Swedish Cultural Foundation (in Finland), The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, The University of Bergen, and the language councils of the Nordic countries. The individual researchers involved in the project and their universities and research institutions have also placed some of their time and resources at the project's disposal.

[3] The Norwegian text of the plan (Sandøy 2000b) can be found in its entirety at http://www.hf.uib.no/moderne/prosjektskisse.html.

[4] In line with common English usage, *loanword* is used in this article for the term *importord* (literally *import word*).

[5] Two of the official languages of the Nordic countries, Greenlandic and Sami, were excepted from the project, as other language problems were felt to be more urgent, and in greater need of resources and attention, in these particular language communities.

2. to gain general insight into the basis of language attitudes and specific insight into the attitudes toward loanwords in the Nordic countries (the "linguistic climate").

A subsidiary aim is

3. to provide a background (through a) and b)) for the discussion and decision-making regarding aims and means in language planning and maintenance in the Nordic Language Council, and in the individual language councils of the Nordic countries.

3. Structure and plan

Three main areas have been singled out for special attention: the situation with respect to the *usage* of loanwords and substitute forms, the situation with respect to *official standardization norms*, and the language users' *attitudes* toward loanwords and language. More time and effort are invested in the survey of language attitudes than in the other two areas, as language attitudes have a direct bearing on the linguistic climate of the individual Nordic language communities, and because this is a problem area in which little research has so far been carried out.

The comparative aspect is a basic principle permeating all parts of the project, and will enable researchers to compare and contrast the situation in the different countries in a way that has not hitherto been possible. To ensure maximum comparability, a relatively rigid structure has been imposed on the project and sub-projects. The three areas of focus have been subdivided into seven parts (see below), and further subdivided into projects for each individual language and language community. The result is a staggering 56 sub-projects:

A. The volume of loanwords in the Nordic languages

Dan, Far, Fin, Ice, Nor, Swe-Fi, Swe[6]

B. The adaptation of loanwords to the domestic languages

B1. Adaptation in writing – Dan, Far, Fin, Ice, Nor, Swe-Fi, Swe

B2. Adaptation in speech – Dan, Far, Fin, Ice, Nor, Swe-Fi, Swe

C. The frequency and usage of native substitute forms

Dan, Far, Fin, Ice, Nor, Swe-Fi, Swe

D. National traditions regarding official standardization

[6] Danish, Faroese, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish in Finland, Swedish in Sweden.

Dan, Far, Fin, Ice, Nor, Swe-Fi, Swe

E. The attitudes toward loanwords and substitute forms

E1. Survey investigation – Dan, Far, Fin, Ice, Nor, Swe-Fi, Swe

E2. In-depth interviews – Dan, Far, Fin, Ice, Nor, Swe-Fi, Swe

E3. Matched guise test – Dan, Far, Fin, Ice, Nor, Swe-Fi, Swe

The results of the project will appear in a series of reports, to be published by Novus Press in Norway. The first volume is a report from a conference on loanwords (Sandøy 2003), and reports presenting the results of most of the sub-projects will be issued subsequently. A report assessing the entire project will form the final volume in the series.

The present article is very much a presentation of ongoing research, and its scope cannot do justice to a project of this scale and complexity. Also, the different parts of the project have reached varying stages of completion, and this is reflected in the space and thoroughness devoted to each sub-project in this article. Some of the preliminary results that are presented have not yet undergone sufficient scientific scrutiny, and both results and analyses may be subject to change. Readers who wish to acquaint themselves with the results and details of the project are encouraged to read the forthcoming project reports.

4. How many loanwords are there in the languages of the Nordic countries? (Project A)[7]

4.1 Previous work

A number of research projects on the extent of English lexical influence on the written language have been carried out prior to MISN. Studies from the larger language communities in the Nordic countries are presented in Ljung (1985) and Chrystal (1988) for Swedish, Hansen & Lund (1994) and Jarvad (1995) for Danish, and Sandøy (2000a) and Johansson & Graedler (2002) for Norwegian. In the smaller communities, less work has been done. Very few studies exist on the scale and frequency of loanwords

[7] The researchers responsible for Project A are Endre Brunstad, and later Bente Selback. Besides, a number of research assistants have been involved in the excerption of the individual languages: Bente Selback (Dan, Swe, Swe-Fin, Nor), Hanna Simonsen (Far), Anu Lahtinen (Fin), and Elín Bára Magnúsdóttir (Ice, Nor).

in speech; Sharp's (2001) study of English in spoken Swedish is an exception. The existing studies vary with respect to method and scope, and are thus often not suitable for comparison. A central concern in this part of the project is, therefore, to insure that the sources on which quantification is based, are comparable across the different languages and countries.

4.2 Definitions and delimitations: What is meant by modern loanwords?

The object of the study is modern loanwords. "Loanword" (*importord*) here means any word composed wholly or partially of foreign lexical material. The definition comprises

1. direct loanwords, both in their original form, e.g. *workshop, pizzeria,* and in adapted or nationalized forms, e.g. *diskotek* (originally *discotheque*);
2. hybrid loanwords, i.e. combinations of direct loanwords and native words, e.g. Nor *freelance-arbeidar* ("freelance worker");
3. pseudo-loans, i.e. words made from foreign word-material, but not used in the donor language, e.g. *snowracer* ("sled with steering wheel and broad runners").

Citation forms are also included. Abbreviations and proper nouns (names, titles, etc.) have been included only when they are used as ordinary words.

"Modern loanword" in this project means any word of foreign provenance that has been introduced after 1945. Standard dictionaries, dictionaries of neologisms and dictionaries of anglicisms (see the list of references) have been used to decide whether to include individual words in the material.

4.3 Sources

Newspapers were chosen as the source material for this part of the project, for several reasons: They treat a wide range of topics, represent a variety of genres, and are written with a general audience in mind. Recent issues are also often available in electronic format. Two time periods were chosen: April and September 1975 and 2000. The original plan was to collect a comparable amount of newspaper text from national and local newspapers in the different speech communities.

A number of practical problems arose in connection with the collection of the source material. Mainly due to differences in size between the language communities, the number of newspapers published and the

size of the newspapers vary considerably. It also turned out to be surprisingly difficult to get access to some of the newspaper issues, and computerized versions of many newspapers were not accessible or non-existent.

4.4 Central research questions, and some preliminary answers

The preliminary results from Project A were presented at a meeting in the fall of 2003; however, it should be noted that the data compilation was not completed for all the languages at this stage. The most important research questions of the project are listed below, with some of the preliminary results. Project A also serves to furnish some of the other sub-projects with a word-list on the basis of which hypotheses about e.g. adaptation and integration may be formed.

- What are the similarities and differences between the written languages in the Nordic countries with respect to the volume and distribution of loanwords?

The average proportion of loanwords in running text ranges from approx. 0.2 % in Finnish and Icelandic to 1 % in Danish. This number is higher than the frequency reported in any similar earlier studies (e.g. Chrystal 1988, which, however, is limited to English loanwords).

In all of the languages, nouns represent the most commonly borrowed word class, with between 82 % (Danish) and 95 % (Finnish) of the words.

- What are the most important donor languages?

In all of the languages, English is the dominant donor language after 1945, with around 90 % of the words in all the languages, except Icelandic, which has proportionally fewer words from English. Finnish, predictably, has a noticeable element of Swedish loanwords. Other donor languages of some significance are French, Italian, and so-called internationalisms (Greco-Latin words), but none of these come close to English in number.

- How are loanwords distributed across different subject areas and text genres?

In most of the languages, the text in advertisements contains a higher percentage of loanwords than text in the editorial sections of the newspapers: In Icelandic the advertisements contain 6-7 times as many loanwords as the editorial text. In the Finnish newspapers, however, the distribution is fairly even between the two text types.

Texts aimed at young people and texts about entertainment have an overall relatively high frequency of loanwords, whereas texts about local matters, and, somewhat surprisingly, sports texts have a low frequency of loanwords.

- How have the volume and frequency of modern loanwords changed after 1945?

In connection with the diachronic study, it should be noted that the comparison is between the periods 1945-1975 and 1945-2000. It is therefore not the predictable growth in the number of loanwords that is interesting, but rather, the pace and magnitude of the increase in the different languages. As expected, all of the languages show an increase in the number of loanwords; the largest growth is found in Finnish and Faroese, where the number has increased by five times.

5. To what extent and in what ways have loanwords been adapted to and integrated into the structure of the different languages? (Project B)

5.1 Previous work

Aspects of the phonological, orthographic and morphological integration of loanwords have been treated with varying degrees of thoroughness in a number of previous studies, e.g. Sørensen (1973) on Danish, Hjalmar Petersen (1995) on Faroese, Guðrún Kvaran & Ásta Svavarsdóttir (2002) on Icelandic, Graedler (1998) and Sandøy (2000a) on Norwegian, and Dahlstedt, Bergman & Ståhle (1962) and Söderberg (1983) on Swedish. Some of these studies may aid in the forming of hypotheses for the present project, where cross-comparison, again, is a central concern.

5.2 Integration in writing (Project B1)[8]

The basis for the analysis of the integration of loanwords in the written language is the words and categories extracted from Project A (see the sections under 4 above). A list of all the orthographic and phonotactic combinations in

[8] Professor Helge Omdal acts as co-ordinator for Project B1. The practical work will be carried out by a number of researchers: Pia Jarvad (Dan), Hanna Simonsen (Far), Ulla Patola (Fin), Ásta Svavarsdóttir (Ice), Helge Omdal (Nor) and Åsa Mickwitz (Swe-Fi, Swe).

the relevant donor languages (most notably English) will serve as a maximum list for the orthographic integration, against which any adaptations in the forms of the loanwords may be checked. For example, the English letter combination <ou>, pronounced [ʌ], as in *tough*, may be rendered as Danish <u> or <ø> (*tuftøff*), Norwegian <ø> (*tøff*), Swedish <u> (*tuff*), etc. Some other tendencies in the written language which are held by some to be the result of foreign (i.e., English) influence, may also be compared, e.g. the writing of compounds as separate words, the use of capital letters in adjectives denoting nationality, and the use of an apostrophe in genitive forms. When the lists from the different countries are completed, it will be possible to extract the adaptation types that are comparable across different languages.

A similar list for morphological integration will contain potentially comparable adaptation types, e.g. the use of English suffixes in participle forms (Nor *headhunted* vs. *headhuntet*) and in the plural of nouns, the variation between the *-ing* and *-ning* suffix in Danish and Swedish (Swe *kidnapping* vs *kidnappning*), gender assignment in nouns, adjective inflection, etc.

The word-lists from Project A are used to ensure a similar basis for comparison in the seven languages. However, since the word-lists from project A are relatively short, and the range of forms displayed is correspondingly limited, a decision has been made to supplement the basis material with data from other sources, preferably computerized newspaper corpora, which are both convenient to use and similar in kind to the basis material. The practical work in Project B1 has just started at the time of writing, and will be completed during the fall of 2004.

5.3 Integration in speech (Project B2)[9]

Much less systematic research has been done on the adaptation of loanwords in the spoken than in the written language. As a consequence, Project B2 has a wider scope and is more ambitious than Project B1: In addition to an investigation and comparison of the adaptation strategies used by language users in the various language communities, the project will also analyze potential correspondences between integration strategies and social variables, such as lifestyle (see below, section 8.3) and age.

[9] Pia Jarvad acts as co-ordinator for Project B2. The practical work will be carried out by a number of researchers: Margrethe Heidemann Andersen (Dan), Ulla Patola (Fin), Ásta Svavarsdóttir (Ice), Helge Omdal (Nor), Malin Dahlman (Swe-Fi), and possibly Sjúrður Gullbein (Far).

As in Project B1, a list of all the potentially relevant phonological and morphological problems or variables has served as a starting-point for the investigation. For example, the English sound [w] in word-initial position, e.g. in *walkman*, may be pronounced as either [w] or [v] in most or all of the languages involved. Questionnaires focusing on phonology and morphology will be distributed to 40 respondents for each of the languages. The questionnaire contains a number of questions covering 20 phonological and 20 morphological variables relevant to post-1945 loanwords. The questions will be asked by a researcher, and have been composed to elicit responses that will reveal the speaker's choice of integration in each case. The following are examples from the draft version of the Danish part of Project B2:

- Ordet *tricky* betyder "som er kompliceret og svær at blive klog på". Man kan fx snakke om at en sag er tricky. Hvordan vil du bøje ordet hvis du skulle bruge det om flere sager?

- Hvad kalder man musik som er uden brug af elektricitet, ledninger eller forstærker, især akustisk? (*unplugged*)

(Andersen 2003)

All the interview sessions will be taped, and then analyzed. At the time of writing, the collection of the Finland-Swedish and the Danish data is nearly completed, and the results of the entire sub-project will be presented in the fall of 2004.

6. To what extent do language users in the Nordic countries accept and use proposed domestic substitute forms (avløserord) for loanwords? (Project C)[10]

6.1 Previous work

The volume of literature on lexical purism varies considerably between the Nordic countries, as does the energy with which new domestic words have traditionally been proposed as replacements for foreign ones, and the

[10] Guðrún Kvaran acts as co-ordinator for Project C. The practical work will be carried out by a number of researchers: Pia Jarvad (Dan), Kristina Atnadóttir (Far), Hanna Hakala (Fin), Guðrún Kvaran (Ice), Helge Omdal (Nor) and Åsa Mickwitz (Swe-Fi, Swe).

enthusiasm with which they have been accepted among the language users. Iceland, along with Finland, is well known for its reluctance to admit loanwords into the language's official word-stock, and for its well-developed system for the creation, introduction and spread of new Icelandic words; see, e.g., Halldór Halldórsson (1979) and Kjartan G. Ottósson (1990) on Icelandic, and Ikola (1985) on Finnish. In some of the other Nordic countries, on the other hand, proposed domestic substitute forms have often been largely ignored, or have been the object of ridicule. Brunstad (2001) is a recent comparative account of purism in Danish, Swedish, Faroese and Norwegian.

6.2 Material and analysis

Lists of words from Project A (see the sections under 4 above) will also form the basis for the investigation of the language users' acceptance of substitute forms. The relevant words will subsequently be tested with the aid of supplementary material. The project is still in its early stages, but guidelines and strategies have been agreed upon, and results are expected to appear in 2004.

7. The prevailing tendencies and traditions in official language standardization (Project D)[11]

This part of the project investigates the official standardization practice in each country with respect to the introduction of substitute forms and the adaptation of loanwords. The individual language councils of the Nordic countries are responsible for this sub-project, and will produce comparable historical overviews of the language policy in the area of loanword standardization. A report will be published in June 2004.

[11] Jan-Ola Östman acts as co-ordinator for Project D. The practical work will be carried out in co-operation with the Nordic language councils: Pia Jarvad, Margrethe Heidemann Andersen, Erik Hansen and Jørgen Schack (Dan), Jógvan í Lón Jacobsen (Far), Pirkko Nuolijärvi and Pirjo Hiidenmaa (Fin), Ari Páll Kristinsson (Ice), Helge Sandøy and Svein Nestor (Nor), Leila Mattfolk and Åsa Mickwitz (Swe-Fi) and Martin Ransgart (Swe).

8. The language users' attitudes toward loanwords and substitute forms (Project E)

8.1 Previous work

Some earlier investigations of language users' attitudes to foreign (English) words and the use of English exist for the larger speech communities. Ljung (1985, 1988) presents a large survey where close to 2,000 respondents reported on their attitude to the use of English in Sweden. Simonsen & Uri (1992), Masvie (1992) and Pettersen (2000) have all carried out similar investigations on a smaller scale in Norway. In Denmark, several studies have focused on attitudes to the use of English, e.g. Jarvad (1995), Preisler (1999) and Andersen (2002).

8.2 The survey investigation "Nordic Language Attitudes" (Project E1)[12]

The main purpose of the survey investigation is to examine what patterns of language attitudes may be revealed through traditional quantitative methods.

Professional opinion poll institutions[13] were commissioned to carry out a survey during February and March 2003. Twelve questions were put to a random sample in each community: 500 in the Faroe Islands and Swedish-speaking Finland, 800 in Iceland, and 1,000 in the remaining countries, in total close to 6,000 respondents.

In addition to questions about attitudes to loanwords, the respondents were interviewed about their attitudes to English, to language in general, and to certain basic societal values. The survey also contains information about a number of social variables: the respondents' sex, age, income bracket, level of education, region/district, size of the household, and computer literacy and ownership. The following are some examples from the Norwegian version of the questionnaire:

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[12] Lars S. Vikør is responsible for the co-ordination and analysis of Project E1. The researchers responsible for developing and carrying out the project are: Tore Kristiansen (Dan), Jógvan í Lón Jacobsen (Far), Pirkko Nuolijärvi (Fin), Kristján Árnason (Ice), Lars S. Vikør (Nor), Leila Mattfolk (Swe-Fi) and Olle Hammermo (Swe).

[13] Opinion AS Norge, in co-operation with Hermelin Research in Denmark, Sweden and Finland, the Gallup Institute in Iceland, and Fynd in co-operation with Fróðskaparsetur Føroya in the Faroe Islands.

- *Påstand:* Det brukes alt for mange engelske ord i norsk i dag. Er du: Helt enig (etc.)
- *Påstand:* Det bør lages nye norske ord som erstatter de engelske ordene vi får inn i språket. Er du: Helt enig (etc.)
- Hvilket ord foretrekker du å bruke av *mail* og *e-post*?
- Hvilket ord foretrekker du å bruke av *bodyguard* og *livvakt*?
- Hvilket ord foretrekker du å bruke av *design* og *formgiving*?
- Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende påstand: Det hadde vært best om alle i verden hadde engelsk som morsmål?

8.2.1 Some preliminary results

Some preliminary results of Project E1 were presented at a meeting in Iceland in May 2003.

Regarding the amount of exposure to English, the survey shows that Icelanders were more exposed to English than any other groups, but at the same time, they were also the most skeptical toward English. The Faroese and the Swedish-speaking Finns reported the lowest exposure to English.

In the questions about attitudes, the Norwegian respondents proved the most puristic; 62 % of the Norwegians feel that too many English words are being used in their language today, while 21 % disagree with this claim. The corresponding figures for the Danish respondents, at the other end of the scale, are: 41 % agree, 44 % disagree.

As regards a question about the substitution of new domestic words for the loanwords, the Faroese and the Icelandic groups were most in favor, 67 % and 63 %, respectively. This is hardly remarkable, as both countries have a language policy that strongly promotes substitute forms for foreign loanwords.

Somewhat surprisingly, 29 % of the Swedes, more than in any other country, are in favor of English as the only mother tongue, whereas the Danish respondents are the most positive toward English as the working language in Nordic companies (51 % in favor). Interestingly, the Norwegian results indicate that the preference for English as a global mother tongue is highest in the groups that report the lowest exposure to English.

A more detailed analysis of the results, which will no doubt reveal interesting patterns and contrasts, will appear in a report presenting the results for the individual countries, as well as a comparative summary.

8.3 The in-depth interviews (Project E2)[14]

The second sub-project under the language attitude part of MISN is a qualitative investigation, the main purpose of which is to elicit the language users' views and reflections in personal interviews, and in group conversations (in groups of three) between people who know each other.

This investigation is based on in-depth interviews of 24-48 respondents in each language community. To ensure comparison, a number of decisions were made with respect to the interview design and the selection of interviewees. This selection was aided by insight from sociological and social psychological theories: the interviewees were chosen from four social ("lifestyle") groups, according to their place in the hierarchical structure of modern work places:

- Group A: Well-educated senior executives in traditional business establishments with a conservative corporate culture (e.g. manufacturing company, shipping company).
- Group B: Well-educated mid-level managers in modern business establishments with a modern corporate culture (e.g. advertising, information technology, media).
- Group C: Lower-level employees in the service sector (e.g. bank, computer company)
- Group D: Industrial workers in traditional manufacturing companies.

Along with the social variable, an effort was made to keep two other variables constant, viz. an age bracket of 25-35, and an equal distribution between the sexes. However, in some of the smaller language communities in particular, it proved difficult to get a sufficient number of interviewees from some of the lifestyle groups if these principles were strictly adhered to. Most of the field work in the project was carried out during 2002.

[14] The researchers responsible for project E2 are Jacob Thøgersen (Dan), Jógvan í Lón Jacobsen (Far), Saija Tamminen (Fin), Hanna Óladóttir & Halldóra Björt Ewen (Ice), Marit Merete Lunde (Nor), Leila Mattfolk (Swe-Fi) and Catharina Nyström (Swe).

Central topics during the conversations are the interviewees' use of and experience with English and other foreign languages, and their attitudes toward language and education, loanwords, and language policy. Most of the questions asked in the opinion poll survey were also raised in the in-depth interviews, but the latter naturally allowed scope for explanation, elaboration and expansion of the topics, and thus provide somewhat different responses.

This part of the MISN project is by far the most time-consuming, as it involves the planning, practical arrangement, taping, transcription and analysis of many hours of conversation. A number of the researchers involved in this sub-project will use the results as thesis projects for their university degrees, but joint reports will also be published in the MISN series of project reports.

8.4 The matched-guise tests "EVA ENG" (EVAluation of ENGlish influence in text; Project E3)[15]

The matched guise technique is engineered to control all variables except the language. It involves asking respondents to evaluate the personal qualities of speakers whose voices are recorded on tape, and where the same speaker uses different linguistic varieties. The purpose of the matched-guise tests in Project E3 is to measure people's evaluations of the speakers in two language samples, one "pure" version and one English-influenced version. In contrast to sub-projects E1 and E2, the matched-guise technique is an indirect method, since it does not directly ask for the respondents' attitudes to language.

Nationalized versions of the same text will be used for all the languages involved, and an attempt has been made to include the same (or very similar) English words in all the different English-influenced versions. A version of the same text with adapted and/or substitution forms instead of the English loanwords will represent the contrast. As far as possible, the recruitment of respondents will reflect the choice of respondents in Project B2, i.e. a balanced proportion of people from different age groups, sexes and social groups (and, possibly, geographical regions).

The work involved in Project E3 will be carried out during 2004.

[15] Tore Kristiansen and Jacob Thøgersen are responsible for the design and planning of the test, which will be carried out by Tore Kristiansen (Dan), Jógvan í Lón Jacobsen (Far), Halldóra Björk Ewans (Ice), Leila Mattfolk (Swe-Fi), and possibly Saija Tamminen (Fin).

9. Final comments

In order to understand internationalization and globalization processes, the result of which may involve the loss of entire domains of language use to English, and in extreme cases, even language death, we need to examine the language as it is being used, as well as try to uncover the attitudes, conscious and unconscious, held by the language users. Comparative studies like MISN will of necessity involve a certain structural rigidity, but on the other hand, the comparative aspect may provide valuable insight into cultural differences over and beyond the actual object of study, the language. A comparison of different data types may further our understanding of, e.g., the function of common conceptions about language (language awareness), and the basis of the formation of attitudes.

In an article in *Språk i Norden* 2002, Helge Sandøy emphasizes the MISN project's overall focus on language as a cultural phenomenon in society (Sandøy 2002: 75*f*; 87). An important aspect in forming our understanding of language as a cultural phenomenon is its role as a symbol of identity. Many potentially distracting social, political and cultural characteristics are relatively similar in all of the Nordic countries, whereas the issue of national identity as projected and maintained through language may be said to vary a great deal. In this respect, the Nordic countries represent a highly suitable laboratory for comparative studies of these matters.

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Links

The project's homepage: http://www.hf.uib.no/moderne

Attitudes towards the English influx in the Nordic countries: A quantitative investigation

JACOB THØGERSEN

Abstract

This paper aims at investigating two questions: The first question is whether some Nordic populations really are more purist than others or if this commonly accepted truth is a mere myth. The second issue is whether a society's official purism or laissez faire is generally acknowledged ideology within the society or, alternatively, if they are parts of particular elite discourses.

The paper comprises two independent analyses. The first attempts to empirically investigate the stereotypical image of the sociolinguistic environments of Nordic linguistic communities, here expressed as their attitudes towards English influx. The second attempts a more fine-grained analysis of the attitudes towards English as a product or emblem of belonging to certain social classes. "Social class" is here operationalised as "degree of formal education".

In the first study we find the prevalent stereotypical image of the societies roughly reproduced. In the second we find, on the whole, that positive attitudes towards English (and hence anti-purist attitudes) correlate with high levels of formal education *irrespective* of the linguistic climate of the country. Iceland makes for a noteworthy exception to this trend.

1. Background

This paper sets a rather ambitious goal. It wishes to confirm or reject the stereotypical images Nordic people have of each other's linguistic "climates". Among linguists and others with an interest in language these images are common knowledge: In Iceland strong purist sentiments are prevalent. In Denmark foreign words are accepted with little distress.

When the stereotypical images are presented and defended however, this is done by means of anecdotes, never by means of representative empirical data, since such data are not easy to come by. Through the inter-Nordic "Moderne Importord i Norden"-project however, attitude data on a representative scale has become accessible. The Moderne Importord i Norden-project is a large-scale, inter-Nordic project initiated by Nordisk Språkråd to investigate the English influence on the Nordic languages, the Nordic languages' adaptation of this influence, i.e. phonetic and orthographic adaptation of loan words, and the populations' attitudes towards this influence. The project is led by Helge Sandøy in Bergen, and is still underway. Below a small part of the empirical data of this project are compared with the tentative stereotypical images mentioned above. A comparison like this could add support to our common sense notions, or it could pose important questions to, and maybe in the long run even lead to a redefinition of, our notions.

2. Study 1

In the first study, the independent Nordic societies are viewed as homogeneous wholes. The aim is to see whether the stereotypical image the Nordic peoples have of each other's linguistic environments can also be found in a large-scale survey investigation of the populations. Or stated differently, do the official attitudes, as it were, seep down through the general population, or do they remain ideological phrases shifted between language planners?

2.1 Linguistic consciousness

To my knowledge, no one has carried out a representative, comparative empirical study of attitudes in the Nordic countries towards the influx of English. A common knowledge state-of-affairs is often cited, in academic but especially in more popular discourse (e.g. Venås 1986, Lund 1990, Rask 1995, 1999, Davidsen-Nielsen & Herslund 1997, Phillipson 2000, Thorsen 1999). No well-defined theoretical framework has been proposed however. Hence, the best ad-hoc theoretical framework on which to base a comparison with empirical data, seems to be the somewhat abstract notion of "linguistic consciousness" posed by Lund (1986), and adopted by Vikør (1993). In effect "linguistic consciousness" can be utilised as an explication of the prevalent stereotypes of linguistic environments cited above. The term is not explicitly defined by Lund. Apparently it could cover a wide

range of aspects of language policy, e.g. language purism, pro-neologism, pro-dialect sentiments, anti-English sentiments, etc. For practical purposes it can be thought of as the general linguistic climate of a society which underlies and supports official purism.

Lund (1986: 35) lists the Nordic countries according to their "linguistic consciousness": "Least linguistically conscious is the Danish linguistic society. The Swedes are probably a bit more conscious; then follows, in order of ascending consciousness, the Finns, the Finland-Swedes, the Norwegians, and the Faroese" [my translation]. A schematic presentation would thus look like this:

Table 1. Linguistic consciousness of the Nordic societies.

"Linguistic consciousness" in order of descent:
The Faroes
Norway
Swedish-Finland
Finland
Sweden
Denmark

The Sami, Iceland, and Greenland are treated separately and not included in the list. Since the Sami and Greenland are not included in the "Moderne Importord i Norden" data either, their omission is not significant for this study. However, it is also part of the common-knowledge notion that Iceland has no (meaning few) un-adapted English loanwords, and that the Icelandic language policy strongly promotes the invention of words on the basis of native roots to substitute for English loanwords (Rask 1999; Davidsen-Nielsen & Herslund 1997). Thus it is suggested that Iceland should be placed high on the list of "linguistic consciousness".

The present study 1 is conducted to investigate whether a pattern similar to Lund's hypothesised (and the general common-knowledge one) can be found in an empirical material viewing the societies as wholes. The hypothesis is that the theoretical notion of "linguistic consciousness" is a good indicator of purism towards English. Hence we would expect to find a pattern similar to the one in table 1: the Faroes (or maybe Iceland) being the most purist, Denmark being the most laissez faire.

2.2 Survey questions in the studies

Two survey questions from the attitude investigation part of the "Moderne Importord i Norden" project are used to measure the populations' attitudes towards English influx in their languages.

The attitude investigation in "Moderne Importord i Norden" in itself consists of three parts. The first is a large-scale telephone poll conducted by Gallup or similar institutes. The second is comprised of qualitative interviews with fewer informants, representing different areas of society. Finally the third is a reaction test, a so called "matched guise test" as described in the now classic article by Lambert et al.(1960:44-46) which investigates people's unconscious attitudes through their response to more or less English-influenced speech. For the present study, the interest is in the survey data. Respondents are here a representative sample of the populations, and the questions are of core interest for the notion of "linguistic consciousness". The other types of attitude data of course also shed light on the "linguistic consciousness" of the Nordic peoples, but they do it in ways more difficult to use for the comparison at hand.

The researcher carrying out the survey asked respondents a total of 10 questions regarding their use of English, their attitude towards specific word pairs ("bodyguard" vs. "livvagt" to name a Danish example), and their attitude towards English influence on language domains such as "corporate languages". Finally respondents were asked about their attitudes towards English influx in more abstract and general terms. These, the abstract questions, are the ones used in the analyses at hand. The reason for their rather odd numbering (4a and 4b) is their insertion in the questionnaire, a numbering I have chosen to preserve for easier comparison with other analyses of the same survey data.The two questions are reproduced below in their original Norwegian wording and in my translation:[1]

> 4a. Det brukes altfor mange engelske ord i språket i dag,
> *Far too many English words are being used in the language these days.*
>
> 4b. Det bør lages nye ord som erstatter de engelske ordene vi får inn i språket.
> *New words should be created to substitute for the English words entering into the language.*

[1] The questions are posed in the national language of the individual country. The Norwegian was the original formulation which the other national versions are translations of.

A few things should be noted about the questions: 1) They concern the respective languages, not domains within the societies. That is, one could very well imagine that more internationally oriented countries (and more internationally oriented persons within the countries) use English in their everyday life, and that this influences their attitudes towards English. This however falls beyond the scope of the investigation which deals specifically with English influence on the Nordic languages, not on the Nordic societies in a broader sense.[2] 2) Of the two questions, one is posed as an agenda question; "new words *should* be created..." while the other concerns the current state of affairs. For someone embedded in the Danish language policy discourse, these two perspectives would be perceived to correlate highly. In other words, if one thinks that there are too many English words, one will promote neologisms. If one promotes neologisms, one perceives even a low degree of influx from English as being too much. However this need not be the case. In a highly purist society, the perception might be that "new words should be created", but that this is being done to such a high degree that "too many English words are *not* being used". Hence the questions would correlate negatively and express a positive evaluation of the countries' purist policies.

2.3 Method

As mentioned in Section 2.2, the questions were asked in a telephone poll conducted by professional survey institutes. The only exception is the Faroese data which were gathered by the university, using students as interviewers. Answers were given on a scale with the labels "agree fully", "agree somewhat", "neither agree nor disagree", "disagree somewhat", "disagree fully", and "don't know". For analysis the answers have been coded so that "fully agreeing" answers are scored as 1 and "fully disagree" are scored as 5, the intermediate answers being scored as 2, 3 and 4 respectively. In other words, because the questions are phrased in terms of hostility to English influx, the higher the score, the more *positive* the attitude towards English influx.

[2] It is highly relevant to ask whether people indeed perceive a distinction between these two aspects when confronted with the question. My answer, based on a number of qualitative interviews, is that some do, but most do not! However, a tentative interpretation of how people might have understood the questions differently from how they were meant, is bound to be counter-productive. For this study I simply accept the wording of the questions at face value.

The sampling was done at random and was representative of the populations as wholes on background variables such as gender, age, income etc. The total number of respondents, excluding "don't know's", were 5,663, comprised of approx. 1,000 respondents from Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland, 700 from Iceland, and 500 from the Faroes and the Swedish speaking part of Finland.

2.4 Comparison

In order to enhance the immediate intelligibility, the responses scored in the tests are here presented as arithmetical means in order of ascending positive attitude towards English influx. Arithmetical means are strictly speaking not the proper way to represent data of an ordinal scale type such as these, but they make for easier overview. The significance testing was done in SPSS ver. 10.1 using the Kruskal-Wallis test which is based on ordinal scale data and operates with "mean rank".[3]

As one can readily see, the results are highly statistically significant ($p < .001$).

Table 2a. Attitudes towards English influx. Question 4a.
Higher values signify more positive attitudes towards English influx.

Country	
Norway	2,36
Iceland	2,50
Sweden	2,62
Finland	2,64
Swe-Finland	2,79
Faroes	2,91
Denmark	3,02
p	,000

[3] For details on the Kruskal-Wallis test and non-parametric statistics in general see Siegel (1956: 184ff.).

Table 2b Attitudes towards creation of new words. Question 4b.
Higher values signify more positive attitudes towards English influx.

Country	
Faroes	2,15
Iceland	2,37
Norway	2,71
Swe-Finland	2,72
Finland	2,97
Sweden	2,98
Denmark	3,46
p	,000

A remarkable thing about the results is how closely answers to the second question (4b) resemble the hypothesised order of "linguistic consciousness". This is a strong empirical claim in support of the validity of the stereotypical images suggested above. The populations viewed as wholes in fact *do* reproduce the hypothesised order, and, as it were, reproduce the stereotypes of linguistic purism and laissez faire.

Even more interesting is the fact that the correlations in Table 2b are even stronger than for Table 2a. The question in Table 2b is the agenda question, the question about which policy the language community should adopt. The proposed policy need not correlate with the perception of the current state of affairs (as expressed in Table 2a) - although a correlation would be expected (cf the discussion in Section 2.2). The responses to the question in Table 2b count as added support for the "linguistic consciousness" notion since this question is most directly concerned with linguistic purism and a pro-neologism policy.

However, the "state-of-affairs" question (4a), regarding the influx from English, also reproduces the hypothesised order to a high degree. Yet there are a few significant exceptions.

Sweden is somewhat higher on the list than would be expected, which I find no immediate explanation for. One can only interpret the answers to the two questions to mean either that Swedes find the English influx too large but that they do not want to replace English words for Swedish – which leaves the Swedish language community with an unsolvable dilemma of how to fill the semantic gaps. Alternatively, the solution to the dilemma lies in an

interpretation which could claim that both the labels "too English" and "purist" are laden with negative connotations in Sweden. This would lead the respondents to oppose themselves to both labels, and would trigger the illogical connection between the two. However, exposing a questionnaire-type question to this type of analysis is to open a door to relativism. No statement can then be taken at face value, and the study loses its meaning. Thus we will leave the interpretation as an enigma and conclude that something is going on which cannot be explained without further study.

The other important reordering shown when we compare Tables 2a and 2b is that the Faroes are in the opposite end of the list from what would be expected if one presumes that there is a positive correlation between the two questions. This however is to some extent anticipated in the discussion of the questions in Section 2.2. It is likely that the Faroese have indeed answered the question by stating that there are not too many English loan-words, thus reproducing a general belief that there are indeed none or very few. In other words, the Faroese wish for a purist policy, and are happy with what they have.

On the other hand, this type of reasoning could indicate that Norway and Iceland have unsuccessful purist policies. People do in fact state that there are "too many English words", that is a higher number of English words in Norwegian and Icelandic than people find desirable. The results could also be interpreted in accordance with the "positive correlation"-interpretation proposed. The respondents might understand the two questions to be two sides of the same coin. The latter interpretation would claim that Norwegians and Icelanders find that there may not be many English words, but even a few are *too* many. The policy is not in itself unsuccessful, people merely share the belief that a purist policy is needed.

Solving the correlation between the two questions, as well as throwing some light on the Swedish dilemma, will demand further studies, preferably of a qualitative kind. Hopefully the "Moderne Importord i Norden" project's qualitative analyses will help to understand how the populations may interpret the questions differently and which aspects of the issues they base their answers on.

3. Study 2

The second study follows up on the first and aims at expanding on it for two reasons. The first reason is that it is very likely that the wording of the questions posed is perceived differently in the different societies. Not only are translations

never exact representations, but it is also very likely that an ideology of purism has an innately positive tone in the more purist societies and vice versa for the more laissez faire ones. The result of these tendencies would be that the answers to the questions do not in fact express peoples' "attitudes". Rather than comparing attitudes we may be comparing the informants' understanding of the questions and positive or negative connotations associated with the labels. Analysing the answers from an intra-societal perspective avoids both the problem of translation and the problem of labels having innately more positive or negative values in one society than another.

The other reason for attempting to expand on the first study with an intra-societal study, is that it will enable us to get a closer look at the nature of and the ownership of the "discourses" of linguistic purism or laissez faire. We wish to establish which social groups and classes are the purist ones and to suggest what part the discourse of linguistic purism plays in societal struggles for symbolic power.

3.1 Hypothesis

The second study is based on a hypothesis founded on a Bourdieu-inspired view of society as a field of constant power struggles between groups (Bourdieu 1991, 1998).[4] In this view, groups are constructed and remain in constant conflict with each other. This has a number of theoretical implications.

To begin with, all conflict between groups is based on the fight over resources, capital in Bourdieu's terms. But the capital at stake in the social struggle is a multidimensional entity, not to be equated merely with money or material goods. Capital can also be "symbolic capital", e.g. in the form of knowledge, education, etc. Intellectuals possess a high degree of symbolic capital, they have the diplomas of long education, they are regarded as knowledgeable, their interpretation of the world is taken to be, in a sense, more objective and rational than everybody else's. However, their share of material capital, money, does not correlate with their share of symbolic capital. They are not as wealthy as e.g. a business executive, who on the other hand possesses a lower share of symbolic capital. Thus Bourdieu's "capital" is a complex entity.

An aspect of the conflict between groups, and maybe the more fundamental one, is that the groups only exist in that they identify

[4] See also Douglas' (1996) and Dahl's (1997) studies on symbolic oppositions between subcultures.

themselves in opposition to other groups. This implies that group membership is not so much a matter of members sharing certain features, as it is a matter of symbolically marking "not-belonging" to some other group. The characteristics, such as style of clothes, brand of car or political affiliation, of any two groups (e.g. intellectuals and business executives) are therefore constructed as being in opposition, but also in opposition to some common third party (e.g. unskilled workers). This situation makes for the complex symbolic oppositions found in modern society.

The basic assumption for this second study is that "attitude towards English influx" can be viewed as one such symbolic emblem of group membership on a par with brand of car, political affiliation etc. Furthermore, it is assumed that it is a symbolic emblem of "high" vs. "low" status in the official hierarchy (here operationalised by length of education) rather than e.g. an emblem of "type of education". If the latter was the case, one might find large differences between e.g. people with a long education within the human sciences and others with a long education within business, differences which might be concealed when these two groups are treated together under "long education". It is likely that such differences do exist, but unfortunately the only information about education given in the survey is its length, so such an effect cannot be evaded. On the other hand, in grouping all types of long education together, one combines the groups which have the most capital in Bourdieu's terms. The business executives are regarded as having the most "material capital", but the intellectuals (i.e. people within the humanities) are regarded as having the most "symbolic capital". Thus in combining the two one can claim to get an understanding of the elite of society, though elite here counts as a somewhat larger percentage of the population than would usually be counted as elite.

The hypothesis tested in this study is that the official policies, as expressed by the notion of "linguistic consciousness", are in line with the sentiments of those having higher social strata, the elite, since they are formulated by language professionals in the countries and sanctioned by the political elite. Promotion of the official language policy would, in other words, act as a symbolic emblem of belonging to the elite. Such a finding could be interpreted as to mean that the official policy goes relatively unquestioned and has strong support. The reverse would mean that the official policy is formulated by language planners without support from the elite, and would pose a problem for the official policy. Of course one could argue that if those belonging to the lower strata support the official

language policy to a higher degree than those representing the higher strata, this is a sign of the official policy being in accord with the general population. The problem of this argument is, if one accepts a Bourdieuian model of society, that the support of the language planners is not among their "own kind", viz. the elite, but among, as it were, socially opposing groups.

For this study, as mentioned above, "class" is operationalised by dividing the populations according to the degree of formal education. This is done on the one hand because "degree of formal education" is probably the most objective criterion of social class in a broader sense, and on the other, because educational data are easily accessible from the survey material.

One could criticise correlating formal education with attitude towards English by claiming that those with a longer education will of course be the more positive towards English. They have more qualified, and supposedly more international, jobs, and therefore use English more and are more positive towards English. This may be a fair criticism with regard to the attitudes towards English as such. However, as specified in Section 2.2, the questions asked in this study are specifically about English *influx* in the respective languages, not about English influence more broadly speaking. If there is any explicit correlation between high exposure (and competence) in English and language purism regarding the national language, it would supposedly be in terms of a norm of not mixing the two; a kind of *double purism* (Jørgensen 1998:142). However this is speculative. What is important for the present is that there is no direct logical correlation between exposure to English and national language purism.

3.2 Method

The survey data are the same as the ones used in the analysis above. The difference lies only in the analysing of the data as a variable dependent on the independent variable "education".

The study distinguishes only between "short" and "long" formal education. This rather crude distinction is used on the one hand because the data are gathered using different measures for education (e.g. the Norwegian material uses length of education in years, the Danish material uses the type or name of the education), on the other hand because simplifying the data to merely two groups, "high" vs. "low" education, makes the data more transparent. The restriction to only two variables is therefore not exclusively a weakness of the data.

The dividing line between high and low formal education for the Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, and Finnish material is placed so that the upper secondary level (gymnasium) is counted as a long education. For the remaining countries the division is set between 3 and 4 years of education beyond primary school (Danish gymnasium usually equals 3 years). Of course one could argue that 3 years is not a long education. The counter-argument is that 3 years of formal education at a gymnasium is the crucial social dividing point between "the educated" and "the non-educated".[5]

The school systems are not immediately comparable, so in order to judge the usefulness of this division, the percentages of the population in the different educational groups are included. As one can see from Tables 3a and 3b the split between high and low education is roughly the same across all societies and ranges from a 50%-50% split in Iceland to a 40% to 60% split in Finland[6].

3.3 Results

As in study 1, the results are presented as arithmetical means. The significance testing is done in SPSS ver. 10.1 using the Mann-Whitney test which assumes the data to be ordinal.[7]

Table 3a. Formal education and attitude towards English influx. Question 4a. Higher values signify more positive attitudes towards English influx.

Country	Faroes	Iceland	Norway	Swe-Finl.	Finland	Sweden	Denmark
Short edu.	2,67	2,39	2,29	2,86	2,66	2,46	2,84
% of N	53,6%	51,8%	41,6%	47,4%	60,2%	38,8%	48,9%
Long edu.	3,17	2,61	2,46	2,74	2,61	2,74	3,20
% of N	46,4%	48,2%	58,4%	52,6%	39,2%	59,5%	49,6%
p	,001	,017	,222	,491	,734	,003	,000

[5] The gymnasium, at least in Denmark, has a tradition of middle class norms emphasising classical literature and knowledge, and upholding a general educational purpose.

[6] Some of the data does not add up to 100% because some respondents apparently did not know what their highest education was, or they refused to report it.

[7] For details on the Mann-Whitney test see Siegel (1956: 116ff).

Table 3b. Formal education and attitude towards English influx. Question 4b. Higher values signify more positive attitudes towards English influx.

Country	Faroes	Iceland	Norway	Swe-Finl.	Finland	Sweden	Denmark
Short edu.	2,03	2,49	2,46	2,74	2,92	2,93	3,28
% of N	53,6%	51,8%	41,6%	47,4%	60,2%	38,8%	48,9%
Long edu.	2,29	2,25	2,91	2,70	3,03	3,01	3,65
% of N	46,4%	48,2%	58,4%	52,6%	39,2%	59,5%	49,6%
p	,020	,022	,000	,788	,258	,418	,000

One general trend and a few exceptions are apparent: In most countries, the recurrent pattern for both questions is that higher formal education correlates with more positive attitudes towards the English influx. Thus, the hypothesis that one would see the official policy as an emblem for the more educated rather than the less educated does not hold true. One could claim that the hypothesis is confirmed for the more laissez faire countries (Denmark and Sweden). However, a more reasonable interpretation seems to be that attitudes towards English influx in the Nordic countries represent a more fundamental trend than the policies of the individual countries. My claim is that the results can best be interpreted as a sign that a laissez faire attitude towards English influx is generally used as a symbolic emblem of belonging to the more educated classes. I will return to possible implications of this general pattern in the conclusion.

One undeniable exception to this general pattern is Iceland with regard to question 4b (the agenda question) where the pattern is the opposite of the general pattern that higher education correlates with more purist attitudes. A pro-neologism discourse seems to be part of the elite discourse in Iceland as opposed to most of the other Nordic countries. Apparently Iceland's much admired and criticised purist policy reflects and/or constitutes a truly unique linguistic environment.

The other exceptions to the general pattern of correlation are the two Finnish societies, Finnish-speaking Finland and Swedish-speaking Finland (Tables 3a and 3b), question 4a for Norway (Table 3a) and 4b for Sweden (Table 3b), which are all statistically non-significant. One should of course always hesitate to interpret statistical non-significance as a sign of a particular tendency. A few speculations, however, are in order. One could

claim that the questions posed are not a part of any discourse that marks social class affiliation; they have no emblematic function. The questions are either not value-laden at all, or they are connected with national rather than class identity. Alternatively, one could speculate that the lack of differences may be interpreted as a methodological shortcoming, since "attitude towards English influx" may, as sketched above, be used to mark group affiliation in a complex way that is hidden using this design. It may be that one would find differences between e.g. business executives and intellectuals educated within the humanities, but that these differences disappear when the two are grouped together. If this is the case one would claim that "attitudes towards English influx" marks the difference between "material" and "symbolic" capital, thus leaving those without capital somewhere in the middle, rather than marking the difference between the capital "have's" and "have-not's". To justify such a claim, further studies are required.

4. Conclusion

This paper has presented two studies, or rather two analyses, of data from a survey regarding Nordic peoples' attitude towards English influx on their languages and on linguistic purism. The first study offered empirical support for the stereotypical images of the Nordic linguistic communities with few exceptions. The other presented a somewhat more fragmented result when we tried to correlate attitude towards English influx with social status. The general pattern was for those with a high status to be more positive to English influx than those with a low status. However, significant exceptions were also apparent. To conclude I wish to offer some speculations about the significance of the correlation between level of education and attitude towards English influx.

The most significant finding is that the official language policy does not play an important role. It is remarkable that both Denmark and the Faroes (at opposite ends of the "linguistic consciousness" spectrum) show the same pattern *irrespectively* of being each other's opposites with regard to policy and their overall attitudes (as expressed in the results of the first study). Apparently, official language planning has little impact on the general tendency for the elite to have positive attitudes towards English influx and/or negative attitudes towards purism. This could be interpreted to mean that a purist discourse, in those countries that follow the general

tendency, is associated with traditionalism and nationalism; two "-isms" in sharp opposition to the educated elite's image of itself.

The long-term, but also very uncertain, consequences of these findings could be that the purist language policies in the Faroes and Norway are under threat. If the elites in these countries do not support a purist policy, or, stated differently, if purist discourse is associated with low status, it would be hard to imagine a long-term future for it.

On the other hand, the Danish and Swedish laissez faire policy seems to be under no threat from the educated elite, which may be a sign that the current influence of English on the Nordic languages is seen as an inevitable development. It is my hope that others will propose their interpretations of the data. Especially the interpretation of the dubious correlation between education and language attitudes would gain from being discussed by members of the different linguistic communities. I believe the results presented here warrant an analysis of attitudes as an emblem of social group membership that can give new insights regarding the Nordic linguistic communities. But the empirical data offer no simple, unambiguous interpretation. Future interpretations should perhaps look more into differences between societies, and attempt a plausible intra-societal interpretation, rather than the unified interpretation for all societies that I have attempted in this paper.

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Danish Echoes of English

HENRIK GOTTLIEB

1. Toward a systematic approach to Anglicisms

The present dominance of Anglo-American culture is recognized worldwide as having a huge impact on the way national cultures and languages change nowadays. Not surprisingly, with the influx of English-inspired language features (in the following referred to as Anglicisms) there follow extensive language-political discussions among concerned laymen, scholars and politicians in the speech communities affected. Unfortunately, such discussions often lack coherent terminology, and statements are seldom based on a sound empirical foundation.

Against this background, this paper seeks to:

(a) establish a comprehensive – as well as comprehensible – typology that will accommodate the bewildering variety of Anglicisms found in contemporary usage the world over, thus constituting a common denominator for future debates on the influence of English, and

(b) illustrate how language corpora may be fruitfully exploited to yield the empirical data necessary for promoting genuinely scholarly discussions and sustainable language policies.

Before elaborating on these two points, I will provide the reader with an outline of the present language-political climate in a speech community strongly influenced by English, and then use this to distill a working definition of the key notion dealt with in this paper: Anglicism.

2. Danish attitudes to Anglicisms

In a European context, most observers agree that Denmark is less prone to linguistic purism than the other Nordic countries (Hansen & Lund 1994; Brunstad 2001). Although the Danish Language Council, *Dansk Sprognævn,* engages in regulating the morphology and orthography of English loans, Danish language authorities do not mind the influx of

English loanwords as such; "autoriteterne forholder sig nærmest rent iagttagende over for de leksikalske ændringer." (Galberg Jacobsen 1994: 25) [1]

Not only are Anglicisms officially welcomed in Denmark; even where prescriptive measures are indeed taken, official language policies differ from those elsewhere in Scandinavia: modern English loans retain their original spelling, just as the nouns among them often keep their plural –s (Brunstad 2001: 172). And to a large extent, these policies reflect the attitudes of young Danes: "Det ser ud til at unge danske sprogbrugere i overvejende grad er tilhængere af engelsk flertalsbøjning og engelsk stavemåde af engelske lån." (Heidemann Andersen: 2002:145). However, apart from the plural -s, which is seen by some as a new Danish plural morpheme, English inflectional suffixes are *not* imported together with the loanwords proper. Or, as stated in the conclusion of an impressive empirical study on the inflection of Anglicisms in Danish: "Ingen engelske bøjningsendelser synes ligefrem *resistente* over for det danske bøjningssystem." (Bønlykke Olsen 2002: 99)

In Sweden, a study on the translation into Swedish of the Anglicisms in a contemporary Danish novel finds that the Swedish translator has limited the number of English-sounding items in her translation, and wisely so, since "English is much more common in Danish than in Swedish":

> När nu engelska är långt vanligare i danska än i svenska, speciellt i talspråket, borde detta ge utslag i översättningen genom att man inte låter alla engelska uttryck vare kvar. (Lindgren 2001: 269)

It may be true that, due to the minimal Danish orthographical adaptation of loanwords, modern texts in Danish *look* more English than similar texts in Norwegian and Swedish, but taking the multi-faceted nature of Anglicisms into consideration, it seems foolhardy to talk about "det faktum att man i danskan sedan några decennier använder mer engelska än man gör i svenskan" (Lindgren 2001:267).

Regrettably, in the Nordic countries no comparative studies on the use of English have been conducted so far, but a usage study scrutinizing the entire range of anglophone features – from simple loanwords to loss of domain – will very likely find Swedish, Danish and Norwegian equally imbued with

[1] Realizing that the translation of quotations is a sensitive issue – especially when dealing with Danish sources in an English-language paper discussing domain loss caused by English – I have tried to strike the balance between catering for (Scandinavian) readers who read Danish and would hate repetitious literal translations, and non-Scandinavian speakers who need some code-breaking. Accordingly, I have worked the gist of the Danish quotations into the text immediately before or after all quotations in Danish.

Anglicisms. The primary conditions for this Scandinavian openness to English language features are equally present in all three speech communities:

- the high and unchallenged prestige of English in all corners of society,[2]
- the enormous popularity of Anglo-American media products,
- the intensive teaching of English at all age levels,
- the extensive international personal and business contacts of wide segments of the population,
- the close inter-Germanic relationship between English and the Scandinavian languages.

None of the three scandinavian countries are culturally isolated, and in none of them have there been erected any substantial barriers between the national language and English; any fundamental differences between them when it comes to *de facto* English influence are thus unlikely.

In Denmark, in the last couple of years, we have witnessed a heated debate on the future of the national language, with most participants judging the present English influence as – to put it mildly – the greatest challenge of all. A recent report from the Ministry of Culture stating the need for an official Danish language policy (Lund et al. 2003) considers the English influence on Danish to be part of a global multi-cultural trend. In its introduction, the report sees the quest for a Danish language policy as a reflection of the generally held view that the use of Danish is no longer a matter of course in Denmark:

> Det danske Kulturministeriums oplæg til en dansk sprogpolitik afspejler en udbredt opfattelse af, at det ikke længere er en selvfølge, at der fortrinsvist tales dansk i Danmark. Engelsk er blevet et alternativ på flere områder, og der høres mange forskellige sprog i det mere multikulturelt prægede Danmark.

What is referred to in this official report is the very topical issue of domain loss (cf. also Preisler 1999 and 2003; Jarvad 2001). It is worth noting that with this report, for the first time since the English influence was felt in the country (see the discussion in Section 5 of this paper), Denmark commits herself to language-political self-assertion. This apparent "awakening" of Scandinavia's most laissez-

[2] Already more than forty years ago, this central, "irrational" reason behind the Scandinavian import of English items – especially in business and advertising – was pointed out: "Det engelsk-amerikanske innslaget i handel og reklame er særlig sterkt. Det botnar i første rekke i ei sterk tru på at engelsk *sel* betre enn det heimlige målet; engelsk har det reklamefolka kallar *snob value*." (Hellevik 1963: 66).

faire speech community is perhaps expressed most clearly in the report's section on higher education, with its typographically emphasized recommendation for maintaining Danish as the main language of instruction in colleges and universities – something which would previously have been considered an over-reaction – or a joke: *Udvalget anbefaler, at dansk (...) sikres en placering i de videregående uddannelser som hovedsproget i undervisningen.* (Lund et al 2003:30)

Three years earlier, a Danish-based, yet English-born anti-laissez-faire language politician had threatened with disaster scenarios if such action against language death was not taken:

> Shakespeare's "Hamlet" is a tragedy that ends with the stage littered with corpses. If a linguistic rerun of this scenario in Denmark is to be avoided, much more resolute language policy [than that suggested in Davidsen-Nielsen et al. (eds.) 1999] is needed. (Phillipson 2000: 150)

It remains an open question whether the recent initiative by the Danish Ministry of Culture will save many linguistic lives. As long as the future of Danish rests with the Danish people – a population increasingly familiar with English – and Denmark stays a political democracy, the only thing that might topple the continuing anglophone influence would be a downfall of Anglo-American cultural dominance – not a very likely scenario.[3]

As a senior researcher at the Danish Language Council put it long before the present debate:

> På det sproglige område stikker der lidt af en anarkist i de fleste danskere. I Danmark har vi praktisk talt ingen levende tradition for at kæmpe for nationalsprogets eksistens. Vi aner ikke hvad det vil sige. Derfor ville vi heller ikke ane hvordan vi skulle bære os ad med at bekæmpe den engelsk-amerikanske påvirkning hvis dét skulle gå hen og blive et sprogpolitisk krav. (Bojsen 1989: 3)

Only fortress-like isolation and severe anti-English sanctions are sure to keep Phillipson's "linguistic corpses" from littering the Danish stage as long as English remains the world's undisputed language monolith.

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[3] A prospective near-future rival to English is Arabic, representing an Islamic culture which is now the only vocal challenge to Anglo-Saxon "globalization", and thus a language with an enormous potential for covert prestige in the eyes of non-anglophone subcultural and linguistically trend-setting groups the world over. So far, apart from a few "tasty" words like *kebab* and *shawarma*, recent Danish loans from Arabic mostly represent notions related to religion and politics – words with somewhat sinister connotations in Danish, e.g. *fatwa, ayatolla, imam, sharia, intifada, sunna, burka, talebaner, al-Qaeda* and, perhaps the most dramatic of them all, *jihad*.

3. Getting the definition right

In the ongoing transnational debate concerning English-language influence on other languages, several concepts need clarification. Before establishing a working definition of the central term "Anglicism", three recurrent concepts and presuppositions will be isolated and scrutinized:

(a) *English.* In language-political discussions, the word "English"– in Danish "engelsk" – rarely refers to England as such; usually it does not even point to Britain. The geographical entity involved here is, little wonder, the United States. Today, in most countries "influence from English" means (linguistic) influence from the USA, the dominant anglophone nation ever since the decline of the British empire. For most of the twentieth century, and especially since the breakthrough of sound film in Hollywood around 1930, Britain has played second fiddle in the spread of Anglo-Saxon values and linguistic features – although in almost all European countries most teachers of English still try to emulate a British, or rather RP, pronunciation in their daily work. Ironically, the debate in non-anglophone countries concerning "English" influence bears a remarkable resemblance to the present English (i.e. British) debate on Americanisms.

(b) *Post-war influence.* For decades now, most studies have focused on the influence of English after the Second World War. This may be relevant for Americanisms, but although Britain is now merely "aiding and abetting" in the global conception of local Anglicisms, the groundwork was done long before the wave of English loanwords hit foreign shores after WWII.[4] As early as in the early nineteeth century, the ruling classes in most European countries had adopted English "country" terms and habits, including everything from the word "gentleman" to sports (and terms) like tennis and golf. At the same time, through maritime contacts, countries like Norway and Denmark introduced masses of English loanwords, and even "modern" phenomena like code-shifting were found among trendy Scandinavian seamen.[5]

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[4] Especially in Germany, the impact was strongly felt at an early stage (Dunger 1899); referring to the period before 1914, a later observer noted that "the flooding of German life and the German language with English had reached such an extent that the whole situation for Germany appeared almost threatening" (Stiven 1936: 101, cited in Viereck 1986: 110).

[5] An interesting example of this "premature" phenomenon is found in a booklet on Danish military slang (Larsen 1895: 29), where Danish naval seamen "understreger deres sammenhæng med søen" (= emphasize their sea cred) by using English expressions like "Take it easy!" and "(to) go on shore" instead of equivalent Danish expressions.

(c) *Loanwords.* Several studies on Anglicisms, including most Anglicism dictionaries (with Sørensen (1997) as a notable exception) limit themselves to discussing "loans" from English, although thousands of Anglicisms are not direct loanwords, but belong to one of the many other categories of Anglicism (Sørensen 1997: 18). A second point to be made here is that Anglicisms are not loans to be paid for or handed back to English at a later stage. Instead, they can be seen as either "stolen goods" or rather – since it takes two languages to produce an Anglicism – as the fertile offspring of voluntary intercourse between English and other languages.[6]

What is, then, a reasonable definition of Anglicism? In order to cover the entire spectrum of present-day influence from English, the notion of Anglicism should be defined as *any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English.*

This definition is wider than those used in most older works on English influence, but as the number of linguistic and discursive fields influenced by English keeps increasing internationally, all-inclusive definitions are needed, and they tend to gain ground nowadays.

In Denmark, this trend is found not only in the works of Fritz Larsen and Knud Sørensen (Larsen 1994 and Sørensen 1986, 1997 and 2003), but also in Denmark's most recent encyclopedia (*Gyldendals Leksikon på Krak*, 2003, and only accessible online), whose entry for "anglicisme" reads:

> **anglicisme**, overførelse af et sprogligt træk fra engelsk til et andet sprog, fx Venligst vent i stedet for Vent venligst.

In literal translation, the entry says: "*Anglicism*, transfer of a linguistic feature from English to another language, e.g. Kindly wait instead of Wait kindly." (Of course, the English trigger here is the construction "please wait".)

4. Creating a taxonomy of Anglicisms

With my above definition in mind, and partly drawing on the typological framework in earlier papers (Gottlieb 1999, 2001a and in press), I will now establish a tripartite typology of Anglicisms with special reference to contemporary Danish. It looks as follows:

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[6] The foreign soil in which the English seeds are sown is the very reason why quite often, when translating into English, the best rendering of an Anglicism is not the "same" expression in English.

Table 4a: ACTIVE ANGLICISMS			
category	type	Danish examples	English trigger
Overt lexical borrowings	Single-word unit	*branding*	*branding*
	Multi-word unit	*still going strong*	*still going strong*
	Sub-word unit	*mega-*	*mega*
Covert lexical borrowings[7]	Single-word unit	*splejse*	*splice*
	Multi-word unit	*Stop en halv!*	*Stop and haul!*
Loan translations	Compound substitute	*kernefamilie*	*nuclear family*
	Multi-word substitute	*få enderne til at mødes*	*make ends meet*
Hybrids	Partial loan translation	*computerskærm*	*computer screen*
	Amalgamation	*sofikernebrød* (kernebrød = whole meal bread)	*soft (ice cream,* etc.)
Pseudo-Anglicisms[8]	Fossilization	*butterfly*	*butterfly tie* (now obsolete, replaced by *bow tie*)
	Semantic change	*overhead*	*overhead (= slide, OHP transparency)*
	Lexical contamination	*stationcar*	*station wagon* (US); *estate car* (UK)
	Inflectional contamination	*autobahns* (German loanword with English plural ending)	*(highway)s*
	Morphological change	*fit for fight*	*fighting fit*
	Jocular derivation	*webmoster* (literally: web auntie)	*webmaster*

[7] These "camouflaged" loans are most recently discussed in Hamburger (2003).

[8] This buccaneering category, with its Danish manifestations, is treated in Jarvad (1998).

Table 4b: REACTIVE ANGLICISMS				
category	type	anglicism	Danish standard	English trigger
Semantic loans	Extensions	*Jeg elsker dig!*	*Hav det godt!*	*Love you!* [= goodbye]
	Reversions	*overhøre*	*høre*	*overhear*
	Limitations	*morgen*	*formiddag*	*morning*
	Doubles[9]	*misse*	*gå glip af*	*miss*
Orthographic loans	Changed spelling	*literatur*	*litteratur*	*literature*
	Changed punctuation	*Den erfarne amerikanske senator, Joseph Biden, har en anden udlægning.*	*Den erfarne amerikanske senator Joseph Biden har en anden udlægning.*	*... American senator, Joseph Biden, has ...*
Phonetic loans	Phonetic changes	*unik* pronounced as [you'nik]	[oo'nik]	*unique*
	Prosodic changes	falling intonation in exclamations	slightly rising intonation	Standard American intonational pattern
Morpho-syntactic calques[10]	Phraseology	*tone ned*	*nedtone*	*tone down*
	Constructions	*en ven af mig*	*en af mine venner*	*a friend of mine*
	Word order	*Dog, han vil ikke...*	*Han vil dog ikke ...*	*However, ...*
	Prepositional choices	*ud af vandet*	*op af vandet*	*out of the water*
	Valency	*Ring en ekspert*	*Ring til en ekspert / Tilkald en ekspert*[11]	*Call an expert*
Translationese[12]	Favoured cognates	*annoncere*	*meddele (= announce) (annoncere = advertize)*	*announce*
	Default equivalents	*tilbringe*	*tilbringe, være (hos)*	*spend*

[9] This usually ignored subcategory (in Danish: "dubleringslån") is discussed in Gottlieb (2001b).

[10] Anglicisms of this category are especially numerous in translations (cf. Busk Rasmussen 2004).

[11] The lexeme *ekspert* is a favorized cognate in its own right, competing with the established Danish term *fagmand,* originally a Germanism.

[12] For a discussion of this category of Anglicisms, common in translations, see for instance Aijmer (2001).

table 4c: CODE-SHIFTS		
category	Danish example	pragmatic context
Tags	*, okay?*	Standard Danish oral interpersonal assurance formula.
Sentence-internal shifts	*... musikjournalister, som ikke respekterer, at prøve-tryk er for your ears only.*	Trendy journalese addressing a youthful audience.
Bilingual wordplay	*There is something rotten in Nyhavn* (on a political clean-up campaign poster displaying a rat, in Danish *rotte)*	Common linguistic device in Danish commercial punchlines and political slogans.
Sentence-shaped shifts	Way to go, girl!	The final words in a Danish music review.
Total shifts	[Danish websites in English.]	Addressing Danes and foreigners through English-only communication.
Domain losses	*Layout Construction: A Case Study in Algorithm Engineering*	Title of an academic research paper written by four Danish scientists. [80-90% domain losses in computer games, scientific papers, pop lyrics and certain business documents; more moderate losses in domains like advertisements, commercial brands and film titles.]

4.1. Explaining the categorization used in the taxonomy

Although the taxonomy presented above consists of three main categories, it rests on a two-by-two categorization of the field. This categorization has been made using two distinctive features:

- the distinction found in my Anglicism definition above – between, on the one hand, items that are either *adopted* (i.e. retained, and thus obviously of English heritage) or *adapted* (i.e. "camouflaged" or literally translated into the recipient language) and items that are *inspired* or numerically *boosted* by English language phenomena.
- the distinction between items relating to what I will term *microlanguage* (including morphemes, phonemes, lexemes, phraseology and syntax), and those that belong to the *macrolanguage* (phenomena found at clause, sentence or text level).

The reason why my categorization has yielded a tripartite taxonomy – and not four main categories – is the following: I have not considered macrolanguage Anglicisms of a reactive nature, a potential category which I consider almost impossible to operationalize – it is hard to say with certainty when a sentence or a text (type) is inspired or boosted by English, unless of course one would consider individual translations or genres that display many translations worthy of inclusion.

The table below presents a brief overview of the main layout of the taxonomy used in this paper:

Table 4d: Key parameters in categorizing Anglicisms		
	Sub-clause items	Clause, sentence and text items
Adapted or adopted from English	Active Anglicisms	Code-shifts
Inspired or boosted by English models	Reactive Anglicisms	[not included in present model]

It is my hope that readers will find the sub-categories intuitively comprehensible, as each category is exemplified, and the English trigger behind each (Danish) example is given – something which is especially needed when dealing with adaptions, items which by definition hide their English ancestry to native speakers and foreign observers alike.

In the taxonomy, some of the terms are well established and universally agreed upon – e.g. semantic loans and morpho-syntactic calques – while others are new (sentence-internal vs. sentence-shaped shifts, for instance). Finally, there are terms that are debated, yet too established to deserve being discarded altogether: I have decided to stick to "borrowings" and "loans" and refrain from using the neologism "import words", although it represents the critical stance to the notion of "borrowing" which I myself advocate (cf. the discussion above.).

It is perhaps worth noting that although the great majority of Anglicisms represent both the oral and the written mode, the typology above also includes those types that are only recognizable in the written mode (i.e. orthographic loans) or the oral mode (phonetic loans).

Hopefully, one of the advantages of my tripartite model of Anglicisms is that it makes it easier to delimit code-shifting when

investigating and discussing English influence. The notion of code-shifting (or -switching) has remained one of the most disputed concepts in contact linguistics (cf. Johansson (2002: 96), who rightly criticizes the labeling of items like "jobba" in normal Swedish discourse as code-switching). Even established experts in the field may find it difficult to distinguish between loans and code-switching:

> There is no absolute boundary between the extraneous elements in code-switching and loan-words (direct loans). Loan-words can be said to be the institutionalization of code-switching, and there is no objective way to determine at what point a foreign element has become an institutionalized part of the recipient language. (Larsen 1994: 22)

As this passage demonstrates, a simple and operational definition of the phenomenon is much needed.

5. Anglicisms: Cuckoos or multiple births? Some Danish examples

In a world dominated by anglophone culture – not least in Denmark, with close links to Britain for at least 200 years, and to the US for more than a century – Anglicisms have long been present at practically all levels of language (cf. Tables 4a, 4b and 4c). An impressive amount of the words that enter the Danish language are indeed Anglicisms. A recent listing of new words in Danish – compiled by a researcher at the *Dansk Sprognævn* – includes 135 neologisms introduced in Danish from 1998 through 2003 (Nørby Jensen 2004). Of these 135 new words, all documented in Danish general-language corpora, only 44 turned out *not* to be Anglicisms. In other words, 91 of the items listed are Anglicisms, which means that 67 % of the present lexical growth of Danish is triggered by English.

Although the English influence on Danish may not have become monumental before the end of the Second World War, it certainly did not appear overnight, and the "modern" dynamic and leisure-like connotations of anglophone elements were established already before World War I (Dahl 1956). However, apart from a contribution by Otto Jespersen (1902), the question of English influence on Danish drew little academic attention in the first half of the 20th century – the first scholarly paper on the subject was published during WWII (Dahl 1942).

Earlier in this paper, we have discussed specific reasons for the growing impact of English worldwide, but the mechanics of English influence can also be explained along with other types of language change. As Jean Aitchison sees it, a shift of paradigm is on the way in historical linguistics:

> Sounds and words do not gradually "turn into" one another, as had been assumed. Instead, a new sound or meaning creeps in alongside the old, and co-exists, sometimes for centuries. Eventually, the intruder takes over, like a young cuckoo pushing an existing occupant out of the nest. Yet even the young cuckoo idea is now recognized as over-simple. Multiple births – several new forms – may arise, and co-exist for a long time. Then eventually, one is likely to win out. (Aitchison 2004: 4)

Simple or not, the "cuckoo paradigm" is fascinating to both traditionalists and iconoclastic observers of language change, and this paradigm is probably what lies behind the worries of those linguists and others who warn against laissez-faire attitudes toward Anglicisms.

In Denmark, Knud Sørensen has expressed deep concern for the uncritical use of "unnecessary" Anglicisms that serve no purpose in the recipient language. In his final remarks in what remains the most thorough discussion of Anglicisms in Danish – and following up on his earlier book (Sørensen 1973) – he issues a warning against "overflødige og udanske udtryk":

> Efter min opfattelse er det ikke rimeligt at indføre anglicismer, hvis de begreber, de betegner, allerede er repræsenteret af danske udtryk, som betyder det samme: hvorfor *sideeffekt,* når vi har *bivirkning*? (Sørensen 1995: 221)

I will briefly deal with the notion of "unnecessary" loans before looking closely at Sørensen's example. As with all things human, there is indeed a reason for even "unreasonable" behavior, including that of using the "unnecessary and un-Danish expressions" criticized above.

Only language features that are considered attractive to the speaker will be selected by that speaker, and in Scandinavia large segments of the population – notably the young – find that "unnecessary" Anglicisms may add flavor and prestige to what they say or write – a highly sensible strategy for people in the process of carving out a niche for themselves in the chaotic adult world. In isolation, the English-

sounding items may not signal prestige, but the contexts in which they first appear often do the job. To cite a Norwegian expert on Anglicisms, Anne-Line Graedler:

> For at påvirking skal skje, må det finnes brobyggere som har kjennskap til mer enn ett språk, og brobyggerne må ha nok prestisje til å påvirke andre. Det som ikke er kjent, kan ikke bli lånt; og det som er kjent, blir ikke lånt hvis det ikke blir oppfattet som verdifullt. (Graedler 2002: 81)

Graedler here demonstrates that exactly *that* which is considered valuable (to trend-setting users) in a speech community is what will enter that community – simple knowledge that ought to put an end to all discussions concerning which Anglicisms to accept, and which to condemn.

Returning now to the example chosen by Sørensen in his above-cited epilogue ("why use *sideeffekt* in Danish when we have *bivirkning*"), the way the terms are used in fact disproves his statement. A search in the Danish *Korpus 2000* – with 28 million running words, representing most major genres of contemporary written Danish[13] – shows that the collocates of *bivirkning* typically belong to the realm of medicine and carry a negative semantic load, whereas the contexts in which *sideeffekt* appears represent a much wider range of communicational settings, giving *sideeffekt* a neutral, often even positive semantic quality. This present division of labor in Danish differs from the situation in English, where the meaning of "side-effect" – uncontested by synonyms – is less specific than that of "bivirkning" in Danish. However, "side-effect" mostly holds negative connotations – something which one can easily ascertain by a quick search in the British National Corpus (http://sara.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/lookup.html).

Below are the first twenty-two concordance lines of each of the two Danish near-synonyms, as retrieved by the search engine of *Korpus 2000:*[14]

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[13] Free online access to *Korpus 2000* and its ten year older sister corpus, *Korpus 90*, at www.korpus2000.dk. Publications referring to the compilation and use of these corpora, and on the Danish corpus-based dictionary *Den Danske Ordbog* (Hjorth & Kristensen et al. (eds.) 2003-2004), at www.dsl.dk/ddo_litteratur.htm.

[14] As *Korpus 2000* and *Korpus 90* are lemmatized language corpora, all eight nominal forms of the search words "bivirkning" and "sideeffekt" are retrieved in the search process. In the tables, some of the original KWIC (Key Word in Context) concordance lines have been shortened to fit the page format.

Table 5a: *Korpus 2000* search for "bivirkning": First 22 hits out of 355

uden de sundhedsskadelige **bivirkninger** som antibiotikaens
dokumentation for , at lægemidlet ikke har værre **bivirkninger** end konkurrerende lægemidler .
vil vi få midler som med relativt få **bivirkninger** kan bruges mod alverdens lettere psykiske lidelser
som "Dirty Drugs" på grund af de voldsomme **bivirkninger** .
stoffer i hjernen , hvilket medførte så alvorlige **bivirkninger** , at kun meget syge patienter kom i
Den nye medicins færre **bivirkninger** betyder , at lægerne også begynder at udskrive
under mistanke for at kunne medføre alvorlige **bivirkninger** .
Lykkepiller giver **bivirkninger** .
Men det er hverken risikoen for **bivirkninger** eller afhængighed , der udløser den dybeste skepsis
år har midler , som med meget få **bivirkninger** kan fjerne de fleste ubehagelige stemningslejer , og
at udvikle et middel , som uden nogen **bivirkninger** kunne fjerne al angst , tristhed og depressioner
eneste lægemiddel , der ikke er fundet nogen **bivirkninger** ved
en kunstig ledvædske , som uden de traditionelle **bivirkninger** giver smertelindring og øget bevægelighed .
Bivirkningerne diarré , kvalme , uro og søvnforstyrrelser er
sammenholdt med gammeldags stoffers **bivirkninger** .
tid , og den kan undertiden have uønskede **bivirkninger** .
redde tre - fire menneskeliv om året uden **bivirkninger** " , siger udvalgsformanden .
men massiv oplysning om sovemedicinens **bivirkninger** .
om de følte sig godt tilpas, om **bivirkninger** som træthed , uoplagthed og svimmelhed .
rentefradraget , uden der opstår store og negative **bivirkninger** på boligmarkedet " , siger Torben M .
med medicin og lukker øjnene for medicinens **bivirkninger** , selvom de kan være ligeså slemme som
afviser dog , at Serdolect har alvorlige **bivirkninger** .

The most frequent collocation in the 355 concordance lines is "alvorlige bivirkninger" (18 hits), and other frequent adjectives include "negative", "uheldige", "unødige" and "voldsomme". Not a single positive adjective is found, and the basic form – the lemma represented in a dictionary – is rare: the search found only 53 instances of "bivirkning". The determinate singular form, "bivirkningen" accounted for 4 hits only, leaving 298 instances of the plural forms of the word.

Table 5b: *Korpus 2000* search for "sideeffekt": All 22 hits out of 22

Men der kan være positive	**sideeffekter**	.
Væskeophobning er for eksempel en udbredt	**sideeffekt**	.
lønkroner , så er det jo en positiv	**sideeffekt**	.
Den bedre vejledning har så positive	**sideeffekter**	, idet den kvalificerede del af arbejdsstyrken forøges
samtidig give en større konkurrence og som	**sideeffekt**	gøre det muligt at trimme koncernen endnu mere
Det har hidtil mest været kommissionens	**sideeffekter**	som korruption , nepotisme o.l. og ikke den
Den uheldige	**sideeffekt**	af kædernes salgsiver er , at kunden fristes
det , og så har hæshed i øvrigt den	**sideeffekt**	, at man pludselig bliver gjort opmærksom på
Men det markedsføringsmæssige er en	**sideeffekt**	.
Og derfor kan PensionsInfo også have den	**sideeffekt**	, at flere i tide begynder at spare mere
Efterfølgende beskriver han de positive	**sideeffekter**	, da man ved anvendelsen af søvand til
Som en	**sideeffekt**	af fusionen peger Jens Kampmann på , at "
Det havde dog den	**sideeffekt**	, at det for alvor skubbede til hans egne
på fabrikkerne har i årenes løb som en	**sideeffekt**	vist sig nyttig i den civile trafik .
30 procent , og samtidig får man en	**sideeffekt**	i form af ti procent flere hestekræfter fra
" socialarbejdere " - men hvor en betydelig	**sideeffekt**	af deres idrætslige engagement er af socialt
En	**sideeffekt**	af angrebene , som USA ikke ønsker ,
holds 15 deltagere , har haft en positiv	**sideeffekt**	: Lederne holder kontakten ved lige efter
dansk industri , er det en ualmindelig positiv	**sideeffekt**	ved Øststøtten .
at de fleste virksomheder oplever positive	**sideeffekter**	ved EGA-indsatsen i form af færre sygedage ,
til en mindstepris med den ikke uinteressante	**sideeffekt**	, at Vesteuropa gennem landbrugsordninger kunne
en afgørende betydning , ikke kun som	**sideeffekt**	af fromhed .

As is evident from this search, the connotations of the term "sideeffekt" are indeed positive; actually, the Danish adjective "positiv" is the most frequent *partner in crime* here: we find our lemma modified by "positiv" no less than 7 times out of 22. And not only are the semantic properties of "sideeffekt" the reverse of those of "bivirkning" ("an unexpected benefit" as opposed to "something dreaded and undesired"); in contrast to the established term "bivirkning", the term "sideeffekt" is most often used in the singular form: it accounts for 17 out of the 22 hits.

This example of semantic field division between an established expression and a – sometimes stigmatized – newcomer may not be prototypical of the Anglicism situation in Denmark today, but having conducted a number of similar searches in Danish corpora and text archives leads me to the conclusion – which really only corroborates old lexicological knowledge – that outside the realm of specialized language, "synonyms" never stay synonymous. Whenever "unnecessary" Anglicisms gain ground, they owe this to their users' desire to either fill connotational or pragmatic voids, or to expand or specialize existing semantic properties.

However, what may from the intruder's point of view constitute semantic expansion may very well, viewed from the existing language system, look like a loss of semantic nuances. When, for instance, as a consequence of prolonged and intimate contacts with the semantic distinctions in English, some Danes are now starting to use the Danish word *morgen* synonymously with English *morning*, i.e. including the (working) day before lunch, the term and concept *formiddag* – literally "fore-noon" – may lose some of its home turf. Yet, it is my firm belief that if an English-inspired neologism – in this case *morgen* in the "late" sense – turns out to be successful in the Danish language system, there must be some advantage for those who use it; if not, they would stop doing so.

But most candidates for acceptability and survival do not make it; the bulk of new Anglicisms are more like Aitchison's multiple births – cod roe might be a better metaphor here – than cuckoos. As elsewhere in nature and society, for every success there are several abortive attempts at fame and glory.

6. Survival of the fittest? A hierarchy of success

For the great majority of Anglicisms in Danish, the road to acceptance goes from the bottom and up – starting with membership of category 4 below. Very few items enter mainstream Danish directly (categories 1 and 2), and most of those which do are English borrowings designating phenomena that suddenly enter the daily lives of Danes: words like *tacos, trip hop, browser* and *dvd.* As should be obvious from the discussion above, items which refer to something already known are forced to fight their way up the ladder, or perish.

Table 6: The Anglicism ladder of success

ACCEPTED ITEMS (established Anglicisms):
1. **Integrated items** (*not* intuitively identified as English loans): Danish *hive* < from English *heave*
2. **Naturalized items** (identified as English loans and commonly accepted): Danish *weekend*
NON-ACCEPTED ITEMS (peripheral Anglicisms):
3. **Implants** (English-sounding, accepted by certain user groups only): Danish *hænge ud* < *hang out*
4. **Interfering items** (often slipshod solutions, including mistranslations): Danish *(militære) barakker* < *(military) barracks*; correct term: *kaserner* (an established Germanism)

Extending the natural metaphors used in the four terms above, you could say that these four categories represent not only a cline in terms of acceptability, but also a Darwinist race for survival, with many Anglicisms beginning their lives as interfering items, which – as in the above example – may mislead the unsuspecting reader ("barakker" are simple one-story houses: *prefabs*). Some interfering Anglicisms – in written sources often initially identified by quotation marks or italics – are later promoted to the status of "implants". Out of these only few become naturalized, or – what happens rarely now in semi-bilingual Denmark – end up as fully integrated items. As we saw in the case of *sideeffekt,* many of the non-accepted items make it up the ladder by wedging themselves into Danish, thus contributing to semantic – including stylistic – differentiation.

The watershed between general acceptability (and thus idiomaticity) and the lack of it runs between types 2 and 3 above. In other words, we find non-idiomaticity whenever English words or constructions are copied in situations where their semantic content could have been expressed idiomatically, with existing (Danish) words or constructions. But as stated earlier, prospective Anglicisms often die young. One example of such an item lacking the "talents" for acceptance is the item *dobbeltlagsvinduer,* an ad hoc translation of "double-glazing" used once (in 1998) by a Danish London newspaper correspondent apparently forgetting the Danish term *termoruder* (literally, "thermo-panes").

However, previously successful Anglicisms sometimes end up sounding unidiomatic and may eventually become obsolete. Examples of this are the original football term *corner,* which was soon replaced in Danish by *hjørne(spark),* and *all right,* now obsolescent and yielding to *okay.*

7. Not all is English that glitters

When encountering Danish constructions that display English-looking features, one should not automatically categorize every such instance as a clear-cut Anglicism. In several ways, modern Danish and English move along the same path – something which is especially felt in the use of genre markers and other stylistic devices.

As a case in point, both Danish and English offer two genitive constructions, a synthetic one ("America's bravest"; "Danmarks ungdom") vs. an analytic construction ("the roof of the building"; "toppen af isbjerget"). Traditionally, Danish has favored the synthetic construction –

even with non-animate agents. Against this background, generations of Danish learners of English have been taught to use the synthetic construction only when animate agents are involved, e.g. to say "my uncle's car", but "the trunk of this car" (not "this car's trunk"). However, in modern Danish – as was already pointed out almost forty years ago[15] – people sometimes utilize the analytic construction for non-animate agents, thus partly emulating the English distributional paradigm, and constructions like "taget på huset" have established themselves as alternatives to the synthetic genitives of the type "husets tag".

As can be seen from the figures in the table below, the new, "English-style" genitive in non-animate contexts[16] has far from ousted the established, "all-Danish" construction. Expressed in marketing terms, it has obtained a share of around 20 percent:

Table 7: Danish genitive like s with non-animate agents

sources	**Synthetic genitive** "non-animate" + *s* + *tag* (N)	**analytic genitive** *taget* (N) *på* + "inanimate"
ADL (c. 1800-1920)[17]	28 (100%)	0 (0%)
Korpus 90 (1983-1992)	69 (82%)	15 (18%)
Korpus 2000 (1998-2002)	61 (73%)	22 (27%)
Google (as of October 21, 2003)	474 (86%)	80 (14%)

[15] In a column from 1964, professor of Danish, Erik Hansen, in discussing analytic vs. synthetic constructions, placed the pro-analytic tendency among Danish language users as a "movement away from usage reminiscent of German or Latin, toward one which is more Anglo-Saxon."("En bevægelse bort fra en sprogbrug, der minder om den tyske eller latinske, mod en mere angelsaksisk." Hansen 1973: 46). Sadly, this historical perspective is often missing in the debates on contemporary Anglicisms.

[16] All searches were made by combining the search node "tag" or "taget" with each of the following frequent collocates (with and without the genitive -s): *huset, bygningen, kirken, stalden, skuret, udhuset, carporten, garagen.*

[17] The ADL, or *Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur,* is an online compilation of a large number of Danish literary classics. For copyright reasons, contemporary works cannot be included in this public-domain text archive, accessible at www.adl.dk. Unfortunately, no corpora or online databases represent Danish language between c. 1920 and 1983.

Admittedly, it is logically impossible to prove that this analytic construction has managed to establish its niche of roughly a fifth of the "grammatical Danish market" only because its English equivalent is subliminally present in the minds of those Danes who use it. Still, I would consider it a reactive Anglicism, and thus a candidate for inclusion in the "favoured cognates" subcategory (cf. Table 2).

8. The roots of anglification in Denmark

While English shares many lexical features with French at the same time as it displays a rudimentary Germanic grammar, German and Danish are "hard-core" Germanic languages, and until a few decades ago, nobody would deny that Danish has much more in common with German than with English. Not only are the roots of modern Danish closer to those of modern German; Danish language history in the last 800 years tells of an almost constant impact on Danish from its big, ever-watching brother south of the border. This German influence peaked in two periods – the 15th and early 16th centuries saw a massive influence from *Plattdeutsch* (a.k.a. Low German),[18] while later centuries meant very close contacts with *Hochdeutsch* (High German) – and changed Danish dramatically in the process (Winge 2000). Not only did this mean a large percentage of German loans in the Danish language, it also meant that a significant portion of the population did not – or could not – speak Danish. Among the German-speaking groups were many of the most powerful people in the country, including several Danish kings and high-ranking members of the court, not to forget a significant proportion of the country's artists, merchants and craftsmen.

The wars involving Denmark and Germany – one in 1848-1850, one in 1864 (which led to German annexation of a quarter of the Danish territory), WWI 1914-1918, and finally the German occupation 1940-1945 – may have built up the Danish animosity toward German language and culture which is still felt today, even

[18] So massive, in fact, that Low German shared all the domains of Danish and managed to influence the Danish core vocabulary, including words for family members, highly frequent verbs and adjectives, etc. However, as Danish Germanist Vibeke Winge has aptly put it: "Dansk kunne assimilere disse lån og gik ikke til grunde af den grund." (Danish managed to assimilate these loans and still did not perish), (Winge 2000: 41, my translation).

among young people, despite the fact that the Danish and German cultural and political landscapes are probably more alike now than ever. So, what has changed is, sadly, not the negative attitude to German (and to Danish teachers of German), but rather the cultural and linguistic power of German. Even *die Wende* in 1989-1990 altered nothing in this respect; people still don't watch German films, and apart from "über" and a few other recent German loans – some of which are borrowed from American English – German holds no influence on present-day Danish, a fact recognized by all and lamented by some of those who worry about the seemingly perpetual Anglo-American dominance.

But until Hitler's defeat in Stalingrad in 1943, German was indeed considered the main threat to the "purity" – a notion that never had any bearing in linguistic realities – of Danish. While Germany was still enjoying military success, and in the midst of the German occupation of Denmark, a Danish linguist wrote:

> "Vi må lære av tyskerne at tage vare på modersmålet og bruge danske (nordiske) ord vor vi kan. I Hansa-tiden var nederlaget nær, og i fremtiden truer det fra samme side. *Intet andet tungemål end tysk er farligt for vort* – især plattysk (...). Derfor må vi være vågne. *Fremmede ord av græsk-romansk oprindelse (som sympati, interesse) gör os ingenting. Men tysk kan overvælde os. Let glider tyske ord ind på danske tunger*, og de er ikke lette at kende som fremmede ord fordi de i reglen har tryk på 1. stavelse ligesom danske – i modsætning til græsk-romanske ord der tydeligt manifesterer sig som fremmede ved trykket." (Togeby 1942: 7; emphasis added, while maintaining the author's "reformed" spelling.)

In English, the italicized passages say: "No other tongue than German is dangerous for ours (...). Foreign words of Greco-Latin origin (like "sympathy", "interest") do us nothing. But German can overwhelm us. German words slip easily into Danish mouths (...)". This author may have been right at the time, but he was soon proven wrong by the intensified post-war anglification – a trend prophesied almost a century before by none other than N.F.S. Grundtvig, church-founder and the epitome of Danish nationalism in the nineteenth century. In one of his many essays, he stated: "Nu (...) vil det være os til ligesaa meget Gavn at knytte os til Engelænderne, som det har været os til Skade (...) at knytte os til Tydskerne." (Grundtvig 1849: 181). (It will be just as beneficial for us to associate with the English now as it has been disastrous for us to associate with the Germans.) He continues:

> Sammenligner vi nemlig først *Sprogene*, da maae vi ikke alene finde, at det Engelske Sprog, trods alle de fremmede ord, Det mere har belæsset sig med end optaget i sig, ligger igrunden vort Modersmaal langt nærmere end det Høitydske, men, hvad der er det vigtigste, at, om det end lærdes i alle vore Skoler og laae alle vore Skibsfolk og Købmænd paa Tungen, kunde det dog aldrig blive farligt for vort Modersmaal, medens derimod en sørgelig Erfaring har lært os, at vort Modersmaal kun ved et stort Vidunder har undgaaet at fortrænges af det Høitydske baade i Kirken og Skolen og i hele den dannede Kreds af Folket.

According to Grundtvig, a man who still holds more mental power over the shaping of Danish identity than any other person, dead or alive, not only is English closer to Danish than is German, but his primary argument for persuading the Danes (who apparently are always in search of linguistic and cultural role models) to emulate English is – ironical as it may sound today – that even if English "was spoken by all our sailors and merchants, it could never constitute a threat to our mother tongue". Many of his followers may disagree today, but he was so prolific as a writer that his pro-English views have hitherto gone unnoticed in Danish discussions on language politics.

By the time Grundtvig wrote this article, Danish had already borrowed more than a hundred English words. As early as in the 18th century, 79 words had been imported from English, with an additional 319 words borrowed during the 19th century (Sørensen 1997: 3). By the year 1900, the total figure was 398 – surpassing by far Otto Jespersen's estimate of some seventy English loanwords (Jespersen 1902, cited in Haugen 1978: 81) but in perfect keeping with a Norwegian count reported in 1940, listing 531 English loanwords (Stene 1940/1945: 210).

Since 1945, due to the massive influx of Anglicisms all over Scandinavia, such counts – already somewhat naive before the war – have become increasingly difficult to make. However, the three modern Scandinavian dictionaries of Anglicisms all list more than 2,000 items. The following table (based on Gottlieb 2002) compares these Nordic titles with the world's largest work on Anglicisms,[19] the German *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch:*

[19] By sheer volume, this German-only dictionary is bigger than even Görlach's ambitious 16-language Anglicism trilogy (Görlach 2001, 2002a and 2002b).

Table 8: Anglicism dictionaries compared

Author(s)	Title	Year of publication	Entries	Pages
Broder Carstensen, Ulrich Busse & Regina Schmude	Anglizismen-Wörterbuch: der Einfluß des Englischen auf den deutschen Wortschatz nach 1945	1993-1996	c. 3,500	1,752 (3 vols.)
Knud Sørensen	A Dictionary of Anglicisms in Danish	1997	6,180	405
Anne-Line Graedler & Stig Johansson	Anglisisme-ordboka. Engelske lånord i norsk	1997	c. 4,000	466
Bo Seltén	Ny svengelsk ordbok	1993	2,093	200

To the uninitiated observer, the entry figures would mean that Danish is indeed richer in Anglicisms than the other languages represented. However, as always in lexicography, definitions and resources are as important as "objective" linguistic data, so one should be careful not to draw conclusions from lexicographical evidence about lexical realities. In the case of *A Dictionary of Anglicisms in Danish,* Knud Sørensen employed a wider definition of "Anglicism" than did his Swedish, Norwegian and German colleagues. He included, among other types, verbs with English-inspired valency patterns, certain morphosyntactic calques and older, even obsolescent, borrowings – all very relevant to the description of linguistic influence from English. The other dictionaries are more post-war oriented (cf. the title of the German dictionary) and use more conservative criteria for inclusion, hence the limited number of entries for Swedish, Norwegian and German.

Today, German is as influenced by English as is Danish. This means that, paraphrasing the earlier-cited anti-German(ism) statement, "no other tongue than English is dangerous for ours" (a belief found in, for instance, Davidsen-Nielsen & Herslund (1999) and Rask (2000)[20]). However, some

[20] This title – an alphabetical listing of words which the author believes should be banned – includes only Anglicisms, in stark contrast to earlier collections of "words to avoid": Hjortø (1933) warned against hundreds of Greco-Latin loans, along with a few English borrowings (*bacon, slum, weekend,* etc.), while Togeby (1942) primarily wanted his readers to ostracize German loans.

thought should be given to the fact that, except when denoting new phenomena and thus adding to the Danish vocabulary, successful Anglicisms tend to compete with, and often replace, established Germanisms in Danish (cf. Gottlieb (forthcoming)).

9. The future of Danish: Use it or lose it

More than twenty years back, when discussing the prospects of a future English-derived Danish, Fritz Larsen prophesied that "it would sound like a bad translation from English" (Larsen 1982: 145) and continued:

> If this prospect is obnoxious to some, it is a sobering thought that so much of what we now consider good old Danish must at one time have sounded like a bad translation from German."

A statement like the one just cited may offer some comfort to the concerned observer of English-inspired language change in Scandinavia. One may also find consolation in the fact that English has had no trouble surviving, in spite of its many early loans from French – something that has earned English the label "a semi-Romance language" (cf. McArthur 2002: 135). However, as with drugs and other substances, what is found stimulating in small doses may kill in large quantities – especially in suicidal hands – and language death in Scandinavia should by no means be ruled out. In Denmark, we have witnessed dialects dying out, as their speakers switched to Standard Danish – sprinkled with a few regiolectal features. It is now suggested (see Hjarvard 2004) that a similar shift is immanent, as ambitious Danes jockey for international positions by conducting all their communication in English. The central question is: will Scandinavians – who, in less than one generation, will all be able to speak English – really continue to use their own language in all situations? If the present tendency to lose certain domains (ranging from scientific discourse to computer games) gains momentum, the Scandinavian languages will lose so much prestige among their own users that they deteriorate into folklore and cease functioning as all-encompassing vehicles of communication.

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Sentence openings in academic economics articles in English and Danish[1]

PHILIP SHAW

1. Background

Scandinavians have always had to use a second language to communicate with their peers. In hard science developments have long been international and it has been important for results to reach an international community of academic peers. In the last fifty years globalisation and professionalisation have affected many other academic fields (such as medicine and economics) in such a way that publication directed to a local community, including those involved in practice, has been downgraded relative to those which reach an international academic community (Kærgård 1998, Petersen and Shaw 2002). Simultaneously academic leadership has passed to the US along with leadership in other fields. The consequence is that all over the world academics feel pressure to write in English, as the language of the US, or be ignored.

This pressure causes much less anguish in Scandinavia than in countries where it has traditionally been possible to write in the national language and be read internationally. This may be because Scandinavian scholars have always had to use another language or because English is typologically close to Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian. In any case, the evidence of international comparisons is that the language is no handicap. Sivertsen and Aksnes (2000), for example, quote figures that show Finland, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands ranking with the US at the top of the tables for publication "impact" in the natural and social sciences as measured by citation (RCI), relative to expenditure. By contrast, for example, Japan spends a higher proportion of its GNP than the US on research but achieves a much lower impact. Other factors

[1] I would like to thank the editors for detailed and very helpful comments on this paper.

clearly weigh heavily, but ease of access to the language and rhetoric of the US, as the research community by whom it is crucial to be cited, is likely to be among those that influence such figures.

1.1 Scandinavian English?

Texts in one language influenced by another arise in various ways. Sometimes the influence comes from a specific text, as in translations where a number of studies have shown that the frequency of particular mother-tongue features is influenced by their frequency in the source text (and by implication the source language) (Altenberg 1998, Hasselgård 1997). Sometimes the whole code of the recipient language is influenced by that of the source language, as when vernacular languages have constructions originally calqued on academic Latin, or when usages appear in Scandinavian languages which are based on English (such as construction loans like Swedish *han är en läkare* for *han är läkare* "he is a doctor"(Ljung 1985: 80), where the indefinite article is ascribed to English). Sometimes, finally, writing or speech in a second language can be expected to show, along with developmental features, transfer of the first language and source culture. This could be called learner language or interlanguage, although this article looks at skilled writing for which the terms are not appropriate.

In a survey (Petersen & Shaw 2002) of one group of bilingual academics — Danish applied economists — respondents disagreed as to whether academic economics articles in English written by Danes differed consistently from their equivalents written by people from the US, Britain, Australia, etc ("Anglos"). About half the 82 questionnaire respondents thought they did not, 40% thought they did, and 10% "didn't know". Suggested reasons for there being no difference were: that internationalisation has meant that "Anglo rhetoric/style" is not meaningful; that the processes of reviewing and editing erase differences; that the field uses mathematics and verbal formulae; and that all participants in the field are immersed in the same style and register of English. Suggested reasons why there might be a difference were: that that limited language proficiency leads to ineffective "style and flow", or as one respondent put it "man ser ofte dålige artikler formuleret på ubehjælpeligt "valby-engelsk"" ("you often see bad articles formulated in clumsy Danish-English")[2]; that Danes have a different style or rhetoric due to a national

[2] The Danish expression "valby-engelsk" is composed of the name Valby – part of Copenhagen -- and the word for English. It means "naïve danicised English" and is analogous to Chaucer's "Stratford-at-Bow French" for provincial Anglo-Norman.

habit of thought or expression; and, more generally, that there are differences in disciplinary cultures among nations. The notion that different languages imply different audiences also arose, in discussions of the purpose of writing in Danish or English. We could summarise these points on three levels: articles in English by Scandinavians might be structured differently or use different patterns of rhetoric, there might be non-standard usages in Scandinavian English, and finally such writing might exhibit a different or reduced range of vocabulary and sentence structure.

On the first level, the evidence suggests (Melander *et al* 1997, Shaw 2003) that there are characteristic Scandinavian rhetorical features in much Scandinavian academic writing in English, but that they are within the acceptable range of variation of writing in English across the globe and so go unnoticed in international publications. On the second, there are studies of the typical errors of Scandinavian writers (for Swedish, for example, Köhlmyr 1999, 2003; Karlsson 2002, Warren 1982, Thagg Fisher 1985) and one can assume that many of the errors that still exist in academic articles are indeed ironed out by correction services, reviewers, editors, etc. (though this standardisation process does not in fact erase all idiosyncrasies). On the third level, it seems likely that much of the individual flavour of varieties of English derives not from absolute differences from other varieties, but from relative ones – a greater or lesser tendency to use certain types of construction for example (Leitner 1994). A sense of indefinable idiosyncrasy which might be ascribed to rhetoric or incorrect English might actually be due to such relative differences. Code features of Swedish learners' writing in English which differ in frequency from those found in the English written by learners from other mother tongue backgrounds have been investigated in learner corpora such as SWICLE (the Swedish component of the International Corpus of Learner English). Boström-Aronsson (2001), for example, found that clefts and pseudo-clefts were more frequent in Swedish advanced student writing than in comparable English native-speaker writing (see also Eriksson 2001, Hägglund 2001). Increasingly such investigations are done with reference not only to L2 native texts (English written by native speakers in this case) but also to L1 native texts (Swedish-language texts in this case: Borin and Prütz 2003, Altenberg 1998, Altenberg and Tapper 1998). The texts examined so far have mainly been written by learners. Mature writing in a foreign language, such as the English written by Scandinavian academics, has not been much investigated at the level of syntax or vocabulary, and it would be useful to know whether it shows analogous transfer features.

1.2 Cross-linguistic influences on thematisation

One feature which has been investigated on the basis of translations is thematisation. Hasselgård (1997) has examined sentence openings in original texts in English and Norwegian and their translations into the other language, and Altenberg (1998) has looked at similar features in translations from English into Swedish and vice versa.

It seems to be agreed that in English the first element in the sentence is more often the subject than in Scandinavian languages. In Hasselgård's fiction texts from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus 66% of the sentences in the original (i.e. not translated) English sample began with the subject. However, only 55.3% of the sentences in Hasselgård's original Norwegian sample began with the subject. Translations tend to maintain the proportions of the source language. In Hasselgård's Norwegian translations of the English fiction texts 64.2% of sentences had the subject as initial element, while in her English translations of the Norwegian fiction texts the figure was only 57.3%. Around ten percent of sentences in both languages began with objects; in English such sentences were confined to direct speech, while in Norwegian they also occurred in narration.

Gosden (1992, 1993), looking at published hard-science research articles in English by native speakers of English, found that some 67% of sentences began with the subject. He furthermore found that virtually all the sentences in his sample that did not begin with the subject had initial adverbials. Altenberg (1998) reports "a number of studies" of Swedish (not further specified) with results in the following ranges: between 60 and 75% of onsets are subjects, between 20 and 30% are adverbials, from 2 to 14% are objects, and between 0 and 2% are complements. Proportions depend on text type. For example, in Swedish fronted adverbials are more common in formal writing than in informal speech.

Adverbials which can be fronted fall into several classes, including stance adverbials (disjuncts) like *frankly,* or *from this point of view*, circumstance adverbials (adjuncts) like *in 1956* or *outside Stockholm*, and linking adverbials (conjuncts) like *however* and *on the other hand* (Biber *et al* 1999). There has been quite a lot of research into the placement of linking adverbials, or conjuncts, with varying definitions of the class. Altenberg (1998) used a broad definition which includes *at least* and *of course* as well as *however, by contrast, thus*, etc. He found that a higher proportion of the conjuncts in his generically mixed sample of English texts were sentence-initial than in Swedish (74% in English, 37% in Swedish), so that initial conjuncts in English are often

translated by non-initial ones in Swedish and vice-versa. The proportion of connectors that are sentence-initial is, however, dependent on genre. Biber *et al* (1999:891) found that in English academic writing some 50% of linking adverbials were initial, with 40% medial and 10% final. Holding genre constant, frequency also varies with writer skill. Altenberg and Tapper (1998) found that advanced Swedish students writing argumentative essays in English had three times as many conjuncts clause-initially as clause-medially. This contrasts both with Swedish students writing Swedish, who placed nearly twice as many conjuncts medially as initially, and with English students writing English, showing a reversal of the Swedish pattern of placement frequency, with twice as many initial conjuncts as medial. The high proportion of initial conjuncts in the Swedish students' writing in English suggests that there is something other than simple transfer taking place and the placement of conjuncts in English reflects writer skill. This is supported by my comparison (Shaw 2001) of native English-speaker student essays in English literature with published essays. The students had roughly equal numbers of initial and non-initial conjuncts, while the professional academics had more than twice as many in non-initial position.

These differences in occurrences in certain positions have to be distinguished from absolute differences in the number of adverbials in general or of certain types in the texts. Borin and Prütz (2003) found that both original Swedish texts and the English of Swedish students included proportionally more adverbs than original English texts. In particular the Swedish originals included about 50% more conjuncts than the English ones. However their corpora (part of the BNC English-language corpus, the Uppsala Student English corpus, and the Stockholm Umeå Corpus of Swedish) are not closely comparable.

The observation that different languages appear to be characterised by different frequencies of conjunct use can be related to a discussion about overuse and underuse of such adverbials in learner writing. Granger and Tyson (1996) found overuse by francophone students of connectors like *actually* and *as a matter of fact*. Similarly Bolton *et al* (2002) found an overuse of logical connectors by Hong Kong Chinese university students relative to professional academics writing in English in a study based on the ICE Corpus of Hong Kong English (confirming the observation of Crewe (1990) that Hong Kong students overuse and misuse a number of conjuncts relative to NSE writers), but noted that British students also tend to overuse connectors relative to published academic writing. Altenberg and Tapper (1998) found underuse by Swedish-speaking students writing English, compared to their British peers, of some logical connectors, but the significance of this is obscure if British students overuse connectors relative to skilled writers.

Granger and Tyson (1996) think that most of the differences they found are due to transfer of collocations and rhetoric from French — the frequency of *en effet* in French might lead to frequent *indeed* in English, for example. However, Milton and Tsang (1993), who looked at Hong Kong students, ascribe over-use to over-teaching of conjuncts. Altenberg and Tapper (1998) suggest both interlingual and training factors. The evidence from native-speaker student and professional use above suggests developmental factors as a third possibility.

2. Aim

It is the aim of this study to look at an aspect of thematisation in published academic English written by Danes and assess how far there are frequency differences in the use of theme, which might make the code they use subtly different from that in writing for an international audience without making it in any way grammatically incorrect or rhetorically different. The type of analysis has already been used on learner texts but has not earlier been applied to texts written by professional writers. The basic research questions are very simple:

- What elements occur first in sentences in articles on economics in Danish by Danes, in English by Danes, and in English by Anglos?
- What proportion of linking adverbials are placed in the initial position of the sentence in each of these sets of articles?

Thus the first question refers to all initial elements, and asks what categories they belong to, while the second refers to a category and asks what proportion of its members are placed initially.

3. Material and method

The texts examined are thirty published articles in economics. Ten texts (called set DD) are in Danish written by Danes who also publish in English, ten texts (called set DE) in English written by the same set of Danish writers, and ten texts (called set EE) in English written by what I will call Anglo writers. These are researchers based in institutions in the US, Britain, or New Zealand (as it happens) and at least one member of each authorial team has an Anglo-Saxon name. Whether or not the third set constitutes "native-speaker" writing it is probably not characterised by a specific non-English substrate. The Danish texts are from the *Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift* which ranks 152 by weighted citations in Kalaitzidakis *et al* (2001). Of the English-language

journals mentioned here only *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* (27) and *Oxford Economic Papers* (53) rank higher.

The corpus was constructed by finding papers in the *Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift* written as far as possible by scholars who had been interviewed for the survey mentioned in Section 1.1 (Petersen & Shaw 2002), checking bibliographies for publications in English by the same authors, and then checking the journals in which these had appeared (i.e. journals based in English-speaking countries). Consequently all articles have comparable topics and disciplinary orientation, and broadly similar expectations of reader expertise. DD and DE have similar author backgrounds and differ in language and audience. DE and EE have the same language and audiences and differ in author background.

Table 1 shows the journals from which the articles came. It also shows that many articles had multiple authorship and so the paired English-language and Danish-language articles do not always have exactly the same authors. Nevertheless the authors of DE and DD come from the same "discourse community".

Table 1: Articles investigated: journals of publication and authorship

Codes for authors in Nat Øk	**Authorship of corresponding English-language article**	**English-language journal of publication**
QR	QR	Labour
PQ	QS	Oxford Economic Papers
K	K	Environmental & Resource Economics
AG	AG	Energy
J	J	Energy Policy
BCDE	ACD	Energy Policy
CDE	CDF	Scandinavian Eonomic History
CD	ABD	Journal of Consumer Politics
GH	XYZQR	Scandinavian J of Economics
BCDE	A	Energy Economics

Each letter represents an author. For example authors Q and R wrote an article in *Nat Øk* and another in *Labour,* and Q co-wrote one article in *Nat Øk* with P and one in *Oxford Economic Papers* with S.

The first hundred sentences in each of thirty articles were examined. Sentences are treated as bounded by full stops or semi-colons, so we are looking at sentence-initial, not clause-initial elements. Initial elements are divided first of all into subjects, adverbials, and others. The category "others" would include any objects or complements that occurred (none did, even in Danish), question words, imperative verbs in jussive sentences, and elements in minor sentences of the *the more, the merrier* type. The adverbials are then divided into finite clauses and other adverbials. (Finite clauses were introduced by *because, if, when,* etc., or by the verb in Danish conditionals analogous to *Had this been done.*) The non-clausal elements are then divided, using the criteria of Biber *et al* (1999) into linking adverbials (broadly conjuncts like *however*), stance adverbials (broadly disjuncts or prefaces like *as seen from Table 3,* or *to illustrate this result)* and circumstance adverbials (broadly adjuncts, typically space or time adverbials like *in the energy demand literature* or *until the late 1980s* – but this is the default class).

Separately from the count of all initial elements, all sentence-level conjuncts anywhere in the samples were also counted. Sentence-level conjuncts are those which show the relation between two orthographic sentences rather than between two clauses in a sentence. Thus in *He worked hard and therefore passed the exam, therefore* is not a sentence-level conjunct.

What I mean by this may be further illustrated by two examples, with the initial elements highlighted and labeled:

> **This** [subject] enables the researcher to test for the non-neutrality of technical change by examining the sign (and significance) of the coefficient on the technology variable, or any other "external" factor. **Under the null hypothesis of "neutrality,"** [stance adverbial] the coefficients would be zero. **For example,**[linking adverbial] Berman *et al.* (1994) test for capital-skill complementarity based on a restricted labor cost function: .....
> (Paul and Siegel 2001)

> **Som alternativ til Engle-Granger testet** [stance adverbial] analyseres datasættet også ved hjælp af den såkaldte Johansen-metode, Johansen (1991), med hensyn til mulige kointegrationssammenhænge. **Blandt fordele ved denne metode**

> [circumstance adverbial] kan anføres muligheden for at teste antalet of kointegrationsvektorer, ... **Desuden** [linking adverbial] modelleres kortsigtsdynamikken eksplicit. **Udgangspunkt i Johansen-proceduren** [subject] er en VAR-model på fejlkorrektionsform ... .
> (Bentzen and Engsted 1999)[3]

The mean and standard deviation for each group of ten articles for each parameter was calculated and t-tests were carried out to obtain an indication of which differences were likely to be significant statistically. [4]

4. Results

Table 2 shows the average number of sentences in the first hundred sentences of each article which began with subjects, adverbials, or "other" elements. The "others" are all question-words.

Table 2: Average number of sentences in the first hundred with certain initial elements

	Sentence-initial subject	Standard deviation for sentence-initial subjects	Sentence-initial adverbial	Others
EE (articles by Anglos)	68.1	11.4	30.6	1.4
DE (articles by Danes in English)	52.0	3.7	47.1	1.0
DD (articles in Danish)	55.2	5.9	43.8	1.0
p-value for t-test				
DD vs EE	0.00866		0.00820	ns
DD vs DE	ns		ns	ns
DE vs EE	0.00088		0.00085	ns

[3] "**As an alternative to the Engle-Granger test,** the data set is also analysed using what is called the Johansen method (Johansen 1991), with reference to possible cointegration contexts. **Among the advantages of this method** may be mentioned the possibility of testing the number of cointegration vectors....., **Furthermore,** the short-term dynamic is modeled explicitly. **The starting point of the Johansen procedure** is a VAR model of the error correction form."

[4] T-tests show the likelihood that a difference in average values between two samples is due to chance – if they yield a p-value of .05 they suggest that there is only one chance in twenty that the two samples come from the same population, that is are not "really" different.

Table 2 shows that there are significantly more sentences that begin with subjects in the Anglo articles, and correspondingly significantly fewer that begin with adverbials than in the articles by Danish writers. There is no significant difference between the Danish articles in either language. Moreover there are no significant differences in the small numbers of sentences which begin in other ways. The articles in English by Danish writers are much more like the articles in Danish by these writers than they are like articles in English by Anglo writers.

Another finding shown in Table 2 is that the EE articles were much more different from one another in terms of proportions of particular initial elements than the articles by Danes. It can be seen that the standard deviations of the means were much greater for the EE articles than for DE or DD. Thus, the range in EE was so wide that the article with the lowest number of sentences with initial subjects had 50, while the highest had 84, while for the articles by Danish authors the range was much narrower: the corresponding figures are 45 and 58 for DE, and 45 and 65 for DD, for DD 45 and 65. Nevertheless Table 2 shows there are significantly more sentences that begin with subjects in the Anglo articles, and correspondingly significantly fewer that begin with adverbials than in the articles by Danish writers, and there is no significant difference between the Danish articles in either language There are no significant differences in the small numbers of sentences which begin in other ways. The articles in English by Danish writers are much more like the articles in Danish by these writers than they are like articles in English by Anglo writers.

Table 3 shows the average numbers of initial adverbials of various types per hundred sentences, and also the average number of linking adverbials in all positions. As we would expect, most of the significant differences in averages here are between the two languages. Danish-language texts have significantly more sentence-initial adverbial clauses, and more non-sentence-initial linking adverbials (and more linking adverbials overall). There is, however, one highly significant score for a difference on the other dimension: there are considerably more initial circumstance adverbials in the articles by Danish authors in either language than in those by Anglo ones.

Table 3: sentence-initial adverbials and all linking adverbials

	Sentence-initial adverbials				non-sentence initial linking adverbials	all linking adverbials
	clause	circumstance	stance	linking adverbial		
Mean occurrences per 100 sentences						
EE	7.0	6.6	6.3	12.4	3.3	15.7
DE	6.5	15.5	10.6	14.5	1.9	16.4
DD	9.4	14.3	7.5	12.6	11.3	23.9
p-value for t-test						
DD vs EE	0.059	0.001	ns	ns	0.006	0.013
DD vs DE	0.032	ns	ns	ns	0.001	0.016
DE vs EE	ns	0.001	ns	ns	ns	ns

But the t-test results in Table 3 are based on the raw scores, and there are fewer initial adverbials overall in the Anglo texts, so it is no surprise if there are fewer initial adverbials of any given type in these texts. Another way to look at these data is in terms of the percentage of initial adverbials of the various classes, as in Figure 1. In these proportional terms, the difference in initial adverbial clauses vanishes, but there are still relatively fewer initial circumstance adverbials in the Anglo sample.

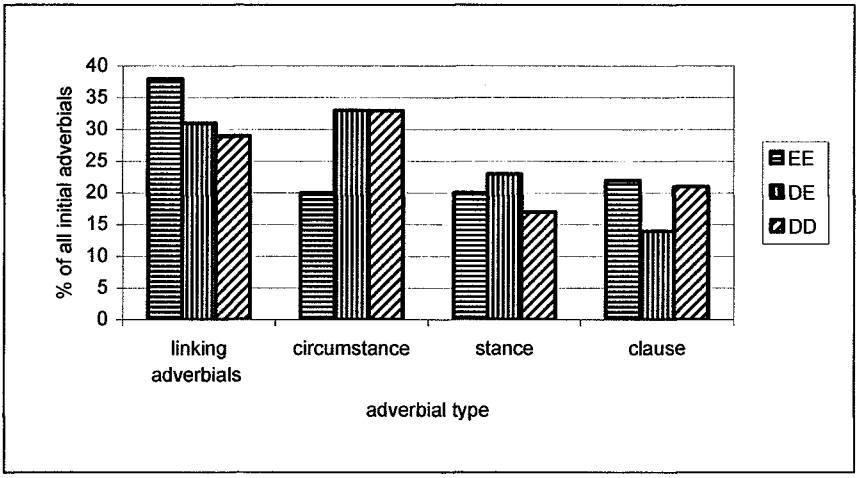

Figure 1: Percentages of initial adverbials in various categories

Table 3 also shows that a significantly higher proportion of linking adverbials are placed non-initially in Danish than in English. As Figure 2 illustrates, the DE sample actually had an even lower proportion in this position than the EE one.

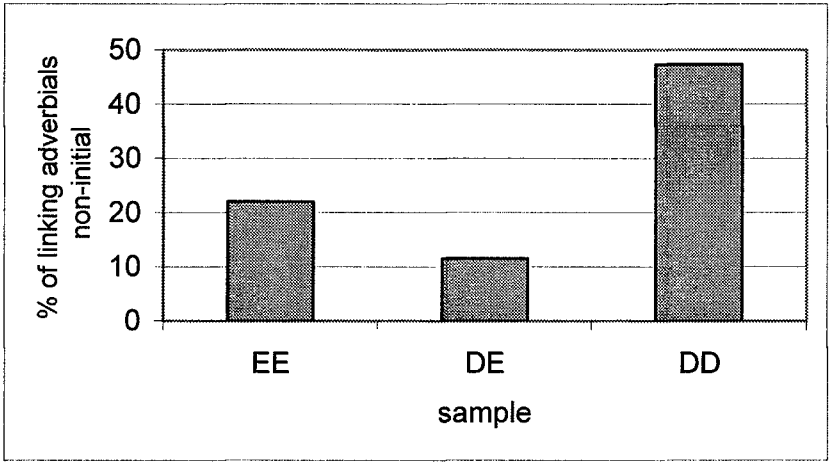

Figure 2: Percentages of linking adverbials which are non-initial

5. Discussion

The Anglo economists in this sample placed a very high proportion of their linking adverbials sentence-initially, unlike the literary scholars described in Shaw (2001). This reminds us that the features examined here depend very much on genre and topic. The findings probably also depend on the exact definition of linking adverbials. The only linking adverbials counted here were those that linked sentences, whereas other studies have included adverbials linking clauses within sentences, and, like Altenberg and Tapper (1998), have classified stance adverbials like *of course* as conjuncts. A further proviso arises from the finding that the standard deviations were higher for the Anglo sample than for the two Danish samples. The writers of the Danish samples are all members of a single smallish national academic community, and probably all know each other personally while the Anglo writers come from different countries and represent a larger and much more diffuse collection of scholars. Hence it is not surprising that the Danish texts are more homogeneous, and it is possible that we are looking at the idiosyncratic usage of a particular group of Danes, rather than anything that can be generalised. A final warning should be that in the absence of Danish corpus studies it has been tacitly assumed that work on Swedish was relevant to Danish.

Nevertheless, the findings comparing original Danish with English written by Anglos confirm those of previous workers on English and Scandinavian languages in comparison with English. Sentences in Danish by Danes are more likely to begin with an element other than the subject than sentences in English by Anglos. In academic writing this element is likely to be an adverbial. More sentences in the Danish articles than in the English begin with a circumstance adverbial. Furthermore a higher proportion of all linking adverbials are initial and a higher proportion of all initial adverbials are linking adverbials in English than in Danish, although Danish has more linking adverbials overall.

The data for the English written by Danes are somewhat surprising. Even though the English material is grammatical, edited, and completely unexceptionable, it is more like Danish than like English written by Anglos on two dimensions: the proportions of sentences which begin with subjects, and numbers or proportions of adverbial introductions which are circumstances/adjuncts. This means that the English spontaneously written by experienced professional academics has some of the

characteristics of the grammatical and completely unexceptionable translationese written by experienced professional translators.

It would be ridiculous to treat these Danish academics as if they were learners of English, given that they can obviously write articles publishable in journals which in some cases are of very high status, a level of communicative proficiency higher than that of a large majority of native speakers of English. A "World Englishes" (Kachru 1983) perspective would say that what has been investigated here is Danish Standard English, a perfectly respectable variety with its own characteristics, not to be confused with "valby-engelsk" (which would be Danish Non-Standard English presumably).

Two arguments could be given for such a position. One is that the articles in English examined here have indeed emerged from a Danish academic community who both read English and use English in their professional writing. For example conference papers, obviously drawing largely on international literature in English, will be written and discussed, often largely by Danes or other Scandinavians, in English, converted into working papers in English, discussed internally in Danish and only then submitted to English-language journals. They will thus have had a long life in a community using "Danish Standard English" before they emerge into an "International English" forum, and one can reasonably speak of a Danish speech (or writing) community using English in some registers. The other argument would be that the kinds of reasonably consistent frequency differences noted here also characterise bona-fide variety differences in English. Thus Tottie (2002) found that one feature which contributes to the Britishness of British English and the Americanness of American English is the relative frequency of *perhaps* and *maybe*, and Leitner (1994) found, for example, that *start* is more frequent than *begin* in fiction in the British LOB corpus, while in the US Brown and Indian Kolhapur corpora *begin* predominates. By analogy one could claim that it was a characteristic of Danish English that circumstance adverbials were more often placed initially than in British English.

This would imply that Danes would want their own "national" variety of English to express their identity, as Singaporeans are said to express their identity through Singapore English (Tongue 1974). It is my impression, however, that the Danish respondents to our questionnaire were completely exonormative: Danish was their language and they had no need for an English of their own. Their aim was to write the foreign language as closely as possible to native norms. If we accept this point of

view then we have to look at the data from a second-language-acquisition perspective. The question is whether the differences from Anglo frequencies are due to transfer from the first language or are a developmental feature, or are in fact a combination. The Danish writers said in the survey that they had never had any instruction in academic writing in English or Danish, so the third possibility, over-use of a feature due to over-teaching, is excluded.

If the Danes are not placing adverbials in this way because it is a norm of their local variety (since they do not see themselves as having a local variety), why are they doing it? The most obvious explanation is that they are transferring norms for fronting adverbials from the first language to the second, giving them a slight "foreign accent" in their writing. The transfer explanation is supported by the finding that it is exactly the circumstance adverbials that are more frequent initially in both DE and DD. However, it appears that some things are transferred and others are not. Specifically, although initial placement of circumstance adverbials in particular is transferred from writing in Danish to writing in English, non-initial placement of linking adverbials is not. In fact Table 3 shows that the linking adverbials which are non-initial are an even lower proportion of all linking adverbs in DE than in EE (as in Altenberg and Tapper's Swedish case).

Why should the tendency to place adjuncts initially be transferred while there is not a similar tendency to place conjuncts non-initially? The reason may not be simple transfer of norms but a general tendency to place adverbials peripherally in order to avoid cognitive overload. Second language acquisition studies show that early learners of a variety of languages tend to place negative markers and adverb(ial)s peripherally (outside the subject-verb-object core) in the second language (*no he do it*) even when the marker is placed centrally in the clause in both the first language and the one being acquired (Johnston 1985, cited in Ellis 1994). Perhaps it is also "easier" to place adverbials peripherally. Comparison of student essays and published papers (Shaw 2001) suggests that linking adverbials placed other than initially are more frequent in more skilled native-speaker English, suggesting that it is easier to place them initially for native speakers as well. It seems possible that this is a type of developmentally-guided transfer: the tendencies which are simpler to transfer are transferred, those which are more difficult are not transferred.

But we must avoid treating sophisticated multiply-published writers as learners for whom adverbial placement causes cognitive overload. These usages are more likely to be fossilized remnants from an earlier

developmental stage. The writers, one could argue, have never adapted their style in this area to the level at which they are now writing. And in fact it is hard to see how they could have noticed any need to do so; they could not be aware that their average proportion of sentence-initial adverbs is higher than that of Anglos, because they have models of Anglo writing which conforms to their mean frequencies; plenty of Anglo writers (two out of ten in this case) have adverbial-placement proportions close to or even below the "Danish-English" mean.

It is my assumption that Danish writers want English to be a foreign language for them — that their language loyalty is to Danish and they do not want to express Danishness through English. In that case they want to write like Anglos and might like to know that they are likely to seem to have developed more as skilled writers if they place their subjects initially (where they have the choice), so as to approach more closely to the Anglo norm. If they choose not to do that, it seems unlikely that anyone will notice.

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English influence on the Swedish vocabulary 1800–2000

MALL STÅLHAMMAR

1. Introduction

The present study is the result of a project intending to investigate the development of the Swedish vocabulary between 1800 and 2000, financed by The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. This paper is based on the two reports published on the influence of English during this period (Stålhammar 2002, 2003).

The aim in collecting and analysing the material was to get as complete an overview as possible of the lexical borrowings from English (including words imported via English). This was done by tracing the diachronic distribution, i.e. establishing when the different words entered the Swedish vocabulary, here defined as printed matter registered in major dictionaries or in electronic corpora. These loanwords were also categorized by area of use, in order to trace the causes and channels of word importation. For a better understanding of the mechanisms of linguistic borrowing, the material was divided into different types of loans (primarily direct loans or translation loans) over the period. The overriding aim was to obtain a better understanding of when, why and how words are imported from another language.

Since the material available differs in many important respects with regard to the two centuries analysed, each century is analysed separately. Comparisons are made throughout and in the study.

2. Previous research

Changes in vocabulary are generally seen as "convenience borrowings" (Singleton 2000), caused by the need for new words to denote new concepts and objects, (Aitchison 1981, Barfield 1953, Lehmann 1962, Stern 1931, Ullmann 1962); occasionally other, more specific, culture-related causes have been mentioned (Williams 1976).

Loans into Swedish during the 19th century have not received much attention; instead research into other Nordic languages had to be consulted for the classification in this work, especially an early study by Jespersen (1902) on Nordic loanwords, which also constitutes the basis of later studies, like Graedler (1998) on Norwegian. Jespersen illustrates his thesis that the "stream of culture" is reflected in loanwords by enumerating some 70 words from various aspects of English culture such as sports, games, politics, social life, transport by rail and by sea (Jespersen 1902:502). All are defined as terms for objects and concepts internationally introduced by Englishmen (although several of the words listed are loans from French).

Among other sources of Nordic reference material are Norwegian 19th century dictionaries as described by Graedler (1998) who characterizes the vocabulary in this material as an expression of an emerging Norwegian middle class interested in social and cultural influences, besides the obvious trade terminology.

Among later studies, a few investigate the first part of the 20th century, e.g. Bergsten (1915), Dahlstedt et al (1962); Stene (1945) for Norwegian. In contrast, the postwar period of the 20th century is well covered, both for Swedish (Chrystal 1988, 1991; Edlund and Hene 1992; Ljung 1985, 1988; Svartvik 1999), Norwegian (Graedler and Johansson 1997, Graedler 1998, Johansson and Graedler 2002) and Danish (Davidsen-Nielsen et al 1999, Hansen and Lund 1994, Sørensen 1973). In the Swedish studies, the focus of major works such as Chrystal and Ljung is on the integration of recent direct loans from English.

In contrast to these qualitative studies of small numbers of words, the present investigation is quantitative and aims to cover all English loanwords registered during the period, distributed over time, subject areas and loan types.

To compensate for the scarcity of research on the 19th century, more attention was devoted to this period. In particular, as part of the aim to understand the mechanisms behind word loans, an attempt was made to trace the rate of word loans for different subject areas.

3. Material

3.1. The 19th century

Since 1893, the Swedish Royal Academy has published a dictionary similar to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, providing etymologies and dates of first occurrences, including those of semantic changes. However, unlike the OED,

the Swedish Academy's Dictionary (*Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, SAOB, here used in its electronic version, OSA) is neither updated nor finished (during the project, the letter S was finalised), which obviously affects any diachronic investigation aiming to include periods later than the publication of the first volume. With few exceptions, this dictionary could thus only be used for the 19th century. The editorial board's principle to avoid foreign words unless adapted to Swedish usage results in obvious difficulties where investigations of loanwords are concerned. A contemporaneous Swedish dictionary of foreign words (Ekbohrn 1878) was used in an attempt to cover this area. Roughly four fifths of the total material (810 words) were found in SAOB.

To compensate for the lack of material in SAOB after the letter *S*, a 19th-century dictionary was used (Dalin 1850–1855), together with the major contemporary dictionary of the Swedish language (*Nationalencyklopedins Ordbok*, NEO, published 1995–1996), which is largely based on SAOB (including its archives for letters later than *S*).

Norwegian dictionaries from the 19th century (cited in Graedler 1998) were shown to include 0.5 – 2% (25–200 words) of English origin. The Swedish equivalent used in the present investigation (Ekbohrn 1878) is of an encyclopaedic character, explaining foreign words and names. The percentage of English words amounts to ca 1% (less than 300 words), a share rather similar to Graedler's Norwegian material. Additionally, a comparison was made with the material presented in Bergsten (1915), where ca 300 words were included.

In order to compare first occurrences in English and Swedish and thus get some idea of the rate of word importation in different subjects, the OED was used for words imported during the 19th century.

3.2. The 20th century

For the reasons indicated above, other dictionaries had to provide the material for the 20th century. Here, NEO was complemented by more recent dictionaries of new words introduced between the 1940s and the 1980s (*Nyord i svenskan från 40-tal till 80-tal*, NO, 1986), later updated by an additional volume (*Nyordsboken*, NY, 2000). Specialised dictionaries and encyclopaedic works have also been consulted (Ayto 1999, Lewenhaupt 2001, Tingbjörn 2003), as have other dictionaries of loanwords in Swedish or other Nordic languages (Filipovic 1999, Graedler and Johansson 1997, Hansen and Lund 1994, Seltén 1993, Sørensen 1973). A considerable number of words were added on the basis of excerpts mainly from contemporary journalism,

available in electronic corpora (<http://spraakdata.gu.se/lb/konk>, <http://skolan.presstext.prb.se>). As seen from the publication dates of the material, there is a concentration on the second half of the century and a corresponding lack of coverage between ca 1900 and the mid-forties, as will be shown in the tables and graphs for the period.

For both centuries, and for most of the dictionaries involved here, etymologies may vary: SAOB and NEO prefer Latin and Greek etymologies, irrespective of date, word form or source (thus, *video* has only a Latin etymology). The Swedish dictionaries of new words (NO, NY) suffer from lack of consistency compared to e.g. their main Norwegian equivalent (Graedler and Johansson 1997), and very few of the other dictionaries date their material. In such cases, electronic concordances (the largest starting in 1990) have been used, which obviously results in exaggerated figures for the last decade.

As always, translation loans in any language are the most difficult ones to notice (and the easiest to accept); hence this is the category where the largest loss of registered material may be suspected. This important and interesting area deserves a separate study, including that of translation loans of phrases and collocations. Unfortunately, the present study includes only such translation loans that are registered as such in the dictionaries used, with the addition of examples from excerpts from other sources.

4. Results

The results of the study are subdivided by century, owing to differences in the material, cf. above.

In the following, loanwords are given in their Swedish form, followed by their English origin in square brackets in those cases where there are other alterations than mere compounding.

4.1. 1800–1900. Brief historical background

During the 19th century, Sweden experienced the beginning of the same industrialisation that was already well established in Britain. Terms for trade, transports, and new products, especially in the iron and textile industries, naturally figure among English loanwords from this period, as do names of new produce from the British colonies. This development was favourable for the growth of a middle class set on self-improvement through education: both England and Sweden saw the beginning of major dictionaries (the OED and

SAOB, respectively), and of a multitude of other dictionaries, encyclopaedias, handbooks and other informative printed matter, the primary source material in this part of the study. In Sweden, the press became known as the "third estate" and consequently journalism is also the second most important source material. The translation of literary works increased, and although this is a small source, it contains the largest proportion of vocabulary still in use, i.e. words of a non-specialised, general nature. The distribution over decades is shown in Table 1, where the last column shows the number of sources used by SAOB, indicating the growth in publications over the century.

Table 1. Distribution of English loanwords and sources 1800–1900

decade	loanwords	sources
1800–1809	34	303
1810–1819	44	359
1820–1829	35	359
1830–1839	56	565
1840–1849	89	697
1850–1859	63	681
1860–1869	92	782
1870–1879	94	884
1880–1889	154	1216
1890–1900	152	1612

4.1.1. Subject areas

The following areas were selected in order to reflect major historical changes over the entire period (with the exception of one additional category, entertainment, the same categories are used for both centuries).

Technology and industry, the largest category, including e.g. terms for machinery: *donkeypanna* [*donkey boiler*], *konverter* [*converter*] or parts of machines: *fläns* [*flange*], *krankaxel* [*crank-axle*], *schackel* [*shackle*]; processes: *fotografi* [*photography*], *puddla* [*puddle*], products: *film, grammofon* [*gramophone*], *revolver*; or new materials: *celluloid, ebonit* [*ebonite*], *koks* [*cokes*], *makadam* [*macadam*].

General vocabulary consists of words outside the categories above; the largest single group here is foodstuffs and similar substances: *curry, lapskojs*

[*lobscouse*], *skäggtobak* [*shag tobacco*]; here are also miscellaneous groups such as geographic concepts: *kanjon* [canyon]; professions: *clown, reporter;* non-specialised objects like *fingerskål* [*finger bowl*] .

English cultural concepts is one of the largest groups including both ancient concepts and novelties, covering objects and concepts associated with culture in English-speaking countries, e.g. *samvälde* [*Commonwealth*]; *speaker; yankee, bumerang* [*boomerang*].

Science is the category where terms are shown to travel fastest (calculated as the difference between first occurrences in the OED and SAOB, respectively). This is particularly the case in chemistry, owing to the international reputation and contacts of the Swedish chemist J.J. Berzelius.

Sport, e.g. *jockey, steeplechase, turf, golf, cricket, tennis, rugby, fotboll* [*football*], *rekord* [*record*]. This is one of the largest groups, with a majority of direct loans still in use.

Maritime transport, e.g. *klipper* [*clipper*], *rigg* [*rig*], *månräckare* [*moonraker*], *skajsel* [*sky sail*], *kapsejsa* [*capsize*]. This group includes a large proportion of phonetic loans, i.e. forms rendering the pronunciation of a word rather than its written form, indicating borrowing through spoken rather than written communication.

Flora & Fauna mirrors the introduction of new species, e.g. *advokatpäron* [*avocado pear*]; *korthorn* [*short-horn*], *ponny* [*pony*]. Here, different dog races dominate, e.g. *pointer, setter, spaniel, terrier.*

Fashion, in particular textile materials, e.g. *cheviot, kaliká* [*calico*, from Ind. Calicut, an example of how English also acts as a language of transfer], *mollskin* [*moleskin*], *velvetin* [*velveteen*]; also a few terms for items of clothing, like *plastron, smoking* [*smoking jacket*], *ulster.*

Trade is a group with relatively few examples, but also the category with the largest proportion of direct loans, most of which are still in use. e.g. *budget, cash, check, manager, trust.*

The distribution of the more than 800 words is shown in Table 2 in numbers and percentages in descending order.

Table 2. Distribution over subject areas

Tech	Gen	Eng	Sci	Sport	Mar	F&F	Fash	Trad	Tot
187	119	119	106	92	70	62	36	19	810
23%	15%	15%	13%	11%	9%	8%	4%	2%	

Compared to the 20th century, the distribution over subject areas in the 19th century seems to indicate that English loanwords belong to rather specialised areas; technology, science, and words for cultural concepts in English-speaking countries make up more than half of the total.

4.1.1.1. Rate of introduction in different subject areas

In order to trace the communication routes and the mechanisms behind word loans, the difference between first occurrence in the OED was compared with that in SAOB. 800 word loans were found (the discrepancy in most cases being due to unclear etymologies, or extended use of very common words, e.g. *blink*, *body*, *rock*), 123 of which were imported within 10 years of their first occurrence in English. The largest proportion was seen among scientific terms (more than one third of the total were imported within ten years), followed by technical terms (approx. one fifth needed less than ten years to reach Sweden). On the other hand, basic cultural concepts such as *angelsaxare* [*Anglo-Saxon*], *city*, *klan* [*clan*], *parlament* [*parliament*], *speaker*, were introduced surprisingly slowly, a fact that may indicate a certain lack of earlier communication between the two countries. The large proportion of slowly introduced maritime terms may be explained by the preponderance of oral use and the consequent delay in written use.

How slowly or rapidly words in different subject areas have travelled is seen in Table 3, where subject areas are organised in descending order of their share of rapid loans.

Table 3. Distribution of loanwords according to rate of introduction

subject area	100–1000 years	11–100 years	0–10 years	total
Science	5%	51%	37%	106
Techn	31%	41%	20%	187
F&F	40%	57%	13%	62
Eng	50%	37%	12%	119
Maritime	52%	32%	11%	70
Fashion	33%	39%	11%	36
Sport	43%	36%	10%	92
General	53%	39%	5%	119
Trade	37%	53%	5%	19

4.1.2. Types of loans

The different loanwords have been divided into *direct loans* and *translation loans*, or *calques* (including a small number of examples of semantic change). Direct loans have in turn been divided into those with or without adaptation to Swedish spelling and morphology; loans based on oral/aural communication; loans based on eponyms, i.e. proper names, and loanwords from other languages imported via English.

Direct loans constitute the largest group, numbering ca 660 words (80%), 40% of which (265 words) have not been altered. Among those adapted to Swedish usage, oral/aural loans are a small group of ca 50 examples; almost all are technical or maritime terms, reflecting the need for oral international communication in the workplace. Eponyms are found in ca 40 words, and loanwords imported via English are roughly the same number.

Translation loans number ca 160 words (20 of which involve semantic change), i.e. 20%. In most cases (nearly 100) the entire word has been translated: *guldkantad* [*gilt-edged*], *rödskinn* [*redskin*] *samvälde* [*commonwealth*]. When only one part has been translated and combined with an existing, established word, the reason seems to be the need for explanation or organisation: the loanword denotes some special subcategory within the nomenclature (*blisterstål* [*blister-steel*], *kvarterdäck* [*quarter-deck*], *filfisk* [*filefish*]).

As stated above, translation loans are by their nature difficult to notice and there may thus be examples that have not been registered. They are often believed to be the most readily accepted form of loanword (cf Ljung 1985, Chrystal 1991); however, the low share in this material, and their low rate of survival as compared with direct loans (a large proportion of the direct loans are still in use, according to present-day dictionaries) seem to contradict this theory.

The comparatively modest extent of adaptation may seem surprising, seen both quantitatively and qualitatively: one third of the loanwords remain unaltered, despite differences in pronunciation, spelling patterns and morphology, and adaptations in spelling remain slight, e.g. loss of mute final *-e*. Even in cases where Swedish pronunciation rules would result in altered pronunciation, e.g. *ayrshire, jack, spray, lawntennis*, the English spelling is preserved. This tendency to prefer the original, foreign spelling will also be seen in the following century, when attempts to introduce more "Swedish" variants, e.g. *jos* [*juice*] are shown to fail. It may be interesting to compare loan techniques in other languages where the

English pronunciation, rather than spelling, is rendered, e.g. Estonian, or when transliteration into another alphabet results in a phonetic form, e.g. in Russian (*spiker* for Eng *speaker*) or Japanese (*sarariman* after Eng. *salary*).

4.2. 1900–2000

The distribution over decades is shown below in Table 4. The rise in the period 1950–1959 can easily be explained by the great influx of new concepts and artefacts in the postwar years. The rise in the 1990s, on the other hand, is due to the possibility of finding and dating first occurrences in the corpora available from 1990; some of the words dated as if introduced in the 1990s were probably in use earlier. There is, however, no readily available explanation of the remarkable peak in the 1960s.

Table 4: Distribution over decades 1900–2000

1900–1909	129
1910–1919	137
1920–1929	147
1930–1939	174
1940–1949	276
1950–1959	662
1960–1969	829
1970–1979	352
1980–1989	401
1990–2000	628
1900–2000	3734

4.2.1. Subject areas

In order to facilitate comparisons between the two periods, the categories were preserved, though with some modifications: Maritime terms were enlarged to include all kinds of transport (including personal travel), and the category Entertainment was added in order to cater for the importance of this new industry. Selected examples are given below, followed by a table showing the distribution and a comparison with the figures from the 19th century.

Technical terms reflect the history of the century: here are weapons (*browning, maskingevär* [*machine gun*], *atombomb, kärnvapen* [*nuclear weapon*], *scudmissil* [*scud missile*]) as well as terms from the automobile industry (*bränsletank* [*fuel tank*], *choke, kofångare* [*cow-catcher*], *truck*) and a wide variety of inventions still in use (*bandspelare* [*tape recorder*], *centralvärme* [*central heating*], *databas* [*data base*], *pacemaker, plywood, radar, radiator, radio, transistor*). Medical terms dominate (*akupunktur* [*acupuncture*], *födelsekontroll* [*birth control*], *hjärndöd* [*brain death*], *hormon* [*hormone*], *klon* [*clone*], *vitamin*), probably because of the general interest in these areas; there are also many scientific terms that occur in several different disciplines (*abstract, peer review, referensgrupp* [*reference group*], *standardavvikelse* [*standard deviation*], *sampel* [*sample*], *uppdragsforskning* [*commissioned research work*]).

Terms for cultural concepts in English-speaking countries are now considerably fewer and belong to everyday life rather than politics (*cockney, cowboy, pub, best man*). Sports terms are still mostly imported with no or few changes. While some belong to previously introduced sports, the majority denote sports introduced during the 20th century (*agility, badminton, basketboll* [*basket ball*], *bordtennis* [*table tennis*], *bowling, hanggliding, squash, speedway*). The category Transport, i.e. the extended category corresponding to Maritime terms for the 19th century, includes terminology from general tourism (*charter, duty-free, sightseeing*) as well as air travel (*airbus, apex, business class, flight, jetlag*). Maritime terminology is now limited to freight terms (*container, ro-ro-fartyg* [*ro-ro ship*]). Also terms in Flora & Fauna have decreased: among plants, we find some exotic fruits (*lime, ugli*), among animals, dog races still dominate (*boxer, pitbull*). Fashion has increased its share, both of terms for new materials (often brand names that sooner or later turn into generic denotations (*courtelle, fleece, lycra, nylon, orlon, tweed*) and items of clothing (*blazer, boots, cardigan, dress, jeans, jumper, pullover, shorts, twinset*). The cosmetics industry, with its international advertising, is now everywhere dominated by English terms (*aftershave, bodylotion, conditioner, formula, make-up*). The increase in Trade terminology represents the growing importance and general interest in economic issues; although it is still an area where direct loans dominate, there is now a difference between terms that concern the general public, where translation loans are frequent (*e-handel* [*e-trade*], *ekonomiförpackning* [*economy packet*], *kreditkort* [*credit card*], *postorder* [*mail order*], *självbetjäning* [*self-service*]), and terms for financial concepts, mostly direct loans (*benchmarking, cashflow, franchise, management, trainee*).

The new category of Entertainment is one of the largest, including varieties of music (*blues, country, jazz, rap, rock*), musical equipment (*jukebox, keyboard, stereo, studio*), various types of live performance (*gatuteater* [*street theatre*], *happening, musikal* [*musical*], *ståuppkomiker* [*stand-up comedian*]) or in the media (*casting, infotainment, public-service radio, såpa* [*soap*], *video*).

General is defined in the same way as for the 19th century and thus comparable: the growth seems to indicate an even stronger influx of English loanwords in everyday life. A large part consist of abstract concepts (*approach, blackout, brainstorming, comeback, deadline, flopp* [*flop*], *hobby, image, lobbying, status, trend*), where political concepts mirror the history of the century (*balkanisering* [*balkanization*], *finlandisering* [*finlandization*], *dominoteori* [*domino theory*], *icke-våld* [*non-violence*], *euroskeptiker* [*Euro-sceptic*]), but there are also concrete objects, both foodstuffs (*bacon, broiler, chips, cocktail, cornflakes, juice, milkshake, popcorn*) and a mixture of others (*carport, folder, gangster, gäng* [*gang*], *pussel* [*puzzle*]).

Table 5. Distribution over subject areas

Tech	Gen	Eng	Sci	Sport	Trpt	F&F	Fash	Trad	Ent	Tot
739	1304	29	377	303	97	48	227	236	374	3734
20%	35%	1%	10%	8%	3%	1%	6%	6%	10%	

With the exception of the considerably increased category General, Technical terms remain the largest category, still followed by Scientific terms (now with a slightly smaller share) sharing its position with the new category Entertainment. Next follow Sports terms, whose share is slightly smaller than during the 19th century. In contrast, both Trade and Fashion have increased their shares. In spite of its extended definition, Transport terms have a smaller share than Maritime terms had during the previous period. Flora and Fauna occupy a considerably smaller part now, but the smallest category is that of concepts associated with English-speaking cultures – most terms in this area probably having been introduced before the 20th century (some similar concepts may be found in the large group termed General).

Taken together, the distribution may be said to mirror an era of technical progress (technical and science terms) coupled with affluence (trade, fashion) and leisure (sports, entertainment). The bias towards specialised knowledge, noticed for the 19th century, is no longer seen; on

the contrary, the considerable growth of General loans may indicate a greater proportion of English loanwords in all areas of life.

4.2.2. Types of loans

Again, the proportion of direct loans far outnumbers that of translation loans: roughly two thirds (64%) are direct loans, one third (36%) translation loans. The increased proportion of translation loans compared to the 19th century (with 80% direct loans and 20% translation loans) may be due to the sometimes lively debate surrounding the influence of English on the Swedish vocabulary. It may also be explained by the different composition of the translation loans (less specialised subject areas, more general vocabulary) in the 20th century when the general public is more liable to meet loanwords than before. As shown in the examples above, there is a tendency to translate loanwords that may reach wider groups.

It should be mentioned that the facility of Germanic languages to form compounds may contribute to a larger impact of English word loans than is seen from the figures: although there is inconsistency especially in the definitions of the recent Swedish dictionaries of new words, as a rule they do not define compounds where one part is a loanword as having an English etymology. A count of loanwords including such compounds indicated that the figures for the 20th century would rise by approximately 10% (and consequently add to the share of direct loans).

As for other categories analysed for the 19th century, the number of oral/aural loans has decreased and changed from professional terminology to informal language (*fejka* [*fake*], *hajpa* [*hype*], *nörd* [*nerd*]). The number of eponyms is still limited (with a smaller share) and is mostly made up of brand names (*browning, Harris tweed, yalelås* [*Yale lock*]). A somewhat surprising new category has appeared: pseudoloans, i.e. words formed on English patterns, but deviating from existing English words (*body* [*bodystocking*], *centilong, happy end* [*happy ending*]). The mere fact that such words are created may be taken as an indication of the influence of the English language.

5. Conclusion and discussion

In any comparison between English loanwords in the 19th and 20th centuries, the quantitative differences are striking: the latter period has nearly five times as many loans (with the proviso that the material for the two periods has important differences). The majority of the total of the ca

4,500 words fill lexical gaps, i.e. they once entered the Swedish language together with some new concept or entity. This is only to be expected in a world where English is the only true *lingua franca*, and where English-speaking countries dominate production and research in most areas. English loanwords may thus be seen as a reflection of the state of the world – which is perhaps the reason for reactions against what is seen as an exaggerated impact on the Swedish language.

On the other hand, English words account for only a small percentage in running text, generally between one half and two per cent (Ljung 1985:157–162), a natural consequence of the structure of the language, where functional words like pronouns, auxiliaries, etc. necessarily dominate. Still, many people complain that English dominates – which may be true on another level than that of mathematics: loanwords are often nouns that tend to be central to the understanding of a text. Thus they carry more weight than their statistical due.

English loanwords also tend to be used in contexts designed to attract attention, like advertising, or by language users who are associated with power and/or money, like economists, technical specialists, and scientists.

Complaints about the omnipresence of English may thus be the case of confusing the messenger and the message: dislike of a commercialised, globalised world dominated by English-speaking cultures is expressed as criticism of the language used in this world.

As for the development in quantitative terms, there has been a steady increase over the entire period, with steep peaks after WWII. The early beginning and the gradual development are sometimes disregarded, as if the importation of English loanwords started after WWII, but other historical facts corroborate earlier influences. The large groups emigrating to the United States in the 19th century provided personal contacts and individual involvement that should not be underestimated. The steadily growing numbers of books translated from English (Torgerson 1982), together with a more than doubled import of English books 1911–1936 (while the import of German literature was more than halved) are other signs of a growing interest (SOU 1938:32). On a more official level, political discussions concerning the choice of first foreign language in schools strongly advocated English even before WWII (SOU 1938), i.e. at a time when Sweden is generally believed to have been strongly biased in favour of the German language and German culture.

The distribution over different subject areas seems to reflect general developments in society while also confirming the impression that English loanwords are associated with a certain prestige: the high and growing numbers in such areas as fashion and entertainment point to such motivations.

Contrary to common belief and recommendations, direct loans far outnumber translation loans. International contacts obviously play an important part: direct loans dominate in sports and scientific terminology. In some areas, there seems to be a difference between translation loans for general usage as opposed to direct loans for specialists (e.g. in trade and technology). Differences between subject areas, however, seem to confirm the prestige of the English language: the areas of fashion and entertainment address the general public, yet they have the highest rates of direct loans.

Analysing the development of any language is a fascinating task, but it is also a reminder of the importance of keeping a constant and consistent record of changes. The comparison with the OED, in particular, underlines the loss that the Swedish language has suffered, and will continue to suffer in the absence of an updated historical dictionary: when the final volume of SAOB is published, more than 150 years will have passed since the first lexical entry was finalised. Yet languages are forever changing and are never finalised. Learning about language change helps us understand ourselves as language users.

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Is "den förste att gå" den förste som gick?

MAGNUS LJUNG

1. Aim and background

Like all other European languages - and a good many others - Swedish has been exposed to the linguistic influence of English for a long time. The first wave of loanwords reached Swedish as early as the 17th century, bringing a trickle of different loans, such as *dogg* [dog], *tobak* [tobacco], *puritan* and *kväkare* [Quaker][1]. The following centuries saw an accelerating influx of English loans, most of them linked to the introduction of new goods and techniques, for example words denoting new means of transportation such as *skonare* [schooner], *kutter* [cutter], *brigg* [brig], terms for new types of food like *potatis* [potatoes], *rostbiff* [roast beef] and *käx* [cakes], for new trends in fashion, for instance *schal* [shawl], *keps* [cap], *väst* [waistcoat], and new developments in sports, among them *finish, hockey, match.* By the end of the 19th century, the trickle of loans had developed into a steady stream, prompting the early 20th century linguist Nils Bergsten to remark - in 1915 - that "Som ett allmänt intryck kan fastslås att det engelska inflytandet sannolikt ännu ej på länge nått sin kulmen" [It may be stated as a general impression that, in all probability, the English influence will not have reached its peak for a long time yet']. (Bergsten 1915). Today, when the process that started as a trickle has developed into a virtual torrent, it is easy to see that his remark was highly prophetic.

As the above examples indicate, some of the loans were adapted to Swedish spelling and pronunciation, while others were taken over more or less wholesale from English. What they all have in common is the fact that they are direct loans, i.e. they are all instances of lexical borrowing from the foreign language.

[1] My account of the English loans here is based on Chrystal (1980) and (1988).

Most studies of borrowing - especially those taking a historical perspective - focus on direct loans. This emphasis on direct lexical borrowing is understandable from several points of view, not least because such loans are highly visible and offer incontrovertible evidence of their foreign extraction. Not all foreign linguistic influence is direct, however: studies of linguistic borrowing have long recognised the existence of *translation loans* (also known as "calques"), which usually involve literal translation of compounds and phrases in the foreign language, and *semantic loans* in which the meaning of a native word is extended in accordance with usage in the donor language, as when Swedish *köpa* [buy] can also be used in a phrase like *köpa ett argument* [buy an argument].

Unlike what is the case with direct loans, the evidence for the loan status of calques and semantic loans is always inferential and dependent on the interpreter's knowledge of the donor language. When for example a Swedish journalist recently wrote (about golf star Annika Sörenstam) "Om Annika spelar bra öppnar hon en burk med mask" (Expressen May 22, 2003, p. 4), there is a strong likelihood that he was translating[2] the American English expression *open a can of worms* ("create a complex and difficult problem") literally into Swedish *öppna en burk mask*, an expression that must have struck many readers as extremely odd.

However, a strong likelihood that something is a loan is not the same as evidence that it is, and it is obvious that in (purported) semantic loans and calques, the link between the Swedish expression and its alleged foreign original is much more tenuous than in the case of direct loans.

That link is even more tenuous in another category of loans, i.e. the category known as *construction loans* or *structural loans.* In these, a syntactic or morphological pattern traditionally used to express a certain meaning in the borrowing language is assumed to have been replaced by the pattern preferred by the donor language. In a Swedish construction like *Den största svenska segern någonsin* [the greatest Swedish victory ever], for example, the placement of *någonsin* represents a fairly recent development in the language, a development, furthermore, that is arguably an instance of construction or structural borrowing from English.

But structural borrowing may also involve what has been called "the preferred way of saying things"[3], i.e. the default choice of realisation of a

[2] The journalist may also simply have been using a direct translation already established in journalistic jargon.

[3] To my knowledge, this expression was first used by Graeme Kennedy in Kennedy (1992).

linguistic variable. The aim of the present paper is to examine a Swedish construction in which English seems to have affected Swedish usage in such a variable. The variable in question is the choice between *att*-infinitives and finite relative clauses with *som* [who/that] as postmodifiers in NPs involving one of the ordinals *första/förste* [first]. Traditionally the preferred – and indeed the only recognised – postmodifier in such NPs has been and still is a finite relative clause introduced by *som*, as in (1) and (2).[4]

1. Engelsmannen Adrian Moorhouse blev den första som satte Europarekord i Strasbourg.
   [The Englishman Adrian M. was the first who set a European record in Strasbourg]
2. Hon blev **den första svenska ryttarinnan som vann en tävling** ...
   [She became the first Swedish woman rider who won a competition]

However, there appears to be a fairly widespread feeling among native Swedish speakers that in recent Swedish usage the relative clause postmodifier in constructions like (1) and (2) is increasingly being replaced by postmodifiers using infinitival *att*-constructions as in (3) and (4).

3. Engelsmannen Adrian Morrhouse blev den första **att sätta Europarekord i Strasbourg.**
   [The Englishman Adrian M. was the first to set a European record in Strasbourg] (DN87).
4. Hon blev den första svenska ryttarinnan **att vinna en tävling** ... (DN87)
   [She became the first Swedish woman rider to win a competition]

Many speakers of Swedish deplore this development and feel that the use of NPs with infinitival postmodifiers in sentences like (3) and (4) goes against the norms of Swedish, and that a better way of expressing the meanings of these sentences would be to use NPs postmodified by finite relative clauses as in (1) and (2)[5].

Against this background, the aim of the present paper can now be made more precise: it is to test the hypothesis that the relative clause postmodifiers in sentences like (1) and (2) are increasingly being replaced by *att*-infintives as in (3) and (4). However, before we address this

[4] The new Academy grammar of Swedish (Teleman et al 1999) does not seem to comment on the *att-som* choice .

[5] So far as I know, the only Swedish linguist to have written about this development is C.Grünbaum in Grünbaum (2003).

question, it should be pointed out that this suspected ongoing change in Swedish affects not only constructions with *första/förste*, but in fact all postmodified NPs in which the head is premodified by a superlative or an ordinal, as for instance in the recently attested examples (5) and (6):

5. Den viktigaste vetenskapsdelegationen att besöka Japan på 30 år.
   [The most important scientific delegation to visit Japan in 30 years]
   (*Universitetsläraren* 17, Dec.17, 2003, p. 1)

6. Han är den 400:e amerikanska soldaten att dö i Irak
   [He is the 400th American soldier to die in Iraq]
   (The Swedish news program *Aktuellt* at 2100 hrs, 2003-11-15)

For practical reasons, however, the present study is concerned only with constructions involving infinitivally postmodified NPs beginning with one of the combinations *den förste, den första, de första, det första*, either on their own or followed by one or several nouns serving as head(s) of the phrase. In the remainder of the paper I will refer to such NPs as "*förste/första-NPs*".

2. The English model

In order for construction borrowing to take place, there has to be a foreign construction serving as a model for the change suspected to be going on in the receiving language. In the case of the postmodifying Swedish *att*-constructions, we don't have to look far afield to find the construction cast as the villain of the piece: it is obviously the class of English complex NPs with postmodifying *to*-infinitive clauses in which the antecedent corresponds to the subject of the infinitive, a construction described in e.g. Quirk et al 1985, § 17.32 (and much more fully in Kjellmer 1975) and exemplified in Quirk et al as (7):

7. They were the last guests to arrive. ["They were the last guests who arrived."][6]

As both Quirk et al and Kjellmer note, the postmodifying *to*-infinitives in such NPs correspond to and may be paraphrased as finite relative clauses; Kjellmer suggests that they be called "relative infinitives", a usage that will

[6] Although Quirk et.al. use an example with *last*, they point out that this category also comprises 'adjectives in the superlative degree, general ordinals ... *first* or other ordinal numerals.'

be adopted here. Formally, the NPs involved in such constructions may be divided into two subcategories. In one of these, *first* itself serves as the head of the NP – for example in (8). In the other, *first* is the adjectival modifier of the head of the NP, as in (9) below:

8. Harold Wilson was *the first* to reply – by return post. (BNC A03 997)

9. I cherished the ambition to be *the first (perhaps the only) Italian writer* to describe the Yiddish world (BNC A05 1451).

In the rest of this paper I will refer to NPs like that in (8) as "simple *first*-NPs" and to those like that in (9) as "complex *first*-NPs".

The relative force of the *to*-constructions in (8) and (9) is easily verified: in both, the infinitives may be replaced by the relative clauses *who replied* and *who described*. However, as most grammars intended for teaching point out, the infinitival construction is clearly the preferred one: in the entire 90 million words making up the written part of the BNC, there are 1,349 *the first to* constructions, but only 5 *the first who* and 36 *the first that* constructions. This means that the three constructions occur, respectively, 0.05, 0.41 and 15.46 times per 1 million words.

Semantically, the sentences with infinitive postmodifiers and those with relative clause postmodifiers are identical – both describe the order in which things take place: if Harold Wilson is described as *the first person to reply*, then, of all the people who replied (to whatever summons), Harold Wilson was literally the first. If he had only been number three among the repliers, he would have been described as *the third person to reply*, had he been number 15 he would be *the fifteenth to reply*, etc.

However, not all NPs with *to*-infinitival postmodifiers are relative and order-describing. In (10) - (12), for example, the *to*-infinitive cannot be replaced by a relative clause.

10. I am the first to admit that it is not that easy.
(BNC CJC 18)

11. I am the first person to admit that success is not that frequent.
(BNC FR9 194)

12. The convent wanted to sell part of the grounds for development: the local council was sympathetic, while being the first to recognize the importance of the garden
(BNC AR9 1009)

Clearly in (10) and (11) *the first (person) to admit* is not the *first (person) who admits*, but has an almost performative[7] character: these sentences mean something like "I express my extreme willingness to admit that...". It is more difficult to fall back on a performative interpretation for third person NPs like *the local council*, but it is still the case that replacing the infinitive with a relative clause would distort the meaning of the sentence. None of the non-relative constructions are about the order in which admitting and recognising takes place. Their meaning is perhaps best characterised as "attitudinal" since their function seems to be to describe a positive attitude or tendency towards the state, feeling or even action denoted by the infinitive.

We can sum up the presentation of the English *first*-constructions discussed above as in the following figure:

	English *first*-constructions	
Relative		Non-relative
meaning		(attitudinal) meaning
to-infinitive	rel.clause	*to*-infinitive
preferred	non-preferred	only realisation
realisation	Realisation	

Fig. 1 English first-*constructions*

3. The Swedish postmodifying att-som *variable*

As we saw in the preceding section, there is a stylistic alternative to English relative infinitive constructions like e.g. *Harold Wilson was the first to reply*, i.e. constructions using a finite relative clause like *Harold Wilson was the first who replied.* The second type was shown to be rare, but since the possibility of variation exists, postmodification in English *first*-NPs must be described as a *variable* – the ***to-who* variable** – with two possible realizations: the *to*-infinitive – which is overwhelmingly the most frequent

[7] I owe this suggestion to Peter Alberg-Jensen of the Slavic department at Stockholm university.

choice – and the finite relative clause. It was also found that the relative *to*-infinitive has a non-relative homonymous construction with what was called "attitudinal" meaning.

The same description fits the facts of Swedish: the language has what we may call an ***att-som* variable**, i.e. relative postmodification of *förste/första*-NPs may be realised as either an *att*-infinitive or a finite relative clause in *som*, as shown in examples (1) to (4) in section 1. However, the two languages differ in their choice of preferred realisation of the variable: in Swedish, the preferred realisation of the variable is the relative clause construction with *som* rather than the alternative realisation with an *att*-infinitive.

The two languages are also alike in that the Swedish *att*-infinitive sometimes used to realise the *att-som* variable has a homonymous "double" which is not relative at all, but expresses "attitudinal" meaning. Before going into detail about this I will briefly describe how the *att-som* variable was defined and how instances of it in the data were identified.

The first step was to make a preliminary list of all instances of the *att-som* variable used as postmodifiers in *förste/första*-NPs in a number of Swedish text corpora from different points in time (the data used will be presented in the following section). The variable was defined as the sum of all cases of *förste/första*-NP postmodifiers consisting of either a relative *att*-infinitive or a *som* + relative clause construction in which the relative pronoun is the subject of the relative clause.

The second step of the investigation was to verify the variable status of each example, i.e. to determine in how many cases the constructions were really interchangeable without loss of meaning. Once that has been done, all that remained to do was to calculate the respective proportions of *att*-constructions and *som*-constructions in order to obtain a measure of the popularity of each of the two realisations.

In the majority of cases the verification process created no problems. Thus, to offer two examples, it is clear that (13) and (15) can be successfully reformulated as (14) and (16) respectively.

13. Bli den förste i Ert kvarter att äga sista skriket i Popkonsten!. (Press 65)
    ["Become the first on your block to own the latest in pop art"]

14. Bli den förste i Ert kvarter som äger sista skriket i Popkonsten!

15. Alice och hennes man var de första att bygga i kvarteret. (GP 03)
    [Alice and her husband were the first to build a house in their area']

16. Alice och hennes man var de första som byggde i kvarteret

However, in certain cases the interchangeability of *att* and *som* is more difficult to establish. It clearly co-varies with other characteristics of the text, such as the complexity of the predicate in the infinitive/relative clause: thus, for example, the choice of *att*+infinitive rather than *som*+relative clause appears to be somewhat less likely when the predicate contains an auxiliary, in particular if the auxiliary is a modal. There are also differences among the individual modals here: as the examples (17) – (20) indicate, relative clauses with *kunna* can be readily converted to *att*-infinitives, but for relative clauses with *böra* this is impossible.

17. Hon är den första som kan säga detta
    [She is the first who can say that]
18. Hon är den första att kunna säga detta
    [She is the first to be able to say that (literally *She is the first to can say that)]
19. Hon är den första som bör känna till detta
    [She is the first person who ought to know that]
20. *Hon är den första att böra känna till detta
    [*She is the first person to ought to know that]

The discussion above focused on difficulties that came up in decisions about the replacing of *som*-constructions by *att*-constructions. As a rule, there are no problems in replacements going in the opposite direction, i.e. *att*-infinitives can usually be freely converted into *som*-constructions. However, just as in English there is one noticeable exception to this, viz. the non-relative – "attitudinal" - infinitives. The Swedish constructions of this kind are identical to the English ones in most respects, compare for instance (21) - (22).

21. Tyvärr är jag själv den första att betvivla detta. (Press 65)
    [Sadly, I am the first person to doubt that]
22. Att städarbetet ändå tycks ha klickat ibland är han den förste att erkänna. (DN 1987)
    [That the cleaning still sometimes appears to have been neglected, he is the first to admit]

In the course of what I have called the verification process, sentences like (21) and (22) were identified and excluded from the investigation. Spotting such non-relative *att*-constructions is in most instances easy, since they usually contain predicates with "attitudinal" meanings, for example

erkänna [admit, acknowledge, recognise], *beklaga* [regret, deplore], etc. However, sometimes a wider choice of predicates is available, as in (23)[8]:

23. Han var den förste att rycka ut till hennes undsättning.
[He was the first to come to her rescue].

Sentences like (23) are problematic, since they can be given both a relative and a non-relative ("attitudinal") interpretation, meaning either "He was the first person who came to her rescue" or "He was always willing to come to her rescue (every time she needed it)". On the first reading, (23) describes a fact, but on the second it describes an attitude or a characteristic attributed to the subject. In Grünbaum (2003), the author argues that *förste-* (and *siste-*) NPs with postmodifying *att*-infinitives like *den förste att rycka ut till hennes undsättning* have traditionally only been used with non-relative – what I have called "attitudinal" – meaning and insists that in the interests of linguistic clarity they should stay that way. Like many others she feels that there has been an unfortunate increase in the relative use of such NPs in Swedish, and that this is due to the influence from English, a language that admittedly uses the same infinitival construction to express both relative and non-relative meaning.

4. Data and results

It is now high time to address the question asked at the beginning of the paper, i.e. the question whether there is reason to believe that there has been an increase in the use of relative infinitive constructions in Swedish in recent years.

In order to do that we have to find a number of comparable Swedish texts strung out along the time axis in a reasonably regular manner and compare them with regard to their use of *första/förste* constructions. Such a comparison is now possible thanks to the efforts of *Språkdata* at the University of Göteborg, an organization that has assembled a number of Swedish text corpora from different points in time and made them available on the Internet.

From among the texts available, I chose the following newspaper corpora as the data on which to base my study: Press 65, Press 76, DN 87, Press 98 and GP 03. The first two of these are made up of texts from various Swedish newspapers from the years 1965 and 1976, respectively. DN 87 consists of articles appearing in Sweden's biggest daily *Dagens*

[8] This example is from Grünbaum 2003

Nyheter in 1987, Press 98 contains texts from different Swedish dailies published in 1998, and GP 03 contains the full contents of the Göteborg daily *GöteborgsPosten* from the first six months of 2003.

The main advantage of the above choice of corpora is their positions along the time axis. Press 65 and GP 03 represent the beginning and the end, respectively, of the full time range covered by the *Språkdata* newspaper corpora. As a result of this, the selection of texts decided on here makes it possible to compare texts over a time span of almost 40 years. In addition, the time intervals separating the first four corpora are of exactly the same length, i.e. 11 years. For the final corpus – GP03 – it was obviously no longer possible to maintain this regularity.

However, the above advantages were bought at a price. The price in this case involved the size of the corpora, which varies considerably as Table 1 indicates:

Table 1: The size of the Swedish newspaper corpora.

Corpus	Number of words
Press 65	990, 989
Press 76	1,156,958
DN 1987	4,132,784
Press 98	9,239,336
GP 03	8,000,000
Total	23,520,067

While such huge differences in corpus size are obviously deplorable, they do not so far as I can see, invalidate the results of the comparison, since what will be compared is not absolute but relative frequencies. Thus what we will be comparing is the different realisations of the relative *att-som* variable, i.e. the choice between *att* and *som* constructions in relative postmodifiers in NPs of the *förste/första* type, in cases where both constructions are deemed to be possible.

Let us now turn to the results of the comparison. Table 2 presents the frequencies of occurrence for the relative *att* and *som* constructions in the five newspaper corpora (the non-relative *att*-constructions have been omitted). The column for the *att*-constructions also contains percentage figures revealing the proportion of the *att-som* variable represented by the relative *att*-constructions.

Table 2: The distribution of postmodifiying relative *att* and *som*-constructions in five Swedish newspaper corpora

Corpus	Relative att-constructions	Relative som- constructions	Totals
Press 65	5 (10.8%)	41	46
Press 76	1 (5%)	19	20
DN 87	14 (12.5%)	98	112
Press 98	26 (15.7%)	140	166
GP 03	25 (17.6%)	117	142
Totals	71 (14.6%)	415	486

What is perhaps most noticeable about the results in Table 2 is how few realisations of the *att-som* variable there are in a total corpus of 23.5 million words. Overall, there are 486 realisations of the variable, which works out at 20.7 realisations per one million words. There are almost exactly three relative *att*-NPs per 1 million words and roughly 17.7 instances of the relative *som*-construction in the same amount of words.

Regarding the question whether there has been an increase in the use of relative *att*-infinitives, it does look as if the use of *att* has been gaining ground at the expense of *som* but only moderately so. Thus with one exception – Press 76 – the proportion of *att*-realisations calculated as a percentage of the total number of realisations has gone up from 10.8% in 1965 to 17.6% in GP03. It must be admitted, however, that the actual number of occurrences is low and that the total picture that emerges can hardly be said to support the view that there has been an explosive increase in the use of relative *att*-infinitives. In addition, a chi square test of the figures in Table 2 reveals that the differences are not statistically significant at the .05 level.

In fact, if we relate the number of occurrences to the size of the corpora involved, it looks as if there has been a decrease in the use of the entire *att-som* variable, i.e. the use of NPs of the type *den förste som/att, de första som/att,* etc. has actually gone done in the period 1965 to 2003. The total number of *att-som* realisations in Press 65 was 46. If the ratio between number of instances and corpus size had remained constant, the total number of realisations in Press 98 should have been 9.32 times higher, i.e. roughly 429, since Press 98 is 9.32 times larger than Press 65 (9,239,336 / 990, 989 = 9,323). In order to reach that value, the reported value for Press 98 would have to be multiplied by a factor of 2.6.

The same point can also be made in yet another way i.e. by comparing the number of occurrences per 1 million words across the corpora. This has been done in Table 3.

Table 3: Occurrences of relative *att* and *som* per 1 million words in the five newspaper corpora

	Relative att	Relative som
Press 65	5.05	41.4
Press 76	0.9	16.4
DN 1987	3.4	23.7
Press 98	2.8	15.2
GP 03	3.1	14.6

It is probably wise to take the results in Table 3 with a pinch of salt, since in this type of comparison, the small size of Press 65 and Press 76 will tend to skew the outcome of the comparison. However, these results provide a certain amount of further support for the idea that the *att*-constructions have been gaining ground at the expense of the *som*-constructions: counting from DN 87 downwards we notice a decline in the *som* figures, while the *att* figures remain more or less stable.

5. Last words

The aim of the research on which the present paper is based was to find out whether there has been an increase in the use of the relative *att*-construction in Swedish NPs premodified by *första* or *förste* like for example *Hon blev den första (svenska författaren) att motta priset.* The results of the analysis indicated that there appears to have been a certain increase in the use of relative *att* in the almost 40 years that have passed since 1965, the date of the earliest newspaper corpus available.

That there has been an increase would have been even clearer if we had concentrated on the "simple" type of *första/förste*-NP i.e. those NPs in which *första/första* is itself the head of the noun-phrase. This becomes apparent from a study of the results in Table 4, which breaks down the results into separate columns for the simple and the complex NPs.

Table 4: Simple vs. complex *att/som*-NPs

Corpus	Simple NP att	Simple NP som	Compl NP att	Compl NP som
Press 65	3 (15%)	17/20	2 (7.7%)	24/26
Press 76	1 (11%)	8/9	0 (0%)	11/11
DN 87	8 (17 %)	37/45	6 (9%)	61/67
Press 98	21 (26.2%)	59/80	5 (5.8%)	81/86
GP 03	12 (22%)	42/54	13 (14.7%)	75/88

Clearly it is the simple type of *första/förste*-NP that is primarily gaining ground at the expense of the *som*-construction. But for all this, there remains a feeling that there is just too little data for us to draw any firm conclusions. It has to be said that it is somewhat disappointing to find such scarcity of examples in what must be regarded as a fairly substantial collection of data. Furthermore this very scarcity of relevant examples calls into question the often reported impression among native speakers that these days, Swedish is positively teeming with relative *att*-constructions.

One possible explanation for the apparent scarcity of data may of course be that the newspaper corpora used here are simply not representative and that picking another batch of newspaper corpora would yield different and more definitive results. Such an explanation may well be correct. However, there is also another explanation that suggests itself, i.e. that for all reports to the contrary, a rate of occurrence of about 3 times per 1 million words is in fact reasonable for such a construction.

On such a view, the perceived ubiquity claimed for the relative *att*-constructions by many native speakers of Swedish would have to be explained in terms of the *salience* of these constructions: it may be that a rate of occurrence of 3 per 1 million words is enough to make the relative *att*-constructions *seem* to be all over the place.

At the same time, there can be no doubt of the presence of the relative *att*-construction in present-day Swedish. Thus a Google search of the Internet for the phrases *den första att, den förste att, de första att* and *det första att* yielded the following results[9]:

[9] I wish to thank Sölve Ohlander from Göteborg university for suggesting such a search.

Table 5: Results of a Google search for *första/förste* NPs

Den första att	ca 1500
Den förste att	ca 1410
De första att	ca 1860
Det första att	ca 200

Obviously these figures are approximations and there are many possible sources of error in this kind of search.[10] Thus, to mention just one of these, these reported figures clearly also include all instances of non-relative *att*-constructions like *Jag är den förste att erkänna att...* which would have to be dropped from the data. But even if the figures in Table 5 should perhaps be reduced by some 25%, the results of the Google search are highly convincing and suggest that by now the relative *att*-construction has carved out a place for itself in the Swedish language.

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[10] In addition, no attempt has been made to ascertain how many *som* constructions there are "out there", and as a consequence we have no idea what proportions of the *att-som* variable are expressed by one or the other construction.

English Influence on Swedish Word Formation and Segmentals

ANDERS LINDSTRÖM

Abstract

The object of this study is to determine the nature and degree of English influence on contemporary spoken Swedish at the phonological and morphological levels. Particular attention is paid to certain contact-linguistically critical situations of importance for speech technology applications. Several corpora of spoken and written Swedish are analyzed regarding segmental and word formation effects. The results suggest that any description of contemporary spoken Swedish (be it formal, pedagogical or technical) needs to be extended to cover both phonological and morphological material of English origin. Previous studies of socio-linguistic and other underlying factors governing the variability observed have shown that education and age play a significant role, but that individual variability is large. It is suggested that interacting phonological constraints and their relaxation may be one way of explaining this. An attempt at a diachronic comparison is also made, showing that morphological processes involving English material are frequent in contemporary Swedish, while virtually non-existing in two corpora of spoken Swedish from the mid 1960s. Requirements for speech technology applications are also discussed.

1. Introduction

Contact between cultures is undoubtedly one of the strongest driving forces behind linguistic change and evolution. This has led to bi- or even polylingualism constituting the normal linguistic situation in large parts of the world (Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996). In contrast to this, most native speakers of the Scandinavian languages belong to

largely monolingual cultures, even if this picture is changing as a result of immigration. It is therefore especially interesting to study the effects that the dominant position of the English language in the media, entertainment and certain technical domains has had on a language such as Swedish.

In the following paragraphs, a background on spoken vs. written language, and on the influence of English on other languages, is first given, together with remarks on some of the consequences this has for certain types of speech technology applications. The second section reports on a study of the segmental aspects of English influence on Swedish, and the third section investigates word formation aspects of such influence, using data from several spoken and written language corpora. Finally, the results regarding both segmental and word formation aspects are summarized and discussed.

1.1 Spoken vs. Written Language

Spoken language differs fundamentally from written language in several obvious ways. First of all, spoken language constitutes a primary means of communication, acquired in early childhood by virtually everybody, whereas the skills of reading and writing need to be actively learnt at a much later developmental stage. The latter are therefore not equally well-spread even within languages that actually do have a writing system (which many lack). This is partly also due to social and economic factors.

Secondly, speech is evasive by its very nature, since it is being conveyed by an acoustic signal, and therefore cannot be erased or edited by the speaker once it has been produced. Due to this fact, spoken and written language actually differ in many linguistic respects, e.g. syntactically, regarding structure, length and frequency of phrases, in terms of vocabulary, etc. Since speech occurs in real time, as it were, the planning of spoken utterances also needs to be done on-line, often while speaking, which is one reason (among several) for the hesitations, restarts, repairs and other disfluencies which are typical of spontaneous speech (Brennan, 2000; Bell, Eklund and Gustafson, 2000). Since spoken language is normally situated in a real-world setting (or in the case of telecommunications, in two or more), the types and frequency of deictic expressions are also fundamentally different from those of written language (Jungbluth, 1999). The normal style of speech is interactive and conversational, except when reading aloud, reciting monologues etc., while producers and consumers of written language are connected across both time and space but are in a sense always off-line. In fact, the need to record

and document economic and other agreements for future retrieval in ledgers, legends and laws is probably what initially drove the development of different writing systems (Sampson, 1985). In a historical perspective, it has only very recently become possible to record the speech signal *per se,* and as such, it has turned out to be remarkably difficult to analyze, primarily because of its apparent variability. Some of this acoustic variability is possible to see as redundancy, sometimes needed to overcome noise or other obstacles in the communicative chain between speaker and listener (Shannon, 1948), while this mismatch between the continuous and variable signal and the categorically perceived discrete linguistic objects (speech sounds, words, etc.) still remains a largely unsolved but challenging paradox for the phonetic sciences (Lindblom, 1990). Thirdly, and partly related to the previous point, it is quite clear that one of the primary functions of spoken language, and perhaps what biologically drove its initial development, is to act as the social "glue" required to establish and maintain within-group cohesion and common ground but also hierarchical relationships among members of the group. Possibly as a result of this, the speech signal conveys overlaid information regarding the speaker's identity, size, sex, age, mood, emotional state etc., which is vital in human–human interaction. The same prosodic signal parameters also provide means of conveying information which makes it possible to interpret the meaning of utterances in context at several linguistic levels, from segmentals to pragmatics. It is probably no co-incidence that colonizing nations have always sought to endow their own language and cultural habits upon the societies being colonized.

This hard coupling between spoken language variety and cultural, national or group identity is of course also what lies behind the concern about questions relating to official policies regarding language, as exemplified e.g. by the current debate regarding language use in the European Community (Phillipson, 2003). It is also the driving force behind the formation of language academies and other cultural institutions at national but also other levels, with the explicit purpose of maintaining and developing a specific language or specific variety of a language, sometimes interpreted as a mission to preserve rather than develop. In practice, such academies have often directed their work towards publishing guidelines or in other ways giving advice on what should be considered "proper" use of the written mode of the language in question. While this may of course also affect spoken language, and has indeed been shown to do so to a certain extent (Teleman, 2004), it does so in an indirect and secondary way. Because of

these fundamental differences between the spoken and the written modes of language, it can be expected that the type of crosslanguage influence investigated here should show more extensive, qualitatively different and presumably earlier effects on spoken than on written language. In view of this, the aim of the investigations reported on here is to determine the nature and degree of English influence on contemporary spoken Swedish at the phonological and morphological levels. This is partly done with the purpose of gaining knowledge of importance for the design and development of speech technology applications. Hence the perspective is descriptive and the approach employed empirical.

1.2 English Influence in a Global Perspective

The establishment over the past century of the English language as a kind of a global *lingua franca* (to label it using a predecessor) is indisputable (Melchers and Shaw, 2003). McArthur (1996) reports that English is used as a native language (ENL) in 36 territories, as a second language (ESL) in 51, and as a foreign language (EFL) in 141 of the 228 territories he lists. The EFL category is further divided into two groups, one, comprising 121 territories, where English is "learned as the global lingua franca" and another, comprising 20 territories (among them Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands), where it is "virtually a second language". Improved foreign language education is therefore one of the major factors that lie behind the influence that English has had on many languages of the world. Other factors include increase in technical mobility and ease of global access e.g. through broadcast media and the Internet, sub-titling rather than dubbing foreign language films etc. One of the most important factors is probably the strong association between youth culture, music, entertainment, movies etc. on the one hand, and the English language (in its different varieties) on the other. It can be assumed that this coupling is what underpins the use of certain words and phrases with the socio-linguistic purposes of displaying group identity and establishing common ground.

The effects of language contact occur at virtually all linguistic levels, from phonology to pragmatics (Weinreich, 1953), but the degree as well as the rate of integration of English elements in different languages seems to vary as a function of exposure, linguistic structure, attitude, foreign language education etc. These issues have therefore received attention within several areas of linguistics during at least the past century (Jespersen, 1902), spanning such diverse areas as historical linguistics,

second language acquisition, generative phonology and Optimality Theory (OT). The lexicographically oriented project *The English Element in the European Languages* (Görlach, 2001) recently charted anglicisms in 20 different European languages[1] and published a number of dictionaries1, including one for Swedish (Antunović, 1999). Filipović (1996) concludes that the role of English as a word donor to other languages has literally exploded from the middle of the 20th century and onwards, and gives examples of how these imported elements have also affected the linguistic system of the borrowing languages, e.g. by expanding the repertoire of allowable final consonant clusters in Croatian, by adding the velar nasal phoneme to French to allow for word forms ending in /ŋ/ and by extending the Russian use of non-palatalized consonants to certain phonological positions in anglicisms, where normally the corresponding palatalized consonant would be obligatory. Filipović also notes prosodically related effects, for instance how vowel reduction in unstressed syllables, which is another highly characteristic property of Russian, is inhibited in anglicisms.

Several phonological theories have sought to model and explain the patterns found in this type of language contact. For instance, earlier ideas regarding the "markedness" of universally infrequent speech sounds and their phonotactic combinations were taken further within Natural Phonology (Donegan and Stampe, 1979), which claims that certain processes are simply more natural than others, which would explain e.g. why devoicing of final obstruents occurs in loanwords even in some languages lacking such segments in that position. In a similar vein, some of the allegedly universal constraints proposed within OT (Prince and Smolensky, 1995) also originate from typological studies of interference and assimilation phenomena due to language contact. Constraints requiring fidelity towards the underlying form are generally in conflict with constraints related to criteria for "well-formedness" of the surface forms of the language, and especially so in the case where the underlying form originates in a foreign, donor, language. This may explain differences between languages in dealing with foreign loans, but also the apparent stratification of the vocabulary of certain (or even most) languages into "native vocabulary", "assimilated loans" and "foreign vocabulary", as claimed by Itô and Mester (1999). This reasoning also illustrates how it is in fact quite difficult to define

[1] Among the languages covered are Albanian, Bulgarian, (Serbo-)Croatian, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Spanish and Catalan.

the notions of "native" vs. "foreign" and also how that distinction, should it be possible to define, is more or less bound to change over time.

1.3 Cross-linguistic Issues in Spoken Language Applications

Cross-linguistic issues have recently received increasing attention within several research areas related to spoken language dialogue applications. As Billi (n.d.) points out, the development and deployment of some of the commercially most interesting services, such as automatic train time tableinformation (Billi and Lamel, 1997), stock market information, directory services (e.g. Carlson, Granström and Lindström, 1989; Spiegel, Macchi and Gollhardt, 1989), and call routing (Gorin, Riccardi and Wright, 1997), all evoke various multi- and cross-lingual issues, e.g. the handling of non-native speech, native speakers' handling of non-native items and names, etc. However, these applications serve to put the search-light not only on the technical side of those issues: choosing the appropriate allophone set for a speech synthesizer or recognizer is not just a matter of selecting a particular set of phonetic glyphs, but also brings up the question of how to describe the phonological system of a language in contact with another, and what factors should be considered when making such a design choice. From a purely technical point of view, foreign features at different linguistic levels would not constitute much of a problem even if they were frequent, as long as they were fossilized and could be listed as exceptions in one way or the other. However, it is quite clear that foreign traits are often assimilated or integrated into the receiving language in such a way that they also attain generative properties, e.g. in word-formation, adding considerably to the complexity of analyzing new words in both spoken and written language (Lüdeling and Schmid, 2001).

Furthermore, the attitudinal and sociolinguistic factors governing the degree of assimilation when dealing with non-native linguistic elements have quite different consequences for different types of spoken language applications. In the case of Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR), they contribute to increased variability, which is a well-known problem, studied technically for several decades. This problem also has well-established practical solutions in the case of dictation or transcription to text. In many other cases, e.g. in language learning applications, this type of variability instead constitutes a major challenge and a fundamentally unsolved problem, since the focus of such applications is on how something is pronounced, and on identifying the borderline between acceptable and unacceptable pronunciations, rather than on recognizing the identity of the words uttered.

In the case of Text-to-Speech (TTS) conversion, there is a need to be able to choose and generate the proper pronunciation variant, which poses particular problems, and particularly critical, when dealing with proper names (Carlson et al., 1989; Spiegel et al., 1989). This is an increasingly relevant issue, as persona design has become an increasingly important issue in spoken language interfaces, e.g. in speech-based call routing applications, and in interaction with multimodal, embodied animated characters in new types of computer games (Gustafson, Bell, Boye, Lindström and Wirén, 2004).

1.4 English Influence on Swedish

As regards spoken Swedish, Elert (1971) noted that different degrees of nativization (from "authentic" via "re-phonematized" to "spelling-oriented') can take place at the segmental level when dealing with a foreign lexeme or morpheme.

During 1981–1985, surveys of some 2,000 informants' attitudes towards English loans and preferences regarding wording and grammatical constructions were made in the project *Engelskan i Sverige* (*EIS*) (Ljung, 1986). Recordings were made of a smaller number of subjects, reading sentences including fairly frequent English loans as well as names of (at the time) well-known athletes and politicians. Demographic data was also collected, and the recordings were labelled as either adhering to the "native" (English) pronunciation, or to some sort of Swedish approximation. Results showed that socio-linguistic factors, e.g. educational level, affected both attitudes and performance, but that even well-educated subjects make use of conventionalized adaptations to Swedish, e.g. substituting [ʂ] for [z] when the English spelling used <rs> for the latter. In general, the younger and well-educated subjects had a more positive attitude towards anglicisms, and also used them to a higher degree. Frequency of anglicisms in newspapers was also studied, and found to be in the order of .3%.

In a recent study by Sharp (2001), which also includes a good overview of the literature on English influence on Swedish, "code-switches" of English origin in two corpora of spoken Swedish were compared. One corpus was based on recordings made at business meetings in an international shipping company, while the other consisted of casual conversation of young adults drawn from a televised reality show. Sharp found differences between the two corpora in a number of respects, including frequency of occurrence, prosodic signalling and degree of integration or accommodation.

2. English Influence on Swedish Segmentals

2.1 The Xenophones Production Study

Eklund and Lindström's (2001) production study was based on recordings made in 1995–1996 of nearly 500 subjects, aged 15–75, who read approximately one hour of computer-prompted sentences each (Eklund and Lindström, 1996). The primary purpose of the recordings was to collect training material to improve speech recognition, which all subjects were informed about, and part of the prompted material was the same for all subjects. Included in that section were a dozen sentences with well-known foreign names and words, most of which were English. As illustrated by Example 1, a dozen sentences with wellknown foreign names and words were included in that section. These sentences took about one minute for each subject to read, and the subjects were therefore probably not aware of the specific object of this study.

(1.)

Veckopressens	favoriter	är	verkligen	Diana	och	Charles.
The tabloids'	favourites	are	indeed	Diana	and	Charles.

Diana and Charles are indeed the favourites of the tabloids.

The recordings were transcribed by phonetically trained native speakers of Swedish, and a common subset of the transcriptions was later crosschecked for inter-transcriber consistency. For each subject, every allophonic transcription in 33 target positions (like the ones indicated by curly brackets in Example 2) within the 12 sentences was then assigned to one of three different categories along an axis, ranging from near-source-language (CATEGORY I) via partly accommodated (but clearly not "Swedish") (CATEGORY II) to re-phonematized (CATEGORY III). Through this process, approximately 23,750 manually transcribed and classified tokens were collected.

(2.)

Veckopressens favoriter är verkligen D{i}{a}na och {Ch}arle{s}.

Detailed tabular results have been provided by Eklund and Lindström (2001), but to summarize some of the main findings, nearly all subjects either used or made an attempt to use "foreign" speech sounds (neutrally termed

xenophones). For the present study, 15 target instances in the names of English origin were selected. Just as in Ljung's (1986) study, the frequency of occurrence differed considerably across different lexical items and different positions within words or phrases, even regarding the "same" sound, as can be seen in Figure 1. Almost all vowel segments featured pronunciations close to that of the source language, notably also the diphthong [əʊ], which does not resemble any native speech sound in Swedish. The consonant segments [w], [z] and [ʒ] were produced by most subjects as [v], [s] and [ʂ], respectively. Of these, [w] occurred word-initially, while the fricatives occurred in medial position (with one exception, occurring word- finally). On the other hand, virtually all subjects rendered [tʃ], and quite a few also [dʒ], in a fashion very close to the source language. A more scattered distribution along the near-native-to-re-phonematized axis was displayed by e.g. [ð] and [θ], which were often replaced by the corresponding stops. These results largely confirm those of Ljung (1986), even if no direct comparison of the production data was possible to make, since Ljung's subjects were probably aware of the object of study, and the labelling conventions and instructions also differed between the two studies.

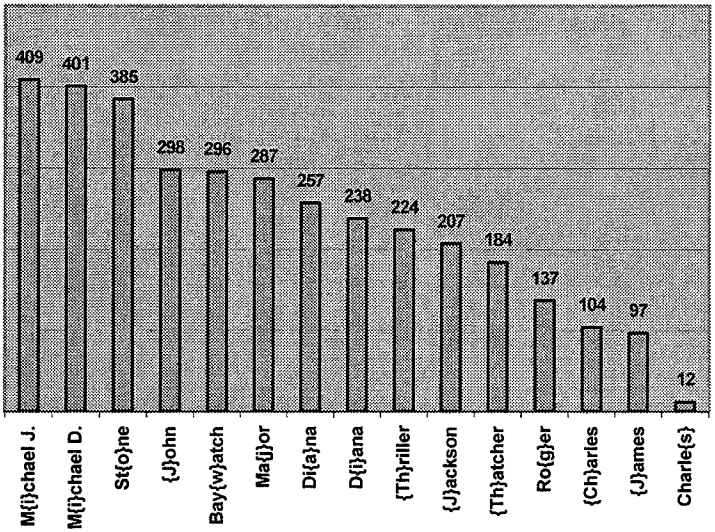

Figure 1: Number of subjects (out of 422) with non-rephonematized productions (corresponding to CATEGORIES I and II in the section on the "Xenophones" study) for 15 potential xenophone instances, positionally indicated by curly brackets in the

orthography (e.g. counting the first segment in "Charles" as one instance, the final speech sound in the same name as another).

As regards explanatory underlying factors, education and age showed significant effects (Pearson chi-square, two-sided), in the sense that higher education yielded a larger share of near-English pronunciations. That share was also significantly higher for subjects between 25 and 45 years of age. These effects are illustrated in Figure 2, which shows the dimensionless ratios r_{edu}, r_{gen}, and $r_{age} \in [0,1]$ for education, gender and age, respectively. What seems to be a slight inclination towards higher degree of xenophone production for female subjects can also be observed. The effects of educational level are shown in more detail in Figure 3, where subjects have been divided into three levels of education and results are shown for the same 15 instances. In all but two cases, subjects with *Low* education (up to 9 years of school) produced the smallest share of CATEGORIES I and II productions. It also seems to be the case that the differences between educational groups is very small for segments which were produced using xenophones (or good approximations) by a very large number of the subjects (e.g. the first vowel in "Michael" and the vowel in "Stone"). The difference seems to get accentuated as the overall number of xenophone productions goes down.

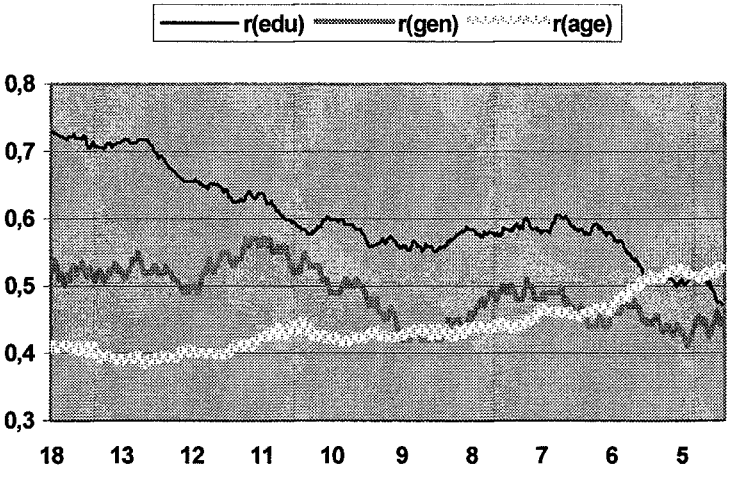

Figure 2: Education, gender and age ratios, normalized to the interval [0,1], and plotted as a smoothed average (over ±50 data points) for 422 subjects against each subject's number of non-rephonematized productions (corresponding to CATEGORIES I and II in the section on the "Xenophones" study) out of the 15

xenophone instances in Figure 1. The interval endpoint "1" on the dimensionless ordinate axis stands for high education, female gender and high age, respectively.

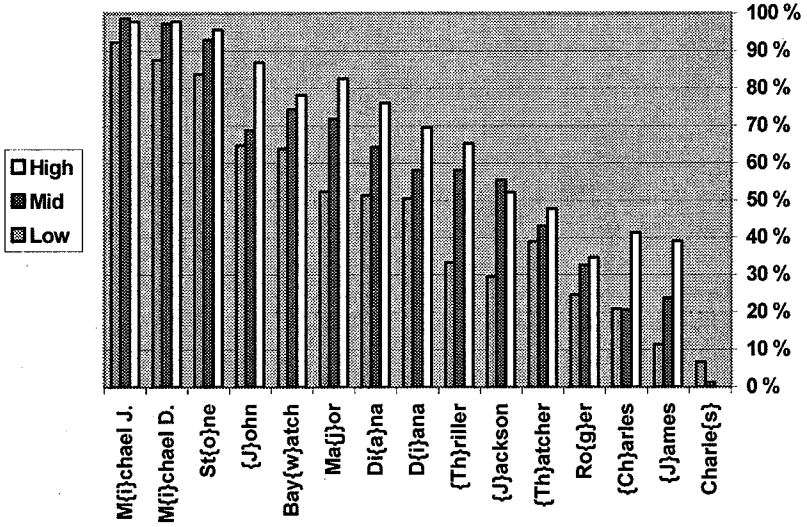

Figure 3: Percentage of subjects per educational level with nonrephonematized productions (corresponding to CATEGORIES I and II in the section on the "Xenophones" study) plotted for the 15 xenophone instances in Figure 1. The educational level is coded as Low (≤ 9 years of school), Mid (10-13 years of school) or High (University education).

3. English Influence on Swedish Word Formation

As pointed out for instance by Schmid, Lüdeling, Säuberlich, Heid and Möbius (2001), it is the productive nature of non-native elements which calls for their modelling, both from a linguistic and a computational point of view. In order to investigate such properties, e.g. using statistical methods (Baayen, 1992), extensive (and transcribed) corpora of spoken Swedish would be called for, but unfortunately such resources do not exist in abundance. In the following sections, some corpora of both spoken and written Swedish that are of some relevance to the problem of word formation are presented, analyzed and discussed in more detail. However, it should be borne in mind that, with the exception of the corpus presented in

Section 3.3, these corpora were originally collected and compiled for entirely different purposes by other researchers.

3.1 A Written Corpus of Elicited Slang

In her studies of the language of Swedish adolescents, Kotsinas (2000) carried out an experiment where 2,000 youngsters, aged 15–19, were given 55 Swedish keywords and asked to write down as many alternative words for each keyword as possible. Even if this corpus uses the written mode, it can be expected to reveal at least some things regarding the spoken language of the informants, due to these instructions. On the other hand, apart from the obvious restriction in domain, induced by the relatively small set of keywords, the results may be both limited by, and sometimes, as noted by Kotsinas herself, apparently also detrimentally "enhanced" by the imagination of some of the subjects.

Some 17% of the answers were judged to be of (recent) English origin, the most frequent when normalized for spelling differences being: *party, face/fejs, cash, crazy, cool, gay, boring, happy, sure, strange, ugly, fatso, babe, kid, money, bull, nice, super, bitch, chicken, loser, bimbo, hip,* and *scared.* Kotsinas also found that elements of English origin combined quite freely with Swedish elements, at least in compounding, producing forms such as *asboring, stenugly* and *råstrange,* where the Swedish words "as" (carcass/ cadaver), "sten" (stone) and "rå" (raw) are used as generic reinforcement adverbial particles in combination with the English adjectives.

3.2 TV show transcriptions

As part of the project *Samtalsspråkets grammatik* (Grammar in conversation: A Study of Swedish) (GRIS) (Nordberg, 1999), an episode of "Tryck Till", a music program primarily targeted at adolescents, was transcribed by Öqvist (2000a) for the purpose of discourse particle analysis (Öqvist, 2000b). Even if the recording situation is rather special, the language is not scripted, and does not seem to have been inhibited by the TV studio setting. Examples 3– 6 below serve to illustrate how both simplex English words and complex nominals take part in compounding with Swedish nouns.

(3.)

girlpowersparkar i fejset
girl power kicks to the face
"Girl Power" kicks to the face

(4.)

precis som i wannabe-videon så
exactly as in the wannabe video
Exactly as in the Wannabe video

(5.)

careless whisper videon
(the) careless whisper video
the "Careless Whisper" video

(6.)

de gör e att nån slags (eh) roadmovie westerngrej
they are doing, are, to, some kind of (er) road-movie western thing
they are doing some kind of road-movie/western thing

Transcriptions by Öqvist (2000a)
Glosses and translations by the present author

Swedish prosodic conventions regarding compounding require that the primary stressed syllable of the initial constituent remains stressed (with any prior unstressed syllables regarded as extra-metrical), that the primary stressed syllable of the final constituent receives secondary stress, and that all intervening syllables are demoted in terms of stress (Bruce, 1998). Our speaker therefore needs to re-analyze the original English stress patterns and internal prosodic hierarchy of "Careless Whisper" and "Girl Power", respectively, in order to come to the conclusion that the first syllable of "Whisper", not of "Careless Whisper", should become the initial primary stressed syllable of the Swedish compound. On the other hand, the original initial stress pattern of "Girl Power" is natural to retain when forming the Swedish compound. Example 7 shows unassimilated use of the English adjective "catchy", whereas the adjectival present participle form "coachande" in Example 8 is the result of ordinary (productive) Swedish derivational processes. Despite this, a pronunciation with [əʊ] is used in this TV show (and is probably more or less the required one in most dialects/sociolects).

(7.)

jävlit catchy låt
bloody catchy tune
bloody catchy tune

(8.)

om du får säja nåra coachande ord ti mej och ti Jonna å John
if you are allowed to say a few encouraging words to me and to Jonna and John
if you are allowed to say a few encouraging words to me and to Jonna and John

Transcriptions by Öqvist (2000a)
Glosses and translations by the present author

Examples 9–10 serve to illustrate how "Mr. Latino Lover" receives Swedish nominal definiteness inflection (by adding the morpheme /n/) when required by a later co-reference situation.

(9.)

(mmm) dom fortsätter in i gränden där sen (eh) mister latino lover och
(mmm) they continue into that alley there later (er) mister latino lover and

den här damen då som han fick på fall med sina magiska ögon
this lady then whom he made fall for his magic eyes
later, they continue into that alley, that is, Mr. Latino Lover and this lady who had fallen for his magic eyes

(10.)

ja som e så svårflörtad till å me ja kom på (ehhh) fall av den här latino lover
I, who am so hard to get even I came on (er) fall by this latino lovern
even I, being quite hard to get, fell for this Latino Lover

Transcriptions by Öqvist (2000a)
Glosses and translations by the present author

Finally, Example 11 shows almost idiomatic use of an English phrase in the midst of otherwise "Swedish" material.

(11.)

ämen keep up the good work å våga slåss [för de ni älskar]
now, keep up the good work and don't hesitate to take a fight for the things you love
now, keep up the good work and don't hesitate to take a fight for the things you love/cherish

Transcriptions by Öqvist (2000a)
Glosses and translations by the present author

3.3 Written Dialogue from the Rocky Comic Strips

Lindström and Kasaty (2000) analyzed 415 strips taken from the Swedish comic *Rocky* by Martin Kellerman, who claims that the characters in the comic as well as their language are entirely based on himself and his friends, all adolescents in central Stockholm in the mid- to late 90s. Even if such an introspective statement can (and should) be questioned, it can be assumed that the these comic strips at least reflect how Kellerman *wants* us to perceive himself, his friends, and their common language. A large number of examples of foreign items were found in the material, the vast majority of which was of apparent English origin (125 nouns, 28 verbs, 12 adjectives and 9 adverbs), as shown along with tentative analyses in Examples 12–15. Both inflectional (Example 12), derivational (Example 13) and compounding (Example 14) processes involving English items were found. Morphonologically motivated usage of English plural /s/ in joining compounding elements (Example 14) or as an intrusive /s/ (Example 15) was also observed.

(12.)

geeks, geekarna, drajv-bajs
geeks, geek +PLUR+DEFSwe, drive-by [shooting]s

(13.)

casha, beepa, flashig
cash +DEVERBAL/a/Swe, beep +DEVERBAL/a/Swe, flash +ADJECTIVAL/g/Swe

(14.)

hallonshots, handsfreemobiler, depparsoundtrack,
raspberry shots, hands-freeEng cell phonesSwe, gloomy rockerSwe sound trackEng,

dansbandsgroupie, bikerfest, sodastreamern
(Swedish) dance band + /s/Swe groupie, biker party, soda streamer+DEFSwe

(15.)

groupisar,	furbysar
groupie +(intrusive /s/ co-inciding with +PLUREng)+PLURSwe,	furby +(intrusive /s/ co-inciding with +PLUREng)+PLURSwe

Transcriptions by Lindström and Kasaty (2000)
Glosses and translations by the present author

As with most cartoons and caricatures, features and traits are sometimes enhanced to achieve a certain comic effect, and this may of course have affected the frequency of English word elements in this corpus. On the other hand, neither the frequency nor the specific types of word formation exemplified above appeared unnatural to the annotators.

3.4 The *GSLC* Corpus

An excerpt across all genres of the *Gothenburg Spoken Language Corpus (GSLC)* (Allwood, Grönqvist, Ahlsén and Gunnarsson, 2002), consisting of the 24,544 most frequent types was semi-automatically scanned for foreign items, and after manual checking of a (conservative) candidate list, 125 types remained, among them the following:

(16.)

approachen,	boosters,	broilern,	broilers, brownspråk,	bungy,	cookie,	cool, coolt,			
approach +DEFSwe, boosters,	broiler +DEFSwe, broilers, brown language,	bungy,	cookie,	cool, cool +NEU/ADVSwe,					
datapoints,	house,	oops,	out-,	outside,	pool,	power,	roomservice,	roomservicen,	screen,
data points,	house,	oops,	out-,	outside,	pool,	power,	room service,	room service +DEFSwe,	screen,
shadowrun,	skoboard,	snoopy,	snowboard,	sound,	street,	sweet,	taxfreeshop,		
shadowrun,	shoe board,	snoopy,	snowboard,	sound,	street,	sweet,	tax-free shop,		
voucher, vouchers,	whiteboardpenna,	windows,	wow						
voucher, vouchers,	white-board marker,	windows,	wow						

Transcriptions by Allwood et al. (2002)
Glosses by the present author

These examples confirm the productive nature of compounding in contact with English, and the fairly straightforward integration with the Swedish inflectional system (e.g. when adding definiteness endings to English nouns) but they also show the use of interjections in conversational speech. It is also obvious that English items quite often retain their /s/-plural in a

Swedish context, as also noted by Svenska Akademin (Teleman, Hellberg and Andersson, 1999).

3.5 The Parole Corpus

The Swedish *Parole* corpus (Parole Consortium, n.d.; Gronostaj, n.d.) is a morphosyntactically annotated text collection comprising approximately 19 million running words, compiled by Språkdata in Göteborg. Even if this corpus is based on written rather than spoken language, it was included for the sake of comparison, and also because its sheer size could make it valuable as a resource for finding general word formation patterns. The cumulative frequency distribution of this and two spoken language corpora is shown for comparison in Figure 4. An example concordance from the *Parole* corpus is shown in Figure 5, involving the obviously even in text quite established term *grunge*[2]. This specific example shows how English terminology (in this case the name of a genre) from the cultural scene has quickly been picked up and become a productive part of the Swedish vocabulary. Drawing on the results from the two production studies, it can be expected that this term contributes to Swedish phonology by adding pronunciations such as [gəˑadʒ], [gəˑatʃ], [grandʒ], grantʃ], [granɕ], and [granʂ], all of which extend beyond traditional descriptions of Swedish phonotactics.

3.6 Language and Music Worlds of High School Students

Within the project *Gymnasisters språk- och musikvärldar (GSM)* (Andersson, Edström, Lilliestam, Norrby and Wirdenäs, 1999; Norrby and Wirdenäs, 1998), 27 group conversations, encompassing approximately 20 hours of speech have been collected and orthographically transcribed. The cumulative frequency distribution of this corpus is shown in Figure 4, and some examples drawn from that corpus are shown in Table 1, where each word is shown along with its rank, frequency, relative frequency and cumulative coverage in the actual corpus. One thing to note is the high productivity featured by *skate[board]*. Another observation, which relates directly to the phonological level, discussed in Section 2, is that several of

[2] Thanks to Mats Wirén for pointing out that it apparently takes Swedish neutral ground for the English and French to meet, as seen here in *grunge-couture*.

the example words are highly likely to elicit pronunciations using xenophone extensions, e.g. by [ʤ] in *Fugees, energy,* and *Prodigy.*

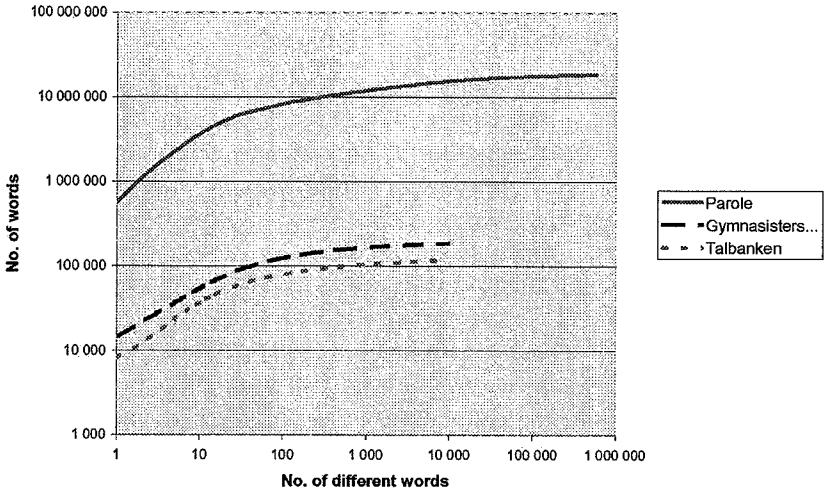

Figure 4: Cumulative frequency distributions for the text corpus Parole, and the spoken language corpora Gymnasisters språk- och musikvärldar and Talbanken.

igt av Staffan Astner , det är fullt rockkomp med grungeprofil både här och var , och syntetiska rytmer

k blir det alltid oavsett om det är rockmusiker i grungepaltor eller biståndsarbetare i skjorta och slips

cerat slag . Alltid med humor och mycket stänk av grunge-couture . Fyra olika klanrutor lyckades hon samla

trutluvor , glest hakskägg och brungråpräckliga , grungesäckiga modepaltor . En av brädorna har varumärket

sångskickliga band slår ut det mesta i popgenren grunge . Så långt allting väl . Men snälla , snälla Under

jade producera dansorienterad pop , mil ifrån den grungevåg som svepte över världen just då . - Vi har

göra program för dem . Sommarbio-trion känns som grunge-mutationerna av Ville , Valle och Viktor .

t så mycket antiglamour och anti-divatrender inom grungen . - Jag tror folk riktigt gick och längtade efter

gasonic skrev jag till filmen SFW som är en slags grungefilm . Jag tycker så oerhört illa om de där

jenser som den sekulära . Här finns heavy-metal , grunge och rap . Gospel Gangstas heter en rapgrupp som

Uchida och Ralf Gothoni . Sound Garden och andra grungeband från USA spelar den 30 augusti . Koreografen

Figure 5: A concordance from the Parole corpus for the morpheme grunge.

Word	Rank	f	Rel.f [%]	Cumul. f [%]
de	1	14148	7.48	7.5
e	2	7743	4.09	11.6
ja	3	5473	2.89	14.5
jag	4	4748	2.51	17.0
så	5	4470	2.36	19.3
på	6	4244	2.24	21.6
inte	7	3819	2.02	23.6
Beatles	197	106	0.06	75.0
Fugees	264	78	0.04	78.2
energy	447	35	0.02	83.1
hardcore	579	25	0.01	85.2
skateare	682	20	0.01	86.4
coolt	724	19	0.01	86.8
cool	866	15	0.01	88.0
aqua	868	15	0.01	88.0
soul	878	14	0.01	88.1
you	962	12	0.01	88.7
metal	988	12	0.01	88.9
coola	1016	12	0.01	89.1
power	1050	11	0.01	89.3
wow	1087	10	0.01	89.5
skate	1098	10	0.01	89.5
westcoast	1159	9	< 0.01	89.8
metallica	1314	8	< 0.01	90.6
house	1336	8	< 0.01	90.7
freestyle	1494	7	< 0.01	91.3
Prodigy	1522	7	< 0.01	91.4
coolio	1677	6	< 0.01	91.8
sound	1769	5	< 0.01	92.1
goatrance	4142	2	< 0.01	95.8
coolhetsstatus	4388	2	< 0.01	96.0
speedar	6360	1	< 0.01	97.2
speeda	6361	1	< 0.01	97.2
soundtracks	6377	1	< 0.01	97.2
soundtrackmusik	6378	1	< 0.01	97.2
sounds	6380	1	< 0.01	97.2
soulmusik	6381	1	< 0.01	97.2
soullåtar	6382	1	< 0.01	97.2
snowboardtävlingar	6428	1	< 0.01	97.2
snowboardare	6429	1	< 0.01	97.2
skatesvängen	6659	1	< 0.01	97.4
skatepunkarna	6660	1	< 0.01	97.4
skatepunk	6661	1	< 0.01	97.4
skatekulturen	6663	1	< 0.01	97.4
skateboardmen	6664	1	< 0.01	97.4
skateboardkulturen	6665	1	< 0.01	97.4
skateboardare	6666	1	< 0.01	97.4
skatearmusik	6667	1	< 0.01	97.4
skatearaktigt	6668	1	< 0.01	97.4
skatearkläder	6669	1	< 0.01	97.4
skateaktigt	6670	1	< 0.01	97.4
Total	11,635	189,246		100.0

Table 1: Example words, along with rank, frequency, relative frequency and cumulative coverage in the corpus Gymnasisters språk- och musikvärldar.

3.7 Two corpora from the 1960s

Within the *Talbanken* project (Einarsson, 1976), more than 115,000 words of interviews, conversation and debate were recorded and transcribed, as described by Teleman (1974) and Einarsson (1978). The cumulative frequency distribution of this corpus is also included in Figure 4. As expected, the cumulative frequency distributions of the three corpora show that the two spoken language corpora are quite similar, while the much larger text corpus *Parole* corpus (*Parole*) behaves differently. In order to cover 90% of each of the three corpora, it takes 14% of the 8,289 different words in *Talbanken*, 10% of 11,635 different words in *GSM*, but only 5% of the 573,546 different words in *Parole*. The share of *hapax legomena*, however, is roughly the same across all three corpora, namely 56% in *Talbanken*, 60% in *GSM* and 54% in *Parole*. This is also similar to the 50% reported by Bell and Gustafson (1999) for the *August* man–machine dialogue corpus.

The *Talbanken* interviews were part of a sociological study regarding attitudes towards labour immigration, which (as expected) elicited topics such as ethnicity, foreign language learning, culture etc. In spite of this, when exactly the same directed semi-automatic search procedure that was used with the *Parole* and *GSM* corpora was applied to *Talbanken*, only a couple of examples turned up:

(17.)

han	skrev	deeds	and	demonstrations
he	wrote	deeds	and	demonstrations

he wrote "Deeds and Demonstrations"

(18.)

vänta	ja	har ju	en	kursare	te	mej	som	nyligen	har	skrivit	en	
wait	I've	got	a	class-mate	(of	mine)	who	recently	has	written	an	
uppsats	om	abort	men	hon	har	väl	toucha	lite	ve	de		
essay	on	abortion	but	she	has	(I think)	touched	a little	on	that		

wait—I've got a class-mate who recently wrote an essay on abortion but I think she touched slightly upon that

Transcriptions by Einarsson (1976)
Glosses and translations by the present author

Of these, Example 17 should perhaps be disregarded as being more of a title quotation, while Example 18 shows Swedish verbal morphology used in conjunction with the borrowed English root "touch".

This almost complete lack of anglicisms in the *Talbanken* corpus could of course also be due to other causes than language contact, e.g. factors related to the interview situation. To eliminate the risk that any perceived distance between interviewer and interviewee inhibited cross-linguistic word formation processes, a set of highly informal conversations, recorded in a project by Bengt Nordberg and others in 1967–1968, were also studied (Pettersson and Forsberg, 1970). Transcriptions of two hours of conversational-style interviews with five subjects, aged 17–23, plus a conversation between two female subjects, aged 20 and 21, comprising a total of 16,250 running words, were analyzed. The topics of conversation were school, language education, hobbies, sports, travel, TV shows, etc. The only example of English influence was found in the unsupervised conversation between the two female subjects, who quote an English song title:

(19.)

han fjœŋ ɪn nɔntɪŋ po: mɪn banspe:larɛ... dɛn hæ:r ju: ɑ:r ðɪ o͡ɴlɪ 'oan
he recorded something on my tape recorder... this one You are the only one
he recorded some song on my tape recorder... the one called "You are the only one"
Transcriptions in "landsmålsalfabetet" by several transcribers, as described by Pettersson and Forsberg (1970)
Transliteration in IPA, glosses and translations by the present author

These results appear to support the hypothesis that English influence on spoken Swedish is much more widespread today than a couple of decades ago.

4. Discussion

From the corpora studied, we can conclude that word formation processes like derivation, inflection and compounding are highly productive in contemporary spoken Swedish also when incorporating material (morphemes, simple lexemes or even complex nominals) borrowed from

English. In the spoken language corpora from the 1960s, hardly any such examples were found, despite the fact that the topic of conversation should, if anything, elicit precisely that. In the productive processes we see today, the foreign material can or has to undergo adaptations in order to fit in with morphotactic or morphonological constraints, as e.g. in the case of stress pattern and word accent restrictions in Swedish compounding. Sometimes virtually no adaptation occurs, e.g. when retaining English plural endings, instead of employing one from an appropriate productive Swedish paradigm. We have also revisited existing data from a production study of the segmental aspects, which indicates that there are plenty of cases in everyday communicative situations where the phonological system simply needs to be extended with xenophones, in order to model, produce or perceive contemporary and socially acceptable spoken Swedish.

The effects of educational level in the production study, coupled with well-known socio-linguistic grounding mechanisms, seem to suggest that selecting the appropriate level of xenophone inclusion should be of importance for the perceived persona e.g. in the generation of synthetic speech. It is also worth noting that the differences between educational groups seems to get accentuated with decreasing overall share of xenophone productions. One way of interpreting this is that in some cases, pronunciations involving xenophones of English origin are already conventionalized, and consequently produced by virtually all subjects. While this may be technically interesting, since it will require special treatment e.g. in spoken language dialogue systems, it is probably of less interest, linguistically; borrowing the terminology from OT, one might simply say that constraints requiring faithfulness towards the underlying forms of English origin completely outrank conflicting "well-formedness" constraints, requiring re-phonematization. In less conventionalized cases, however, education, age, and possibly also gender, seem to determine to what *degree* faithfulness constraints are allowed to outrank conflicting "well-formedness" constraints. This is in line with the reasoning by Davidson (2001), who claims that studying the phonotactics of a vocabulary in equilibrium gives little insight regarding the interaction between conflicting constraints, compared to what can be extracted from the type of contact-linguistic situation we are dealing with here.

One question often raised in other studies is whether the English influence on (particularly written) Swedish is large or not. This question is often associated with a debate where some regard this type of influence as a problem or even perceive it as a "threat" against

relatively small languages, e.g. those of the Nordic countries, or specific domains within those languages, e.g. computing, engineering, etc. It should be borne in mind, however, that linguistic borrowing, boosted by cultural contact of various kinds, is (and always has been) one of the most fundamental driving forces in linguistic development, with the English language itself being a very obvious result of such a process. Also, as can be seen from the many examples we have given, although terminology borrowed from English is often allowed to expand the phonotactic repertoire, spoken Swedish is still subject to seemingly stable "native" morphological, morphonological and prosodic constraints. These processes need to be further studied and descriptions of contemporary Swedish need to be revised and extended to take them into account, rather than treating them as a marginal phenomenon. The relative stability of some of these "well-formedness" constraints does not mean that Swedish speech and language technology applications will face no problems related to English and other foreign linguistic elements, quite the opposite. At first glance, the problem may seem to be marginal and of minor importance— after all, each item in Table 1 accounts for a relatively small fraction of the entire corpus. However, one needs to remember that while the most frequent items (many of which belong to the closed word classes) rapidly yield high coverage in terms of cumulative frequency, the productive nature of Swedish morphology in connection with English items, as we have seen, in fact makes that section of the vocabulary infinitely large. As we saw, the share of *hapax legomena* is 54% in *Parole*. However, that corresponds to no less than 310,973 items. Even if these unique word forms probably also include a few inevitable typos, which have escaped the meticulous annotation process, they are primarily formed through the productive morphological processes, of which we have just seen numerous examples. The two spoken language corpora in Figure 4 are not really very different from *Parole* in terms of growth, they are only a lot smaller, with approximately 5,000 *hapax legomena* each. Chances are that the next time a speech corpus of a similar size is collected, its set of *hapax legomena* will not have much overlap with any of these corpora (Good, 1953). It has therefore also proven necessary to develop and evaluate any lexical component against functional criteria, rather than using data-driven methods (Lindström, 2003). Furthermore, these items may cause a disproportionate amount of trouble for spoken language applications when mis-pronounced and/or mis-recognized, e.g. when repeating someone's given

name in a dialogue situation. What is intended as an act of clarification may then well be perceived as an insult, since errors in pronouncing proper names are especially prone to either cause serious identification mistakes, or possibly offend the bearer of the name, or both.

5. Conclusions

We have shown how English influences contemporary spoken Swedish both segmentally and at the word formation level, while hardly any such examples could be found in corpora from the 1960s. The Swedish language seems to permit or even require the use of a number of xenophones of English origin in these contact situations, whereas Swedish prosodic and morphotactic restrictions are imposed and seem more difficult to violate in the word formation processes. Examples and frequency data from several corpora were analyzed, compared and discussed, and it was found that the processes of inflection, derivation and compounding are highly productive in contemporary Swedish, also in contact with English. This is of theoretical interest, has practical consequences for speech technology applications, but available spoken language data is limited and the area definitely calls for many further empirical studies.

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English Influence on the Icelandic Lexicon

GUÐRÚN KVARAN

1. Introduction

The study of loanwords has until now not played an important role in Icelandic linguistic research, and only a few articles have been written on foreign influence on modern Icelandic. In the last decades English influence on the language, especially on the vocabulary, has grown considerably, and as a result there has been an increasing interest in loanword studies, and in the roles loanwords have to fulfil to be adapted to the language. In 2001, *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* was published as a result of the study of English influence on sixteen European languages, Icelandic being one of them, and this study has become the inspiration for further studies within this field. A year later the volume *English in Europe* came out, with a collection of papers on English influence on the same European languages, among those a paper on Icelandic (Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir 2002). A detailed study of loanwords and foreign words in modern Icelandic has not yet been carried out, but a large project under the auspices of the Nordic Language Council is now under way, investigating the attitude towards loanwords in all the Nordic countries, and the adaptation of loanwords including hybrids and calques.

Here I intend to discuss the influence of English on the Icelandic language. I will deal briefly with the importance of language policy for the preservation of the language. This will be followed by a discussion of the question what criteria a foreign word has to fulfil to be accepted as a loanword in Icelandic. Finally I will discuss English influence on word formation.

2. Icelandic language policy and language purism

It is well known that Icelandic language policy is conservative, and that the language was for a long time relatively free from foreign influence, compared with many other European languages. Language purism goes back a long time; it started in the sixteenth century, and it is still actively practised. The structure of the written language is mostly the same as at the time of the settlement of Iceland. Of course the language has undergone changes, especially in the area of phonology, but an Icelander can without great difficulty read everything that has been written from the time of the sagas until this day. Of course, he or she has to look up some words and phrases that are now outdated or have changed their meaning. But a strict language policy can cause a dichotomy between the spoken and the written language. One word is used in colloquial speech, and another one in a written text, the choice of words being either domestic or foreign, depending on the context where they are used. Because language policy has concentrated on keeping the written language pure, studies of foreign influence are in many ways difficult, especially for older stages where native speakers are no longer available as informants. One can assume that the influence on the spoken language was more widespread than can be concluded from the written texts. This is clear from several Danish loanwords that came into the language in the 19th and 20th centuries. They are hardly to be found in print, but they are still frequent in colloquial speech among older people.

No studies have been carried out to find out in what contexts and in what styles English words are most common in Icelandic, but as most of them have been used in colloquial language and slang, their fate has been to become outdated and forgotten. Thus, many words that were very common during World War II no longer exist, e.g. *kar* "car", *görl* "girl", *sjúr* "sure" and *monningur* "money" (Kress 1966:15–17).

But the attitude towards foreign words is slowly changing. If one consults the only existing Icelandic monolingual dictionary, one notices that in the first two editions there are relatively few English loanwords (*Íslensk orðabók* 1963 and 1983). Several Danish loanwords had been chosen as lemmas, but many of them were marked with a question mark to show that they were not desirable. On the other hand, one finds foreign words that have no question marks indicating that they have been treated more leniently than many others. These are words mostly used by artists and educated people, but seldom by the general public, as

e.g. *lýrík* (lyric) and *dogma*, and various cultural words used within literature and the arts. In the third edition (*Íslensk orðabók* 2002) the policy has changed. The question mark is gone, and many more English loanwords have been accepted. Some are old, others are new and mostly used in colloquial speech, e.g. *bögga* "bug", *djobb* "job", and *sjitt* "shit". When the book was published, the new policy attracted considerable attention, and many were of the opinion that the editors had gone too far in their tolerance.

3. English influence on the language

The earliest foreign influence on Icelandic came from Danish and Low and High German. English sailors first started visiting Iceland in the fifteenth century for the purpose of fishing and trading, and there was close contact between the nations for a while. This period, which has been called "The English Century" in Icelandic textbooks of history, contributed several English loanwords to the language, mainly related to merchandise, sailing, and fishing. These words were mostly assimilated, and a native speaker would not be able to recognize them without some knowledge of etymology and language history.

It can be argued that direct and intensive influence of English first started during the Second World War. Iceland was an occupied country, first by British troops, and later by US forces, who later set up military bases under the auspices of NATO. During the war there were more English-speaking people living in Iceland than native inhabitants. The contact with Denmark was broken off, while the connection with the English-speaking world became closer, and the Anglo-American influence has been growing ever since.

During the last decade the contact with English has increased considerably because of globalization and information technology. The internet, the World Wide Web, satellitetelevision and the availability of material on CD-Rom are now parts of Icelandic everyday life. What direct influence this will have on the language is not to be foreseen at the moment, but it will without any doubt affect vocabulary as well as syntax. Even if many will try to fight this influence by constructing neologisms, the development will be diffficult to arrest. In ten years' time a study of English influence on Icelandic will undoubtedly arrive at entirely different conclusions than a study that is carried out today.

4. Adaptation of loanwords

For a long time only one Icelandic word was used as a term for words having their origin in other languages. It was *tökuorð* "loanword", which literally means "a taken word", i.e. a word that has been taken from another language. All words that were fully adapted to Icelandic were loanwords, others, that were only partly adapted or not adapted at all, were, and still are often referred to as *sletta,* which means "splash, dash, splotch", and is a rather negative term. Now it is quite common to distinguish loanwords from foreign words, as is done in Scandinavia and Germany, i.e. a loanword is a fully adapted word, and it is considered as part of the Icelandic vocabulary; on the other hand, a foreign word, *framandorð,* is not or only partially adapted, and is not accepted by the general public as a part of the vocabulary, because it "feels foreign". *Sletta* is used when a speaker uses foreign words, either for the sake of convenience or to show his knowledge of foreign languages, without assimilating them at all. But what criteria has a loanword to fulfil to be accepted as part of the Icelandic vocabulary? In fact there are four criteria:

1. The word must fit Icelandic phonological rules.
2. The word must fit Icelandic morphological rules.
3. The accent must be on the first syllable.
4. The word has to be written with Icelandic letters so that there is a regular connection between writing and pronunciation.

If a word fulfils all these criteria it can be called a loanword; if, however, it only fulfils some of them, it will not be accepted, and is a foreign word. But sometimes fulfilling these criteria is not enough. A word can fulfil all of them but is still looked upon as a foreign word because it "feels foreign". The word *blók* "bloke" for example fulfills all four criteria, as we will see later, but it is still not accepted as an Icelandic word; it is almost identical with the English word in its pronunciation and it "feels foreign". But let us look more closely at these four criteria with anglicisms in mind, starting with phonological adaptation.

4.1 Phonological adaptation

To a greater or lesser extent all anglicisms have to undergo some phonological adaptation to be accepted as loanwords. This process is of three main types: 1) the English sound is replaced with a similar sound or sound sequence in Icelandic, if the English sound has no correspondence in Icelandic, 2)

phonological processes, regular in Icelandic, but non-existent in English, are used to make words fit into the Icelandic system of pronunciation, and 3) an English sound is reinterpreted as one of two Icelandic phonemes where an Icelandic differentiation is systematic, but non-existent in English (Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir 2002:88–89). I will only choose a few examples.

Some English consonants are not to be found in the Icelandic phonological system. These are the voiced stops, the affricates, some of the sibilants, and a [w]. All stops are unvoiced in Icelandic, and the same goes for the anglicisms. The stops [p,t,k] and [b,d,g] are kept apart by aspiration. It is also worth mentioning that stops are palatalized when followed by a front vowel. The same goes for most anglicisms, e.g. *gír* "gear", *gin* "gin", *gel* "gel", but not for all. The words *geim* "party" and *keip* "cape" are pronounced with *g* and *k* without the usual palatalization. The same applies to a [g] before the central-front diphthong [æɪ] in *gæi* "guy" where Icelandic words have a palatal stop.

As no affricates exist in Icelandic, English affricates have to be exchanged for other sounds. It is most common to use a cluster of a dental stop and a voiced palatal fricative [j], as e.g. in *tékka* "check", *tjakkur* "jack", where the stop is aspirated, or *djús* "juice", *djók* "joke", *djass* "jazz" without aspiration.

Only one sibilant is used in Icelandic, the dental unvoiced [s]. For the English voiced [z] the Icelandic [s] is used, but for the English palatal sibilant the cluster [sj] is rendered in all positions, e.g. *sjoppa* "shop", *sjó* "show", *-sjón* "-tion". The cluster [sj] is also used where the English word has an affricate like in *sjans* or *séns* (note that *é* stands for *je*) "change", and [s] is usually used for an affricate in final position like in *bridds* "bridge".

No rounded [w] exists in Icelandic, and the English sound is regularly replaced with the voiced fricative [v] as e.g. in the frequent exclamation *vá* "wow".

These are the most regular changes that take place by way of adaptation of English words to Icelandic pronunciation. If this adaptation does not take place, and the words are pronounced in the English way, they do not count as loanwords. This e.g. is the case with the exclamation *Jesus*!, which is very frequent but always with an English pronunciation.

4.2 Morphological adaptation

All loanwords, including anglicisms, have to fit into a declensional paradigm that already exists in the language. They have to follow its inflectional rules, and other special rules, such as vowel mutation, if needed. Nouns are inflected

for gender, number and case, and the same goes for adjectives which, moreover, have distinct forms in definite and indefinite noun phrases. The verbs are inflected for person and number, in both the present and the past. This applies to the indicative as well as the subjunctive.

Although Icelandic has almost thirty different paradigms for nouns, only a few declensional classes are available for borrowings. The results of a study of the adaptation of some English loanwords made by Eyvindur Eiríksson (1975) showed that neuter was the gender acquired by most nouns, whereas feminine words were comparatively few. All neuter borrowings were assigned to the same strong declension; the masculines were divided between two classes, one strong and one weak, and most feminines received weak declension. Compared with the situation today these facts have not changed.

If we look at the examples already mentioned, most of them are neuter, i.e. *bridds, djobb, djók, geim, gel, gin,* and *sjó*. Other examples are *breik* "break", *bæti* "byte", *dóp* "dope", *greip* "grapefruit", *lúkk* "look", *meik* "make-up", *meil* "e-mail", *sjampó* "shampoo", *sjeik* "(milk)shake", and *teip* "tape".

The masculines that get strong declension are inflected as -stems, i.e. they acquire the endings *-s* in nominative singular and *-ar* in nominative and accusative plural (*gírs – gírar*), e.g. *gír, djass, djús, sjans/séns, tjakkur,* already mentioned, and *beis* "military base", *bítill* "Beatle", *heddfónn* "headphone", *stæll* "style", *trukkur* "truck". Most masculines, however, have weak declension, i.e. they acquire the endings *-a* in genitive singular and *-ar* in nominative and accusative plural (*jeppa – jeppar*), as e.g. *gæi, hamborgari* "hamburger", *jeppi* "jeep", *maskari* "mascara", *plebbi* from "plebeian = primitive", *sjéffi* "chef", *skáti* "scout", *tékki* "check", and *túristi* "tourist".

Very few feminine anglicisms have strong declension. As an example the word *blók* "bloke" can be mentioned: it acquires the endings *-ar* in genitive singular and *-ur* and a vowel mutation (umlaut) in nominative and accusative plural (*blókar– blækur*). Words ending in *-ík*, like *grafík* "graphic", *lýrík* "lyric", *pólitík* "politics", *traffík* "traffic" get the ending *-ur* in genitive singular, but no plural, and words with the suffix *-sjón*, as e.g. *aksjón* "action", have the endings *-ar* in genitive singular and *-ir* in nominative and accusative plural (*aksjónar– aksjónir*). As *-sjón* is not accepted as an Icelandic suffix, *aksjón* counts as a foreign word, but not as a loanword.

Most feminine borrowings have weak declension characterised by the ending *-u* in genitive singular and *-ur* in nominative and accusative plural (*pæju–pæjur*), for example *disketta* "diskette", *pæja* "(sweetie) pie", *skrifta* "script-girl", *skvísa* "from English squeeze", *sjoppa* "shop".

Some words have two genders and are inflected accordingly, e.g. *keip* and *djús* which are either masculine or neuter, and *kók* "coca cola" which exists both as feminine and neuter.

As already mentioned, adjectives in Icelandic are inflected for gender, number and case. If the anglicisms are to be accepted they have to fit into the declensional system, e.g.:

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
dópaður "doped"	dópuð	dópað
húkkaður "hooked"	húkkuð	húkkað

Most of the borrowed adjectives, however, get no inflectional endings at all, and are not accepted as loanwords even if they are adapted phonologically and graphemically, e.g. *bræt* "bright", *kúl* "cool", *röff* "rough", *töff* "tough".

All borrowed verbs follow the same pattern, i.e. they enter the most regular class of weak verbs, receive the infinitive ending *-a*; they form their past tense with the suffix *-aði*, and the past participle with *-aður*, e.g.:

Inf.	Past tense	Past part.
bögga bug'	böggaði	böggað
blöffa "bluff"	blöffaði	blöffað
díla "deal"	dílaði	dílað
húkka "hook"	húkkaði	húkkað
meila "send e-mail"	meilaði	meilað
seifa "save"	seifaði	seifað

4.3 Accent and spelling

It is a general rule in Icelandic that the accent is placed on the first syllable. If it is placed somewhere else the word cannot be accepted as a loanword but it is an unassimilated foreign word like e.g. the verb *dí'líta* "delete" from computer language.

Anglicisms are quite frequent in colloquial speech. If, however, they are to find their way into the written language, they have to fit in

graphemically, as we have seen from the examples already mentioned. Accent marks are used in Icelandic on vowels to represent a sound quality that is different from the unmarked vowels. Marked or unmarked vowels are used in anglicisms according to Icelandic pronunciation, e.g. *díla* "deal" where [í] represents a front unrounded high vowel, and *dópa* where [ó] represents a back diphthong.

The letters [c], [q] and [w] do not exist in the Icelandic alphabet. Instead [k] and [v] are used in anglicisms, e.g. *kók* "coca cola", *skáti* "scout", *skvísa* "from squeeze", *viskí* "whisky". In Section 4.1 the adaptation of English sibilants and affricates has already been discussed.

Very few examples of anglicisms are to be found where the English word has a [th] in an initial position. [th] becomes a dental unvoiced fricative [þ], as in *priller* "thriller" and *pema* 'theme', the latter possibly a loanword from Danish.

In colloquial speech or slang we find foreign words, mostly anglicisms, in the modern language, where both form and meaning are borrowed, e.g. *aids, bodylotion, bowling, jetset, ketchup, laptop.* If they are written at all, Icelandic letters are favoured, *eids, boddílósjón, bóling, djetsett, ketsjöpp, lapptopp.* All these borrowings have their equivalences in Icelandic words (*eyðni, húðkrem, keila, potulið, tómatsósa, fartölva*).

5. Loan-translations and hybrids

The most frequent type of new words in Icelandic, both neologisms and anglicisms, are compounds. They are made out of two or more parts, already existing or partly existing in the language. Most common are the so-called loan-translations, where each part of the word is Icelandic, but both structure and meaning are a direct translation of the corresponding part of the foreign word, usually an English one. In computer language words of this kind are frequent, e.g. *gagnagrunnur* and *gagnasafn* for "database", *stýrikerfi* "operating system", *lyklaborð* "keyboard", *aðgangsorð* "password", *tölvukerfi* "computer system", *örtölva* "microcomputer". Other examples are *augnskuggi* "eyeshadow", *bráðabani* 'sudden death', e.g. in golf and football, *fegurðarblundur* "beauty sleep", *flugpóstur* "airmail", *geislaprentari* "laser printer", *heilaþvo* og *heilaþvottur* "brainwash, brainwashing", *hnattvæðing* "globalization", *loftpúði* "air-bag", *upplýsingatækni* "information technology", and *örbylgjuofn* "microwave oven".

Another group of compounds are hybrids, where a part of a word is foreign but another part Icelandic, e.g.. *bisnessmaður* "businessman", *bjútíblundur* "beauty sleep", *bleiserjakki* "blazer jacket", *ginflaska* "bottle of gin", *popptónlist* "pop music", *slædsmynd* "slides", and *vídeómynd* "video film".

Derivation is an active way of word formation in the general language, especially the use of suffixes. With regard to foreign words, derivation is mostly used in hybrids. Foreign suffixes as *-isti* "-ist", *-ismi* "-ism", and *-sjón* "-tion" have been borrowed from English (or Danish) as parts of foreign words, but they have not been accepted as suffixes in Icelandic, and are not productive in word formation. The suffix *-ari,* replacing English *–er,* on the other hand, is a very productive way of forming anglicisms, e.g. *hakkari* "hacker", *hamborgari* "hamburger", *prentari* "printer", *rappari* "rapper", *rokkari* "rocker", and *þurrkari* "dryer". It is also added to words that have no *-er* in English, e.g. *poppari* "person playing in a pop band" and *pönkari* "punk" which in this way fit into the declensional system and get inflectional endings.

6. Conclusion

In this article I have tried to explain the situation in Iceland today with regard to loanwords, language policy and the old tradition of language preservation. I have also discussed what criteria a foreign word has to fulfil to be accepted in a language with a complicated inflectional system. Even if language purism is a negative term for many Icelanders, it is still acknowledged by the majority of the people as very important for the preservation of the Icelandic language today. Until now, relatively few anglicisms have been accepted in Icelandic as loanwords, and foreign words come and go. But times are changing, Icelandic society is constantly under the pressure of new influences from a diminishing world and increasing globalization, and the methods used today are unlikely to be sufficient to protect the language from English influence on the vocabulary and structure of the language.

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English in Icelandic – A comparison between generations

ÁSTA SVAVARSDÓTTIR

1. Introduction

> No finst det i og for seg ikkje *reine* språk. Alle språk, jamvel islandsk, har ulike former for språklån og språkblandingar. (Brunstad 2003: 7)

These are the opening words of a new collection of papers on language purism, and the "jamvel" (even) reflects the widespread view that Icelandic is an exceptionally , "pure" language, in the sense that its vocabulary is more or less free from foreign influence, at least in the form of direct lexical borrowing. This is the image that many Icelanders have of their language, and the image they present to others. The impression one gets from reading or listening to public language use, i.e. in the media, does support this view, as foreign lexical elements are not prominent in such texts, whether spoken or written. Quantitative research on foreign linguistic influence in modern Icelandic is scarce, but the little there is points in the same direction. A pilot study of three small text samples, one of which consisted of domestic news in a national newspaper, shows that words originating in English were only 0.3% of the total number of running words in such texts, and less than 2% of the total number of lemmas or lexemes, proper names included (cf. Svavarsdóttir (forthcoming)). Similar results are emerging in an ongoing comparative research project on lexical borrowing in the Nordic languages (including Finnish),[1] and, furthermore, they indicate that Icelandic has indeed proportionally the fewest borrowings of all the languages in question.

[1] The project, led by Helge Sandøy, is called *Moderna importord i språka i Norden* (cf. http://www.hf.uib.no/moderne/). The part of the research referred to here is a quantitative study of borrowings in newspaper texts, and the information on preliminary results comes from an unpublished report draft by Bente Selback; a report with the final results is due in late 2004.

Despite the fact that lexical borrowings seem to be comparatively rare in everyday language, at least as far as newspapers are concerned, anxieties over an increasing foreign influence on Icelandic, especially from English, are often voiced, and it is generally believed that even if English borrowings may be few in writing they are certainly much more frequent in speech. The pilot study, mentioned above, included a comparison of different texts with respect to the number and frequency of lexical items derived from English. The texts were categorised by two variables, spoken vs. written and formal/impersonal vs. informal/personal, and the results did indeed show a clear difference, especially with respect to the second variable. The informal and personal texts, whether spoken or written, contained strikingly more instances of English words than the more formal and less personal ones. Lexical items of English origin were, however, comparatively rare, even in these text types, as they amounted to no more than 0.7% of running words in the two informal categories taken together (Svavarsdóttir (forthcoming)).

In the present paper, lexical borrowings from English are looked at in connection with another external factor, namely the age of the speakers. Young people are frequently claimed to use more code-switching and borrowings than older people do, and the study presented here seeks to verify this hypothesis. In the second chapter, the status of English in Iceland and the attitudes towards it will be discussed briefly, especially with respect to the increased knowledge and use of English in the last few decades. The study is described in Section 3. It consisted in an analysis of the lexical impact of English carried out in a collection of personal diary entries by a number of Icelanders. The number and distribution of word forms of English origin were analysed with respect to the age of writers, and the types and nature of English elements are considered and described on the basis of examples extracted from a selection of the texts. The results support the claim that young people tend to use more words from English than older people, and that the choice and usage of these words among the younger generation is in some respects different from the usage of older speakers. The final chapter contains a general discussion and a brief conclusion of the study.

2. The status of English in Iceland

The status of English in the Icelandic educational system changed when a new curriculum was introduced in 1999. It then replaced Danish as the first foreign language taught in schools, and English is now compulsory

from the 5th to the 10th grade, i.e. from the age of 10 to 16. This means that all young people get a formal training in English for at least 6 years, and most of them for another 4 years in secondary schools. The change in the curriculum could, however, be seen rather as a consequence of a general change in the status of English in society at large than as a cause. For Icelanders in the first half of the 20th century, Denmark was the main gate to the outside world, and Danish was thus the foreign language most people learned. This has been gradually changing since the second World War, as the importance of English as a medium of communication has been increasing, not only with respect to Anglo-American countries but worldwide. Icelanders born after 1945 are thus likely to be more proficient in English than in Danish, and to use it more. A recent survey shows that close to 90% of the participants claim to have at least a minimal knowledge of English, and even if their distribution across age-groups is fairly even, there are slightly more young people who know some English than those who are older. When asked about fluency, the difference between age-groups becomes more prominent, however. About 64% of all the participants claimed to know English well, but when analysed by age it appears that 96% of the youngest people (under 29) said they knew English well, whereas only about 68% of the oldest participants (over 50) made the same claim. It is interesting to note that the reverse is true about Danish. Only about 16% of the people asked had a good knowledge of Danish, though this is the language that comes next in terms of the number of proficient speakers, and most of them belong to the oldest age-group, i.e. people born during the second World War or earlier; the same is true of German and Swedish.[2] Answers to questions on proficiency in such surveys do, of course, reflect people's self-evaluation. This is not necessarily realistic, but the results indicate that a large proportion of the Icelandic population does at least have good enough performative skills in English to make them feel that they master it fairly well, which might for example mean that they can read instructions, get along when travelling, etc., without difficulty. Furthermore, the results indicate that young people do in general know English better than the older generation does. As for use, the difference between age-groups is confirmed by the results of another recent survey, where people were asked about their use of English over the last week. The answers clearly reveal a connection between the age

[2] The survey referred to was made for the Icelandic ministry of education, and carried out by PriceWaterhouseCoopers in September 2001 (cf. http://bella.mrn.stjr.is/utgafur/Menntskyrsla.pdf).

of a person and how much he or she claims to use English; the number of those who use it rarely increases with age (9% of the youngest, but 59% of the oldest age group), whereas the number of people that use it every day decreases with age (35% of the youngest and only 10% of the oldest).[3]

Formal education is obviously not the only explanation of the high proficiency in English that many Icelanders have, or think they have. If it were, more people would be expected to claim that they have a good knowledge of Danish too, another language they learn for years as part of their compulsory and secondary education. One of the main reasons for this discrepancy is, no doubt, the greater exposure to English than to any other foreign language in Iceland. English is present as a kind of background music in the daily lives of most people, even without them really noticing it, e.g. in lyrics to popular music, in films, etc., though the most widespread channel is, no doubt, television, the great majority of foreign films and television programs shown on Icelandic television stations being in English, and translated by means of subtitles. Constantly hearing and seeing a language in this way is bound to have some effect on the English learner and make his or her task easier, compared to learning a language one never sees or hears outside the classroom.

Another factor is the motivation people get to learn a particular language. The general public attaches great importance to proficiency in foreign languages, most notably in English. Thus, one of the surveys referred to above shows that more than 96% of the participants consider English to be the most important foreign language to know, whereas there is much less agreement with respect to the second most important language, German, Spanish and Danish being the most frequently mentioned, each by 23–25% of the people asked. The importance of knowing foreign languages is, of course, a consequence of the small size of the Icelandic language community, which must rely on other languages for all external communication. This is reflected in the results of one of the surveys, which shows that Icelanders use English considerably more than other Scandinavians; as many as 50% of the Icelandic participants claimed to have used it almost every day, or even often each day, during the previous week, while the mean figure for all the countries is only 29%.

[3] The figures come from one part of the project *Moderna importord i språka i Norden* (cf. Footnote 1), which consisted of a questionnaire, presented by telephone in 2002; the results have still not been published, but have been partly presented at conferences and meetings, e.g. by Kristján Árnason in Iceland. A full report is due in 2004, edited by Lars S. Vikør.

Further questions revealed that the use consisted largely in reading, but also in writing and speaking, mostly in the context of work or studies, but to a great extent also in people's spare time. In the other survey mentioned, people were also asked for what purposes they used the foreign language they knew best, which is, in most cases, English (cf. above). The majority of participants (over 50%) mentioned travelling abroad, watching films and television, reading books, newspapers and periodicals, and surfing the Internet. There is, thus, a strong motivation for Icelanders to learn English in the first place, and when it comes to learning and maintaining the knowledge, there are ample opportunities for practice.

In Iceland, English is primarily considered a medium for external communication, both with English-speaking nations and as the principal *lingua franca* when communicating with other foreigners. Internally, Icelandic serves all purposes of communication, and there are no clear signs of any drastic changes in that. The existence of an increasing number of foreigners in Iceland has, however, widened the function of English as a *lingua franca* in the last decade or so, as it is increasingly used as such within the country, in communication with tourists and other visitors, as well as with temporary residents, i.e. people of whom it cannot be reasonably demanded that they learn Icelandic. The participation of Iceland in European programs of student exchange, like Erasmus, has for example made it necessary to organise special university courses in English to fulfill the needs of these foreign exchange students. Likewise, English is much used in some high-tech companies, with foreign specialists on the staff. Immigrants are, on the other hand, generally expected to learn Icelandic within reasonable time, even if English is used to communicate with them in the beginning.

This sketchy overview is meant to clarify the present status of English in Iceland, as well as the general English proficiency of the population. To summarise, Icelanders are dependent on foreign languages for all external communication, and at present English is considered by far the most important language. There is, therefore, a strong motivation for learning it, and English has an important role in general education as the first foreign language. Some people have even gone as far as expressing the view that Icelanders should become bilingual in Icelandic and English, though the meaning of bilingualism in this context is not quite clear. Presumably, the idea is simply for them become as fluent in English as a foreign language as possible.

3. English in Icelandic informal writing

3.1 The study

The study presented here is based on a collection of unpublished diary entries, all written in 1998. The material comes from a small corpus of spoken and written Icelandic which has been compiled over the last few years, partly in collaboration with other scholars.[4] Though it is not fully analysed, it has, in the last few years, been used by the present author in a number of vocabulary studies, especially on lexical borrowing (see for example Svavarsdóttir 2003a,b and forthcoming). The texts used here partly coincide with a text sample used in a previous study to represent the category of "informal, personal texts", which was the category that had most instances of English elements according to the results (Svavarsdóttir (forthcoming)). There is, however, a slight difference in the choice of texts: Whereas the text sample in the former study included obituaries published in a newspaper together with unpublished diary entries of adult writers, the sample in the present study consists entirely of diaries, and these are, furthermore, written by children and adolescents, besides adults. The results from the two studies are, therefore, not entirely comparable.

3.2 Material and methods

The text sample used in the study contains 162 diary entries by the same number of writers. The youngest was born in 1991 and the oldest in 1928, their ages at the time of writing ranging from 7 to 70 years; in a few cases (less than 7%) information on the writers' age is lacking. The total number of running words in the texts is nearly 80,000 and the mean length of entries is about 480 words. A detailed description of the size of the text sample broken down by writers' age is found in Table 1.

[4] The diaries were compiled by the folklore department at the National Museum of Iceland and a part of them were later published under the title *Dagbók Íslendinga* (Icelanders' diary; Hilmarsdóttir og Gunnarsdóttir (eds.) 1999). For the purpose of this study, however, the original, unpublished entries were used, kindly provided by the department. Other parts of the corpus are newspaper texts from 1997, derived from the database of *Morgunblaðið* for inclusion in the collection of electronic texts at *Orðabók Háskólans* (the Institute of Lexicography), and transcriptions of 31 informal conversations, collected in the ISTAL-project by a group of linguists at the University of Iceland, the Institute of Lexicography and the Iceland University of Education; the conversations were recorded in 2000 and are fully transcribed (for further information: http://www.hi.is/~eirikur/istal.htm).

Table 1: The size of the text sample, classified by the age of writers

Age	Running words	Number of entries	Mean number of words per entry
10 and younger	234	2	117
11—20	12,379	49	253
21—30	13,133	31	424
31—40	16,936	27	594
41—50	12,806	20	640
51—60	11,951	14	854
61 and older	6,577	8	822
unknown	4,849	11	441
Total	78.865	162	481

The material was analysed with the help of two different software packages, suites of programs called *WordSmith Tools* (cf. Scott 1998) and *Corpus Presenter* (Hickey 2003). The former was used to retrieve a word list from the entire text sample. This list was then analysed manually. All word forms deriving from English were marked, ranging from proper names and words appearing in quotations in English to fully adapted and established loanwords, including hybrids, i.e. combinations of a borrowed and a native part, such as *bleiserjakki* "a blazer (jacket)". Furthermore, a few words originating in other languages than English were included as well, i.e. words that have either been transmitted by way of English, or words whose use in Icelandic is likely to be influenced by their use in English, such as *pizza*. The decision to count proper names is questionable, but there are two main reasons for this. The first is that the dividing line between names and ordinary nouns is not alway clear and it can be difficult to decide if a particular word belongs to one or the other. Even though it is easy to classify the names of people and places, many fictive names of characters and settings in books, films, etc., occur and can be difficult to handle (is *Barbie* for example to be counted as a proper name?), and names of films, songs, computer programs, etc., are also borderline cases. The least controversial solution was therefore to include all names. The other reason for their inclusion was that by omitting proper names of English origin the statistical results would be skewed unless all other names were omitted as well, and this would have been too time-consuming.

The word forms were not lemmatized but ambiguous forms were analysed by reference to a concordance, made available by the program, to decide if they belonged in the study. In a few cases, where a particular word form was shown to represent both an original Icelandic word and a word deriving from English, such as the form *all* (ambiguous between the English pronoun *all* and the Icelandic *allur*), the examples with non-borrowed items had to be sorted out at a later stage. The output list, which contained well over 500 items judged to be of English origin, was used as the basis for further analysis. This consisted on the one hand of a statistical analysis, carried out by the software, and on the other hand of a qualitative analysis based on a concordance with the word forms in context, retrieved by *Corpus Presenter.*

3.3 Results

The list of word forms judged to be of English origin contains 518 items. These were only single word forms, and combinations, such as the names *John Cage* and *Financial Times*, are thus counted as two each. The distribution of English word forms across age-groups is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: The number and proportion of words derived from English, classified by the age of diarists

Group	Age	Diary entries	Running words	Number of word forms from English	Percentage of word forms from English
1	10 and younger	2	234	1	0.43%
2	11–20	49	12,379	99	0.80%
3	21–30	31	13,133	106	0.81%
4	31–40	27	16,936	137	0.81%
5	41–50	20	12,806	34	0.27%
6	51–60	14	11,951	92	0.77%
7	61 and older	8	6,577	11	0.17%
8	Unknown	11	4,849	38	0.78%
	Total	162	78,865	518	0.66%

There are only two entries in the youngest group, both very short (cf. Table 1), which makes the percentage of little value in that case. The results for the other groups show that the distribution of English items is similar across groups 2 through 4, i.e. in texts by writers between 11 and 40 years old, but the proportion decreases considerably in two of the three older groups. It is, on the other hand, quite high in group 6, i.e. among writers in their sixties, and this disturbs the otherwise neat picture that emerges. A brief look at words used in age-group 6 indicates that they include quite a number of proper names, many of them from the same diary entry. This particular entry was written by a person, staying in an English-speaking country at the time of writing, and he mentions names of buildings, streets, people, etc., when writing about his surroundings. The same is true of some entries by younger writers, notably in groups 3 and 4, which include a number of students abroad, and situational similarities may therefore partly explain the quantitative resemblance in the use of English words between group 6 and the younger writers. The examples from group 6 will be returned to in the qualitative analysis below. Finally, writers in group 8 also use comparatively many English word forms. Information on the age of these eleven diarists is lacking, but the subjects and style of these entries indicate that they are rather young and presumably belong mainly to groups 2–4. If that is right, the results do not come as a surprise.

The statistics in Table 2 indicate that there is a difference between younger and older people in the proportional number of words from English they use, though the overall frequency of such words is not very high. This leads to the question of quality: Is there also a difference between generations with respect to the type of English words or in the way they are used? The text samples have not been systematically analysed and compared, nor have the word forms listed been thoroughly categorised and counted, but by using concordance excerpts a general overview will be given of the main characteristics of the form, type and usage of lexical items deriving from English that appear in the diaries. The focus of analysis is on examples from groups 2 and 6, i.e. teenagers and adolescents (11-20 years) on the one hand, and middle-aged people (51-60) on the other, and these are taken to represent the younger and older generation respectively. With respect to the statistical results, it might come as a surprise that the latter group should be chosen in this context, but the reason is very simple: There were so few examples of borrowings in the oldest group that they were considered to be a weak basis for comparison, whereas the number of English words forms in groups 2 and 6 was comparable, i.e. close to 100 in each text sample.

As mentioned above, the texts from the older group contained many proper names. Counting only personal and place names, including street names, these account for approximately half of the English word forms. Other names, such as brand names like *cheerios* (a common type of breakfast cereal), *Herbalife* (a slimming product) and *iMac* (a computer brand), names of programs and other computer tools like *Microsoft* and *Photoshop*, and names of television stations and newspapers like *CNN*, *Sky* and *Financial Times* may be added to that. Furthermore, there is one instance of an English citation in these texts, written in quotation marks:

1.

það sem á ensku nefnist "*story telling*" og við mundum kalla frásagnarlist
what in English is called "story telling" and we would call *frásagnarlist* (narration)

This leaves comparatively few borrowings, some of them appearing in hybrids. Most of them have been adapted to Icelandic, at least to some degree, and among them are old and established loanwords, such as *kex* "biscuit(s)" (from *cakes*, presumably transmitted via Danish and introduced as early as the 19th century) and *romm* "rum". More recent borrowings are e.g. *bridge* "(contract) bridge", *E-mailinu* "the E-mail" (dative form), *pizzu* "pizza" (accusative), *faxa* "to fax", *meika* "to make", and *tankur* "tank" (three examples with different grammatical forms), as well as hybrids like *vinnudressinu* 'the work dress' (dative). Two hybrids, containing English word forms that are otherwise not used in Icelandic, seem to be a direct consequence of the writer's stay abroad (cf. above). One is *bronsunarstofuna* 'a tanning salon' (dative), patterned on the Icelandic word *sólbaðsstofa* with the same meaning and some English word containing the part *bronze* or *bronzed*. The other is the combination *low-fat mjólk* "low-fat milk", usually called *léttmjólk* in Icelandic, though in the present surroundings of the writer the English word for the product is, of course, the one generally used (and is probably printed on the carton he sees at breakfast).

Let us now take a look at the youngest diarists and their texts. The type of English words found in these texts is quite different from the other sample. Proper names are comparatively few, no more than about 10% of the words, only counting personal and place names, but other names can be added to these, e.g. names of shops such as *Galaxí* and *Intersport* (both Icelandic shops), titles of films and television programs, like *Primary*

Colors, *Circle of friends* and *Southpark*, brand names as e.g. *Cheerios* and *Coco Puffs*, *Pepsi Max* and *Snickers*, names of computer programs like *Exel*, etc.. Furthermore, a special type of proper names is to be found in these texts, i.e. English nicknames youngsters choose for themselves for use on the Internet, such as *Cavedog* and *The Geniuz*. These entries also contain a number of established loanwords, some of them completely adapted, e.g. *gel* "(hair) gel", *gengi* "the gang" (dative), *hamborgarar* "hamburgers", *sjoppu* "a (small) shop" (accusative), *stressa (sig)* "(to put oneself) under stress", and *tvisti* "twist (the dance)" (dative), and others only partially adapted, such as *pizzu* "pizza" (accusative), *roastbeef*, *kiwi* "kiwi fruit", *video* and the frequently used interjection *ok* (i.e. *okay*). Presumably, these words could just as well have appeared in texts of the middle-aged writers. That is less likely for some of the other words in these entries, however. Some are recent borrowings, adapted to a greater or a lesser extent, and others might be classified as instances of code-switching, though it is difficult to draw the dividing line between those two types of interference in a principled way. One is the word *irc*, which derives from the English abbreviation IRC (Internet Relay Chat). It is used as a regular noun in the Icelandic texts, and is morphologically adapted, though the spelling has a *c*, a letter that does not belong in the Icelandic alphabet. Furthermore, it is a recurring word and its classification as a lexical borrowing therefore seems justified. Other similar words, used in connection with the Internet, are e.g. *nick*, a shortening for *nickname*, also used as an ordinary noun, and *sörfa* "to surf", which has been adapted orthographically as well as morphologically. The following are examples of such words in context:

2.

ég fann einhvern annan sem notar *nickið* mitt á *ircinu*

I found somebody else who uses my nick+def. (acc.) on the IRC+def (dat.)

3.

til að stytta biðina ákvað ég að "*sörfa*" á *netinu*

to shorten the wait, I decided to surf on the Internet

Other words are totally unadapted, such as *minimum*, *screen-saver*, *on-line* and the interjection *well*. The usage is very close to English too, though it can be left as an open question whether they should be classified as borrowing or code-switching.

4.

var að hitta Fernando *on-line*

just met Fernando on-line

5.

Well, þetta fór allt í góðu með Fernando

Well, everything went well with Fernando

The analysis reveals that despite the fact that the two text samples are quantitatively similar, there is an obvious qualitative difference. While the English words in the former sample, i.e. diary entries written by middle-aged people, consist mainly of proper names and established, usually to a large extent adapted, loanwords, the latter sample, consisting of entries by teenagers, is characterised by the use of recent borrowings, many of which are poorly adapted, besides more established loanwords and names. It should be noted, however, that the style of these age-groups is quite different. The younger group writes quite short entries, approximately 250 words on average, and most of them are informal and sketchy reports on the writer's doings during the day in question. The diaries of the older writers are considerably longer, with a mean length of about 850 words, and even if they are informal they are more carefully composed and many of them could be characterised as a narrative rather than a report. This difference in style is likely to influence the use of borrowings, at least to some extent.

4. Conclusions

The main conclusion of the study, presented in the paper, is that lexical borrowings from English in present-day Icelandic are few and constitute an insignificant proportion of the texts as a whole, even in comparatively informal texts like the unpublished diary entries analysed here. This confirms the general view that Icelandic is by and large a "pure" language, in the sense that it does not contain many lexical items from other languages. It does, however, also show a qualitative as well as a quantitative difference relating to the age of speakers. The younger writers clearly use more English words than the older generation, and the words they use consist of more recent and less adapted borrowings besides the established ones used by all age-groups. This difference should not come as a surprise, considering the linguistic situation discussed in Section 2, where it was shown that young people are generally more proficient in English than the older

generation and use it more in daily life. Whether this is a sign of an increasing linguistic influence from English is not clear, though it does not seem unlikely. In the light of the widespread knowledge of English and the extensive use of it by a considerable proportion of the population it is, in fact, surprising that it has not had greater impact on Icelandic, and that its influence is less than in many other languages where English is less wide-spread.

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Creating Images through English on Yellow Pages: Multilingual Practices in Advertising in the Helsinki Region

PÄIVI PAHTA AND IRMA TAAVITSAINEN

1. Introduction: English in Finland

In recent years Finland, like the other Nordic countries, has experienced an explosion in the use of English in various domains of public and private life. This trend has caught the attention of linguists and laymen alike, and has become a popular topic of scholarly investigation in several language departments and the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland,[1] in addition to being a topic of lively public discussion. With increasing internationalisation, English has become an essential part of the professional life of a steadily growing number of Finns in various fields, be it politics and government, science and education, business, communication and media, transportation, tourism, sports, culture or entertainment. Those Finns who are not actually involved in international affairs are also heavily subjected to English through the mass media, being thus passive consumers of the language.

According to the latest statistics available, 60 per cent of all Finns speak English (*Les Européens et les langues* 2001). The percentage is considerably higher among the younger generations. The number of learners of English increased greatly with the introduction of the comprehensive school system in the 1970s, as the entire age group began to learn a foreign language at the age of nine.[2] English has thus been the first choice for the great majority (more than 90 per cent) for more than

[1] See e.g. Haarmann and Holman (2001), Hiidenmaa (2003: 53-107), Latomaa and Nuolijärvi (2002), Moore and Varantola (2004) or Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003). For an on-going project on English voices in Finnish society, see http://www.jyu.fi/tdk/hum/englanti/EnglishVoices/EVmainpage.htm. For earlier discussions, see e.g. Sajavaara (1986) and Haarmann (1989).

[2] In the 1950s, German was still the first foreign language. In the 1960s English won the position, but studying foreign languages was largely limited to secondary schools and thus did not reach the whole population.

twenty years. Today almost all pupils include it in their curriculum; e.g. in 2001, 98 per cent of pupils in their last three years of the comprehensive school learned English (*KIMMOKE Loppuraportti* 2001). The fact that English is accessible enough to be intelligible to the majority of the population also makes it possible to use it in intranational contexts. One of the sectors exploiting this potential is the business world, where English is today used extensively in both communicative and non-communicative, purely symbolic, functions.

The use of English in commercial advertising and naming practices is attested on a global scale, and has been addressed in numerous studies on different language communities.[3] The prominence of English in posters, billboards, electric displays and shop signs is now one of the most noticeable manifestations of the global spread of the language (Crystal 2003: 94). This trend is also evident in present-day Finland.[4] In recent years, many originally Finnish companies "going global" have adopted English or English-sounding names as part of their new corporate image. English is also common in the names of companies that operate in the domestic market. In commercial advertising, English is frequently used for key words and slogans, sometimes side by side with Finnish and Swedish, the official languages of the country.

Linguistically, the setting that Finland provides for contact with English differs from the other Nordic countries in two important respects. The first one is the long-standing history of societal bilingualism. At the end of 2002, Finnish was the mother tongue of 92 per cent of the population and the proportion of Swedish speakers was 5.6 per cent.[5] Despite the difference in the proportions of mother-tongue speakers, Finnish and Swedish are officially on equal standing. All Finnish speakers study Swedish at school and Swedish speakers, many of whom are in practice bilingual, study Finnish. Because of official bilingualism Finns are used to seeing languages in juxtaposition in various public contexts. This state of affairs also provides more opportunities for exploiting language-mixing than a monolingual setting would; there simply are more languages available.

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[3] See e.g. Haarmann (1989: 249 ff.), McArthur (2000), Piller (2000), MacGregor (2003) and Schlick (2003), or Friedrich (2002) and the references therein.

[4] For examples of the use of English in the "outdoor media", see Moore and Varantola (2004).

[5] In addition, Lappish and Romany also have the status of minority languages. For discussion of the language situation in Finland, see e.g. Mantila (2001), or Latomaa and Nuolijärvi (2002).

The other crucial difference is typological: unlike the Indo-European Scandinavian languages, Finnish, an agglutinative Finno-Ugric language, deviates greatly from English. This disparity means that the incorporation of English into Finnish utterances is potentially a more complicated process than accommodating it to one of the Scandinavian languages, all lexically and typologically close to English. Complex hybrid forms combining English lexemes with Finnish inflectional endings undoubtedly provide more chances for creativity, but also for confusion.

Like any changes in patterns of language use, the increase of English in advertising in Finland has taken place gradually. It has been claimed that English has ranked high in the strategies of giving fashionable names to Finnish companies and products since the 1980s (Haarmann and Holman 2001: 231; for an analysis with examples, see Haarmann 1989: 258-270). However, American influences already prevailed in advertising in the 1960s, the decade of "creative revolution in the advertising business", when modern consumer society was rapidly developing in Finland and advertising underwent internationalisation (Heinonen *et al.* 2003: 5-7). There is little actual empirical research documenting the process from a linguistic point of view.[6] This pilot study makes a start to remedy the situation.

The organisation of this essay is as follows: In section 2 we describe our aim, material and method. Section 3 characterises commercial advertising, with a focus on yellow page advertisements. Section 4 discusses motivations for using English for commercial purposes. Sections 5 and 6 present the analysis, and section 7 contains the concluding remarks.

2. Aim, material and method

In order to verify tendencies in the use of English in commercial language practices, we decided to study advertisements on the yellow pages of the Helsinki/Helsingfors telephone directories over the past fifty years. Our hypothesis was that in the early part of the period English would be used rarely and primarily for communicative purposes. We assumed that this would change in the course of time and English would gain non-communicative functions. We set out to investigate whether linguistic

[6] For recent work from a sociological point of view, see e.g. Heinonen *et al.* (2003) and Kortti (2003).

humour, word play, or any other features connected with more advanced-level use are encountered, or whether some features peculiar to local circumstances could be detected.

As our data we used the telephone directories for the Helsinki region from the years 1953, 1963, 1973, 1983, 1993-1996, 1998 and 2003. The reason for assessing several telephone books from the 1990s was an interesting feature in the 1993 telephone book that we wanted to trace in more detail: the 1993 directory was trilingual, with sector headings and an index in Finnish, Swedish and English. In 1996 the directories returned to a bilingual format, perhaps for economic reasons, but in 1998 it was trilingual again. The early directories were analysed in their entirety; from 1983 on they were skimmed through, with special attention being focused on the fields of beauty and fitness; office/computing and new service branches; advertising and public relations; and new activities imported from the Anglo-American world. In this essay we shall focus on the findings from these sectors, providing some highlights from other fields of business as well.

3. Commercial advertising and yellow pages

Advertising is a form of non-personal communication intended to inform and influence a dispersed audience (Gieszinger 2000: 85). It can be used for a variety of purposes, including political or social ends, or, like the advertisements on the yellow pages, for commercial ends. In modern society, commercial advertisements are part of an "arena permeated by competitive consumption" (Cook 1992: 230), i.e. their main aim is to promote the consumption of a commodity – a product or service – by making potential customers familiar with it and creating a positive attitude towards it. This idea has been central in advertising since the massive breakthrough around the turn of the twentieth century of consumer society, by which "selling became an active strategy whose principal tools were public words and images" (Falk 1994: 151). The decisions made by all advertisers in modern society are said to reflect this competitive consumption context (Graur 1999: 144).

The medium in which the advertisement appears is an important parameter influencing its content and structure. Telephone books contain information in a concise form. The early telephone books in our sample do not expand beyond this basic function, whereas more recently advertisements and various kinds of special offer clipouts have been added. Advertisements on the yellow pages are different from most other printed commercial ads in that

they do not primarily aim at boosting consumption. They are typically directed at people who are looking for an agency that will help them to solve a problem, i.e. they are intended "to inform people where they can obtain the tools they require for need-satisfaction" (Falk 1994: 151). Thus telephone book advertisements can be characterised as being closer to plain consumer information than the standard modern commercial advertisement. Still the telephone book advertisement appears in a competitive context and has to sell the commodity it is set out to advertise. Like other ads, the yellow page advertisement also has to produce a positive end effect of transforming the potential consumer looking for a particular commodity into an actual consumer of the item promoted by the advertiser (Falk 1997: 69).

Printed advertisements generally consist of five elements: headline, illustration, body copy, signature lines identifying the product or brand, and standing or contact details (Leech 1966: 59). The difference between advertisements on the yellow pages and publications such as newspapers or fashion magazines is perhaps best seen in the use of pictures. Whereas other advertising media can make use of multimodal discourse, the telephone books primarily contain verbal messages, sometimes with minor illustrations or sketches; the latest telephone directories also make use of multicolour pictures. The verbal messages are kept short. The brand name, part of the signature line identifying the commodity verbally, is arguably the most central linguistic item of an ad, irrespective of the advertising medium (Piller 2000: 267). Other elements commonly used for identification in modern advertising are a logo and a slogan. The slogan emerged as a feature of commercial advertising during the nineteenth century and the logo in the twentieth century; until the 1980s they were relatively rare (Crystal 2003: 94; Gieszinger 2000: 99-102). The use of multiple identification symbols is one way of coping with increasing competition and information overload; multiple symbols can make advertisements easier to recognise, understand and remember. To put it in other words, they serve "the need to speak more loudly and clearly than competitors" (Falk 1997: 71).

4. Why English?

The use of English for commercial purposes is motivated by a range of language-external and language-internal factors.[7] The language-external frame is provided by the social context, including the participants in the

[7] For discussion, see also e.g. Haarmann (1989) and Friedrich (2002).

communicative situation, in this case the advertisers and the target audience of the Helsinki telephone directory. Because of the language-education policy of the past decades, a large proportion of the c. one million inhabitants in the greater capital area today can be expected to be literate in English; in the 1950s the situation was quite different. The number of native speakers of English living in the area has never been very high: in 2002, there were fewer than 6,000 native speakers of English in the whole of Finland, the majority of them residing in the Helsinki area. As a *lingua franca*, English caters for native speakers of many other languages as well: in 2002, the number of inhabitants having to rely at least to some extent on English may have been as high as 95,000 in the whole country,[8] a large number of them in the Helsinki region. In comparison, the proportion of speakers of other than domestic languages in 1950 was only 0.3 per cent of the population, approximately 8,000 people. (*Statistics Finland.*) Also, as a metropolis, Helsinki has always had an international flavour that is likely to be reflected in a utilitarian document that mirrors the sociohistorical reality of the region. With growing internationalisation, the number of foreign visitors unable to understand information in the domestic languages but potentially utilising the yellow pages as a source of information has radically increased in the past decades.

Another social factor reflected in the frequency of English is the increasing internationalisation of the business world, and the fact that a greater number of advertisers today are in fact international companies. Many advertising agencies in charge of creating business images in Finland, as elsewhere, are subsidiaries of American, British or global agencies, for whom English may seem a logical choice. Furthermore, American impact on the growth of the consumer society and on the practices of advertising in general undoubtedly contributes to a tendency to use English. The role of English as a tool for specialised functions in modern society, including the shaping of modern terminologies through transfer of technical terms, is also likely to be reflected in the language of advertisements (cf. Haarmann 1989: 250). The increase of actual international communication, mobility and cultural exchange thus provides an important source for the use of English.

Other extralinguistic factors influencing the use of English include the various symbolic values that are attached to it. They enable advertisers

[8] This is the figure of citizens of countries other than Sweden living in Finland (*Statistics Finland*).

to appropriate English for creating images of their choice. Particularly in developing countries that are undergoing modernisation, English brand names are often used for creating an image of credibility and superior standards of production. This explanation is not plausible in today's "Nokialand", where the widely recognised high quality of products "Made in Finland" is traditionally a matter of national pride. More valid also in the Finnish context is one of the most frequent explanations for the use of English in brand naming today: its connotation of modernity – crucial for the image of being "in", young, trendy and fashionable (cf. Haarmann 1989).

One of the linguistic properties of English that may make it attractive for commercial purposes is the length of its words: e.g. in comparison with Finnish, short English words are catchy and cost-effective, they take less physical space in signs and advertisements. They are also easy to memorise and repeat. The use of English in combination with the two domestic languages provides additional material for creativity and innovation that is important for catching the customers' attention, thus serving the needs of the genre. Bilingual play on words is attested e.g. in advertisements in German and Italian newspapers, containing forms of punning using elements from English and the native language (see Görlach 2003). In recent years linguistic mixtures have been used in advertisements in Finland, too; an example is *Meri Christmas* (*meri* "sea"), used for advertising cruises at Christmas time. Such mixtures build on Finnish as much as English, and it is the unexpected combination of the two that is supposed to make them work.

5. Frame of linguistic analysis

As shown above, the international community in the Helsinki region has grown and the need for English in communicative use has been recognised e.g. by providing trilingual telephone directories. The present situation with its multilayered influence of English also creates good conditions for non-communicative use as the potential for understanding messages in English is considerable. It is likely that single, frequently occurring English words are processed almost like Finnish words. Loan words have entered the Finnish language at different times and the degree of accommodation varies, e.g. the tendency to add vowel sounds at the end of the word is very common (*softa, swetari*) and makes it easy to add various case endings and treat the words like native ones. Some recent loans, such as *cheerleader*, do not readily fit the Finnish phonological structure and must be accommodated in other ways (see below).

An increase in English language items over time could also be expected. If our hypothesis is right (see 2 above), we should have primarily communicative use to start with, but some more advanced patterns may emerge in later samples; the trend could be from single words to phrases and slogans, from simple to more complex structures and multilayered meanings. Possible patterns include antithesis by placing different statements next to each other in order to emphasize a contrast, playing with words or punning on sound, e.g. using the same sound patterns, homonyms or homophones (same sound/different spelling/different meaning). Other devices may include repetition; amplification and diminution; various tricks and ploys, which are all common in persuasive language (Cockfort and Cockfort 1992: 127-8). The possibility of playing on several languages may also show in the material.

6. Telephone directories in a chronological sequence: assessment and discussion

1953 and 1963

The yellow pages of the 1953 and 1963 telephone directories are very similar in their general appearance, contents and language use. They contain far fewer actual advertisements than the more recent ones. Information is mainly given in lists containing the names, addresses and phone numbers of the companies providing the services. The general impression is that English is fairly rare, as are other foreign languages. English is primarily used communicatively, as we presumed. In the 1953 directory it occurs in company names and, more rarely, in trademarks. Some firms with English names are branches of foreign companies operating internationally, such as *Industrial Overseas Products* and *United Press Association*, or companies involved in foreign trade: *Aura Import, Factory Agent*. In some cases English company names are probably targeted at foreign visitors, such as car rentals called *Auto-Pilot* and *Auto-Letting*. English is also found in the names of companies that operate domestically, but are clearly connected with international fashions and styles, and perhaps also importing products. These include the antique shops *Commission*, *Occasion*, *Old-Style* and *Old Home*, and shops selling ladies' and men's wear: *Sir*, *London*, *Old England* and *Master Dress*. Both communicative and symbolic uses of English appear e.g. in the names of

beauty salons, and hairdressers' shops: *Beauty Salon, Fifth Avenue, Lady, Miami, Salon Cosy, Salon New York.* However, in this sector French is far more common for creating images of fashionable style (e.g. *Babette, Belle-Amie, Charme, Fifi, La Boite des Parfums, La Mer, Salon Chic, Salon des Dames, Salon Paris*), and other associations – classical, Italian, Spanish – are also found (*Astra, Artemis, Cosmetica, Divina, Donna, Seniorita*). A few restaurants bear English names: *Bowling, Cotton Club, Sea Horse, White Lady.* Only one of the many cafeterias has an element of English in its name, the word *city*, which has since become a frequent epithet in business vocabulary (*City Kahvila* "city café"). Some photographers also use English in their company names, e.g. *Adphoto* and *Royal.* Rarer industries making use of English include the transparent names of *Ribbons, Building, Investment, Machine-care* and *Printing.* New English trademarks in the 1963 directory include coinages like *Topcoat*, and new loans like *Bungalow* for holiday cottages.[9] English occurs in some names combined with informative slogans in domestic languages, e.g. *Reform School of Languages - landets äldsta* "the oldest in the country".

It is noteworthy that in the early directories other languages are also used in naming practices. Italian, Spanish and French appear occasionally. Latin is more common, occurring in the names of antique shops like *Artistica* and *Lux Välitysliike*; advertising companies like *Linografica*; and photographers' shops such as *Polyfoto* and *Novofoto.* Company names are sometimes coined with the suffix *–ex* or other forms containing the letter *x*, which never occurs in indigenous Finnish words; the intention is to lend a foreign, perhaps Latinate flavour. This custom is still present in today's company names like *Forex* (< foreign exchange), and many others. The suffix is often added to a foreign stem, real or made-up (*Correx, Copex, Artifex*), or it can be added to a native word. In the latter case it sometimes acquires additional meanings through punning, e.g. a cleaner's name *Pesex* in the 1953 directory sounds exactly the same as the 2nd person colloquial interrogative for *Do you wash?*

1973

The 1973 yellow pages largely follow the same trends as the earlier ones. The use of *x*-suffixes increases and compounds containing e.g. *-flex, -tex* or

[9] "A one-storeyed house", "a house for holiday-makers", originally "a lightly built house for Europeans in India"; the word has gained additional shades of meaning connected with leisure and good living. The modern sense has spread with small local differences all over Europe. The time of adoption varies from the 19th century to the late 20th. (*DEA* s.v. *bungalow*)

-lyx abound in trademarks and company names. Occasional real English words are found in the stem, e.g. *Spraytex*, but most compounds are just foreign-sounding mixtures. Occasional new coinages resulting in compounds like *lymphadrainageterapia* "~ therapy" can be found, and signature lines with adjectival use of an English company name are new: *aitoa Luxor Waves laatua* "genuine Luxor Waves quality". Technical loan words like *offset* are used, and the word *logo* occurs with a Finnish inflection in the ad of an advertising company called *Tähtimuovi* "star plastic", which promises to produce shop signs *asiakkaan omalla logolla* "with the customer's own logo". The word *acryli* "acryl", also used in the same advertisement, has later been accommodated to the Finnish spelling system as *akryyli*.

The growth of the advertising (Fi. *mainos*) and marketing (Fi. *markkinointi*) business is reflected in the increasing number of companies appearing in the 1973 directory. The names are in Finnish or English, or mixed. All Finnish names are transparent to Finnish speakers, whereas even a fluent English speaker could not connect all of the English names with the business branch in question: *Informex*, *Intersurvey*, *Suomen Gallup*, *Taloustutkimus*, *Mainos-art*, *Briefing*, *Freelancer*, *Interplan*, *Goodwill*, *Juniormainos*, *Artifex*, *Unimark*. Sometimes the name is given in both Finnish *and* English: *Suomen Markkinatiedot - Finnish Market Facts* and *Marketindex - Markkinaindeksi*. One advertising agency has a signature line indicating partnership with an American company: *Finnad-Gumælius, Osakkaana Compton Partner Agency Network'ssa.*

Gyms were new and few in the Helsinki region in 1973; in general the domestic languages prevail in their names. The first advertisement of "a place for fitness (Fi. *kunto*)" combines Finnish and German: *Kuntola Ruttmann (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Chiro-Gymnastik e.v.)*. *Kuntola* advertised various therapies in German and English: *Chirogymnastik*, *Neuraltherapie*, *Lymph drainage massage*; in the advertisement these terms are accompanied with explanations in Finnish. Beauty salons and hairdressers' continue to use earlier naming patterns.

1983

The impact of English as a tool for specialised functions in modern society, including the shaping of modern terminologies, is also reflected on the yellow pages. The advent of the computer age in the 1980s can be seen in

the 1983 directory in trademarks and company names like *Apple Computer*, *Prime Computer* and *Finland International Computer*. Productive endings in company names naturally include the word *data*, derived from Latin through English, and other English words connected with the field, like *Datapoint* or *Softway*. But perhaps rather surprisingly the Finnish word *tieto* "information, knowledge" is at least equally productive, yielding compounds like *Tietoavain* "~ key", *Tietokanava* "~ channel", *Tietoura* "~ career", *Tietolinkki* "~ link" and *Tietotytöt* "~ girls".

Hairstyles are important in creating personal images. French continues to symbolise beauty business in the names of hair salons (*Chacun*, *Chez*, *La Femme*), but English is also frequently used. Most of the English names are stereotyped, such as *Beauty City*, *Beauty Hair* or *Best Salon*, but some surprises occur, too: *Dizzy*, *Finnstar*, *Black and White* and *Polar Hair*. Some names have cultural connotations. A cult film has inspired the name of *Bonnie & Clyde*, and Shakespeare's lovers have lent their name to *Romeo ja Julia*, using the Finnish form of the names. The particularly appropriate name of a fairy tale figure is found in *Goldilocks* and its Finnish equivalent *Kultakutri*. Several hair salons have Finnish names with some inventive and humorous touches, e.g. *Päämaja* "headquarters". A rather sophisticated cultural pun occurs in *Ylähuone*, the Finnish term for the House of Lords, literally "upper room".

The advertising business expands, and company names become more diverse, containing purely Finnish or English names, and various types of hybrids and made-up words: *Ammattimedia* "professional media", *Admark*, *Markkinointi Elo* "marketing Elo", *Ilmoitusmiehet* "announcement men", *Tradver*, *Pressmark*, *Helsingin Kilpi- ja Mainosmaalaamo* "Helsinki sign and advertisement painting house", *Finn-Mareka*, *Modulex*, *Kilpex*, *Zorro*, *System-Text*, *Mainostoimisto aadee* "advertising agency a d", *MainosPoint* "advertisement point", *Copywriting Hot Shop – Tekstitehdas* "text factory". A public relations office called *PRick-PRint* has clearly chosen its name on the basis of the suitable initials, probably unaware of the rather unfortunate connotation of the name for native speakers of English. Firms importing and selling company gifts are new. Their names are almost exclusively in English: *Company Image*, *Sweet Time*, *Top-Print*, *Top Media*, *Moonstyle*, *Day-Dream*, *West City*, *Eurosales*.

Gyms increase in number, and English gains ground (*Helsinki Gym*, *The Fitness Center*, *Free Time Club*), but Finnish is found as well (*Hoikkakunto* "thin fitness"). A trace of the period is seen in *HI-Man*

Sportin Universe Gyms Kehonrakennussalit, where the meaning of the word *gyms* is for the sake of clarity glossed with a Finnish equivalent. One of the gyms uses a slogan *Bodi on mun koti* "body (Fi. *vartalo*) is my home". Dancing schools also increase in number. An older trend of using the teacher's name as the company name continues (*Aira Samulin, Tanssikoulu Blomqvist* "dance school Blomqvist"), but more imaginative English names are also found: *Tap-Step, Dance Factory.*

In addition to the earlier *-ex*, a new productive suffix *-set* gains ground, e.g. *Silkkiset, Kotkaset.* In these bilingual puns the English *set* coincides with the Finnish nominative plural of nouns ending in *-nen*, a common ending in family names, also used as a diminutive. Thus the name of a company called *Ketjuset* can actually be understood in three ways: "chain set", "small chains" or "the Ketjunens". Compounds combining e.g. English adjectives and Finnish nouns are common: *Economic Kaluste* "furniture". Some advertisements retain original English terms that are glossed in Finnish, e.g. *euro-routing opastinjärjestelmät* "routing systems". English slogans begin to increase, even with Finnish company names. Examples are provided by advertisements of a translation firm *Kielitalo - we mean business* ("language house") and *Mainoslahja - full service* ("business gift").

1993

In 1993 the yellow pages became trilingual, with sector headings and index in Finnish, Swedish and English, resulting in sequences like *Akvarioita / Akvarier / Aquariums & supplies* or *Laakereita / Lager / Bearings.* The change is significant as the status given to English is thus raised from EFL to L2.

Naming practices in the new industries remain much the same. The computer business relies on English elements with names like *Compupro, Data-Helsinki, Data Partners, Data-Anne, Datatrans*, and, perhaps more commonly, mixtures like *Nuordata* ("new, young"), but purely Finnish compounds containing the native equivalent for *data / information* are found as before: *Tietopari* "~ couple", *Tietonauha* "~ tape", *Tietotehdas* "~ factory", *Tietovoima* "~ power".

In the beauty business English names proliferate; examples are provided by *Pivot Point, Dream Hair, Lady Style, New Image Salon System, Blue Dream, Deep Lifting, Hair and Beauty Shop*, and *White Lies.* Mixed forms occur as well (*Hiusmuotoilu Updata* "hair stylist update"), and there

are several Finnish names that have special, often funny, connotations, such as *Pörröpää* "shaggy head", *Säkkärä* "frizz", or the somewhat puzzling *Puuteripupu* "powder bunny". An advertisement for nail studio services creates a hybrid formation *Light-concept-kynsistudiopalvelut.*

A peculiarity is the use of the apostrophe, which seems to have spread from English into non-functional use in names. The original use is found in names with possessives like *Cat's Pride, Tina's Style, Salon Diana's*, or marking abbreviated forms like *Cuttin' Club.* But it also occurs in a hairdresser's name *In' hair* and even in the Finnish *Hius' vinkki* (*hius* "hair", *vinkki* "tips"), where the only function seems to be the imitation of English. Other unexpected uses of the apostrophe include *conform'able systems* in an advertisement for shoes.[10]

Some new and productive coinages include short words like *zoo* with place names, e.g. *Malmi Zoo*, a local pet shop. Service branches exhibit English names with already established loans like *city* and *centre*, but some new ones, too. These include *Business Service, Help, Clerical, Businesslink, TipTop*, and *Office Team.* Advertising companies continue to parade new English names, such as *Badge Man* or *Fasten*, but Finnish as well, like the creative *Kilpikonna* "turtle", where the first part of the compound is one of the Finnish equivalents for *sign.* The film business uses familiar phrases like *Also Starring*, but some names have a more artificial flavour, like *Smile Audiovisual* or *Image Audiovisual.* Public relations agencies use names like *PR-Consulting, PR-Group, PR-Image.* English names occur in other branches as well, e.g. *Print Center, Printing Belik, Knit & Wear.*

1998

The 1998 directory is trilingual as well, with English in a fairly prominent position. Some new trends can be noticed. For example, a very productive ending from the Helsinki slang *-is*, is now attached to English words, too, e.g. for physiotherapy one can go to *Helppis* or *Fysiosporttis.* New fields include graffiti cleaning services, with names like *Graffi-clean, PR-clean, Rose Road*, but also *Stadin puhtis*, where *Stadi* is the slang name for Helsinki and *puhtis* formed with the suffix *-is* from a stem meaning clean. Another slang name for Helsinki occurs in the strange hybrid *Hesasbest raksystems*, where *rak* is

[10] This type of (mis)use of the apostrophe in native speakers' writing is one of the main topics discussed in Truss (2003), a best-seller of the winter 2003/4.

probably an abbreviation of Finnish *rakennus* "building" – the name can be interpreted as "the best building company of Helsinki".

Other new fields include *Copter Action* and *Helitour*, and a company called *Sky Breakers*, which in addition to *benjihyppyjä* "bungy jumping" also provides *stuntman-toimintaa* "stuntman services". Caps with logos were a new fashion, perhaps connected with the rising popularity of golf, or imitating American baseball caps. Their production was connected with company gifts and dominated by English names, like *Brodeeraustalo HEF* (*House of Embroidery Finland*). This is the first time that we observed an English acronym for a Finnish company; the 2003 directory adds a quality statement of fame in the US as well. Other companies in the field also have English names: *Logo Door* and *Micke's*, which in the 2003 catalogue is spelled *Mickey*^{s}, with the final superscript *s* visually resembling an apostrophe. Golf is dominated by English: *Golf-service*, *Golf-house*, *Golf-company*, *Golf-center*, *Classic Golf*, *Nevada Bob's Golf Superstore*, with occasional native compounds like *Golf-soppi* "~ corner" and *Golf-resepti* "~ recipe".

It is somewhat startling that most security firm and alarm equipment advertisements are in English, like the following advertisement: *Detective Agency Exact-Find. Personsearch, following, protection, proofs, business-partners, checks ... 100% silence gar. Swedish, english* [*sic*], *spanish* [*sic*] *spoken 50 USD.* As the price is given in dollars, the target audience is probably not domestic, but reflects Helsinki becoming more international. Security services are also provided by *Telealert*, and *Defa Auto Security* adds an English slogan *To serve and protect.* Guns are also sold in English: *Classic Fieldsport*, *Finn Enterprise*, *Old Armoury*, *Gun Corner*, *Helsinki Shooting Club*, *Race Gun*, and so forth.

A hybrid form with a double use of the syllable *ma* is found in a company name focusing on renovating windows *SAUMASTERS*, joining Finnish *sauma* "seam" with English *masters* together so neatly that the seam cannot be detected. French and English are combined with Finnish in *Chic Catering Juhlapalvelu* "party service". Some very new business fields have no names in Finnish, so that Finnish companies offer e.g. *Franchising-konsultteja* "franchising consultants".

Various fields of entertainment use English names, sometimes with humorous touches: *Noise House*, *Disco Enterprise*; the most innovative creation is a version of the Finnish family name Laitinen, spelled in the English way in the company name *LIGHTinen.* Features of American "high life" have entered Helsinki, e.g. it is possible to have fun by riding

with *International Limousine System* or *Limousine Transfer Helsinki*. Pet shops and veterinary clinics use English, e.g. *Eläinkauppa Petpost*, *Solid Gold*, and *TuusVet*, which combines the beginning of a town name *Tuusula* with the English *vet*.

A more varied use of foreign languages is found in second-hand shops and antiquarian bookstores. Second-hand clothes are sold in shops called *Play it again Sam*, *Old-Joy*, *Country Rose*, *Liisa's*, *Tomorrow's antique*. Second-hand books shops rely on Latin, e.g. *Laterna magica*, *Anno domini*, *Libris*, *Interfennica*, or Italian, like *La Reido*. *Divary* is a foreign-looking variation of the homely *divari*, a slang word for an antiquarian bookshop.

Swedish is present in some combinations, but not frequently, e.g. *Ny-net*, *Byrodata* [*sic*]. Words that could be either Swedish or English are used in new coinages, like *tips* in *Nikotips*, a tobacco shop with lottery.

Slogans and catchy lines become more common, e.g. *Jetfix 1 day service*; *Bitwit a bright idea*; *Improvator - We improve your system*. Some English lines are fairly long, e.g. *Finn Hansa 1st Office Baltic Business Software*. A slogan built on bilingual word play is found in *CAD Center - CADestä pitäen*. When read as a single word, the slogan containing *CAD* becomes Fi. *kädestä pitäen* "led by the hand". This is probably the most creative use of English adapted to local uses, and the target group is clearly domestic.

2003

In 2003, the trends found five years earlier continue. English abounds in beauty and fitness sectors. Fitness centres include *Blue Fitness*, *Finnbody*, *City Gym*, *Hot Gym*, *Silver Gym*, *Move! Wellness Center*, *Ideal fit*, *Let's Go Center*; dance lessons can be attended in *PilviSteps* ("cloud steps"). A large number of hairdresser's and barber's shops have English names. *Salon Hair West*, *Salon Sir*, *Clippers*, *Design Point*, *Hair Gate*, *Hair Space*, *Shortcut*, *Shaggy Head* and *Top-Hair* illustrate some common naming practices. *Micro-Maid*, *A4Com* or *QFIX & Mr. Quicks* offer help for problems with IT equipment. Companies providing temporary workers include *A 1 Business Service*, *Banquet Service*, *Capital Restaurant Services*, *Businesslike*, *Star People*, *Personnel*, *Materent*, *Manpower* and *Search & Selection – S & S Consulting*, hybrid formations *Proffis* and *Poolia*, and the Latinate *ProSelectum*. The English words *Center*, *Shop*, *Group*, *Service* and *Systems* are commonly used to form compounds with Finnish general or proper nouns.

Some new trends can also be found. New fields like virtual offices use English names: *Nova Call - Your contact center partner*, *Call Waves solutions*, *Virtual Office*. Veterinary services have the English component *vet* in common use now, e.g. in *Equivet*, *Vetek*, *VetSet*; Latin occurs in *Anident* and *Felina*. Other Latin names include *Juridicus*, *Unio mystica* and *Nova*. Creations of a new type making conscious use of English homophones are found e.g. in *Best Shop 4 Pets*. Hybrids and mixtures are common, such as *Voltmen* (electricity), *Apu Team* ("help team"), *Nettoy* and *Optospecial*. Driving schools use English names like *My Way*, *Young Drivers*, *Cool Drivers* and *Bestway*, but also Italian *Strada*, which in fact already occurred in the 1953 directory. In general, cars and services connected with them favour English mixtures, e.g. car washing services are provided by *Shining Center*, and *Ruoholahden Car Wash & Fix* or *Espoon Auto Cleaner*, both containing a Finnish genitive form of a place name. Windscreens are provided by *Smart Repair*.

Slogans continue to increase. Many slogans are in fact Finnish, but English also occurs. *FCS Logistics* attracts customers by the assurance *We take care*. A somewhat startling catchline from a feminist point-of-view *It's a MAN's world* occurs in a truck-drivers' announcement, making use of the pun in the name of the German MAN Group producing e.g. diesel engines. Some slogans use mixed language: *Wayne's Catering - Tilaisuus, jossa Wayne keitraa, on tuore* "an occasion where Wayne caters is fresh". The 3rd person present tense form *keitraa* is an adaptation, likely to occur in casual speech.

Conclusion

This survey of multilingual practices on the Helsinki yellow pages provides a fifty-year perspective on the use of English, as well as other foreign languages, for commercial purposes in Finland. Major changes have taken place in the external social context during the period under scrutiny: Finland has experienced whole-scale modernisation and in particular the Helsinki region has undergone rapid technological development into a hi-tech information society, new business fields have emerged, internationalisation has taken place, and commercialisation and consumerism prevail, at least on the yellow pages. The English-language skills of Finns have also greatly improved during the past decades, making the use of English possible without sacrificing intelligibility. Language use requiring more advanced levels of fluency has also become possible: various types of word play and bilingual puns occur frequently in the recent

samples. All this has contributed to the growing impact of English on commercial language practices, mirrored in the escalating use of English on the yellow pages over time. In comparison with English, other languages have a relatively small role in commercial language use. Exceptions are French, which is common especially in the beauty business, and Latin, which has remained productive in naming practices throughout the period. At the same time, the conscious cultivation of the national languages in Finland is also manifested, e.g. in the application of native words in compounds in the IT sector.

The use of English is often explained by connotations of modernity. An English-language brand, trademark, company name, or slogan lends a commodity an up-to-date, fashionable and youthful image. In our data this trend is already attested in the 1950s sample but becomes increasingly common over time. However, an opposite connotation can be verified in the data as well, since English also occurs e.g. in the names of shops selling antiques. Rather than modernity, the choice of language in such cases symbolises conservative values of a long Western tradition of high living-standards. It also links up with cultural stereotypes, in this case with traditional English country style and an upper-class way of life.

Some of the new names and coinages in our material are in a language imitating English but not quite what native speakers would use. The aimed effect may be achieved via an association or connotation in the Finnish language, but would be incomprehensible to native speakers of English. What we have in these cases is English in Finland, intended for Finnish speakers – "Finglish" in a new sense, intended for intranational use. Cultural imperialism of the use of English gains new dimensions as it becomes coloured by local and national features; English in EFL and L2 countries is not a monolithic entity. The non-communicative use of English in an intranational context needs to be seen in a new light, reflecting local habits as well as cultural conventions and national stereotypes.

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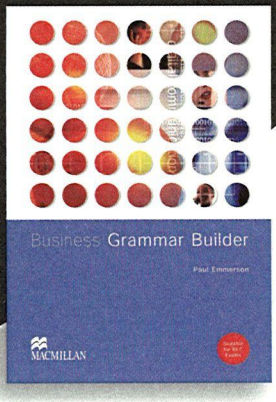

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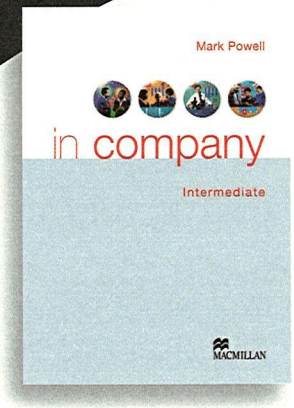

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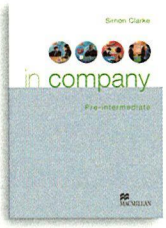

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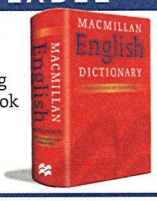

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