

English Language Use in the Swedish Daily Press

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Influence of English

As long as our language has existed, we Swedes have had connections with people who have spoken other languages than Swedish. Trading has always played a big part but also the exchange of thoughts and experiences. It is partly thanks to these connections with other countries that our vocabulary has expanded through the centuries. New words say something about changes in society, in our way of thinking and how we live. It also tells about new technology, wars and disasters. No area of human experience has been excluded from contacts with other people and this has also influenced our language.

The use of English in spoken and written discourse is a much-debated topic in Sweden. It has been debated in academic discussions and television programmes as well as newspapers. The issue is whether English is threatening the survival of Swedish or not. In a speech at the Swedish Academy 1959, Fredrik Böök said that the guidance on modern Swedish usage should be focused on stopping the Anglo-Saxon barbarism (Ljung 1988:18). Several language councils have taken part in the “fight” against English. In 1987 the Swedish Language Council participated in a campaign against the use of unnecessary English words in business life (Språkvård 1987:2 p.28).

A plan of action to strengthen the position of the Swedish language was presented at the request of the government (Språkvård 1998:2 p7-23). It points out the displacement of political responsibility from the Swedish government to the European Union. In the long run

this could lead to a depletion of the Swedish political language. Other areas, for example education, are also affected by the use of English and it was therefore as necessary to confirm the position of the Swedish language by law.

On the other hand, in an international perspective, of the about 5 000 existing languages, Swedish is one of the 50-60 languages that have a strong position in the meaning that it is fully standardised, has a comprehensive usage and is spoken and written as a mother tongue for a great number of people (Språkvård 1998:2 p.8). So the question is if there is anything to worry about?

1.2 Aim

The aim of this study is to establish and discuss some quantitative and qualitative facts concerning English usage in the editorial text categories Sports and Business and Finance in a total of ten issues of the Swedish daily paper *Dagens Nyheter*, and entertainment in 3 issues of its entertainment supplement *På Stan*. All issues are from July and August 2002. The main aim is to answer the questions:

- How frequently are English words and expressions used in the investigated corpora of written Swedish?
- What sort of words are borrowed from English?
- How are the English loan words adapted to the Swedish language system, and what can be said about their frequency and dispersion in the material?

1.3 Previous Studies

Even though the influence of English on the Swedish language has been much debated in newspapers and on television there are not many studies made on the subject.

It is not until the end of the second half of the 18th century and during the 19th century that the English language has had a notable influence on the Swedish language and then only in certain areas (Hellquist 1930:808). Loans from the English language before the 19th century were mostly for material reasons; trade, technology and communication. It was not until the 19th century that more abstract words were borrowed (Ljung 1988:13). Without doubt, the English language invasion started after World War Two. It was in 1945 that the USA had their breakthrough as a political and economical superpower (Ljung 1988:12). The great cultural influence from the USA with waves of new words did not only affect the Swedish but also other European languages (Westman 1994:65).

Some of the studies made are old and therefore cannot be said to reflect the use of English in modern Swedish (Bergsten (1915), Hellquist (1930). However, the topic has been studied in shorter articles by for example Söderbergh (1973), Soontak (1975) and Hyltenstam (1995). There are also some more comprehensive studies. Graedler (1995) looks at morphological, semantic and functional aspects of English lexical borrowings in Norwegian newspapers, magazines and novels. Magnus Ljung looks at attitudes to, and acceptance of, different types of recent English borrowings (1985, 1988). Hollqvist (1984) investigated the use of English in three large Swedish companies in which English was the company language. He also attempted to describe the business people's level of proficiency in English. Studies have also been made in certain delimited areas, such as sport (Tingbjörn 1976, Ljung 1985) and commercial advertising (Chrystal 1988).

Most studies are based on a written corpora since collection and transcription of considerable spoken corpora requires time, effort and funding. Sharp (2001), however, in her doctoral dissertation, explores the use of English in the spoken Swedish of two discourse domains: the conversation of business meetings and the casual conversation of young adults.

Chrystal succeeded in measuring the actual use of English lexical items in Swedish in her thesis *Engelskan i Svensk Dagspress* (1988). In a corpus of 2.7 million words from Swedish newspapers she found 6880 loan tokens, an average of 2.5 loans per 1000 words (1988:199). Unlike other studies, Chrystal's thesis looked at both the borrowing and integration process: how formal, social, semantic and stylistic factors influence the establishment into the common language (1988:10). Chrystal classified her English loans into three categories: established loans, interim loans and unintegrated loans (1988:50-56). These categories reflect the degrees of integration.

In my study I will use the method Chrystal (1988) presented. I will keep to this method as strictly as possible in order to be able to compare the research with hers and an essay on the subject written by Ingrid Anderson (2001). Anderson has also used Chrystal's method in her studies of English use in Swedish evening press.

1.4 Outline of the Study

In this introductory chapter I have presented the topic of study, stated its primary aims and looked at previous studies of the subject. Chapter 2 describes the material on which the study is based, the collection and delimitation of the corpus and registration of instances.

In chapter 3 I will present the method I have used to classify the borrowings. I discuss different criteria for classifying loan-words and present a classification based on the borrowings' degree of establishment into the Swedish language system.

The total amount of loans is presented in chapter 4. In the same chapter I will also account for the distribution of the loans into the three categories *established*, *interim* and *non-integrated* loans. I also describe the division of the loans into different word classes and their frequency and distribution in the material.

Chapter 5 includes a short summary and a comprehensive discussion about the use of English loans in Swedish. I also discuss the possible threat that English constitute.

2. MATERIAL

2.1 Choice of Material

As I pointed out in section 1.3, most studies are based on a written corpora. Such a corpus may well be used to illustrate the ratio of loan-words in the vocabulary of a language.

However, a disadvantage is that it gives a one-sided picture of the language situation. It gives

information about how many loans there are in a certain amount of text but it does not show how many of the loans the individual speaker understands and uses himself, that is how common the usage is in daily speech.

I have chosen to work with the daily press since it gives a relatively good picture of the common language, i.e. the language used in everyday speech and written text, which is at the same time influenced by the daily press (Grahm 1976:109). The daily press, according to Grahm, forms the language and has, accordingly, a dual role. How newspapers treat the language is likely to form a guideline for people's language use, one example is the spelling of *sajt* and *webbsida* (Berggren 2001:151).

I have chosen the biggest daily newspaper in Sweden, *Dagens Nyheter*. In order to carry out this study of English loan-words in the daily press within the scope of a D-level essay I have had to limit the investigation to certain text categories, since studying all categories would result in a very extensive material. The three categories chosen are Sports, Business and Finance and Entertainment and Culture supplement *På stan*.. These categories are known to be open to English words and are clearly defined sections in *Dagens Nyheter*.

Sports is a genre that has been greatly influenced by English and it has functioned as a channel for English loans. Business and Finance is another genre where there are many terms which are English and I want to see if these are used in a daily newspaper as well or if the language is simplified for the general public. While Chrystal (1988) studied English loans in 48 complete newspapers I have chosen to work with these two categories, 'Sports' and 'Business and Finance', in seven issues of *Dagens Nyheter*. The weekly culture supplement to *Dagens Nyheter*, *På stan* is mainly aimed at younger readers. I have chosen three issues of *På*

stan in order to see if it differs from the traditional newspaper when it comes to the use of English words. Since it is written for young readers, uses casual language and mainly contains articles about music and art I assume that there will be more English words in *På stan* than in the other categories.

2.2 The Corpus and Exerption

The corpus consists of seven issues of *Dagens Nyheter* with the categories ‘Sports’ and ‘Business and Finance’ and three issues of its culture supplement *På stan*. The total number of words in the corpus is 114 548. Table 1 shows their distribution across the three genres studied:

Table 1: *The distribution of English loans across the three genres studies*

Newspaper	Business and Finance	På stan	Sports	Total
Dagens Nyheter	46 898	40 759	26 891	114 548

All issues are from July and August 2002. The dates are as follows:

Dagens Nyheter:

‘Sports’ and ‘Business and Finance’:	Monday	1	July
	Sunday	7	July
	Wednesday	17	July
	Saturday	20	July
	Friday	9	August
	Tuesday	13	August

På stan:	12-18	July
	2-8	August
	9-15	August

I have chosen one issue from each day of the week in order to avoid recurrent themes.

Anderson (2001) says in her study that the newspaper she had chosen had a country theme on Fridays and choosing several Friday issues would involve a risk of overrepresentation of the word country. A bigger spread of the issues over the year would have been desirable since the content could be dominated by a big news feature which then could have an influence of the amount of English loans and cause an overrepresentation of separate loans. Since my corpus is from the summer, football is a dominating feature in the Sports section. As football is a rather old sport and most of the terms that originally come from English are integrated in the Swedish language, it could mean an under-representation of English loans in the sport section. In På stan I have included all articles and record- and cd-reviews but I have excluded all advertisements for concerts, restaurants etc.

Chrystal (1988:40) counted the number of words in 25 out of 48 papers and estimated the number in the remaining 23. I used the Swedish online press archive to count words in the articles. However, I discovered that some articles were not reproduced literally in the press archive. Some articles were shortened or words had been replaced and captions were not included either. It was difficult to discover these differences. However, my material of 114 548 words allows a margin of error of a few hundred words without affecting the result. Some articles did not occur in the press archive and I therefore counted them manually as well as the articles where I found differences to the press archive. All running text on the pages has been

included in the word count. Lists and score tables have been excluded. Where the lists contained parts of running text, only the running text was counted.

Abbreviations of names such as *DN* are counted as one word while other abbreviations, for example *m.m.*, are counted as two words. Dates and numbers are counted as one word.

However I have not checked this when using the press archive, only when counting manually.

I have gone through the papers twice to register all instances of English loans. Then an additional third time when registering them in the corpus. It is very difficult to discover all loans, especially loans that are established into the Swedish language and follow Swedish spelling and grammar rules. To my help I have used Chrystal's word list with words she found in her study (1988:203) and different books of new words in the Swedish language. All loans were verified with SAOL 9.

2.3 Delimitation

I have, like Chrystal (1988:27), used the term English for all words from the English speaking world, irrespective of the origin. I have not tried to establish whether the loans are of British or American origin, or when they were borrowed into the Swedish language, as this would be a too time-consuming and complicated task (Chrystal 1988: 27, 29). It is also not always possible to investigate the question of origin since the two language variations influence each other.

In my study the focus is on words loaned during the post-war period and later. Words included in the *Swedish Academy's Shorter Dictionary, 1950* (SAOL 9) from 1950 have been excluded from the material since these, according to Chrystal (1988:29), were regarded as established in the Swedish language at the time.

Neither Ljung nor Chrystal has made a distinction between code-switching, i.e. alternate use of two languages in the same phrase or utterance, and loans, i.e. a word borrowed from another language, in their studies. It is difficult to draw a border between code-switching and temporary loans of smaller constituents and I will therefore not use the term code-switching in my study either. However, when the writer switches between Swedish and English rather than borrowing an English expression into Swedish, especially in longer sections, this is probably an example of the use of code-switching as a strategy. I will use the terms *loan* and *borrowing*, despite the type and the size of the loan. The terms *loan* and *borrowing* are used synonymously.

My study involves direct loans, loans where both the expression and the content side of the word are borrowed, consequently no loan translations (such as *släppfest* from the Eng. release party) and semantic loans are included in the study. Furthermore, compounds formed by Swedish and English parts are included whether they have come about by part substitution or domestic coining of new words, for example lowfatmat. Pseudo-loans, i.e. words formed with English morphemes but which do not occur in English, have been included as well. They appear to be English borrowings but are in fact Swedish words, like Chrystal's example freestyle for Eng. walkman) (1988:16) and Anderson's gymping (2001:58). I have, however, not found any examples of this in my material.

Apart from direct loans I have also looked at the occurrence of larger units, i.e. phrases, sentences and even whole text passages. Furthermore, proper nouns have been excluded as well as proprietary names, titles of films, CDs, plays, radio and television programmes. Linguists' treatment of English proper nouns and names vary frequently in previous linguistic studies. Whereas Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) include names of companies, clubs, titles of books etc. in their study of English loanwords in French-speaking Canada, studies such as Chrystal (1988) exclude them. Proper nouns constitute a significantly large group and Ljung writes that two thirds of the loans in one of his studies were made up of names (1988:98). Chrystal acknowledges that proper names are results of language contact. However, she means that the influence is on the cultural level rather than on the linguistic level and has therefore excluded them (1988:18).

When it comes to drawing up of boundaries concerning age and type of loans, i.e. direct loans, semantic loans and loan translations, I have followed those which Chrystal (1988:30 f.) and Anderson (2001:58 f.) have used.

Example 1: Words which in any form are covered in SAOL 9 are not included in the study. If a loan in its Swedish form is included in SAOL 9, but occurs both in its Swedish form and original form in the material, it has still not been included in the corpus. In my material this concerned picnic which already exists in its Swedish form picknick in SAOL 9. Another example is fabrication, which in my material had an English spelling but already exists in SAOL9 with a Swedish spelling, fabrikation.

Example 2: In the case where words are used with new meanings that are not covered in SAOL 9 they are considered as new direct loans and are therefore included in the corpus.

Among others, the following words have been considered as new direct loans: animera, animation, pop, promotion, rock and singel. These words are used with new meanings. The meaning given in SAOL 9 of the word pop is a Greek-Catholic priest while the new meaning is a type of music (*Främmande ord* 1998 and *Från rondell till gräddfil* 1988). The meanings of the word singel/single were previously ‘a kind of gravel’ or that of ‘working alone in a sport’. It has now been extended to include ‘a record with a shorter recording per side’ and ‘a person not involved in a relationship’. Words used in different contexts than those given in SAOL 9, but do not show any change in meaning, are not treated as new direct loans and are therefore excluded. This concerns for example the word klubb (sport) > klubb (aktie). However, I have included klubb (natt) because this is not an association as sportklubb and aktieklubb are but an actual place. It is a difficult task to draw a line between new direct loans and content loans. I have therefore chosen to omit any doubtful cases in order to avoid a misleading percentage of loans. I agree with Anderson (2001:59) that it is better to have a result where there are no dubious cases but where any possible additions may be discussed.

Example 3: Some compounds are treated as new loans even if the separate parts of the compound are already covered in SAOL 9, like Chrystal’s example of Sales Manager where she says that the compound has been borrowed as a unit (1988:31). I did not find any examples of this in my material.

Example 4: The so-called international words constitute another difficult group to identify. International words, of Latin or Greek morphemes, are considered as English loans if they are of a more recent date, e.g. video, because they are probably then borrowed from English. However, a word such as incident is not included in the study. Even though the use today is probably due to English influence, it is still borrowed from another language, e.g. French

(Chrystal 1988:32). In order to determine cases like this I have considered Chrystal's word list and different books that treat new words in the Swedish language.

Example 5: International prefixes such as makro-, mikro-, maxi-, mini- and super- have not been included, for example makromöjlighet. Chrystal (1988:32) argues that the reason for increase of the use of these prefixes is due to English influence. Like Anderson, I found additional prefixes such as mega-, and tera-.

2.4 Recording of instances

The instances of English loans were recorded in a database. The database and other supplements are enclosed to the D-level essay on a CD. The database contains information about the form of the loan, its source, context, text type, text category, subject of article and author. The instances have been registered both in the form they appear in the text and in a standardised form: common case for nouns, infinitive for verbs etc. (see also Chrystal 1988:42 f. and Anderson 2001:60 f.). This makes it possible to classify the words per loan. As Chrystal (ibid.) I have sorted the different variants of the same word under a common standardised form, e.g. tuffare, and tuffast under tuff and singel and singlar under singel.

When English loans are parts of Swedish compounds, only the English part of the compound have got the standardised form. Tuggummipop, popmusik and popstjärna have the common standardised form pop. Phrases and sentences have not been given a standardised form. When an unintegrated loan only occurs in a compound, the compound as a unit is put down as the standardised form. According to Chrystal (ibid.) these loans are probably borrowed as a unit

through part-substitution, e.g. whiplash-skada. As Anderson (2001:61) points out, loans which are not borrowed through part-substitution, but are represented in the material in compounds, e.g. hedgefond, might have been put down in this category because of the limited size of my material. This, however, does not affect the number of loans but has significance when it comes to dividing the loans into different word classes.

Like Chrystal (1988:43), I have chosen to treat different forms of the same word, for example stress and stressa and ranka, rankning as separate loans disregarding which form, the noun or the verb, has been borrowed first and which one is then a Swedish construction.

I have in the corpus put down information about the type of text and context. This offers information about where the loan occurs: in running text, caption, headline and what the immediate surroundings of the word are. Other information noted about the loan is for example whether the word is explained or translated in the article and the subject of the article.

3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Like Anderson, I have chosen to follow the method Ann Chrystal uses in her doctor's dissertation to study the use of English in the daily press. I want to make a distinction between when the writer wants to add an expression to the Swedish language system and when there are no signs of this in the context. The classification of the borrowings is therefore based on the degree of establishment of the loan-words.

A common classification of loan-words is a division into loan-words, foreign words and loan-words borrowed in its original spelling (Chrystal 1988:16 f). However, Chrystal writes that this division does not say anything about the degree of establishment of the loan. By dividing the borrowings into different degrees of establishment it is possible to study the different parts of the establishment process, such as formal integration, field of application, frequency and circulation (1988:47).

Establishment is a continuing process. Words that were registered as unintegrated in Anderson's and Chrystal's material may be registered as established in my material. For example, Anderson has registered Internet as unintegrated while I have registered it as established. This is because I have used later editions of the same dictionaries as Anderson and Chrystal have used.

Nowadays complete integration of English loans into Swedish is rare. Loan-words often keep the original spelling and sometimes original forms as well. However, an adaptation to the Swedish spelling system may be a sign of a high degree of establishment (Chrystal 1988:49). Chrystal gives the example tuff from English tough, which also exists in my material, as a highly adapted loan that follows Swedish spelling rules.

3.1 Established loans

Dictionaries are objective, descriptive sources to use when estimating the establishment of words into Swedish. Since new words are not immediately included in the *Swedish Academy's Shorter Dictionary, 1950 (SAOL 9)* it is not a suitable tool when classifying the

loans. In order to be able to compare my results with Anderson (2001) and Chrystal (1988) I have used the following dictionaries, which are also the same dictionaries as they have used:

Bonniers Svenska ordbok (1994) 6th edition. (from now on BSO)

Från rondell till gräddfil. Nya ord i svenskan från 40-tal till 80-tal (1988)

2nd edition (from now on FRTH)

Främmande ord. 25 000 ord och deras ursprung (1998) (from now on FO)

In order to avoid that the selection of one single dictionary is reflected in the material, three different dictionaries are used. These three can together give a good picture of the use of language in the year 2002 and the words established in common language during the postwar period. If a word is recorded in any of these three dictionaries, it is regarded as established.

Even though a word is regarded as established, that does not mean that the word has finished the integration process. Several loan-words show variation in formal respect, like spelling and plural endings. Words that are different forms of the same origin and where one form is included in one of the dictionaries above are all regarded as established. One example is the noun tabloid and the verb tabloidisera where only the noun is included in the dictionaries (cp. spray and spraya Chrystal 1988:92 f). Anderson writes that these words are likely to have been borrowed approximately at the same time and when controlling this in FRTG this appears to be common, for example stress and stressa (1950's). Other examples are ranka and rankning (1949), punk and punkare (1970's). In my study, this concerns poppare, rap, rappare, rejvare, shake, softa, soulig, tabloidisera, tajming and upphottad.

I have regarded an English form of a loan as unintegrated even if a Swedish form of the loan is well-established, I found a similar example to Anderson rockers when the Swedish word rockare is well-established into the language, e.g. pokerface and pokeransikte (cp. cassetterecorder Chrystal 1988:52 and punkrockers Anderson 2001:63).

Like Andersson, I have also included different forms of mobba, mobbing as established loans (2001:63). These words came into Swedish in 1969, however the word mobb is included in SAOL 9 and has existed in Swedish since 1768. It is therefore likely that mobbad is a new loan with a partly new meaning, influenced by English (Anderson 2001:63) Looking at Chrystal's material (1988) these loans are not included. However, I have, like Chrystal (1988:149, 204), included the word band, as in jazzband and rockband, which Anderson has excluded.

Looking at established loans, this gives us information about the more lasting effects of the language contact on the Swedish vocabulary.

3.2 Non-established loans

Among the unintegrated loans are loans that have begun an integration process into the Swedish language as well as loans which can be seen as an effect from the journalist's own contact with English. Among the latter, there can be so called nonce borrowings, temporary loans (Weinreich 1953:11), as well as possible code-switching.

Like Chrystal, I have refrained from making a difference between the terms code-switching and loans. The border between these concepts is hard to draw and it is even harder to do it in a written text where any possible phonetic clues are not visible. Even though many of the English elements in the material might be examples of the use of code-switching, that is the author switches between Swedish and English rather than loans an English expression into Swedish, I have not used the term code-switching. All instances of English in the material are called *loans*, despite of type or size.

The unintegrated loans are instead divided into two categories:

- a) *Interim loans* where the loans show signs of integration into the Swedish language but are not fully established into the common language
- b) *Unintegrated loans* where the loans do not show any signs of adaptation to the Swedish language system.

3.2.1 Interim loans

In order to draw a border between unintegrated and interim loans I have, like Chrystal (1988:55), decided the status of the loan by studying the instances in their context. Words that show signs of formal or social integration are classified as interim.

A loan is considered interim if it has got a Swedish gender, e.g. sin Moose garden, Swedish ending e.g. pointgarden or is preceded by the Swedish indefinite article e.g. en "man in black", ett "red light district". A loan is also regarded as interim if it exists in compounds with Swedish words e.g. slackerliv and queerkulturen. As Chrystal writes, this means that even

first time loans might be included in this group (1988:55). If a loan exists both with and without formal integration in an article it has been considered as interim.

The social integration is estimated from the information about the frequency and distribution of the loans. If a loan occurs more than once in the material and in articles with different authors, it is considered interim. Because of the limited material of this study one ought to be careful about drawing any conclusions when it comes to social integration.

In this group there might also be some loans that have existed in the Swedish language for a long time but for some reason they are not included in the word books used for the study. These might for example be words associated with certain special areas. This rises the question why some words are never completely integrated but stays in the periphery of the vocabulary. By using this division, material which is foreign in every way can be sorted out, that is the unintegrated loans.

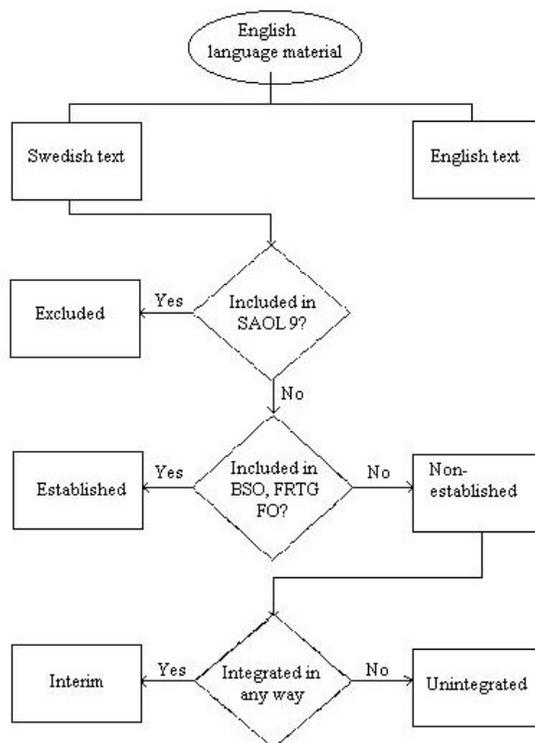
3.2.2 Unintegrated loans

Unintegrated loans show no sign of formal or social integration. In this group are not only words but bigger constituents such as phrases and sentences. Loans in this category usually only appear once in the material but might have a higher frequency because they occur more than once in the same text or the loan appears in a similar text with the same author on another place in the paper.

Loans that are regarded as unintegrated might still be interim in the common language because it has not appeared in a context in the material where formal integration was necessary. The risk of regarding a loan as unintegrated even though it appears as formally integrated in another context is always there despite of the size of the material. But as Chrystal (1988:56) writes, the division of unintegrated loans can give us a picture of the loans that are at the beginning of the integration process and it also sorts out the foreign parts of the material, mainly in form of English sentences and phrases.

3.3 Summary

The classification of English loans in the daily press presented above can be summarised in the following diagram (Chrystal 1988:57):



3.4 Treatment and Presentation of Borrowings

I account for my results by using quantitative information about the number of instances and loans in the material as a whole and per loan type, text type and subject area. When counting the number of instances every connected phrase or sentence has been regarded as one loan, despite of the number of running words, e.g. afternoon tea. This gives a truer picture of how the language material is used in the press even though it causes problems at statistical tests since the number of running words in the news papers have been counted word by word. But as Chrystal writes:

To write e.g. management resource development can not be considered to be three times as English as to choose the expression ledarskapsresursutveckling! (Chrystal 1988:58 my translation)

If two English loans, which both also exist in simplex, occurs in a compound, e.g. internetsajt, coverband, diskobeat, they are put down under respective loan, that is they are registered as one instance for each loan. I account for my results in tables with accompanying comments as well as in the wordlists that are enclosed as supplement 1-10.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Total amount of loans

The total number of English loans in the categories Sports, Business and Finance and *På stan* adds up to 888. These are distributed over 326 different loans. In comparison to the amount of

text in the material this gives an average number of 7,8 loans per 1 000 words. This can be compared to Chrystal's result (1988:40, 149-153, 155): 2,1 loans per 1 000 words for the same three categories (a number that she has not stated explicitly in her study but can be calculated from her tables. I have counted entertainment and culture as one category and compared that one to *På stan* since *På stan* contains both entertainment and culture articles). However, one has to bear in mind that Chrystal did not only use newspapers from the Stockholm region (such as *Dagens Nyheter*) but smaller newspapers from other parts of the country as well. Newspapers from other parts of the country contained considerably fewer loan words in the editorial text expressed as a percentage (1988:181). This could mean that if Chrystal had used newspapers exclusively from the Stockholm region the percentage would have been higher.

The three text categories differ prominently when it comes to the number of loans. As expected, the culture and entertainment supplement *På stan* contained a majority of the loans, 12,8 loans per 1 000 words. Business and Finance contained 3,8 loans per 1 000 words while the number in Sports was 6,9. Chrystal's result for the same three categories was entertainment and culture 3,2, Business and Finance 0,7 and Sports 1,8 loans per 1 000 words (Chrystal 1988:40, 149-157). Anderson's result for Sports was 3,8 and for entertainment and culture (where I have counted the two categories as one, just as I did with Chrystal's) 7,6 loans per 1 000 words (2001:66). I did expect *På stan* to contain the majority of the loans since it is directed to a younger audience. However, I did expect a higher percentage of loans in Business and Finance since many economic terms are in English. One possible explanation could be that *Dagens Nyheter* is not directed to economists but to the general public who might not understand the English economic terms.

The following table shows the 888 loans according to type of loans and text categories.

Table 2: *Loans according to type of loans and text categories*

Type of loan	Business and Finance	%	På stan	%	Sports	%	Total	%
Established	151	84	382	73	173	94	706	80
Interim	18	10	89	17	11	6	118	13
Unintegrated	11	6	52	10	1	1	64	7
Total	180	20	523	59	185	21	888	100

The 888 loans are divided into three categories: established, interim and unintegrated. Most of the loans in the material are established. This category contains 80 % of the loans while the non-established loans make up a total of 20%. The established loans are in majority in all the text categories.

A total of 864 different forms of loans are registered. The form of the loan is the exact form the loan had in the text. 21 instances in the material, 20 in *På stan* and 1 in Business and Finance, are compounds, such as diskobeat, and have been registered as *one* loan for each word.

Table 3: *Forms of loans according to text category*

	Business and Finance	På stan	Sports	Total
Loan forms	179	503	185	864

As mentioned before, Chrystal argues that counting every instance of English as one instance no matter how many running words gives a better picture of how the English material is used in the daily press (Chrystal 1988:58). I agree with this reasoning. But as Anderson (2001) writes, one wonders why Chrystal has only applied this principle when it comes to phrases and not to compounds. Instead, Chrystal registers compounds containing two loans as two separate instances (68). However, a compound such as diskobeat is usually seen as one word and is not twice as English as a simple loan. By registering a compound as two separate loans

the problem with every new combination of a loan being registered as a new loan is avoided. At the same time, Anderson writes that presenting the number of different forms of a loan as well as instances gives a better picture of the proportions in the text (Anderson 2001:68).

When it comes to different loans, i.e. after I have put the loans in their standardised form, in the text, the majority, 63%, were established. In Business and Finance and *På stan* there were about as many interim loans as unintegrated ones compared to Chrystal's study where unintegrated loans were more common than interim loans in the entertainment and culture category (compared with *På stan*) (Chrystal 1988: 150, 156). The division of the 326 different loans into type of loan and text category can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 4: *Different loans*

Type of loan	Business and Finance	%	På stan	%	Sports	%	Total	%
Established	45	70	117	56	44	85	206	63
Interim	10	15	50	24	6	11	66	20
Unintegrated	10	15	42	20	2	4	54	17
Total	65	100	209	100	52	100	326	100

In agreement with Ljung (1988) I was surprised by the small number of loans in the Business and Finance category. It seems like the specific terminology of economics is not used in the daily press. The loans found in my material are of a more general character, such as tuff, digital and Internet.

4.2 Established loans

The established loans consist of 706 instances divided on 206 different loans, i.e. standardised forms. The majority of the loans have only been recorded once, only a few loans have very

high frequencies. The 16 most common loans make up 39 % of all the instances. The fact that a few loans make up the majority of the total number of instances is noted in Chrystal's and Anderson's studies as well (Chrystal 1988:61, Anderson 2001:69). The 16 most frequent loans in my study are:

band (32), tuff (29), pop (27), telekom (24), cup (20), speedway (18), blues (16), country (16), Internet (15), pr (13), cd (13), festival (11), gym (10), rock (10), soul (10), sponsor (10).

Just as in Anderson's study tuff is the loan that has the widest distribution in the text (2001:70). It exists in 22 articles.

Several words have been established since Chrystal did her study. Hiphop, cover, funk, promotion, fight and keeper are words that Chrystal has regarded as interim since they were not included in the editions of the wordbooks she used. There are 97 loans that do not exist in Chrystal's study and I have therefore not compared whether they were interim at the time of Chrystal's study or not. The word Internet was regarded as Interim in 1996 when Anderson did her study. E-mail, which did not exist in my material, is another example of a loan that was interim in 1996 but is in 2003 regarded as established. Music is an important channel for new loans into the Swedish language and likewise is the area of computer and IT.

Of the 706 established loans, 6 of them were found in captions and 34 loans in headlines. The remaining 666 loans were found in running text.

4.2.1 Established loans divided into word classes

Among the 16 most common established loans there is only one adjective, tuff. The rest of the loans are nouns. The distribution of loans across different word classes can be seen in Table 5 below. Note that it is the standardised forms that have been divided into word classes and the table shows the number of different loans.

Table 5: *Established loans - distribution on word classes*

Word class	Different loans	%
noun	170	83
verb	18	9
adjective	16	8
adverb	1	0,5
interjections	1	0,5
all loans	206	100

a) Nouns

Nouns make up 83% of the established loans. Among these are some loans which only exist in compounds, the majority of which have Swedish components. Four borrowed initial abbreviations are found in the material: VIP, CD and PR. There are a number of reasons for the dominance of nouns. One reason is that most languages simply contain more nouns than other parts of speech (Sharp 2001:67). Nouns are easily transferred from one language to another since, unlike verbs for instance, they constitute non-central vocabulary that is relatively easily integrated and as Sharp points out most speech involves talking about subjects such as people and objects and these semantics factors explain further why nouns are easily transferred (2001:67).

b) Verbs

The verbs constitute 9% of the established loans. Some of the 18 verbs are formed from words that occur in other forms in the material, e.g. sprej, spraya; tabloid, tabloidisera. A few loans are classified as verbs even if they do not function as verbs in the material. But as Chrystal writes (1988:63), it is likely that these forms have been established from a borrowed verb e.g. seedad, rankad, animerad. As Ljung writes, borrowed verbs get, practically without exception, the Swedish infinitive ending *a* (Ljung 1988:95). Sharp states that this general rule pertains to all verbs, not only to established verbs (Sharp 2001:146).

c) Adjectives

The adjectives constitute 8% of the established loans. The classification of the loan underground is questionable since it is put down as both noun and adjective in FRTG. I have classified it as adjective since it in my material occurs as a first element in a compound:

På Kuba har hans “Miami” varit en jättestor undergroundhit i flera år [...] (DN 020712-18 *På stan* p. 11)

d) Adverbs

Only one loan has been classified as adverb and that is the word live. It exists 4 times in *På stan* and occurs twice as a first element in a compound: liveband and liveinspelningen. As Sharp writes, it might seem odd that no more adverbs are transferred since this category is characteristically mobile and many adverbs may fit anywhere within a clause. Besides, they are not function words, unlike conjunctions and prepositions, which would facilitate their transfer (Sharp 2001:72).

e) Interjections

Just one out of 206 different loans is an interjection, wow. It is found on the Sports pages.

Är jag rankad så jävla högt, wow! (DN 020707:C14)

Both Chrystal's (1988) and Anderson's (2001) studies contain very few interjections. These studies are both based on written corpora. Sharp, however, based her study on a spoken corpus and her result therefore differs from other studies. Interjections are there nearly twice as common as adjectives and are the third biggest word class (2001:70). She also predicts an increasing tendency towards using English interjections in spoken language in the future even though they will not necessarily become entries in SAOL (2001:198).

4.3 Interim loans

In the group interim loans are loans which show visible signs of integration into the Swedish language system or exist more than once in the material in texts with different authors. With 118 instances they constitute 13 % of the total amount of loans. I have registered 66 different interim loans. The 19 most frequent loans are:

brat (15), hedge (9), major (5), soundtrack (5), kids (4), Pride (4), dvd (3), groove (3), slacker (3), spotting (3), chip (2), Dogge-spotting (2), hardcore (2), powerpop (2), queer (2), rocker (2), ska (2), spejsad (2), Take over (2).

These constitute 61 % of the instances of interim loans. The rest of the loans only exist once in the material. Only one of the 18 most frequent loans is an adjective, spejsad. As was the

case in Chrystal's study, all interim loans are on text level, i.e. they are a part of a Swedish sentence or sentence fragment (1988:67).

4.3.1 Interim loans divided into word classes

The distribution of interim loans on word classes is presented in table 6 below:

Table 6: *Interim loans - distribution on word classes*

Word class	Different loans	%
noun	56	85
verb	6	9
adjective	4	6
all loans	66	100

a) Nouns and Noun phrases

Also among the interim loans nouns and noun phrases make up the dominating category.

They constitute 85 % of the total amount of interim loans. There are 2 loans which only occur in compounds with Swedish elements, e.g. clicks & cuts-knaster, Take over-direktivet, cross-over-turné. 26 loans, 46 %, only occur in hybrid compounds i.e. compounds made up of both Swedish and English elements and functioning both semantically and grammatically as single units. The majority have a Swedish element last in the compound. This makes the word appear more Swedish and possibly easier to use in contexts where for example a definite form is needed (Chrystal 1988:68). As Sharp writes: "By inflecting the Swedish rather than the English element, the hybrid compound as a result becomes integrated in the discourse" (2001:136). She continues: "it is not a far-fetched assumption that the more established an English element becomes, the more likely it is that it will one day also appear in the compound final position" (2001:136). I found 6 examples of hybrid compounds where the

English element appears in a final position: blåställsboysen, minneschips, förortskids, oralsexrocker, kändisspottare, kändisspotting.

There are two interim loans that Chrystal classified as interim as well: soundtrack, hardcore. (1988:211, 218). This raises the question why some loans can stay in the periphery of a language for such a long time without becoming established.

b) Other word classes

Adjectives classified as interim are drive thru-luckan, lowfat, muggig and the perfect participle spejsad (2). The only adverb in the material is twangigt.

There are 6 verbs among the interim loans: goofa, outsourca, remastra, sippa, spotta, stajla.

4.4 Unintegrated loans

In the category unintegrated loans are loans that show no signs of formal or social integration. English phrases and sentences belong to this group as well. Some non-established loans that in other texts are interim might have been put in this category because they, in my material, were used in linguistic contexts where Swedish or English gender, number, and definite form were not necessary. My study contains 64 unintegrated loans divided on 54 different loans. The unintegrated loans comprise 7% of the total loan instances and 17 % of the number of different loans. The reason why some loans occur more than once in the material is that they appear several times in the same article or the whole text is repeated in a later issue. The loan losers was found in two separate articles but with the same author and is therefore regarded as

unintegrated, the same goes for the phrase old school. However, it is very rare that the same loan occurs more than twice in the same article or in similar texts (Chrystal 1988:69). I found one exception in my material, the word cruising occurred 6 times in the same article.

Since a loan can occur both on text and sentence level, the distribution of the unintegrated loans are accounted for according to instances instead of the number of different loans.

4.4.1 Distribution of unintegrated loans on text and sentence level

The English loans that are classified as unintegrated loans consist of constituents of varying size and on different syntactic levels. Phrases are more common than single words and whole sentences in English are not totally unusual in this category.

There are more loans in my material that were found on sentence level, i.e. as parts of a Swedish sentence or sentence fragment, than on text level. As can be seen in Table 7 below, 78 % of the unintegrated loans occur on sentence level while 22 % occur on text level. Chrystal's result for the editorial text was 79% on sentence level and 21 % on text level. The instances are shown according to syntactic level and text category in Table 7.

Table 7: *Unintegrated loans - distribution on text and sentence level*

Text categories	Text level	%	Sentence level	%	Total
Business and Finance	0	0	10	100	10
På stan	14	27	38	73	52
Sports	0	0	2	100	2
Total	14	22	50	78	64

a) Text level

Instances of English loans at text level are those that constitute independent units. Like Chrystal(1988:71), I have chosen macrosyntagm i.e. the smallest syntactic unity, as the unit of account. As can be seen in Table 7 above, 14 instances on text level were found in the corpus and they all occurred in *På stan*. Some examples are shown below:

Vad händer om man kommer av sig?

"A brilliant mind in panic is a wonderful thing to see" (DN 020809-15 *På stan* p. 26)

Han förlöste en ny form av improvisationsteater, en form som gick ut på att vara tillmötesgående och uppmärksam på den man spelade mot - "Make your partner happy". (DN 020809-15 *På stan* p. 26)

The examples given above are complete sentences that occurred in direct speech. There were two longer passages with quotes from songs and one quote from an interview in another newspaper:

"My biggest problem with rock music is there's no room for complexity. There's no room for adult emotions, and adult emotions is much more complicated and compromised and confusing. 'I'm 15 years old, I can't take this world, I'm going to fucking kill myself'. You know what, I'm not 15 years old, I can't take this world, and I DON'T want to kill myself. I have to figure out a way to go on." (DN 020802-8 *På stan* p. 9)

The following instances have been regarded as imperative macrosyntagm.

"Shake it baby", kvider Bobby och för ett ögonblick känns han fortfarande som en stor stjärna (DN 020802-8 *På stan* p. 8)

Misslyckas det blir han krokodilmat. That's it. (DN 020809-15 *På stan* p. 32)

Two of the instances on text-level occurred in headlines. The rest, 86 %, all occur in running text. The second example also occurred in the article itself on sentence level.

Accelerator – the big one (DN 020712-18 *På stan* p. 2)

Sista chansen: Everything useful is ugly (DN 020809-15 *På stan* p. 35)

In Chrystal's study a good half of the unintegrated loans on text level were found in headlines or subheadings.

b) Sentence Level

50 unintegrated loans occur on sentence level, that is 78% of the total number of unintegrated loans. These are English loans that are a part of Swedish macrosyntagm. None of the unintegrated loans on sentence level were found in a headline

As Chrystal (1988:73) I have also included 6 loans that are a part of an enumeration, e.g.

Hahias egen mix av samba, frevo, reggae, salsa, soca, merengue och annat (DN 020809-15 *På stan* p. 11)

Techno, dub, drum'n'bass, electronica och ett par tusen andra genrer snurrar på skivspelarna. (DN 020712-18 *På stan* p. 3).

Unintegrated loans on sentence level, distributed on word classes, can be seen in Table 8 below.

Table 8: *Unintegrated loans on sentence level - distribution on word classes*

Word class	Loans	%
noun	41	82
adverb	2	4
adjective	2	4
other	2	4
preposition	2	4
pronoun	1	2
all loans	50	100

a) Nouns and noun phrases

Nouns and noun phrases make up 82% of the unintegrated loans on sentence level. The number of nouns and noun phrases is 41. Among noun phrases are for example afternoon tea, old school and Swedish coffee. Other examples of loans in this category are:

Han hade en stor, stark röst och var en kraftfull, flink gitarrist (han kallade sig själv för "King of the twelve-stringguitar"). (DN 020712-18 *På stan* p. 10)

Serien är trots allt ett medium för losers, hat och förbittring. (DN 020802-8 *På stan* p. 22)

b) Other Word classes

Of the 18% that constitute other word classes, 4% are adverb phrases, 4% adjectives and adjective phrases, 4% preposition phrases. As Sharp writes "it is an old and well-attested observation that function words such as these [prepositions and conjunctions - *my comment*] are rarely transferred between languages, except as part of larger structures" (2001:73). This is true for my study as well since the two prepositions I found are a part of preposition phrases. I found one pronoun among the unintegrated loans on sentence level:

Huvudinstrumentet var hans tolvsträngade Stella-gitarr, men han spelade gärna dragspel, munspel, piano, whatever. (DN 020712-18 *På stan* p. 10)

The 4% that constitute what have been put down to “other” in Table 7 are two clauses, one from the Sports section and one from *På stan*:

Vi har en dresscode. "Look our best" som man MÅSTE följa. (DN 020720:C13)

Så där står han själv, La Ístman, med en show som "must go on". (DN 020802-8 *På stan* p. 26)

4.5 Frequency and distribution

Of the 326 different loans in the corpus 56% occur only once. In Anderson's study, 57 % occurred only once (Anderson 2001:98). 28 % of the loans occur three times or more in my corpus and 13% has a frequency of more than 5 times. The frequency of the loans are presented in Table 9 below:

Table 9: *Frequencies*

Type of loan	Different loans	Occur once	Frequency >3	Frequency >5
Established	206	89 (43 %)	79 (38 %)	37 (18 %)
Interim	66	46 (70 %)	10 (15 %)	4 (6 %)
Unintegrated	54	49 (91 %)	2 (4 %)	1 (2 %)
Total	326	184 (56 %)	91 (28 %)	42 (13 %)

The number of instances that only occur once in the corpus is highest among the unintegrated loans, 91%, as a result of the definition of unintegrated loans. Less than half of the established loans, 43% occur only once in the material, while 38% occur more than three times and 18% more than 5 times. Among the interim loans 70% occur once while 15% occur more than 3 times and 6% more than 5 times.

The 17 most frequent loans constitute 32% of the total number of loans registered. This means that only a few loans account for a large degree of the total number of instances. Only one interim loan was found among the most frequent loans, brat (15).

Table 10 shows the established loans according to frequency and distribution. Loans in column 2 and 3 marked with ‘*’ are loans that do not occur among the 16 most frequent established loans. The numbers show the frequency of the loan (column 1), its distribution on articles (column 2) and the number of text categories the loan occurs in (column 3). As could be seen in Table 8, established loans is the category where the loans have the highest frequency. It is also the category that has the largest distribution on text categories. Of 206 different established loans only 1% occur in more than two categories and 11% occur in more than one category.

Table 10: *Established loans - Frequency and Distribution*

Frequency		Distribution on Articles		Distribution on Text Categories	
band	32	tuff	22	tuff	3
tuff	29	pop	16	video*	3
pop	27	band	15	band	2
telekom	24	telekom	14	basket*	2
cup	20	country	12	boom*	2
speedway	18	blues	10	box*	2
blues	16	cup	10	CD	2
country	16	CD	8	college*	2
Internet	15	Internet	8	cool*	2
pr	13	rock	8	cover*	2
CD	11	soul	8	digital*	2
festival	11	festival	7	fans*	2
gym	10	reggae	7	gym	2
rock	10	media*	6	jippo*	2
soul	10	video*	6	milkshake*	2
sponsor	10	dj*	5	policy*	2
reggae	9	punk*	5	pr	2
		rankning*	5	race*	2
		singel*	5	ranka*	2
				sajt*	2
				skateboard*	2
				team*	2

Of the most frequent established loans, 13 are a part of the loans that show the largest distribution. The remaining 4 loans: gym, pr, speedway and sponsor are all distributed over 4 different articles.

Regarding the distribution on text categories, 22 loans were found in more than one text category. Only 4 of the most frequent established loans occurred in more than one text category. A reason for this could be that the remaining 13 loans are genre specific and therefore only belong in Sports, Business and Finance or Entertainment e.g. reggae (Entertainment), cup (Sports) and telekom (Business and Finance). It is necessary here to emphasise again that my study only deals with three categories. Chrystal, who dealt with 14 categories, also found that the loans with high frequency were limited to a small number of text categories (1988:99). This indicates that the loans with high frequency have a relatively narrow meaning and are used in relatively register specific.

The majority of loans that is distributed on 2 or 3 categories have a frequency of 2 or 3 loans. This means that the loans that were found twice and in two text categories have been included in this list.

The interim loans can be analysed in a similar way. Their frequency and distribution are presented in Table 11 below. The table shows that 15 of the most frequent interim loans occurred in more than one article. The loans missing in column two are brat, powerpop, chip, spejsad and Take over. These loans only occurred in one article.

Table 21: *Interim loans - Frequency and Distribution*

Frequency		Distribution in Articles	
brat	15	soundtrack	5
hedge	9	dvd	3
major	5	groove	3
soundtrack	5	kids	3
kids	4	major	3
Pride	4	Pride	3
dvd	3	slacker	3
groove	3	spotting	3
slacker	3	Dogge-spotting	2
spotting	3	hardcore	2
chip	2	hedge	2
Dogge-spotting	2	queer	2
hardcore	2	rocker	2
powerpop	2	silly season	2
queer	2	ska	2
rocker	2		
silly season	2		
ska	2		
spejsad	2		
Take over	2		

None of the interim loans in my material were found in more than one category. Chrystal's study indicates that the fact that only a few of the loans show any greater distribution is characteristic for interim loans. In her material, 12% of the loans appeared in more than one category while the corresponding percentage for established loans was 44% (1988:101).

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary of Results

I found 888 loan instances divided on 326 different loans. This gives an average number of 7,8 loans per 1 000 words. The three different text categories that I have included in my study differed in the number of loans. Business and Finance contained 3.8 loans per 1 000 words,

Sports contained 6.9 while the average number in Culture and Entertainment was 12.8 loans per 1 000 words. This can be compared with Chrystal's results for the same three categories: Business and Finance 0.7, Sports 1.8 and Culture and Entertainment 3.2 loans per 1 000 words (Chrystal 1988:40, 149-157) and with the results of Anderson for two of the categories: Sports 3.8 and Culture and Entertainment 7.6 loans per 1 000 words (2001:66). These numbers are considerably lower than my numbers. One has to bear in mind that Chrystal used not only newspapers from the Stockholm region, as I have, but from other parts of the country as well, which contained considerably fewer loan words. Both mine and Anderson's results indicate that there has been an increase in the use of loan words in the Swedish daily press since 1988 when Chrystal did her study. This assumption is supported by the number of new loans that have been added. The loan Internet, for example, which has a high frequency, is a new loan. *På stan*, the Culture and Entertainment supplement that I have used is focused on a young audience and this might be a reason to why this category contained more loans in my study than in both Chrystal's and Anderson's study.

As many as 80 % of the loans were established, that is they are included in any of the three contemporary dictionaries mentioned in chapter 3. That means that the majority of the loans used in the daily press are established in the Swedish usage.

When examining the English loans of the material from a word class perspective, results were obtained which largely support those of other studies. That is, certain categories of words are more easily transferred between languages than others. Ljung (1985, 1988), Chrystal (1988), Graedler (1995) and Anderson (2001), who have all done studies based on written language, have all obtained results indicating that nouns, adjectives and verbs are the largest transferred categories.

5.2. The Use of English Words in Swedish

Many people in Sweden express their concern for the Swedish language and are afraid that English will take over and push Swedish aside. English is often used in Swedish companies, the majority of Swedish singers sing in English and Swedish songwriters write directly in English. Some commercials are written by Swedes for Swedes in English, for example on buses. Nobody bothers to translate the names of British and American films, and for long the films have been subtitled and not dubbed. English is also a mandatory subject in Swedish schools, which no other language is. (Ljung 1988:22)

'The reasons why we use English in Sweden, like in the examples above, are of course that we want to be understood at conferences, the song writers want to put their product on to the international market etc. The time when knowledge of English was seen as something exclusive is gone. A lack of knowledge of English today is rather seen as a sign of failure.

Words and expressions from foreign languages can also be used as temporary loans, many times to indicate a, for the group, common experience or attitude. The speaker can also use an English sequence in order to signal that the utterance was meant to be humorous, ironic etc. (Kotsinas 1994:68). A foreign sequence can also be used to create a certain distance to sensitive subjects. Kotsinas writes that "when English or another language is used in these more temporary ways it is usually not a question of an uncontrolled influence from another language, on the contrary it is a conscious use of a mean of stylistic device to give the utterance another dimension" (1994:69 *my translation*).

5.3 Actual Frequency

The debate about English influence on the Swedish language makes it sound like the Swedish language abounds with English words. However, this is not the case. As could be seen in my study, as well as in the studies of Chrystal and Anderson, less than 1 percent of the material consisted of English loans. This indicates that English borrowings, quantitatively speaking, play a very minor role in written Swedish.

In my study, I have looked at direct loans. That is, the loans where both the expression and the content side of the word are borrowed. These are the most evident loans, however, as Ljung writes, it is undoubtedly the largest group or the one that leaves the most lasting influence on the Swedish language (1988:60). When comparing the reception of different loans it is shown that loan translations and semantic loans are easier to accept. (105). Many of the direct loans will not manage the high threshold of the *Swedish Academy's Shorter Dictionary*, but stay as a kind of half established loans, or they might eventually disappear. Integration of foreign lexical items is a gradual process which may take generations (Sharp 2001:129).

Ljung (1988) also discusses open versus closed word classes. Nouns, adjectives and verbs are those word classes which contained most loans in my study. These are also the open word classes, while the closed ones are prepositions, conjunctions and pronouns. These are hardly ever transferred from one language to another. Ljung writes that in a normal text, the distribution of open – closed word classes are more or less equal. This means that only half of the text is open for borrowing (1988:91). He therefore argues that we should calculate the frequency of loans in the material by using only the part of the text that involves open word classes i.e. half of the text, that is in my material 57274 words. The frequency of English

loans in Swedish would then be 15,5 loans per 1 000 words. This number is considerably higher than if the whole material is included.

However, calculations like the one above do not tell us if this is a lot or a little. This question can only be answered if we compare the results with similar calculations for other languages or with estimations of the rate of loans in earlier phases of Swedish. Another approach is to look at what reception the loans get. Ljung argues that if all loans were to get an enthusiastic reception this would be a sign of the fact that we could expect a big inflow of English loans (1988:102). But, as his study also shows, this is not the case. Some loans get a more enthusiastic reception than others.

5.4 A Threat?

Sharp suggests that the reason why “many people believe there are more English words in the discourse than there actually are has to do with the perceptual salience of English expressions. They stand out in the discourse and get noticed by members of the speech community” (2001:188). Formal adjustment is very important in this context. We accept well integrated loans more easily while loans that have kept their English form stand out in a Swedish text. In my material, as in Chrystal’s, there are relatively few loans, even among the established and interim loans, that show exceedingly formal adaptation to the Swedish language system.

I also think that one major reason is the irregular distribution of the loans. About half of the articles did not contain any English borrowings at all. Of those articles containing loans, 50% contained only one instance while the remaining articles had a high concentration of borrowings. It is these articles that give the impression that there are many instances of

English. Another reason is that many loans are isolated cases; thus the reader constantly meets new borrowings (Chrystal 1988:192). Many of these borrowings are unintegrated loans that occur at information carrying places in sentences.

I believe that these four factors: the relatively *low degree of adaptation* of established and interim loans, *high concentration*, *the high number of unintegrated loans* and their *information carrying place in sentences* explains the impression of high frequency of English in written Swedish.

Words come and go. However, it is important to emphasise that it is all about loans that are borrowed on the condition of the Swedish language. We are not speaking and writing English but Swedish with elements of English. I agree with Sharp when she states that: “Although English is present in many different contexts, it is in principle used as an auxiliary language for specific purposes in Swedish discourse domains” (2001:199). As long as this is the situation, English is no threat to Swedish. In fact, in a report made by the Swedish government in 1998 it is stated that Swedish belongs to the 50-60 languages of the 5 000 languages on earth that have the strongest position (Språkvård 1998:7-23).

If a language dies it is not because it is mixed with another language or old fashioned but because its status in society has changed. A language dies when other cultures and languages takes over the role of the original language, when Swedes no longer want to speak and write Swedish (Gellerstam 1994:11). Looking at the situation today, we are far from replacing Swedish by English. Thus the talk about Swedish being threatened by extinction is slightly exaggerated.

6. LIST OF SUPPLEMENTS

The following supplements are attached to the essay on a cd:

1. All instances in alphabetical order with information of word class, text category, text type, context, establishment, subject of article, author, date and page, inclusion in dictionaries and additional comments.
2. Instances in standardised forms
3. Established loans. Standardised forms placed in order of frequency
4. Interim loans. Standardised forms placed in order of frequency
5. Unintegrated loans
6. Standardised forms placed in word-classes
7. Instances according to category
8. Instances according to article
9. Instances according to author

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Business and Finance	Sunday	7	July
	Wednesday	17	July
	Saturday	20	July
	Friday	9	August
	Tuesday	13	August

På stan:	12-18	July
	2-8	August
	9-15	August

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