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## Phraseology in flux

### Danish Anglicisms beneath the surface

Henrik Gottlieb

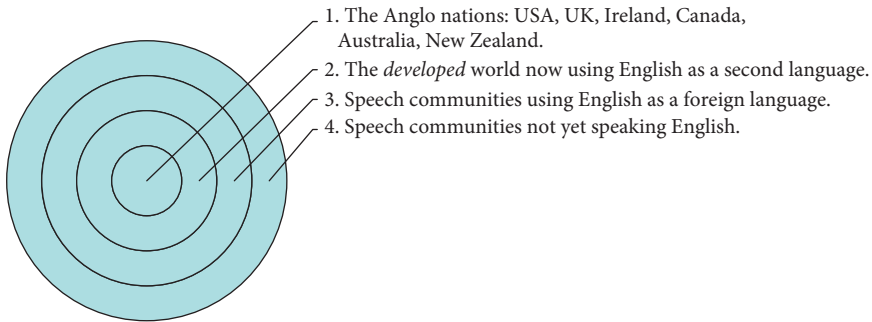
Today, single-word lexical borrowings are merely the tip of the iceberg of English impact. Thus, the notion of *Anglicism* should encompass all language features either adopted from English, adapted from English, or inspired by English, used in intralingual communication in another language. This chapter focuses on the ‘subterranean’ impact of English as expressed through the morphosyntactic calques found in contemporary Danish, a language influenced until the 20th century mainly by German lexis and phraseology. The linguistic ‘market shares’ of near-synonymous expressions were measured in Danish text corpora at 5-year intervals between 1990 and 2010. It was found that established Danish expressions tend to lose ground, while expressions based on English models typically gain popularity – a development hitherto lacking empirical documentation.

#### 1. The background: English moving from foreign to second language

In many of the world’s speech communities, English has made – or is about to make – the transition from *foreign language* to *second language*, as English has now become the world’s dominant lingua franca.<sup>1</sup> If the native speakers of English are placed in the middle of a series of concentric circles encompassing all the world’s speech communities (as illustrated in Figure 1), the present shift means that we are witnessing a unidirectional, centripetal movement: while societies in the outermost circle (circle 4 in Figure 1) are now picking up English as a strictly foreign language, those in the next circle (no. 3) are moving inward, toward circle 2, where we find speech communities in which English is used together with the national language(s), either as a result of diglossia or as the default language

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1. However, whether English will manage to maintain this near-monopoly in the coming decades is not certain (Ostler 2010).



**Figure 1.** Concentric circles of English

when communicating with foreigners, whether on an interpersonal level or when addressing international audiences in general.

This centripetal movement represents a reversion of the oft-quoted concepts developed by Kachru (first defined in Kachru 1985), whose so-called *expanding circle* (similar to circle 3 in Figure 1; see also Graddol 2006: 110ff. and Jenkins 2009: 17ff.) may in fact be shrinking, as the number of speakers (or speech communities) entering it from the outermost circle (no. 4 in Figure 1) may be smaller than the number of those leaving it for circle 2, the *second-language* circle, as a result of the inward movement generated by the attraction, literally speaking, of English.

As demonstrated elsewhere (Gottlieb 2005: 161–162) the share of the global population speaking English as their mother tongue, now a meagre 6%, keeps diminishing, as birth rates in the Anglo nations (circle 1 in Figure 1) are lower than those of the speech communities in the other circles. This relative drop in the ‘old’ native speakers’ power over the English language may of course be levelled out in the future if the demographic facts change. Still, with the continuing movement toward the centre, non-Anglo nations may increasingly interfere with or – phrased in more positive terms – involve themselves in the future development of English. In this connection, it is worth emphasizing that the centripetal movement stops short of the very centre of the inner circle; no nations are about to shift from their present national languages(s) to English as their sole language. For the past some two hundred years no nation has switched to speaking English as its majority language, and neither is this likely to happen, not even in those societies most willingly embracing English, ranging from ex-colonies like Kenya or Namibia,<sup>2</sup> via long-standing anglophile minor speech communities, e.g. the

2. Although in 1990 the post-independence government of Namibia, a country having been occupied for seven decades by South Africa, decided to make English (the home language of

Scandinavian countries, to China, now producing more English candidates than any other non-native English-speaking nation on earth.

The constitution of post-apartheid South Africa, written in 1996 by the Xhosa-led ANC government – who favoured English over Afrikaans, the language of apartheid – states that all eleven major languages spoken in South Africa, including English, be granted the same status. However, as demonstrated elsewhere (Gottlieb 2010b) this idealistic multi-language policy is difficult to enforce, and English is now more dominating than ever in the country. Yet the fact remains that in spite of the *de facto* favouring of English in South Africa, with English influencing the other ten languages markedly, the country as a whole stays in what I term circle 2. Only 8% of the population speaking English as their home language may, as a speech community, qualify as members of the innermost circle (no. 1). Hence, these ‘English’ South Africans find themselves in a position reciprocal to that of the French-speaking Canadians, who are part of a nation seen as a circle 1 member while themselves belonging to a speech community in circle 2. This ‘French-Canadian’ feeling of being surrounded by Anglophone language and culture is increasingly shared by people in societies entering the second circle: countries like Denmark – the speech community which we will focus on in the following sections.

## 2. The Danish situation as an indication of what is about to come: Types of English influence

Demographically, Danish belongs to a rare group of languages: all speakers of Danish live in Denmark and all Danes speak Danish – or, in the case of immigrants, are urged to learn it; only 3% of Danes do not report Danish as their mother tongue (European Commission 2006: 7). This one-to-one relationship between nation and language is unlikely to change in the near future; what is new is that Danes are now expected to be (relatively) fluent in English, too. In only half a century, English has moved from being one of the three main languages – together with French and German – taught in high school to future academics and decision makers in society, to being *the* foreign language of the Danes – their linguistic overcoat, so to speak. This means that Danish university students can no longer be expected to read texts in anything but Danish and English – an impoverishment among the elite – while at the same time, any young Dane can now

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only some 2% of its population) its sole official language, Namibians still speak their various mother tongues, including Oshivambo, German and Afrikaans, the latter more used than English.

communicate in both Danish and, to some extent, in English – an empowerment of the masses, one may say. In other words, while in the pre-Internet era Danes either spoke four languages or only one, now they all speak two.<sup>3</sup>

At present, in the second decade of the 21st century, Denmark is approaching a diglossic situation, with domain losses having been reported for quite some years (Jarvad 2001). The situation is as follows:

- Universities and corporations actively promote English (Tange & Lauring 2009)
- Young Danes are positive toward English loans in Danish (Heidemann Andersen 2004)
- Young Danes tend to speak English with other Scandinavians (Gooskens 2006; Gregersen 2010)
- Many ‘intellectual’ Anglophone novels are no longer translated (Larsen 2010)
- 86% of Danes claim to speak English (European Commission 2006: 13)

As stated above, the following discussion will have Danish as the point of departure, yet with the assumption that what is empirically demonstrable in the Danish speech community is also, or will soon be, the situation on the ground in other speech communities moving inward from circle 3 (speech communities with English as a foreign language) to circle 2 (speech communities with English as a second language).

Having always followed the trends of dominant European languages, Danish only started adopting and adapting English loanwords after French had initiated this move, its *anglomanie* dating as far back as the end of the 18th century (Mackenzie 1939). Yet, the Danish fascination with English gained momentum

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3. In this context it is striking to see how Danish authorities have ignored the potentially positive implications of the fact that many immigrants (still) speak the language of their homelands, most often Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish and Farsi. On the contrary – as Danes, ironically, seldom realize they are (becoming) bilingual in Danish and English – the very notion of bilingualism is now demonized: the word *tosprogede* (meaning ‘bilingual’) has acquired some distinctly problematic connotations. A search in contemporary Danish text archives (e.g. the 16 billion-word *Infomedia* archive of news texts: see <<http://www.infomedia.dk>>) reveals that the adjective *tosprogede* (and its singular form *tosproget*), meant as a euphemism for *immigrants*, is often used pejoratively, typically referring to problems with unassimilated young Muslim males. This usage of *tosprogede* represents a symbolic rejection of everything foreign which is not English. It remains to be seen whether this tendency, excellently described by renowned Danish translator Thomas Harder (Harder 2010: 24ff.), remains a Danish speciality or whether it may appear in other speech communities, e.g. the Dutch, also paradoxically going bilingual by moving into the *local language plus English* enclosurement (circle 2 in Figure 1).

only after German – our then role model in language building – began importing English societal habits and expressions (including, for instance, many sports terms) in the late 18th century (Dunger 1909). The Danes took after the Germans, who took after the French, who had already imported and/or coined a number of Anglicisms. This linguistic food chain has left its mark on Danish, and on the types of Anglicisms found in that language. Not only has Danish imported a number of pseudo-Anglicisms from German<sup>4</sup> (e.g. *smoking* and *dressman*, the former of which is a French coinage from *smoking jacket*, now *dinner jacket* or *tuxedo*); some Danish Anglicisms were – or are – pronounced in a way that suggests that they have passed French soil *en route* to Denmark.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the word *jockey* used to be pronounced by Danes in a pseudo-French fashion, with an initial *sh* sound and the stress on the final syllable, and the Anglicism *budget* is still pronounced by all Danes as the French would pronounce the string ‘*buchette*’.

The earliest scholarly discussion of the English influence on Danish was probably the one found in an article by the omnipresent Danish professor of English, Otto Jespersen. In his 1902 article, he lists 75 English loanwords that he had observed in the Danish language. Later, during the World War II German occupation of Denmark, also phraseological influence from English is mentioned, as “all classes of the population have joined in using English expressions” (Dahl 1941–1942: 392).

In some ways, loans from prestigious languages serve as linguistic spices beefing up the local cuisine; thus, the effect of such spices should not be measured by their quantitative share of the dish in question. Chili con carne, for example, will only be edible to humans if the (foreign) chili makes up less than, say, 1% of the weight of the dish when served. Even with 99% of the portion on your plate consisting of beans, beef and sauce, the 1% chilis will certainly make themselves felt on the palate of the diner. The same goes for several types of Anglicisms, especially those that remain conspicuous and add flavour and sense to a text in another language.

Looking for a while at lexical Anglicisms only, the following statistics apply to Danish:

- Anglicisms in original Danish texts make up less than 1% of the running words (Jarvad 1995)

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4. For an elaborate discussion of pseudo-Anglicisms, see Furiassi (2010). On the centuries-old German influence on Danish, see Winge (2000).

5. The exact provenance and itinerary of each loan would have to be determined individually, of course; a French-inspired pronunciation of a foreign word may simply indicate the prestige that French had at the time.

- Anglicisms in (screen) translations from English constitute less than 2% (Gottlieb 2005)
- Danish neologisms based on English may constitute as much as 67% of all new words in Danish (Nørby Jensen 2004)

Especially when lexical Anglicisms are introduced – often by reporters, TV anchorpersons, translators and other professional media people – these terms represent notions with considerable semantic weight. Looking at Danish news in recent years, such successful more or less English-looking terms include *outsourcing*, *roadpricing*, *blogge* (to blog) and *flyveforbudszone* (no-fly zone), all of which are key terms around which an entire news or feature text may be phrased.<sup>6</sup>

With as many as 30,000 (sic) new words entering – or rather, registered in – Danish each month (Halskov 2011), only the fittest will survive. And as is the case for all neologisms, the way to success for English-derived neologisms depends on the extent to which they:

1. represent new phenomena: *tweete* (to tweet on Twitter);
2. fill an existing void: *stalker*;
3. serve as euphemisms: *cancer*;
4. make known phenomena sound new: *coaching*.

As should be obvious from the above, Danish lexis is still being influenced by English, and there are no signs that Danes will stop importing and adapting English words – unlike what is seen in countries with a severe anti-borrowing policy, with Iceland as an oft-mentioned example (Svavarsdóttir 2004 and Óladóttir 2009). Having learned to accommodate English single-word lexemes in the 19th century, Danes soon turned to more complex language features. Multi-word expressions, as for instance *so long!* and *still going strong*, started making headway in the early 20th century, and especially after World War II, Danish phraseology became affected by English.

In contemporary Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, all levels of language, including pragmatics, are influenced by English (Sørensen 1997; Preisler 2003; Graedler & Johansson 1997:9–10; Aijmer & Melchers 2004; Mallhammar 2010:223–225; Kristiansen & Sandøy 2010). Elsewhere I have developed a comprehensive taxonomy of Anglicisms comprising all possible types – with examples

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6. Often, a bewildering number of terms offer themselves for (English-inspired) political or social phenomena. Another study (Gottlieb 2010a) showed that in 2004 Danish print media used no less than 23 synonymous Danish expressions for what was officially named the Provisional Coalition Authority, i.e. the American-led provisional government established after the second Iraq war.

from Danish (Gottlieb 2009) and from various languages (Gottlieb 2006, 2012) – establishing a wide range of subcategories under the main categories *import from English*, *impact from English*, and *code-shifting*, respectively. I will here limit myself to citing my global definition of Anglicism, namely “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” (Gottlieb 2005: 163).

### 3. Looking beneath the surface: ‘Invisible’ multi-word units as a test case

Having penetrated the lexical surface of Danish more than a century ago, English features are presently detectable, yet invisible to the untrained eye, at several levels beneath that surface. The earliest ‘invisible’ English loans are those that Danes imported by ear, and, accordingly, the invisibility of such loans relates to their spelling. As Danish and English orthographies differ dramatically (and neither language generally subscribes to phonetic spelling), the origin of English words spelled in Danish will typically be obscured, not only to a native English speaker, but even to the Danes themselves. Words like (industrial) *strike* and nautical terms as *heave* and *splice* (ropes) were imported into Danish in the 19th century by sailors through personal contacts with British seamen and were immediately respelled *strejke*, *hive* and *splejse* – all of them still pronounced in two syllables when used in Danish (Gottlieb 2004). Even today, personal contacts and aural influence, e.g. via lyrics, films, TV, online media, etc., constitute a considerable source of English influence on Danish.

Before concentrating on phraseological features, let us have a quick glance at all linguistic levels of Danish where we may find substantial, yet hidden influence from English. The inclusion of beneath-the-surface levels, i.e. semantics, morphology, phraseology and pragmatics (levels 3–6 below), shows a relatively advanced stage of Anglification, with new elements generated around the clock, while the ‘invisible’ phenomena found in spelling and pronunciation (levels 1 and 2 below) are typically old adaptations, testifying to the days when English was an exotic donor of words.<sup>7</sup>

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7. As Anglicisms are the outcome of interaction between (at least) two languages and become integral elements of the so-called receiving language, changes of the English etymon are the rule rather than the exception. An earlier study (Gottlieb 2002: 128) lists examples of (combined) changes in pronunciation, spelling and meaning of English words adapted by the three Scandinavian languages: Swedish, Danish and Norwegian.



Invisible Anglification is found at the following six levels (illustrated by randomly chosen examples from contemporary Danish):

1. Orthography: adapted spelling, e.g. *dørtræk* < dirt track (race); *nørd* < nerd<sup>8</sup>
2. Phonology: adapted pronunciation, e.g. *database*, with Danish vowels and four syllables
3. Semantics: extended meaning, e.g. *mus* < '(computer) mouse'; *omfavne* < 'embrace (a policy)'
4. Morphology: loan translations, e.g. *kernefamilie* < nuclear family
5. Phraseology: morphosyntactic calques, e.g. *når det kommer til* (+ noun phrase) < when it comes to
6. Pragmatics: English-inspired discourse, e.g. *Jeg elsker dig* < I love you (meaning 'good bye')

In the following, we will mainly focus on level 5 above, English-inspired morphosyntactic calques, and evaluate their success in Danish usage in the period 1990–2010. Based on the assumption that such level-5 Anglicisms may serve as a litmus test in monitoring the degree of English influence on contemporary Danish, this investigation is quantitative by nature, and the idea is to compare the linguistic 'market shares' that such 'invisible' items have (had). Thus, the aim of this investigation is twofold:

1. What kind(s) of English-based morphosyntactic calques are found in modern Danish?
2. Are such calques typically preferred over established Danish expressions?

#### 4. Methods and material of this study

As implied above, this is a diachronic study, dealing with the (possible) success of Anglicisms in Danish usage, focusing on morphosyntactic calques: multi-word units consisting of all-Danish elements, but directly translated from English – a type of Anglicism earlier dealt with by Danish scholars (Larsen 1994; Galberg Jacobsen 1994; Sørensen 1997). By investigating such calques, whose English origins remain invisible to most non-linguists, this study departs from numerous

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8. As a result of the knowledge of English among Danes, the only new members of this category are humorous coinages (like *nørd* above) or hypercorrect misspellings, e.g. the spelling *tricke* for the verb *trigge* (Eng. *trig*) displaying the lack of distinction in spoken Danish between intervocalic <k> and <g>.

Anglicism studies, even recent ones (e.g. Inghult 2002; Spitzmüller 2005; Altleitner 2007; Onysko 2007), in two ways:

1. The object of study is phraseology, an area more 'intimate' than lexis. Thus, in languages profoundly affected by English, the phraseology shows a more complete picture of Anglification than what may be obtained by merely looking at English loanwords.
2. Language users are often not aware that phrases are copied from English, and for that reason calques often lack the 'smart' connotations typical of loanwords – another reason for concluding that if these English-inspired expressions are successful, the English influence has come a long way.

Using a methodology inspired by a Norwegian study (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 226–250) and later found in Jarvad (2007), and based on the hypothesis that English is successfully influencing Danish phraseology, I investigated the frequencies of competing sets of near-synonymous Danish expressions, one or more of which were (inconspicuously) based on English templates. Relative frequencies were calculated throughout the period 1990–2010, at five-year intervals: for 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010.<sup>9</sup> This diachronic investigation involved two phases of searching, a *non-random* followed by a *random* phase:

- a. Firstly, scrutinizing the semantic fields around a number of 'usual suspects', i.e. phraseological Anglicisms suspected to have gained ground over the two decades in question.
- b. Then, in order to counteract the inevitable bias found whenever 'handpicked' examples are used to demonstrate alleged developments, randomly selected near-synonymous multi-word units were investigated – each set of near-synonyms belonging to the semantic field surrounding random items in the major Danish corpus-based dictionary, *Den Danske Ordbog* (2003–2005), henceforth *DDO*.

It needs to be pointed out that the proposed (near-)synonyms could not be found according to some foolproof method that would exclude any chance of bias and include all possible candidates that language users might have used. I have done my best to avoid picking expressions that might yield 'poor' results in comparison with the Anglicism that may or may not be found in that specific semantic field,

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9. As all searches were made in the second half of 2010, only the period January 1st through June 30th 2010 was covered. However, as will be obvious when looking at the figures in the tables below, numbers for 2010 – although only covering a six-month period – sometimes exceed those for the entire year 2005, let alone earlier years. This is due to the exponential growth of the *Infomedia* text archive rather than to any changes in language preferences.

and as will be obvious from the data presented in the tables below, not all English-inspired expressions did well in Danish over the two decades investigated.

In short, as there are no available corpus-generated lists of Danish synonymous words, let alone multi-word units, my research is corpus-based rather than corpus-driven.<sup>10</sup> In the words of two of the scholars behind the *Scottish Corpus of Text & Speech*, Wendy Anderson and John Corbett, “data does not automatically give rise to theories that explain it; we still use our intuition to search corpora for features that we think might be interesting” (Anderson & Corbett 2009: 100).

In each semantic field under scrutiny, all current near-synonymous expressions were listed, together with their numerical and relative frequencies in each of the following sources (see also the Appendix, containing comments on the text archives used and the gathering of data):

- a. For 1990: *Korpus 90*, with 28 million running words, comprising Danish news texts, Danish untranslated novels and Danish magazines, covering the period 1983–1992.
- b. For 2000: *Korpus 2000*, compiled exactly like *Korpus 90* and covering the five years 1998–2002. (*Korpus 90* and *Korpus 2000* can be accessed free of charge at the *KorpusDK* website).
- c. For 1995, 2005 and 2010: *Infomedia*, with some 16 billion running words by 2011, covering a constantly increasing number of Danish news media from c. 1980.

To check the age of the expressions investigated, they were all looked up in the online *Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur*, comprising around 14 million running words (my estimate) and consisting of full-text Danish literary classics, typically from the 19th century, with the most recent titles from the 1930s.

The results of all searches, whether random or not, were then listed in Tables 1–6 below, in which the ‘linguistic market shares’ for each expression for each of the five years were calculated. These shares, expressed in percentages, not only offer the reader easy comparisons across a given year; they are indispensable in the diachronic perspective, as the naked *Infomedia* figures keep growing each year, parallel with the tremendous growth of that text archive – which is now among the largest publically available language repositories in the world.

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10. Concerning this distinction in corpus linguistics, see McEnery et al. (2006) and Anderson & Corbett (2009).

## 5. Non-randomly selected examples of English-inspired constructions

Starting with the non-random searches, the developments in usage of a handful of morphosyntactic calques from English, *vis-à-vis* their semantic rivals, will be displayed in Tables 1–6 below.

From this non-random material, I have selected six cases, each of which contributes to the complex picture of what happens to calques in actual usage over time. In the tables, English-inspired calques are shown in **boldface**, while expressions with English or English-inspired elements are *italicized*. In the top left cell of each table, the English etymon is shown in **bold italics**; in the running text, all items are italicized.

The first example is an old invisible calque, *i det lange løb*. This multi-word unit is based on the 19th-century English expression in *the long run*, found in Danish as early as 1904 (Sørensen 1997). Still used in the original (English) sense, it has several semantic and stylistic competitors, some of which were already entrenched in Danish before the introduction of *i det lange løb*, while others are younger, as is obvious when looking at Table 1 below.

In the two decades studied, *i det lange løb* – ranging second in 1990 – lost more than half of its 1990 share, its most recent competitor being the all-Danish *på den lange bane* – another sports metaphor, literally ‘on the long (race) course’.

With idioms, such as the expressions investigated here, large sets of data are needed in order to make up for the fact that these expressions, although salient elements in the repertoire of any native speaker, are rare in quantitative terms. Regarding *i det lange løb* – and several other items under scrutiny here, cf. the following tables – the ADL (*Archive of Danish Literature*), used as a makeshift reference corpus, does not contain any hits. This is not to say that those expressions did not exist prior to 1940, but rather that the ADL, with only some 14 million running words, is too small to prove it. Hence, an expression with a frequency of 0.05 parts per million (ppm) – a frequency level typical of idioms (Gottlieb 1994) – should pop up only some 0.7 times in the ADL, and thus may not show up at all.

In Table 2 we deal with an interesting case where syntactic interference may appear: the two languages share the ‘same’ idiom, yet in English the word order is the opposite of that of the established Danish counterpart. This ‘noise’ means that in some 10% of the contemporary Danish usage, the writer ‘got it wrong’ and used the English word order, yet retaining the conjunction *og* (and).

The success of the Danish calque of *make ends meet* (see Table 3) shows that even where there is no stylistic, let alone semantic, void in a language, an Anglicism may edge itself in sideways. Prior to what in the 1980s was seen by (some) Danes as a poor translation of the English idiom, Danish had no less than four

Table 1. *i det lange løb*

<i>in the long run</i>	i det lange løb		på langt sigt		på lang sigt		på længere sigt		på den lange bane	
ADL (pre-1940)	10	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Korpus 90	173	19.2%	116	12.9%	87	9.6%	526	58.3%	0	0%
Infomedia 1995	360	12.5%	303	10.5%	344	12.0%	1,870	65.0%	0*	0%
Korpus 2000	107	9.6%	141	12.6%	124	11.1%	748	66.8%	0	0%
Infomedia 2005	1,319	9.9%	1,525	11.4%	1,916	14.4%	8,378	62.9%	188**	1.4%
Infomedia 2010	1,367	8.1%	1,805	10.8%	2,497	14.9%	9,053	54.0%	2,052	12.2%
Change 1990–2010		-11.1 pp***		-2.1 pp		+5.3 pp		-4.3 pp		+12.2 pp

\* Two instances were found, both referring to literal uses of the phrase (badminton and sailing). In 2000, *Infomedia* offers seven instances, including one non-literal instance, i.e. the usage investigated here.

\*\* By 2005, things are reversed: of the 198 instances found this year, only 10 are literal, hence the figure 188. Similarly, in addition to the 2010 figure of 2,052 hits, some 100 literal instances were found.

\*\*\* In this and the following tables, 'pp' stands for 'percentage points'.

Table 2. *dag ind og dag ud*

<i>day in day out</i>	dag ud og dag ind		dag ind og dag ud	
ADL (pre-1940)	38	100%	0	0%
Korpus 90	32	100%	0	0%
Infomedia 1995	63	91.3%	6	8.7%
Korpus 2000	20	90.9%	2	9.1%
Infomedia 2005	226	86.9%	34	13.1%
Infomedia 2010	176	91.8%	16	8.2%
Change 1990–2010	–8.2 pp		+8.2 pp	

near-synonymous idioms referring to the situation where one has to manage with limited resources – in addition to the transparent stock phrase *få pengene til at slå til*. Still, *få enderne til at mødes* managed to more than quadruple its share in the two decades investigated here, moving from 2.7% to 13.3% of the total.

As pointed out earlier, the zeroes often found in the *ADL* row do not necessarily indicate that an expression was not used in Danish before 1940, as in the case of *få enderne til at mødes*. Rather, the zeroes imply that the existing expressions were – and perhaps still are – so rare that 14 million words will not yield a single occurrence. In the semantic field displayed in Table 3, the single item in the *ADL* row demonstrates another phenomenon: idioms change over time. The sole *ADL* hit represents not *få pengene til at slå til* (make the money last), but the older variant *få skillingerne til at slå til* (make the shillings last). What we witness in Table 3 is the relative success of the calque, *få enderne til at mødes*, yet overshadowed by that of the all-Danish *få det (hele) til at hænge sammen*.

Table 4 shows an example of an English-inspired template gaining ground in Danish – at an exponential rate, even. Thus the calque ‘*når det kommer til* + noun phrase’ nearly doubled its linguistic market share every five years after 1990, going from 0.6% to 9.6% in twenty years. If that development continues in the years to come, by 2020 this English calque, which by 2010 was ranked as no. 4, will be predominant among the eight expressions competing in this field.

It is sometimes claimed that Anglicisms create a style more succinct than that of the receiving language, as English words and expressions are often shorter than their synonyms in other languages. However true it may be that English in general represents brevity in terms of the number of characters and/or syllables, in particular when compared with other European languages, language economy is irrelevant to the potential success of an Anglicism. Just to mention two examples, the successful, yet cliché-prone Danish Anglicism *management* is longer than its established equivalent, *ledelse*, and the Italian Anglicism *involtino primavera* – a

Table 3. få enderne til at mødes

<i>make ends meet</i>	have til /klare/tjene til/skaffe til dagen og vejen (manage the day and the way)	få pengene til at slå til (make the money last)	få det (hele) til at løbe rundt (make it all run around)	få det (hele) til at hænge sammen (make it all hang together)	holde skindet på næsen (keep the skin on your nose)	få enderne til at mødes
ADL (pre-1940)	0	1*	0	0	0	0
Korpus 90	47	17	31	1	14	3
Infomedia 1995	119	18	57	< 51	26	< 21
Korpus 2000	31	10	22	6	17	9
Infomedia 2005	525	174	309	< 476	351	< 151
Infomedia 2010	480	210	436	< 747	332	< 338
Change 1990-2010	-22.7 pp	-6.7 pp	-10.3 pp	< +28.5 pp	+0.7 pp	+10.6 pp

Table 4. *når det kommer til ...*

<i>when it comes to ...</i>	med hensyn til ...	mht / mht. ...		hvad angår ...		når det gælder ...		når det drejer sig om ...		når det handler om ...		når det kommer til ...*		når vi taler om ...
ADL	559 91.8%	0 0%	33 5.4%	5 0.8%	6 1.1%	0 0%	5 0.8%	1 0.2%						
Korpus 90	2,003 48.0%	94 2.3%	407 9.8%	1,068 25.6%	434 10.4%	30 0.7%	26 0.6%	112 2.7%						
Infomedia 1995	3,944 32.5%	215 1.8%	2,127 17.5%	3,979 32.8%	1,253 10.3%	286 2.4%	165 1.4%	158 1.3%						
Korpus 2000	1,878 36.4%	169 3.3%	600 11.6%	1,715 33.3%	418 8.1%	167 3.2%	94 1.8%	116 2.2%						
Infomedia 2005	15,879 25.0%	1,164 1.8%	9,057 14.3%	25,160 39.6%	4,356 6.9%	4,087 6.4%	2,801 4.4%	1,027 1.6%						
Infomedia 2010	14,201 21.1%	1,476 2.2%	8,957 13.3%	26,009 38.6%	3,608 5.4%	5,622 8.3%	6,484 9.6%	989 1.5%						
Change 1990–2010	-26.9 pp	-0.1 pp	+3.5 pp	+13.0 pp	-5.0 pp	+7.6 pp	+9.0 pp	-1.2 pp						

\* An established Danish expression paving the way for the calque *når det kommer til*, followed by a noun phrase often related to public matters, is *når det kommer til stykket*. This established Danish stock phrase (literally when it comes to the part), means 'in the final analysis' or 'at the end of the day' (the latter phrase now also triggering a Danish calque, *i enden af dagen*). The figures in this column do not include occurrences of *når det kommer til stykket*.



Table 5. *det faktum at ...*

<i>the fact that ...</i>	(trods) at ...*		(trods) det at ...		(trods) den kendsgerning at ...		(trods) det faktum at ...	
ADL (pre-1940)	6	14.6%	35	85.4%	0	0%	0	0%
Korpus 90	2	3.6%	50	89.3%	1	1.8%	3	5.4%
Infomedica 1995	11	10.1%	82	75.2%	6	5.5%	10	9.2%
Korpus 2000	1	2.1%	39	81.3%	1	2.1%	7	14.6%
Infomedica 2005	60	9.4%	417	65.5%	10	1.6%	150	23.5%
Infomedica 2010	61	8.1%	544	72.1%	5	0.7%	145	19.2%
Change 1990–2010		+4.5 pp		-17.2 pp		-1.1 pp		+13.8 pp

\* In order to avoid enormous quantities of noise, searches were made with the word *trods* (in spite of) inserted before the search node. Still, most *trods at* (in spite of that) figures are the results of manual disambiguation.

direct translation of *spring roll* – has eight syllables as opposed to just two. As for phraseology, the construction *skudt og dræbt* (from English *shot and killed*) is not only longer than its Danish equivalent *skudt*; it also represents a step backward in the sense that a (Danish) adjective with a formerly unequivocal meaning – in this case, that of being shot lethally – becomes semantically fuzzy as a result of copying the English lack of semantic precision. The result is that young Danes will no longer understand *skudt* as ‘dead after being shot’, but simply as ‘shot at’, with or without a fatal outcome.

In Table 5, another example of the uneconomical cloning of English constructions – this time, however, without the semantic decay involved in *skudt og dræbt* – is *det faktum at ...*, a calque of *the fact that ...*. In the semantic field encompassing the English construction ‘*the fact that* + dependent clause’, Danish has two established patterns, i.e. *at* (that) and *det at* (that which). Whereas the former of these patterns has maintained its position, the latter has yielded some percentage points to the direct calque *det faktum at*. Interestingly, the fourth construction, in which the all-Danish synonym for *fact*, *kendsgerning*, is inserted in the calque, stays marginal and has lost terrain over the last decade.

This final non-randomly chosen example, *have sex*, differs from the other five investigated so far in that the English-inspired construction has become predominant in its semantic field, quadrupling its already significant share from 1990 to 2010 (Table 6). As was the case in the previous example, Danes have now developed two constructions based on English, both of which are successful this time. It does seem, though, as if *dyrke sex* – remaining at 19% of the semantic field – has reached its maximum. Still expanding its share, the more English-sounding *have sex* is not a direct loan (as, for example, the popular *you name it*) but conveniently includes a cognate word, i.e. the ancient Danish verb *have*, pronounced [hæ] in normal conversation. The phrase *have sex* may thus be seen either as a calque or as a hybrid form combining lexical borrowing (of the English word *sex*) with use intensification (of the Danish verb *have*) inspired by the English choice of verb namely, (to) *have*.

Although the four verbal phrases under scrutiny here do constitute the major players of the semantic field investigated, I should add that this field represents standard Danish rather than slang. Naturally, if Danish slang terms equivalent to the English verbs *fuck*, *screw*, etc. were included, the share of the Anglicism *have sex* would drop. Interestingly, the Anglicism *fuck*, highly popular as it is in modern Danish, is always used as an interjection, never as a verb in the sense ‘have sex’. The English F-word has triggered a Danish verb, *fucke*, but that typically means ‘interfere (with)’ or ‘spoil’, sense adopted from English.

Table 6. *have sex*\*

<i>have sex</i>	have samleje (have intercourse)		gå i seng med (go to bed with)		<i>dyrke sex</i> (practice sex)		have sex	
ADL (pre-1940)	4	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0**	0%
Korpus 90	84	23.8%	189	53.5%	32	9.1%	48	13.6%
Infomedia 1995	125	17.2%	232	31.9%	124	17.1%	246	33.8%
Korpus 2000	43	15.6%	79	28.7%	54	19.6%	99	36.0%
Infomedia 2005	622	15.1%	556	13.5%	818	19.9%	2,121	51.5%
Infomedia 2010	1,008	16.4%	584	9.5%	1,187	19.3%	3,369	54.8%
Change 1990–2010	-7.4 pp		-44.0 pp		+10.2 pp		+41.2 pp	

\* Figures for each expression in Table 6 represent accumulated values for all relevant forms of the verbs involved. This means that, for instance, figures in the *have sex* column include those of *havde sex* and *haft sex* – the preterite and participle forms, respectively.

\*\* The search string *have\* sex* actually yielded results in the *Archive of Danish Literature*, namely the following passage from Hans Christian Andersen's story "De to baronesser" (p. 49): "Enhver velopdraget Kone", sagde Fruen, "maa have sex." To a naïve modern reader, this would mean "Any well-behaved wife", said the lady, "must have sex." However, that was not Andersen's style; in 19th-century Danish, the numeral 6, now spelled *seks*, was spelled *sex*, and the figure refers to the advisable number of children! This only goes to show that when looking at historical texts, one should be extremely aware of developments in orthography.

## 5.1 Conclusions regarding the non-random searches

In Table A below, the key results of the six searches discussed above are presented.

**Table A.** Results of the non-random searches

Calques	Share 1990	Share 2010	Change	Rating 1990	Rating 2010	Change	Status by 2010
(1) <i>i det lange løb</i>	19.2%	8.1%	-11.1 pp	2/5	5/5	-3	neutral
(2) <i>dag ind og dag ud</i>	0.0%	8.2%	+8.2 pp	2/2	2/2	0	still awkward
(3) <i>få enderne til at mødes</i>	2.7%	13.3%	+10.6 pp.	5/6	4/6	+1	established
(4) <i>når det kommer til ...</i>	0.6%	9.6%	+9.0 pp	8/8	4/8	+4	established
(5) <i>det faktisk at ...</i>	5.4%	19.2%	+13.8 pp	2/4	2/4	0	established
(6) <i>have sex</i>	13.6%	54.8%	+41.2 pp	3/4	1/4	+2	predominant
Average	6.9%	18.9%	+12.0 pp	-	-	-	

Two facts stand out when looking at these figures:

1. On average, the six 'handpicked' Danish phrasal Anglicisms almost tripled their share of their respective semantic fields, from around 7 to around 19%.
2. Yet, as of 2010, only one of the six expressions had gained a share (in Danish media) of more than 50% of its semantic field, while in five fields out of six, no Anglicism had gained a share of over 20%.

As is obvious from these observations, the results of the non-random searches support the implicit hypothesis that in the period investigated, the phraseological Anglicisms in the selected semantic fields have increased their shares significantly. Yet those shares remain modest, contrary to expectations.

## 6. Randomly selected examples of English-inspired constructions

For this part of the study, semantic fields were randomly established by looking up six 'equidistant' words in the contemporary, corpus-based Danish dictionary *Den Danske Ordbog (DDO)*, the six volumes of which were published from 2003 to 2005. In order to avoid rare items, I wanted all six words to have a frequency in the *Korpus DK* (the basis of the dictionary) of at least 1 ppm. As that corpus

holds 58 million running words, an entry with less than 58 hits in the corpus would be discarded and the next entry following alphabetically (provided it had the required minimum frequency) would be selected instead.

In volume 1 of the *DDO*, the semantic field around the most common expression including the top entry word on page 100 was established and frequencies for all relevant items investigated, as in the first part of the study (cf. Tables 1–6). Similarly, in volume 2, the (near-)synonyms of the top word on page 200 was chosen, and so on, yielding a total of six random ‘field studies’, the results of which are shown in Tables 7–12. As some of these randomly selected words did not yield any stock phrases, I decided to analyze their (lexical) semantic fields rather than lose the objectivity of this part of the investigation by moving on in the dictionary to find a more phraseologically interesting entry. Using this somewhat rigid approach meant that I came across an interesting range of more-or-less English-sounding compound nouns (cf. Table 8) as well as a potentially English-inspired boosted frequency of the plural form of a Danish non-countable noun (cf. Table 10). In addition to the typographical codes (**boldface** and *italics*) used in Tables 1–6, we now encounter **boldface underlined** for direct loans from English and underlined for words or word forms semantically or morphologically influenced by English.

For random entries 1, 3, 5 and 6, the frequencies of relevant inflected forms of all synonyms were accumulated in the tables. This means that, for instance, for the first random entry, displayed in Table 7 below, results for *få afklaret* (get sorted out) include figures for the conjugated forms *fik afklaret* (preterite) and *fået afklaret* (participle).

Looking at the results for the first randomly picked entry, we witness a case of increasing diversity in the period investigated. Interestingly, this diversity is not due to growing English influence; the two English-inspired expressions already existed in 1990 and have not gained ground since. What has happened is that the near-monopoly of the leader in the (semantic) field, *finde ud af* (find out), has steadily lost terrain to all other contestants but the two Anglicisms, the frequencies of which are below the statistical radar. Before writing off these expressions, however, it should be stressed that they are quite common in colloquial speech, a type of discourse only partially covered by the *Infomedia* news archive.

Although the next entry (see Table 8) does not lead us to any stock phrases, the concept behind it has spawned a whole range of English-inspired synonyms in Danish. *Fjernundervisning* in itself is a loan translation based on *teleteaching* – which can be ascertained by the dates for earliest occurrences, based on the *NOID* (Jarvad 1999–2011) and the *OED*, listed in the second row of Table 8. In the two decades studied, the oldest of these competing Anglicisms, our entry word *fjernundervisning* – which hides its English origins well – has lost more than half

Table 7. Random entry 1 – DDO, Vol. 1, p. 100: afklare (sort out)

<i>get sorted out</i>	få afklaret		få undersøgt		få (et) overblik over		finde ud af		få styr på		få check på (check out)		få tjek på (check out)	
	0	–	0	–	0	–	54	100%	0	–	0	–	0	–
Korpus 90	42	2.0%	35	1.7%	52	2.5%	1,837	89.2%	87	4.2%	5	0.2%	2	0.1%
Infomedia 1995	159	3.4%	128	2.7%	169	3.6%	3,940	83.5%	316	6.7%	1	0.0%	3	0.1%
Korpus 2000	100	4.3%	62	2.7%	97	4.2%	1,926	83.3%	126	5.4%	0	–	2	0.1%
Infomedia 2005	1,170	3.9%	891	2.9%	1,526	5.0%	23,907	78.9%	2,754	9.1%	4	0.0%	40	0.1%
Infomedia 2010	1,155	3.2%	1,065	3.0%	2,498	6.9%	26,303	73.1%	4,868	13.5%	4	0.0%	89	0.2%
Change 1990–2010	+1.2 pp		+1.3 pp		+4.4 pp		–16.1 pp		+9.3 pp		–0.2 pp		+0.1 pp	

Table 8. Random entry 2 – DDO, Vol. 2, p. 200: fjernundervisning (distance learning)

Introduced in Danish	<i>fjernunder-</i> <i>visning</i>		distance learning		elektronisk brevskole		teleunder- visning		tele teaching		e-learning		distance- undervisning		e-læring		online læring	
	1965	1990 (English 1972)	1990 (English 1972)	1995	1993	1993 (English 1953)	1999 (English 1997)	1989	2000	2004								
ADL	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–
Korpus 90	14	87.5%	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	2	12.5%	0	–	0	–
Infomedia 1995	92	95.8%	1	1.0%	1	1.0%	1	1.0%	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–
Korpus 2000	48	87.3%	0	–	0	–	0	–	7	12.7%	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–
Infomedia 2005	161	48.3%	0	–	0	–	0	–	87	26.1%	0	–	0	–	85	25.5%	0	–
Infomedia 2010	171	35.6%	0	–	1	0.2%	0	–	187	38.9%	4	0.8%	112	23.3%	6	1.2%	6	1.2%
Change 1990–2010	–51.9 pp		0 pp		+0.2 pp		0 pp		0 pp		+38.9 pp		–11.7 pp		+23.3 pp		+1.2 pp	

**Table 9.** Random entry 3 – DDO, Vol. 3, p. 300: **kolorit** (color)

<i>add color to</i>	sætte kolorit på		sætte kulør på		peppe op (pep up)	give et pift		pifte op		
	0	-	1*	100%		0	-	0	-	
ADL	0	-	1*	100%	0	-	0	-	0	-
Korpus 90	10	8.5%	43	36.8%	25	21.4%	20	17.1%	19	16.2%
Infomedia 1995	20	5.9%	43	12.7%	< 154	45.4%	< 75	22.1%	< 47	13.9%
Korpus 2000	3	3.2%	24	25.5%	41	43.6%	16	17.0%	10	10.6%
Infomedia 2005	113	5.9%	294	15.5%	< 746	39.3%	< 324	17.1%	< 423	22.3%
Infomedia 2010	92	4.5%	309	15.3%	< 833	41.2%	< 349	17.2%	< 441	21.8%
Change 1990–2010	-4.0 pp		-21.5 pp		< +19.8 pp		< +0.1 pp		< +5.6 pp	

\* Only one instance of 'sætte kulør i' was found.

**Table 10.** Random entry 4 – DDO, Vol. 4, p. 400: **opsparing** (saving/s)

	opsparing		opsparinger (savings)	
	0	0%	1	100%
ADL	0	0%	1	100%
Korpus 90	272	98.9%	3	1.1%
Infomedia 1995	425	89.3%	51	10.7%
Korpus 2000	375	96.2%	15	3.8%
Infomedia 2005	2279	91.9%	202	8.1%
Infomedia 2010	2673	91.9%	235	8.1%
Change 1990–2010	-7.0 pp		+7.0 pp	

of its semantic territory to the direct loan *e-learning* and its less English-sounding translation *e-læring*. As shown in Table 8, by 2010 one of these two terms was chosen 62.2% of the times when the concept was referred to in the Danish media. The reason for the multitude of terms in this semantic field is, of course, the technical developments in the area. Whereas *tele teaching*, *distance learning* and their Danish equivalent *ffernundervisning* represent offline contact between teacher and students, the newly coined terms refer to online exchange between the two parties. Still, what we see is not a range of all-Danish vs. English-inspired expressions, but an impressive array of Anglicisms – plus one non-English inspired term, barely used at all. In short, this is a field of competing Anglicisms taking turns in being successful: a loan translation followed by a direct English loan followed by its loan translation.

The semantic field displayed in Table 9 shows a clear-cut case of success for the Anglicism as both elements of the phrasal verb *pep up* have been adapted to Danish standards. While the related adjective *fuld af pep* (full of pep) is now obsolete in Danish – even Anglicisms die – the noun *peptalk* is still used in Danish.

Turning now to Table 10, the entry *opsparing* does not form part of any Danish stock phrases, but a slight English morphological impact may be detected through the (modest) increase in the plural form, rare and bordering on being ungrammatical in Danish, opposite English.

Interestingly, the one (surprising) occurrence in the ADL archive is found in a 19th-century novel about a Danish immigrant in the USA. This brings to mind the almost prophetic words of Otto Jespersen who, in the leading Danish encyclopaedia of its day, defined the notion of Anglicism as follows:<sup>11</sup>

**Anglicism.** Transfer of some peculiarity from the English language to other languages. Such are highly frequent, not only in poor translations from English, but particularly in the everyday speech of foreigners residing in England or North America.

(Otto Jespersen, *Salmonsens Konversationsleksikon*, 1915; my translation)

Some of the examples he then quotes as typical of Danish emigrants have since made their way into the Danish of Denmark, e.g. the word *farm*, the verbal phrase *at poste et brev* (to post a letter) and the transitive use of the verb *gro*, based on the valency pattern of *grow*.

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11. The verbatim Danish wording: “**Anglicisme.** Overførelse af en eller anden Ejendommelighed ved det eng. Sprog paa andre Sprog. Saadanne forekommer i meget stort Antal, dels i daarlige Oversættelser fra Engelsk, dels og især i det daglige Omgangssprog hos Fremmede, der er bosatte i England ell. Nordamerika.”



Table 11. Random entry 5 – DDO, Vol. 5, p. 500: solidarisk (solidary)

<i>show solidarity</i>	være solidarisk		bakke op (back up)		stå skulder ved skulder		slutte op bag		slutte op om		støtte op om	
ADL	1	100%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Korpus 90*	< 77	13.9%	391	70.7%	16	2.9%	18	3.3%	47	8.5%	4	0.7%
Infomedia 1995**	< 216	10.8%	> 1,501	74.8%	44	2.2%	55	2.7%	150	7.5%	40	2.0%
Korpus 2000*	< 94	9.7%	744	76.8%	20	2.1%	13	1.3%	61	6.3%	37	3.8%
Infomedia 2005**	< 634	3.4%	> 15,155	82.0%	341	1.8%	113	0.6%	479	2.6%	1,757	9.5%
Infomedia 2010**	< 654	2.6%	> 19,394	76.6%	395	1.6%	31	0.1%	383	1.5%	4,453	17.6%
Change 1990–2010		-11.3 pp		+5.9 pp		-1.3 pp		-3.2 pp		-7.0 pp		+16.9 pp

Table 12. Random entry 6 – DDO, Vol. 6, p. 600: ømtålelig (delicate; sensitive)

	ømtålelig ...		prekær ...		delikat ...		varm kartoffel (hot potato)	
ADL	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Korpus 90	40	50.6%	4	5.1%	6	7.6%	29	36.7%
Infomedia 1995	183	51.1%	57	15.9%	43	12.0%	75	20.9%
Korpus 2000	55	64.0%	5	5.8%	14	16.3%	12	14.0%
Infomedia 2005	437	44.5%	150	15.3%	71	7.2%	324	33.0%
Infomedia 2010	410	43.3%	170	18.0%	72	7.6%	294	31.1%
Change 1990–2010		-7.3 pp		+12.9 pp		0.0 pp		-5.6 pp

For the adjective *solidarisk* (Table 11), our fifth randomly selected entry, the most common expression, *at være solidarisk*, already dwarfed by its English-inspired competitor *bakke op* in 1990, has since further diminished its importance. To be fair, this is hardly due to the relative success of the Anglicism *bakke op*. A more likely explanation is the leftist connotations of the expression that make it less used in the latter, somewhat 'depoliticized' part of the period under scrutiny. *Bakke op*, the dominant expression throughout the period, is now challenged, however, by the Danish neologism *støtte op om*, which is synonymous with – but not inspired by – the English verb *support*. Instead, that verb has produced the Danish offspring *supportere*, which is only used in the sense 'IT-related troubleshooting' and thus not relevant as a synonym here.

Our last randomly selected entry (see Table 12) leads us on to a set of synonyms in the field *a delicate affair*. For the word *delikat*, occurrences with the sense 'well-tasting' were excluded; thus all four synonymous items refer to interpersonal or political matters. While the slangy loan translation *varm kartoffel* has not managed to conquer any ground in the 20 years studied, constructions using the slightly more elevated adjective *prekær* enjoy success. So it seems that the Danish *hot potato* is not that hot anymore, perhaps as a result of the ephemeral role of clichés.

## 6.1 Conclusions regarding the random searches

In Table B below, the key results of the six DDO-based searches are presented.

**Table B.** Results of the random searches

Calques or other Anglicisms	Share 1990	Share 2010	Change	Rating 1990	Rating 2010	Change	Status by 2010
<i>få check på / få tjek på</i>	0.3%	0.2%	–0.1 pp	6/6	6/6	0	marginal
<i>fjernundervisning / distanceundervisning</i>	100%	36.4%	–63.6 pp	1/1	2/4	–1	obsolescent
<i>e-learning / e-læring</i>	0%	62.2%	+62.2 pp	0	1/4	4	trendy
related Anglicisms total	100%	99.8%	–0.2 pp				
<i>peppe op</i>	21.4%	41.2%	+19.8 pp	2/5	1/5	1	predominant
<i>opsparinger</i>	1.1%	8.1%	+7.0 pp	2/1	2/1	0	non-standard
<i>bakke op</i>	70.7%	76.6%	+5.9 pp	1/6	1/6	0	predominant
<i>varm kartoffel</i>	36.7%	31.1%	–5.6 pp	2/4	2/4	0	established
Average	38.4%	42.8%	+4.4 pp				

In comparison with the results of the non-random searches (listed in Table A), the following observations can be made:

1. Surprisingly, average shares for the ‘random’ Anglicisms were considerably higher than those of the ‘handpicked’ ones, both in 1990 and 2010.
2. The average increase in shares was modest, although with a very high variance.
3. No Anglicism had a lower rating in 2010 than in 1990, and only one (*varm kartoffel*) had a significantly lower share.

Of these results, especially the first observation was contrary to my hypothesis that ‘the usual suspects’ would yield higher scores than more ‘anonymous’ Danish expressions based on English. It seems that one of the basic observations of corpus linguistics has once again proven its validity: what linguists tend to focus on are the conspicuous elements of language, including neologisms and deviations from language norms, while less visible developments may go unnoticed.

## 7. Final conclusions and future scenarios

Based on the preliminary conclusions presented in §5.1 and §6.1, we end up with the somewhat ironical conclusion that the ‘handpicked’, conspicuous phraseological Anglicisms produced lower relative usage frequencies than those of similar Anglicisms found in the randomly chosen semantic fields.

Two objections may be raised against this conclusion: (1) six non-random samples are not enough, and (2) this may be true for phraseology, but not necessarily for lexis and grammar.

As for the first objection, a follow-up study is planned, expanding the 6 randomly selected semantic fields to 36, based on six entries in each of the six volumes of the *DDO*. I would not be surprised, however, if the extra 30 fields yielded results more in line with those of the 6 randomly selected fields than with those of the 6 non-random fields in the present study.

The second objection is relevant in the sense that grammar may be the last linguistic stratum responding to continual influence from a dominant language. Still, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, Danish grammar has already been influenced by English, yet empirical studies in this area are much needed. As for lexis, nothing indicates that (Danish) language users’ choice of individual words should be less influenced by English than what we have encountered in this study focusing on phraseology – a linguistic entity that may be seen as a bridge between lexis and grammar. In fact, of the six randomly chosen entry words from the *DDO*, two items (*ffjernundervisning* and *opsparing*), while seldom forming part of a stock

phrase, display significant Anglification regarding lexical and grammatical developments, respectively.

Putting the present findings and conclusions into perspective, the following future scenarios present themselves at three levels, from local to global:

- Danish: will the present linguistic diversity last, or will an Anglophone mental and verbal grid merely replace the Danish/Germanic one?
- European: is the ‘invisible’ English lexical and phraseological impact (cf. §3) on Danish matched by that found in other languages?
- International: will the present majority of non-native English speakers change English – including its phraseology?

Hopefully, this study will inspire scholars elsewhere to empirically investigate the degree of successful transfer and adaptation of English language features – including multi-word units in local guise – and the possible implications for linguistic diversity vs. cross-cultural understanding.

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## Appendix

*ADL* stands for *Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur*; it covers Danish-language works of a wide selection of major Danish authors from around the 16th century to the early 20th century. It includes mostly fiction, but also essays, poetry and drama. Being a full-text archive rather than a *bona fide* text corpus, texts are not grammatically tagged, and words are not lemmatized. The total number of running words is around 14 million (my estimate). This historical archive is used for reference, as its texts represent Danish before the English influence gained momentum in the 20th century. Although truncation is possible, and all relevant word forms – including obsolete spellings – had to be manually checked in the archive and their frequencies added to reach the total figure(s) listed in the *ADL* row of each table. As a case in point, the Danish inflectional paradigm for nouns includes 8 forms, all of which must be counted: singular vs. plural, indeterminate vs. determinate, and nominative vs. genitive forms. In addition, as many of the works included in the archive are annotated versions, often edited after 1940, a fragment of the hits found may refer to the paratexts of editors rather than the texts of the authors (although when detected, such hits have been eliminated), and some texts appear in the archive more than once.

In *Korpus 90*, a 28-million-word tagged and well-balanced text corpus covering fiction and non-fiction from 1983 through 1992, 1 hit equals 1 occurrence of the search string. This means that if the word form searched for appears several times in the same text, each occurrence of that token will be counted.

*Korpus 2000* covers the years 1998 through 2002 and has the same size and structure as *Korpus 90*. No Danish *bona fide* corpora cover the period from 2003 yet.

The news archive *Infomedia* is by far the greatest organized machine-readable compilation of Danish texts. However, it is not a proper text corpus – which means that its texts are not grammatically tagged, and words are not lemmatized, so that, just like the *ADL*, each form of a given search word must be looked up separately, or found via truncation. Besides, syndicated texts are common in this archive, meaning that central news stories, edited as well as unedited, are often found in a dozen versions. However, as this study focuses on the impact of verbal phenomena, the fact that the same text is duplicated in the material is just a proof that additional segments of readers will be exposed to it. One hit in *Infomedia* equals not one occurrence of the search string, but one (newspaper) article including at least one occurrence of that string: as opposed to the corpora (*Korpus 90* and *Korpus 2000*), *Infomedia* does not register multiple occurrences within articles. All hits have been counted (i.e. one per article), except those from English-language sources and those deriving from English proper names in Danish texts, i.e. *Congin Online Learning Universe*.

The fact that this study includes single occurrences for some years (1990, 2000) and single or multiple occurrences in articles for other years (1995, 2005, 2010) should cause no concern, as frequencies of the cluster of synonyms are compared year by year, whether referring to individual hits or articles (with one or more hits). By August 2010, when the searches were conducted, *Infomedia* consisted of no less than 32 million articles, yielding roughly 13 billion running words. By July 2011, in only eleven months, *Infomedia* had increased by 9 million articles, totaling 41 million articles – some 16 billion running words.

Figures for *Infomedia 1995* and *2005* cover the entire year.

Figures for *Infomedia 2010* cover the period January 1 through June 30.