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The Influence of English on Norwegian Morphology

Aspects of a Contemporary Development

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SUMMARY

The Influence of English on Norwegian Morphology:
Aspects of a contemporary development

Three tentative hypotheses are suggested and tested in this thesis:

1. That compounds, clips words and the genitive case are areas of Norwegian morphology which in fact are realms of uncertainty for users of the Norwegian language
2. That the uncertainty is not solely a result of English influence
3. That the uncertainty to some extent is due to the insufficient knowledge of Norwegian orthography and morphology among Norwegians

With a view to investigating current attitudes within an academic setting to English influence on Norwegian morphology, a synchronic survey was carried out at Agder University College in Kristiansand. During the autumn of 2005 and the spring of 2006 26 informants were interviewed and divided into three informant groups. The informant groups are:

1. Language students
2. Other students
3. Academic employees

The survey was carried out during a two-month research period. In order to elicit current views on the three morphological aspects in question, a questionnaire combined with conversations with each informant was employed. Separately, the questionnaire and the conversations with the informants have clear disadvantages. In combination, however, they complement each other in a beneficial manner; the one's weakness is the other's strength.

Interviews with three teachers of Norwegian from primary and secondary schools have served as supplementary sources for the investigation.

An introduction to the Anglo-Norse linguistic background and a brief survey of language change and Norse linguistic influence on English have been included so as to view the current trends in relation to the development of the Anglo-Norse linguistic relationship. A consideration of aspects of the present state of morphology and an assessment of Norwegian approaches to maintaining linguistic purity under the influence of the English language broaden the linguistic scope.

From the survey results arose a discussion of the state of Norwegian orthography and of the teaching of grammar and orthography in Norway. The investigation shows that the uncertainty in the three areas of morphology is not solely caused by 'the English illness'. To a much greater degree the main concern is the state of knowledge of Norwegian orthography and morphology. In particular, the present approach to the teaching of Norwegian orthography and morphology has been found to be the main cause of unease. The view is held by a majority of the informants that the importance of orthographic competence is not promoted in education in Norway, which thus seriously undermines Norwegian speakers' knowledge of their vernacular.

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Any mistakes, imprecisions or misinterpretations found in the thesis are my own.

Stavanger, November 22th 2006

Linda Marie Anderstrøm

PART 1

CHAPTER 1: AIM AND SCOPE OF THE THESIS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The sense of ‘Norwegianness’ is deeply entrenched in Norwegian culture, and from this springs an enthusiastic interest in the Norwegian language. Linguistics has shifted from being a closed science of interest only to professors or students of linguistics and into being a subject of public interest. This is visible for example by the vast number of linguistic fora on the radio, online on the internet, and on television. Several linguistic television and radio programmes as well as internet sites or online chat rooms are designed and directed towards the man in the street, the everyday language user. The result of such activities is that people in general appear much more aware of and interested in their own language and many lay people have become active participants in linguistic debates.

This linguistic interest is shown by the everyday language user for example on the ‘blogging’ sites of the Norwegian tabloid ‘*Dagbladet*’. On these websites, people are invited to post their own ‘blogs’, online-diaries which are open for viewing by other people. Searching these sites we find also a plethora of linguistic blogs, or online language articles. Similarly to most other articles posted online, the level of relevance and actual knowledge of the subject in the online blogs varies greatly. The most interesting aspect, however, is not how good or bad these articles are, but rather it is fascinating to discover the number of people that post comments on articles or who write articles themselves. The majority of the ‘bloggers’ have no formal linguistic background, but have nevertheless strong opinions on and show enthusiasm about linguistics in a way that is quite remarkable. One such is blogger Helen Åsli’s article ‘*Sammen satt ord og leif*’¹, (Åsli 2006) which criticizes the increasing tendency in Norwegian to employ open compounds rather than correctly making them solid. This blog pinpoints one

¹ <http://www.blogging.no/blog.php/daewen/post/6459>

of the most interesting and frightening trends in Norwegian today, and has spawned well over one hundred comments. Another example of online-linguistic enthusiasm is the AMO-association, '*Astronomers against word-division*'² (Astronomer mot orddeling). Immensely popular and with over 6000 members, these web-sites flaunt linguistic errors such as incorrect word-division, and thus also actively illustrate the new linguistic trend.

The current linguistic interest seems to continue to increase. Language is becoming 'trendy'. This particular trend, however, is not a question of mere fashion. In my opinion, the attitude in Norway to language is firmly grounded in the Norwegian sense of nationality, and is further strengthened as a result of influence from the English language. English loanwords or borrowings are entering into Norwegian in almost every aspect of everyday and professional life. Many students in universities and at colleges in recent years have had to relate to and rely on English textbooks only and large Norwegian corporations nowadays choose English as their work language. Another interesting arena is the Norwegian oil industry, where English has a particularly great influence, and in which we can find extreme English borrowing into Norwegian. Sentences like 'traineen må approve ordenen' ('The trainee must approve the order') is understood as Norwegian within this setting, although only the word 'må' (must) is a Norwegian lexical item.

The above mentioned are areas which in some form make themselves known in society as such. English used in these settings and others alike forwards the use of the English language in Norway in general and may help to explain why many Norwegians are compelled to engage themselves in the debate about the current linguistic scene and future development of the Norwegian language.

² <http://www.amo.no>

1.2 AIM OF THESIS

1.2.1 PROBLEMS IN NORWEGIAN MORPHOLOGY CLAIMED TO BE CAUSED BY ENGLISH INFLUENCE

Norwegians can in one way be said to have become more aware of and interested in linguistics, both in terms of lexicography and morphology. Many worry that the Norwegian language will fold under the pressure of what is viewed as ‘English linguistic imperialism’, and some may even go as far as saying that the essence of the Norwegian language is becoming thinned out as a result of English influence. Some³ speak of ‘the English illness’ and of how it is spreading, and point especially within the Norwegian language to three specific problems or trends:

1. The use of English plural –s in some words in Norwegian treated as singular, thus seen as a threat to Norwegian inflection
2. Problems with Norwegian compounding
3. The increased use of the English genitive case

The aim of my thesis is to investigate the three aspects mentioned above with a view to finding out to what extent English has influenced Norwegian morphology. First, I want to establish whether these three areas of Norwegian morphology are indeed problematic linguistically, and if so, whether English is the culprit, as claimed. Seeing that Norwegians have become more ‘language conscious’ than earlier, one might think that their knowledge of the morphological structure of the Norwegian vernacular would be extended accordingly. Interest will often lead to consciousness, which again will produce correct products or material, in our case, language. If people are as language conscious as it may seem, these three aspects or areas of morphology ought not to be problematic. Rather, as many Norwegians currently are occupied with these areas, people should as a result be well aware of their orthographic features.

³ Cf. Schjerven 2005:24

1.2.2 HYPOTHESES CONCERNING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS A CAUSE OF MORPHOLOGICAL UNCERTAINTY

Further, I wish to question whether or not the English language is an imperialist suppressor that is the cause of morphological uncertainty in Norway. My hypotheses are;

1. That the above mentioned areas of Norwegian morphology in fact are realms of uncertainty for users of the Norwegian language
2. That the uncertainty is not solely a result of English influence
3. That the uncertainty to some extent is due to the lack of knowledge of Norwegian orthography and morphology among native speakers

By realms of uncertainty I mean areas within Norwegian which are problematic in that Norwegians are not aware of their orthographic features; the usage does not follow a distinct pattern in such a way as e.g. the inflection of a regular Norwegian verb.

1.3 SCOPE OF THESIS

1.3.1 ASPECTS OF NORWEGIAN MORPHOLOGY

I will limit the scope of my discussion of trends within morphology to written Norwegian 'bokmål' within an academic setting, and particular emphasis will be given to the three earlier mentioned aspects within Norwegian morphology:

1. Clips words
2. Compounds
3. The genitive case

1.3.2 ELUCIDATION OF SCOPE

The main field of the present study is that of current Norwegian morphology. Nonetheless, the field of Norwegian orthography will also be taken into consideration.

Although they are closely bound together, the scopes of morphology and orthography differ. In this particular study, it would be impossible to discuss morphology without mentioning orthography. Orthography may, after all, be considered a path to understanding morphology; orthography functions as an outer layer of arranging spelling whereas morphology may be found deeper within the texture of language, as an internal structure that provides the foundation for creating meaning, or word form. For example, the lexeme 'pin' gains an entirely different morphological meaning if the plural morpheme –s is added, the plural form 'pins' is created by means of a morphological process- word formation.

The orthography may be referred to as a 'spelling system'⁴ or a system of arranging written text so as to create meaning. The example word above would, for example, by exchanging the first letter 'p' with an 'f' create yet again a new meaning 'fin'. By doing so, an English word was created, and as such the orthography may be said to be correct. However, if we were to include an additional letter 'q' in the middle of the word, thus creating 'fqin', the rules for English orthography would effectively be broken.

Both orthography and morphology may be said to be systems which operate in close combination within a language to create palpable and context-specific meaning. However, they are separate and differ from each other in the manner they contribute to creating meaning: morphology deals with structure and orthography deals with order.

⁴ Cf. Akmajian 2001:71, 584

1.4 ATTITUDES TO THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON NORWEGIAN MORPHOLOGY

My thesis will also include a survey of attitudes within a college setting towards the English influence on Norwegian morphology. This synchronic survey includes three informant groups, totalling 26 informants, and was carried out at Agder University College in Kristiansand in the autumn and spring of 2005-2006.

I also interviewed three teachers of Norwegian at three different schools, each from a different level of teaching, and each with at least eight years of experience. I did this in order to provide a deeper insight into the teaching of Norwegian in Norwegian schools after an alarming number of my informants expressed that they felt ethnic Norwegians possessed insufficient knowledge of their vernacular.

1.5 BASIS FOR CHOICE OF THESIS

Earlier, linguistics was mainly a subject of a normative nature, concerned by and large with how to write properly and correctly, and with a view to educating able and sound writers. The focus in schools was to a great extent on orthography, on spelling rules and on avoiding grammatical errors. Today, Norwegian linguistic policy is still concerned with proper language usage. The task nowadays, however, is in some respects more complex than it was earlier, as in addition to orthography and grammar, students and scholars are faced with the challenge of the increased influence of the English language on Norwegian.

Furthermore, my own investigations also bring forth a rather troubling issue concerning the general knowledge in Norway of Norwegian morphology. Many of the informants who participated in the survey stated that they felt the teaching of grammar and orthography in

Norwegian schools was inadequate, and that this actively produces morphological mistakes and orthographic uncertainty. If this is the case, not only can we establish that the three areas of morphology in question here are in fact realms of uncertainty, but it may also be said that the influence of English in fact has a positive rather than a negative effect on the Norwegian language. I see the effect as positive in so far as the influence, if managed correctly, may lead to a higher degree of conscious language learning. Furthermore, it is likely to lead to a discussion around the focus areas in Norwegian language teaching.

Thus, within the Norwegian linguistic setting today, language users are faced not only with influences from English, but also with possible inadequacies in basic orthographic and morphological teaching. It is, in my view, crucial to establish what are the attitudes towards English influence on Norwegian morphology, and further to establish whether or not it is ‘the English illness’ that should be the cause of concern. I believe that despite the increased interest in language, native Norwegians are, unfortunately, not as aware of their own mother tongue as they perhaps should be. While it may be the easier choice to accuse the influence of the English language, it seems to me that this may not be the correct choice. Had the knowledge of native speakers of Norwegian been of an assertive nature, one might not have seen the English language as such a threat. Rather it would be a source of inspiration, and a means to enriching the Norwegian language. My thesis thus has a two-fold purpose:

1. To establish whether uncertainty about the specified morphological features gives ground for unease
2. If so, to establish whether the increasing influence of English causes such uncertainty in Norwegian morphology or whether inadequate teaching of grammar and orthography may be said to intensify the problem

CHAPTER 2: DATA AND METHODS

2.1 SOURCES AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1.1 ENGLISH IN NORWEGIAN

The English language is used today by various international organisations and political unions, such as the European Union, NATO and the United Nations.

English is also very dominant on the Norwegian cultural scene, on radio and TV, in the press, in advertising, in motion pictures, in popular music, and in international travel and communications such as post and the internet. All of the above mentioned are media which in various forms reach the masses and which in effect will be effective in forwarding linguistic features to a vast public. In addition English makes a great impact on Norwegian through education. At school children are exposed to English from the first grade, and in many Norwegian universities and colleges English is the language of textbooks and lectures, and used in communication between teachers and students. As internationalisation has become an integral part of Norwegian academic life, English has become increasingly more widely used.

To facilitate communication may not be the sole reason for the use of English in Norway, English as an international language is exploited not only for pressing communicative purposes, but also because of its status as a prestigious tongue. It is natural to compare this situation to the manner in which French was viewed in England many years ago.

Though there may very well exist appropriate and adequate Norwegian words for expressing a certain meaning or utterance, English may in many cases be preferred for reasons of status and prestige. Take for example the English word 'snowboard'. Today a Norwegian synonym exists, but still within the snowboarding milieu the English alternative is preferred. The Norwegian word 'snøbrett' expresses exactly the same meaning, but it has not yet acquired

the prestige accorded to the English word. Given the prestigious status of English in Norway and the problem that many Norwegians do not care or know how to adhere to their native morphology and orthography, English is provided with an environment that accommodates its abundant productivity. All these factors may serve to explain the increasing influential power and the status and prestige of the English language in Norwegian. Nonetheless, the total amount of English words in Norwegian may not be as considerable as many Norwegians seem to believe. The Norwegian linguist Helene Uri recently described the manner in which English words enter into Norwegian as ‘a trickle, rather than a stream’.⁵

2.1.2 ENGLISH BY FORCE OR BY ELECTION

Another aspect to keep in mind is that with any challenge, there comes also a choice of acceptance or rejection. Although English may rightfully be described as omnipresent in Norway today, it is perhaps not so much forced upon Norwegians, as adopted by choice by them. The Norwegian Language Council consultant Jan Hoel⁶ in a recent issue of *Språknytt* draws upon the 2005 report ‘Norsk i hundre! Norsk som nasjonalspråk i globaliseringens tidsalder. Et forslag til strategi’.⁷ Pointing to chapter 11 in the report, Hoel states that ‘Norwegian must also become the obvious choice in any given situation where the use of a foreign language is not required.’ (Hoel 2006: 3)

Hoel here draws attention to the importance of the choice of linguistic attitude. By choice a form of expression is elected. The elected form may then be challenged by alternative forms, which in turn may be either accepted or rejected as an equal form. The choice of an English word or form of expression rather than employing Norwegian is in many cases an act of conscious election, and as such it could be that English is not in general forced upon

⁵ In an interview with Petter Nome on the TV-programme ‘Frokost-TV’, May 9 2006.

⁶ Hoel 2006, in *Språknytt* 2/06, 1-3.

⁷ Språkrådet 2005. http://www.sprakrad.no/upload/3620/norsk_i_hundre.pdf

Norwegian. It may then be suggested that it is the linguistic attitude and approach in Norway that decide the extent of English influence on Norwegian.

2.2 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON ENGLISH LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE ON NORWEGIAN

To my knowledge few studies similar to the present one exist. There are, however, some informative and important sources to understanding the effect of English influence on Norwegian that should be mentioned.

2.2.1 AASTA STENE

Aasta Stene's dissertation *English loan-words in modern Norwegian* (Stene 1945) was completed prior to the Second World War, and was published directly after. In her comprehensive dissertation Stene examines the borrowing of English words into Norwegian, and looks at problems that may be involved in the process of borrowing. Stene's work is still considered one of the most impressive Anglo-Norse linguistic studies carried out in modern time.

2.2.2 BARBRO SÖDERBERG

The Swedish Linguist Barbro Söderberg's book *Från rytters och cowboys till tjuvstrykers, S-pluralen i Svenskan* (Söderberg 1983) explores the use of the English plural –s in the Swedish language, and looks at the consequences of English in Swedish, or 'Swenglish' as she calls it. The data considered in Söderberg's investigation are more similar in nature to the present study, and because of the close relationship between Swedish and Norwegian it is a highly relevant study. Söderberg states that the use of the –s ending may create problems because its varying usage may create misunderstandings as to the intended meaning, especially in the formation of the definite form.

2.2.3 KRISTIN FAUSA

Fausa's 'hovedfag'-thesis *English Loanwords in Norwegian: Some aspects of the Adoption, Adaptation and Establishment of Loanwords* (Fausa 1994) investigates the process of the borrowing of words of English origin into Norwegian. Fausa looks at various loan types, and says there are various stages of adaptation involved in the borrowing process. The stages identified by Fausa are: the process of adoption (the actual borrowing of foreign words), the process of adaptation (the change that loanwords undergo) and the process of establishment (the acceptance of loanwords) (Fausa 1994:4).

2.2.4 COLLABORATIVE EFFORTS

2.2.4.1 BLAAUW ET AL.

In 1996 the book *Engelske ord med norsk rettskriving?* was published. The book contains the written versions of six seminar lectures given in Bergen, and deals with how English words in Norwegian are treated and viewed. All six seminars take as their starting point the somewhat unpopular 1996-decision of the Norwegian Language Council to norvagise a selection of originally English words. The selection of words that was norvagised includes for example 'sørvis' for 'service', 'beiken' for 'bacon' and 'pøbb' for 'pub'.

2.2.4.2 THE NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE COUNCIL

Concerned to a great degree with language planning, the Norwegian Language Council aims to enlighten and advise Norwegians and others about how best to approach the Norwegian language. Their work may be said to be of a prescriptive nature, a natural consequence of which is that their attempts bring about protests and arguments from the public. This is intertwined with another very important aspect of the Norwegian Language Council's work and function: to bring laypeople to consider aspects of language use and of a linguistic nature.

Some of the decisions and proposals of the Norwegian Language Council are effective namely because they are provoking and challenging. The earlier mentioned decision to norvagine some 60 originally English words led to massive debates and numerous critical articles. The measures taken by the Norwegian Language Council to safeguard the Norwegian language by norvagination was paired with a challenge which led to public consideration of Norwegian linguistic aspects.

The Norwegian Language Council states that their objective with language tending and language reinforcement is to prevent Norwegian from being threatened as a current language and as a technical language, and further to ensure that Norwegian is employed in new domains, also as a technical language.⁸ The threatening language referred to here is English, and with a view most likely to prevent English from taking over, the Norwegian Language Council advises that Norwegian words be used instead of English.⁹ Examples of such 'avløserord' (substitute words) include 'klimaanlegg' for 'airconditioning', 'dagsorden' for 'agenda', 'formgiver' for 'designer', 'bukbøy/magebøyning' for 'sit-up' and 'trangbukse' for 'tights'.¹⁰ Although not all of the substitute words have been embraced in Norwegian, they have, however, led many Norwegians to question and reflect on matters of their native tongue.

2.2.5 ANNE-LINE GRAEDLER

Anne-Line Graedler's book *Morphological, semantic and functional aspects of English lexical borrowings in Norwegian* (Graedler 1998) studies English words and expressions in use in Norwegian, and emphasises the behaviour of inflection and meaning of the English words that enter into Norwegian. In line with the present study, Graedler's book also investigates the use of the English plural ending –s in some English loan words in Norwegian,

⁸ Cf. <http://www.sprakrad.no/templates/Page.aspx?id=3161> (15.10.06)

⁹ <http://www.sprakrad.no/templates/Page.aspx?id=123>

¹⁰ For more examples of substitute words, see the webpage of the Norwegian Language Council 'På godt norsk- avløysarord' <http://www.sprakrad.no/templates/Page.aspx?id=351> (15.10.2006)

the so-called 'clips nouns'. Graedler does not, however, collect data in the same manner as in the present study, but bases her studies on written material collected mainly from Norwegian newspapers.

2.3 METHODS

2.3.1 LINGUISTIC APPROACH

There are various approaches to gaining more knowledge about the linguistic structures that create different kinds of text. The approach laid out in *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* by Quirk et al. (1985), and continued by Lysvåg and Hasselgård in *English Grammar: Theory and Use* (1998) is perhaps the most familiar approach in Norway. Another approach for acquiring knowledge and understanding of language and in labelling of various functions and of grammatical terms is the functional approach of systemic-functional theory of language. This approach, developed by British linguist Michael Halliday, is not yet as prevalent in Norway as is the approach of Quirk et al. Both these approaches, however, have the same aim: to disclose and explain linguistic features with a view to making evident the true meaning of text. In this thesis, the linguistic approach as defined by Quirk et al. (1985) and Lysvåg and Hasselgård (1998) has been employed.

2.3.2 QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEWS

In order for the hypotheses to truly be tested and with a view to bringing forth realistic results in the survey, the method made use of in the present study was designed to not only describe the usage of clips-words, compounds and the genitive case in Norwegian today, but also to elicit information about the informants' attitudes to the English influence on these three areas of morphology. By combining a questionnaire with a conversation with each informant, data which were believed to function as an indication of

the current status were obtained. The examples used in the questionnaire and in the interviews were based on examples of everyday-language¹¹, and focus on the three areas of morphology: compounding, clips words and the genitive case.

2.3.2.1 APPROACH

The approach as such has been to produce data based on an indirect method of enquiry. For this reason, no particular information was at hand for the informants prior to the actual meeting. The informants were only briefly informed about the purpose of the survey. They were made aware that it was a survey of a linguistic nature, and that an interview and a questionnaire would be involved, but were not told specifically what was to be investigated.

With a view to providing information on current attitudes to the English influence on Norwegian morphology, the approach was synchronic, i.e. only data which have been found relevant to elicit current attitudes have been considered. Data which have been found to display earlier experiences or attitudes based on former knowledge have been disregarded in the analysis of the conversations. The latter type of information was plentiful in the conversations with the informants. Although this may be considered as an extra and unnecessary workload, it has been in reality a confirmation of how the informants appear to have found the topics of the survey interesting. Furthermore, a quantitative approach as defined by Poulsen was made use of; ‘identified language items are counted and comparisons are made between the identified groups of informants.’ (Poulsen 2006:13). The selected linguistic items, i.e. usage in the questionnaire, and attitude and usage in the conversation, were after having been analysed, recorded and categorised.

¹¹ E.g. from language use in advertisements, television, personal correspondence, posters, and on various commodities.

2.3.2.2 NATURE OF THE INTERVIEW

The interviews were conducted at the Agder University Campus, always at the informant's choice of location. This was done with a view to providing a 'safe' and natural environment for the informant so that the conversation as such could flow without inhibition as much as possible. Prior to the conversation, each informant was asked to fill in the questionnaire. Some¹² were, because of limited time, provided with the questionnaire beforehand. A natural result of the chosen order of the interview as a whole was that the informant might become aware of the more specific nature of the interview. In some cases it was communicated at the beginning of the conversations that the informant had understood the aim of the interview, and in others it was not commented on at all. In either case this order of procedure was found beneficial in that it communicated the linguistic awareness of the informants; the examples were designed not only to elicit information, but they were, furthermore, selected because they were found to be of an entertaining nature.

The entire interview as such took between 20 minutes to one hour, to a great degree dependent on whether or not the informant had filled in the questionnaire prior to the actual meeting. The length of the conversations also varied. The informants who were found to be of the more language conscious typically had much more to disclose compared to the less language conscious. These informants in many cases digressed somewhat from the questions they were asked. Because these digressions often would help disclose even more clearly the attitudes of the informants to the English influence on Norwegian morphology, it may be said to have been a bonus of the conversations. Furthermore, it may be said to be a result of the informant's engagement in the conversation, which is actually a feat in that it confirms the

¹² Mostly academic employees and a few of the student informants

relevance of discussing these matters. So as to make easier the analysis of the dialogues the conversation, including the three supplement interviews with the teachers of Norwegian, were recorded digitally on a Dictaphone. As opposed to manually making notes during the course of the conversation, the recordings of the conversations may be said to ‘capture’ current sociolinguistic aspects in a much more efficient manner. The absence of note-writing further enhanced the ‘naturalness’ and flow of the conversations.

2.3.2.3 QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire in a clear manner allows the interviewee to contemplate somewhat before answering, and brings forth explicit truths concerning the linguistic competence and knowledge of the interviewee. Furthermore, it is uncomplicated to interpret and analyse the answers provided. On the other hand, the questionnaire may not in every instance elucidate all nuances, further, it allows time to contemplate. Questionnaires may bring forth in the informant awareness of the subject and the informants may be inclined to present designed or arranged answers. The answers may as such not always correspond to the person’s immediate opinion; in some cases people could even provide the answers that they believe you seek.

2.3.2.4 CONVERSATION

A dialogue is a more dynamic form of communication than is written language. By means of the conversation then, the immediate reactions and views of each informant are indicated, and thus, the nuances which might be left out in the questionnaire are yielded. During a conversation the informant has the opportunity to ask for further explanations of the questions asked, and may also be asked further questions on each matter so as to confirm that the answers have been understood correctly. However, because of its dynamic nature, a conversation could easily take a direction other than the one intended, and one might be left

without answers altogether. I brought to each informant appointment a conversation chart with which I was able to steer each conversation. Thus, the conversations rendered similar information from each informant.

2.4 INFORMANTS

2.4.1 ORGANISATION OF INFORMANTS

In total there are 26 informants distinguished by three main informant groups. All of the three informant groups have academic backgrounds¹³, and as such the survey may be said to concentrate on attitudes within an academic setting. The informant groups are:

1. Language students: This informant group consists of students from different studies of linguistics at AUC. Mostly, the informants are English students. The informant group was further divided into two minor groupings according to gender, one group of women and one group of men. The group of language students was the largest informant group, with eleven students in total.
2. Other students: This informant group consists of students who do not study language. In the same manner as was the group of language students, this group was divided according to gender. This group comprises three male informants, all of which attend various fields of study at AUC, and five female informants, of which two were students in similar fields of study at AUC. The various fields of study represented in this group are:
 - Economics
 - Art- Theatre
 - Mathematics

¹³ The informant prerequisites were present registration at AUC, either as students or as academic employees. Further, informants were required to have a general university admission certification.

- Chemistry
 - Biology
 - Sociology
3. Academic employees: This informant group consists of academic employees at Agder University College. This group was divided in two according to place of employment of the informant. The division between the subgroups of the employee informant group was made between employees at the faculties of literature and linguistics, and employees from other faculties. The two informant sub-groups provided me with seven informants in total, four from linguistic faculties and three from other faculties. The faculties represented in the ‘other’ sub-group are:
- Mathematics
 - Economics
 - Law

2.4.2 BASIS FOR CHOICE OF INFORMANTS

The data provided by the survey have been the basis for the present study. Focus has been on gaining information about the attitudes of the academic informants to the morphology of three specific areas within the Norwegian morphology within bokmål. The three focus-areas areas of the conversations and the questionnaire have been:

1. Clips words
2. Compounds
3. The genitive case

The three areas have been explained in part one of the thesis, and have in common the claim that English influence has contaminated their orthography. Through the one-on-one conversations and by means of the questionnaire, the participating informants have indicated current attitudes to English influence on these aspects of Norwegian morphology. By

selecting the three specific groups mentioned I have been able to work with data which not only say something about linguistic attitudes and knowledge, it furthermore provides a broad basis on which to draw final conclusions concerning the current situation.

A survey based only on data from language students would arguably have been too narrow to indicate truly current attitudes or even knowledge. Data from three entirely different informant groups will in effect test any apparent truths extracted from the survey and will as such also leave us with a more realistic result.

2.5. DATA

2.5.1 BASIS FOR CHOICE OF DATA

In general, it is highly relevant and important to map out current attitudes towards and thoughts concerning the English influence on Norwegian morphology. The results of such an investigation may, if carried out in a thought-through manner, provide information on the status of Norwegian today. Moreover it could be used as an aid in the prescriptive linguistic effort to maintain the Norwegian language. It is especially important to seek out this kind of information within an academic setting. There are two main reasons for this;

1. Students will at a later stage in life bring into work settings and onto others their thoughts and attitudes concerning the English influence and concerning Norwegian morphology in general. It is interesting to gauge how conscious a relationship students in a college setting have to language, and further how they view the three before-mentioned aspects of morphology. Do they see them as caused merely by English influence, or do they feel there may be other explanations? Or do they perhaps not see them as problems at all?

2. Professors and lecturers are currently where many students will find themselves in a few years; they are in a position where they can exert an influence on their audience and effectively expound their views on linguistic questions. It is therefore relevant and interesting to find out more about their own current attitudes to language, and to learn more about their views on the three aspects of morphology in question. It is also interesting to investigate if the professors and lecturers have noticed any changes in attitude to morphology among the students, and if so, it is important to try to establish why there have been such changes.

CHAPTER 3: ASPECTS OF THE ANGLO-NORSE RELATIONSHIP

3.1. ANGLO-NORSE LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

The relationship between English and Norwegian goes back far. Having descended from the same source, the two languages are what is referred to as cognate languages. The difference between Norwegian and English may today seem very vast, but still there are similarities within each of the two languages that determine their kinship. Both languages have originated from what is referred to as the 'Indo-European language family', and more specifically from Germanic. Earlier, Old Norse was a very influential source on the English language. This was a result of the invasions and settlements of the Norse Vikings between the years from around 787 and up until the Danish king Cnut claimed the English throne in 1014 (Baugh & Cable 1993:90). Relics of the early beginnings of the Anglo-Norse relationship is evident in vocabulary items for instance in nouns like 'daughter' or 'father', or in verbs such as 'wash' or 'bake'¹⁴.

- | | | | |
|------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. (E) Daughter→ | (N) Datter | (OE) Dohtor | (No) Døttir |
| 2. (E) Father→ | (N) Far | (OE) Fæder | (No) Faðir |
| 3. (E) Wash→ | (N) Vaske | (OE) Wæscan | (No) Vaska |
| 4. (E) Bake→ | (N) Bake | (OE) Bacan | (No) Baka |

(Freeborn 1992:47)

The similarity in these words represents the common source language from which Norwegian and English have originated.

¹⁴ Both verbs are shown in infinitive

3.2. A BRIEF SURVEY OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

Language change is a reality and a natural development found in all languages. Although it may be difficult to provide a sufficient explanation as to why languages do alter over time, it is possible to investigate the various types of change that a language may undergo.

3.2.1 LEXICAL ADDITION

In Norwegian, we have formed words such as 'sjåfør' from 'chauffeur', 'nonsjalant' from 'nonchalant' and more recently we have 'sjampanje' for 'champagne'. These words have been borrowed from French, and have been added to the Norwegian vocabulary, first in their original form and as they with time have become established lexical items, they have been altered so as to conform to the Norwegian spelling system. Words from English that have been added to the Norwegian vocabulary include 'agenda', 'design' and 'alien'.

3.2.2 LEXICAL LOSS

For various reasons, some words may alter with regards to popularity. Some words may be very popular at one point in time, and may also suddenly be generally forgotten. In some cases, words and expressions will be used only by a small group in a society, and may even become extinct as a generation passes. Some words will be lost for ever, and others may reappear. The Norwegian word 'mare' ('succubus') may be one such word which in Norwegian. Earlier, it could be used singularly, in recent years, however, it has typically only been seen in the compound 'mareritt'.

3.2.3 LEXICAL CHANGE

Lexical change refers to how lexical items, words or expressions change in a language.

'Mare' has currently been noticed in use again, although with a slight difference in meaning.

‘Mare’ originally referred to a female spirit which caused grief and trouble. Through time, its meaning has changed, and today its use refers to the trouble and grief caused rather than to the female spirit as such.

3.2.4 PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE

Lexical items may change with regard to how it sounds, i.e. it changes phonologically. A current trend and phonological change in Norwegian today is the /sj/-sound’ which is replacing the /kj/-sound’ in many Norwegian words such as ‘kjole’(‘dress’), ‘kino’(‘cinema’), ‘kjæreste’(‘boyfriend’ or ‘girlfriend’) and ‘kjekk’(‘handsome’, or in some Norwegian dialects ‘fun’). This particular change is frustrating to many not only because it is considered a change regarded as decay of Norwegian, but mostly it is troubling because it in some cases produces ambiguity: when pronounced with the /sj/-sound as opposed to with the /kj/-sound, the word ‘kjekk’, which in fact may be ambiguous to begin with, can also refer to a cheque or an inspection. A negative effect of /sj/-usage, we may argue, is the possibility that the language may become vague and ambiguous.

3.2.5 SEMANTIC CHANGE

Semantic change refers to how the meaning of a word may undergo change through time. The Norwegian word ‘kjerring’ is claimed to once have been used as a pet name a man used lovingly to refer to his wife. Nowadays, the word ‘kjerring’ has taken upon a meaning of completely the opposite nature.

3.2.6 MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGE

The three areas within Norwegian morphology which are to be investigated in the present thesis may be said to be areas in Norwegian which to some extent are in the course of changing morphologically. For instance, the seemingly increasing tendency of writing open compounds may be viewed as a morphological change in Norwegian. The general Norwegian consideration of the morphological aspect seems to have altered; writing open compounds in Norwegian appears to have become acknowledged in Norwegian. This tendency was previously seen only in specific cases, and into being a common and usual feature of Norwegian. As a result there might be a chance that with time, open compounding will become the standard in Norway. Whether or not this will become a reality depends to a great extent on the attitude in general of Norwegians to linguistics.

3.2.7 REASONS FOR LANGUAGE CHANGE

In the book *Linguistics- an introduction to language and communication* (2004), Akmajian states that:

‘In the past, language change has been viewed variously as decay and as progress, but at present neither of these views seems appropriate or true. Language seems to maintain a balance in expressiveness and grammatical complexity over time.’

(Akmajian 2004: 338)

It is difficult to explain the processes that lie behind language change, and it is natural that people independently form individual ways of viewing this process. For better or for worse, it is a given that languages do change, and that, in many cases, the changes are brought about as a result of an outside influence. Norwegian in the form of Norse, and as a result of the Viking invasions and settlements once held great influence over the English language.

3.3 NORSE LINGUISTIC INFLUENCES ON ENGLISH

3.3.1 NORSE LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN ENGLISH

The word ‘bag’ may by many be considered an English word, but is in fact an example of a Norse borrowing. The Norse word ‘baggi’ was borrowed into English during the period of the Scandinavian invasions. Some years later the word ‘baggi’ in its English form ‘bag’ was adopted into Norwegian from English. Another Norse borrowing in English is ‘window’, which entered English initially from the Norse word ‘vindauga’. This word is also a result of Norse influence on English. There are many more examples of the Norse influence on the English language. In total, close to 1000 Scandinavian loanwords are incorporated in the English vocabulary.¹⁵

3.3.2 NORSE MORPHOLOGICAL BORROWINGS IN ENGLISH

Through Scandinavian, Norse may also be said to have influenced English morphology. In an article from 1999¹⁶ the Norwegian linguist Anne Karin Ro states that:

English has Scandinavian plural forms of the personal pronouns (*they, their, them*) in stead of forms that reflect the Old English *hi, hira, him*. Even the verb *to be* is influenced by Scandinavian in that the plural form *siendon* in Old English indicative present tense has been replaced by *are*, and the singular form *-(e)þ* in 3rd. person present tense indicative with *-s*. (Ro 1999:56)¹⁷

3.3.3 NORSE PHONOLOGICAL BORROWINGS IN ENGLISH

English phonology can also be shown to have been influenced by Norse. Many OE words such as ‘sceo’ and ‘scinn’ were spelled with the digraph {sc} (pronounced [f]). OE ‘sceo’ and ‘scinn’ had cognate Norse words with the same meaning, ‘sky’ and ‘skinn’. The Norse

¹⁵ Cf. Crystal 1995:25

¹⁶ Cf. Ro in Engebretsen and Svennevig 1999: 47-71

¹⁷ My translation

digraph {sk} in fact altered the Old English phonology of words with initial –sc. Today, the examples referred to are known as ‘sky’ and ‘skin’. (Cf. Freeborn 1992:48)

3.4 THE PRESENT STATUS OF ENGLISH

Today, the Anglo-Norse linguistic situation has changed. The English language has developed through time alongside England’s political advancement in the world, and at present it holds a position concerning linguistic influential power that exceeds any other. The status of the English language as such may be a result of the fact that English over the centuries has been a great borrower of linguistic items. Languages such as Latin, French and Norse have contributed to the making of English, and the result is a lexical richness¹⁸ which in fact may explain why English has come to be so influential. Speakers of other languages may find English less foreign than other foreign languages because they are able to recognise within it linguistic structures and vocabulary borrowed from their own vernacular.

The influential power and status of English today has led to the claim of linguists such as David Crystal¹⁹ in his book *English as a global language* that English has evolved into the lingua franca of the modern world.

¹⁸The Collins Cobuild Advanced Learner’s Dictionary is based on the evidence from the *Bank of English*® corpus, which now contains over 524 million words. Cf. <http://www.collins.co.uk/books.aspx?group=150>

¹⁹Crystal: *English as a Global Language*. (1997)

CHAPTER 4: ASPECTS OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON NORWEGIAN MORPHOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Some English words, not all, may change in form or meaning when entered into Norwegian, and many are altered structurally in order for Norwegian language users to be able to employ and understand them correctly. A linguistic item adopted from English into Norwegian will normally undergo some form of alteration as it is integrated gradually into the Norwegian language. The extent of alteration of a borrowed linguistic item, a borrowing or a loan word, varies according to several factors, for example the word class to which the linguistic item belongs. The word classes of verbs, nouns, adjectives and to a lesser degree, adverbs, are most likely to incorporate English linguistic items. The reason for this is that these are the *open* word classes which may admit new entries. The *closed* word classes of prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions and interjections comprise function words. These word classes do as a rule not accept new entries of any kind. The function words that we already have are sufficient either by themselves or by the combining of two or more linguistic items, known as the process of compounding. There is a distinction in morphology between the open and the closed word classes in that the open word classes may be inflected. As they can be inflected, these words may from themselves produce other related lexical items.

4.1.1 BORROWED VERBS

In order to make meaning accurate and to assure it is understood as intended, it is crucial that the verb is expressed in a way that is palatable in Norwegian. Fortunately, the word class of verbs seem to adapt very easily to the Norwegian language. Both in English and Norwegian verbs are words denoting state and activity and are thus essential in forming the correct meaning in a sentence. This similarity may be a factor that can explain the apparent ease with

which English verbs can enter into and function in the Norwegian language. Words from this word class almost without exception combine the borrowed item with a Norwegian inflection.

4.1.2 BORROWED NOUNS

Nouns are linguistic items that label or name e.g. objects, occurrences, situations, ideas, and also belong to the open word classes. Nouns in Norwegian are similar to nouns in English in being inflected. However, definiteness and plurality in Norwegian depend on the choice of morphological endings, and offer a wider range than does English. Furthermore, nouns adopted from English into Norwegian do not all react in a set manner, and are not as easily integrated as are verbs. As borrowed nouns may adapt to Norwegian morphology in a range of various manners, they are also possible causes of unease with regard to usage in Norwegian.

4.1.3 FUNCTIONAL ABILITIES OF LOAN WORDS

We saw an example earlier of how English verbs and nouns can ease into Norwegian. In the sentence 'traineen må approve ordenen' - ('the trainee must approve the order'). The nouns 'trainee' and 'order' as well as the verb 'must approve' have been equipped with Norwegian inflections. As nouns and verbs are among the word classes which undergo inflection, the inflection helps classify the words and give them meaning even though some may be uncertain of the exact meaning of 'trainee' or 'to approve'. However, the functional abilities of borrowed verbs and borrowed nouns differ. In connection with her thesis the Norwegian linguist Anne-Line Graedler (Graedler 1996:70) found in her collected material that verbs to a greater extent than nouns and adjectives take Norwegian inflection. 89% of the verbs had Norwegian inflections, whereas only in 22.5% of the nouns and 35% of the adjectives in the material had Norwegian inflection been made use of. Graedler explains (1996:70) that in

Norwegian the verb plays an important role which appears without inflection only in the imperative case, for example 'hopp!' As such, a borrowed verb cannot fully function in Norwegian without a Norwegian inflection, whereas nouns and adjectives are not restricted in such a manner.

4.2. ASPECTS OF NORWEGIAN MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1. CLIPS WORDS

4.2.1.1 BACKGROUND AND DEFINITION

An interesting aspect of borrowing of English nouns into Norwegian is that some words when taken from English into Norwegian, keep the plural marker –s as part of the word stem in Norwegian. Anne-Line Graedler in her book *Morphological, semantic and functional aspects of English lexical borrowings in Norwegian* (Graedler 1998) refers to such words as 'clips nouns'. This is one of the aspects of the English influence on Norwegian morphology that I have focussed on.

Clips words are English words that make their way into the Norwegian language. Examples include words such as 'muffins', 'brownies', 'strips', 'tanks', 'leads', and '(micro)chips'. The problem that arises for some with regard to words of this type is the morphology, or the inflections of the word. Some see the English plural –s as a plural marker in Norwegian also, while others regard the –s as part of the root of the word; the –s is not considered to be an inflection. Clips words can thus be referred to as lexical borrowings that cause confusion concerning inflection in Norwegian. My experience is that such words in particular create much debate. In my opinion, this debate arises out of a thorough knowledge of English in Norway, resulting in analysis of the plural inflection –s as a plural marker in Norwegian also. In an attempt of defining clips words, we may say that an English loanword with the plural –s

included in the root of its Norwegian form is, in most instances, a clips word in Norwegian. As such it may also be considered a Norwegian lexical item.

The word ‘muffins’, denotes a sort of cup cake and is a typical clips word. In English this word is made up of the word stem ‘muffin’ + the plural marker –s. We can thus state that the English word ‘muffins’ denotes plurality, more than one muffin. In Norwegian, the word ‘muffins’ does denote the exact same type of cupcake as it does in English. Hence, we can state that the overall meaning is kept intact as it was in English when adopted into Norwegian. As a lexical item, the word ‘muffins’ remains the same. The morphology, however, has in this case undergone a slight alteration. The Norwegian word ‘muffins’ is understood to be the singular indefinite form of the word. In other words, the –s that in English is the plural marker is in Norwegian regarded as part of the word stem. We can test this by forming the plural form of the same word. In Norwegian, the indefinite plural form of ‘muffins’ is ‘muffinser’. The Norwegian plural marker –er has been added to the word stem ‘muffins’, and now the word denotes exactly the same item and quantity as does the English ‘muffins’.

Borrowings do not always alter in form or meaning such as shown in this example when integrated into Norwegian. Some words keep the same linguistic features in Norwegian as they had originally in English. These words are often nouns denoting items, e.g. ‘snowboard’, ‘skateboard’ or ‘PC’.

Another point to consider is made by the Norwegian linguist Gjert Kristoffersen, who refers to the English plural –s in Norwegian as ‘a new allomorph for the indefinite plural form.’²⁰ By this definition the English plural –s could be regarded as a contribution to Norwegian linguistic diversity.

²⁰ Gjert Kristoffersen in Simonsen et al. 1997:54

4.2.1.2 MORPHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As there are various approaches to usage, we may argue that a clear understanding of a clips word is as of yet not fully established in Norway. Some clips words may start to be used with the Norwegian inflection –er in addition to the English inflection –s.²¹ Other English clips words such as ‘et tips’ ((E) ‘a tip’), or ‘et triks’ ((E) ‘a trick’) are borrowings where the English plural –s in the indefinite plural form seems to have conformed to Norwegian inflection of neuter plural with the θ plural morpheme. (Cf. (N) et hus- huset- flere hus- husene (E) A house- the house- several houses- the houses))

Et tips- tipset- flere tips- tipsene (a tip-the tip-several tips-the tips) and;

Et triks- trikset- flere triks- triksene (a trick- the trick- several tricks- the tricks)

One may also suggest that these clips words are loanwords which have not conformed to the neuter plural, but rather the –s is perceived as part of the root of the word. Both ‘et tips’ and ‘et triks’ are former English words where the plural –s is not integrated in the Norwegian singular form of the word. In a comparison of ‘tips’ and ‘triks’ to the masculine ‘en tanks’, we see that all three words are loanwords which have adapted to Norwegian usage by integrating the plural –s as part of the root. Making use of Fausa’s stages of adaptation involved in the borrowing process (Fausa 1994:1), these words may be said to be established borrowings which by most Norwegians are viewed as Norwegian words. Words such as ‘muffins’, ‘smoothies’ and ‘aliens’ would according to Fausa’s definition belong to the stage of adaptation; the words are widely used in Norwegian today, but neither lexically or morphologically have they become established or recognised as Norwegian.

²¹Eg. ‘flere binderser’, ‘gode muffinser’ og ‘store tankser’.

As to why the English plural –s is integrated as part of the stem in many clips words in Norwegian, Anne-Line Graedler explained to me²² how Joan Bybee in *Morphology: a study of the relation between meaning and form* (1985) states that a lexical as well as a morphological item might be borrowed or adopted from one language into another in the form in which it has most frequently been encountered. According to Graedler, Bybee explains that as –s is not a plural indicator in Norwegian, it is interpreted by some as part of the root of the word. Another explanation comes from the Norwegian linguist Helge Sandøy (Sandøy: 2000) who explains that it may have to do with the length of the word, and further that it has to do with Norwegian phonology (2000:113). In Norwegian, a strong vowel sound must be followed by a consonant. If the vowel sound is followed by a single consonant, the vowel sound will be pronounced as a long vowel. If the following consonant is double, this signals that the vowel sound is short. When e.g. ‘muffin’ is borrowed into Norwegian, an additional consonant is often added to signal that, in ‘muffin’ the vowel sound /i/ is short, not long. The -s thus fulfils this purpose in Norwegian singular ‘muffins’. Words which similar to ‘muffins’, such as e.g. ‘tanks’, ‘pins’, ‘kaps’, ‘shorts’, and ‘smoothies’, keep the plural –s in their Norwegian singular form may be said to have fully integrated into Norwegian. They basically keep the same form that they have in English, but are altered to meet the standards of Norwegian phonology.

The extensive knowledge of the English language may be another reason for the uncertainty around the use of this morphological aspect in Norwegian. In many cases thorough knowledge and considerable experience leads to the English plural –s being seen not as part of the word stem, but rather as a plural marker. Many then describe the use of the –s as part of the stem as a contributor to the decline of Norwegian, or the doings of the English disease.

This harsh criticism, however, does not pay attention to the fact that The Norwegian

²² E-mail 26 October 2005

Language Council, *Språkrådet*, actually has decided upon a set form and a norm by which such ‘clips words’ should be inflected. The suggested inflection of clips words has been modelled after the principle of the Norwegian linguist Helge Sandøy, described earlier: in order to conform to Norwegian phonology, the plural –s is kept in the new Norwegian form of the loanword as part of the word stem, and not as an inflection. It should be mentioned, though, that in the indefinite plural form, where in Norwegian the inflection –er is the plural marker, clips words in most cases are marked for plural with the English –s only. Although a suggested inflection of clips words is at hand in Norwegian, everyday written and spoken examples indicate that in general Norwegians find this particular area of morphology unclear. Far from everyone sees the plural –s in clips words as part of the stem of the same word in Norwegian.

We see an example of how the English plural –s is employed as a plural marker in the English word ‘event’. I have encountered a few examples of usage of this word, for example on the websites of *Woman* magazine²³; ‘Vi har dessverre ingen *events* i denne måned’ (Unfortunately there are no events this month). Here, the word ‘event’ is employed in indefinite plural form, which normally in Norwegian is marked by the plural suffix –er. In this case, it is likely that the English form ‘event’ is employed with a view to marking the phrase with some level of prestige; the English word ‘event’ brings with it more ‘glamour’ and appears more alluring than do the Norwegian equivalents ‘begivenhet’ or ‘arrangement’. This is the case also in the second example, which I found on the websites of the Kristiansand-based party-planners ‘Festarrangøren AS’²⁴:

²³ <http://www.womanweb.no/>

²⁴ <http://www.festarrangoren.no>

Festarrangøren har spesialisert seg innen planlegging og gjennomføring av events for næringslivet. Vi har gode kunnskaper og kontakter, noe som gjør at vi kan tilby dere et skreddersydd event.

(E)

'Festarrangøren' have specialised in planning and implementing events for the business sector. We hold great knowledge and connections which enable us to provide you with a tailor-made event. ²⁵

Here, the word 'event' is employed with the same intention as in the initial example, in order to appear alluring and attractive to potential clients. The word is here employed twice, once as an indefinite plural 'events' and once as a definite singular 'event'. The plural inflection –s is employed only in the indefinite plural, and may as such here be said not to be part of the word stem. The word 'event' is a fairly recent loan word or borrowing, and may potentially create the same problems in usage as have 'muffin' and 'pin'.

In her book *Morphological, semantic and functional aspects of English lexical borrowings in Norwegian* Graedler refers to how the Norwegian linguist Finn-Erik Vinje in his book *'Moderne Norsk. Råd og regler for praktisk språkbruk'* (Vinje 1987) claims that 'knowledge of Latin lies behind an unwillingness among academics to use definite endings with some nouns of Latin origin'. (Graedler 1998:115) We can expand this idea so as to explain why some Norwegians seem to have an unwillingness to employ in Norwegian the plural inflection –s as part of the root of a clipped word. The knowledge of English is at such a level that the idea of –s as a plural marker is transferred also into Norwegian. This of course conflicts with the inflection of clipped words as suggested by the Norwegian Language Council.

²⁵ My translation

The English plural –s is not in itself a threat to the Norwegian language. We should keep in mind that the English plural inflection –s in Norwegian is limited to its clips words and is not a productive inflection. A Norwegian word such as ‘a troll’ is not in any apparent danger of later being spelt ‘a trolls’. The Norwegian linguist Gjert Kristoffersen²⁶ says in an article in *Purisme på Norsk?* that the Norwegian grammar will not change because of the English plural –s, and thus also suggests that this linguistic feature is not to be feared. However, it is a problem that the orthography of clips words is foggy for many.

4.2.2 COMPOUNDS

4.2.2.1 BACKGROUND AND DEFINITION

The claim of many Norwegians is that English derivational morphology causes confusion concerning compounding in Norwegian. According to popular opinion in Norway, the influence of English is to blame for the increasing tendency by Norwegians to incorrectly employ open compounds rather than making them solid. I believe that compounding, one of the processes of word-formation, in Norwegian morphology is one of the three morphological realms of uncertainty. Furthermore, many Norwegians seem to lack the ability to correctly and appropriately form new lexical items by means of compounding.²⁷

The Norwegian Language Council is one of the critics casting English as the big bad wolf causing compounding problems in Norwegian. On their website²⁸ they outline the correct usage of compounds in Norwegian, and further indicate that occurrences of open compounds are normally caused by English influence.²⁹

²⁶ Gjert Kristoffersen in Simonsen et al. 1997:54

²⁷ See appendix 4 for examples

²⁸ www.sprakrad.no

²⁹ <http://www.sprakrad.no/templates/Page.aspx?id=686>

However, one should keep in mind that problems in compounding are not only limited to words of partly or completely English origin. Many of the compounds that are written incorrectly consist of Norwegian words only, such as 'gårds utsalg' (farm sale).

Compounding is not a case of borrowing in the same respect as in the case of clipped words. The problem is rather that Norwegian morphology is influenced by English derivational morphology. No borrowed lexical items need be part of the lexical item that is influenced by English.

The process of compounding involves the formation of new words or lexical items making use of already existing words. More specifically, single or individual words are joined together to form a complex lexical item. Graedler (1998:200) explains compounding as '...two or more elements that behave as one unit.' In some cases a whole new meaning is created, e.g. if 'to land' is joined together with 'to crash', thus forming the new meaning 'to crash-land'. In other cases a more specific meaning will arise, such as the addition of 'garden' to 'party' to form the new word 'garden party'. These compounds are *endocentric*: they both have heads; a word that defines the meaning, and which also defines the word class. The first example, 'crash-land', is a verb with 'land' as head, and the second 'garden party', is a noun, and 'party' is the head. Compounds can also be *exocentric*, or headless, such as in 'pathway', where 'path' and 'way' are equal in defining the compound. The three examples that I have used are all compounds. Yet they differ in the manner in spelling; the verb 'crash-land' is a hyphenated compound, the noun 'garden party' is an open compound, and the noun 'pathway' is a solid compound.

4.2.2.2 MORPHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In English, there is no consistent rule or convention deciding how compounds are to be written. In many cases the compound enters into the written language as an open compound, and as it becomes known and integrated into the language, it will go from being open to becoming hyphenated. A fully integrated word will in most cases be written solidly. For instance, the Old English preposition phrase ‘to dæge’, ‘to + day’ has been used by Shakespeare with a hyphen ‘to-day’ (*Henry V*), and is currently employed solidly: ‘today’. Words may also go straight from being open to becoming solid, or they can enter into the language as hyphenated compounds which then become solid. To make matters even more intricate, some words may not even alter at all. An example is the English word ‘icecream’, which also may be written ‘ice-cream’ or even ‘ice cream’. In English, then, compounding is a complex matter.

As to compounds, the Norwegian orthography differs from English in that they as a rule are to be written solid. The derivational morphology of compounding means that from one simple word can be derived longer and more specified words, complex compounds. In order for the derived complex compound to be understood correctly, one must adhere to the principle of solid compounds. For example:

Jern + bane → Jernbane (Railway)

Jernbane + stasjon → Jernbanestasjon (Railway station)

Jernbanestasjon + betjent → Jernbanestasjonsbetjent (Railway station official)

In Norwegian, a difference in meaning will often arise if compounds are written in an open form. There is a great difference in meaning between ‘flyreiser’ and ‘fly reiser’. The first

example means ‘a journey by airplane’ while the latter example communicates that airplanes travel. By making use of open compounds in Norwegian one is very likely to communicate to others the wrong message, and it is therefore not recommended. Hyphenated compounds may in some instances be used:

- If three identical consonants occur together one can use a hyphen; ‘fotball-lag’ (football team) or simply remove one of the three consonants; ‘fotballag’.
- When referring to decades by using numbers: 60-åra (the sixties), 50-årsjubileum (fiftieth anniversary). Alternatively, one could write out the numbers: ‘sekstiåra’, ‘femtiårsjubileum’.
- In examples such as: tur-retur-billett (round trip ticket), munn-til-munn-metode (CPR)
- In compounds including names: oslo-mann or oslomann (man from Oslo), Nato-styrker, NATO-styrker or natostyrker (NATO forces).

In Norwegian, a simple test can be performed to decide if a phrase is a compound or not. If there is only one nuclear stress in the phrase it is a compound, and should be written solidly. Examples such as (E) ‘blackbird’ or (N) ‘hvitvin’ are words where there is only one nuclear stress. If the phrase has double stress, it is not a compound, and as such the phrase should *not* be written solidly. Examples such as (E) ‘black `bird’ or (N) ‘hvit `vin’ are words where stress occurs twice in the phrase.

By a conscious effort, or simply for lack of orthographical knowledge making compounds open, speakers or writers create new meanings and alter the meaning initially intended. There are innumerable examples of this mistake being made. If for example the nominal compound ‘lammelår’ (leg of lamb) in the phrase ‘helt lammelår’ is incorrectly written as an open compound, the phrase takes on a whole new meaning. ‘Lamme lår’ in fact means ‘paralyzed

thighs’, a meaning far from the one intended. The difference in meaning is obvious, and one may perhaps believe that such examples occur rarely. Alarming, the current trend is the exact opposite, and similar examples are abundant in written Norwegian language. Another example involves a moving company based in Oslo. The firm ‘Flytte Gutta’ is one of many Norwegian businesses that would have benefited from checking the orthography in the company name. When written separately, ‘flytte’ becomes a verb, and thus ‘flytte gutta’ suggests that the reader should move (flytte) the guys (gutta). Written correctly, this firm would in writing be ‘Flyttegutta’. Here, ‘flytte’ is a premodifier of the noun ‘gutta’, and specifies what kind of guys they are, as well as a correct advertisement of their firm. Despite the wrong spelling, the intended meaning, that they are a company of ‘mover boys’ is probably understood without difficulties by most readers. My survey shows that many informants believe that most people read the meanings of phrases rather than focussing on word-by-word meaning, and that the meaning most of all springs out of the context. In other words, orthography is disregarded. We may compare this to the manner in which we are able to read words where the letters have been shuffled around within the lexical item: Mneanig may be udnertsood evn wehn the letrets are suhflfed, and dpestie the fcet taht Nwrogeian othrogrpahy is not ahdred to.

Meaning will in most cases outweigh misspellings and orthographical or morphological errors. However, it is important to emphasise that such errors are likely to cause stigmatisation, and should therefore be avoided. Problems with compounding in Norwegian in particular have in many instances been claimed to be the result of English influence. For example, the book by the makers of the immensely popular television programme ‘*Typisk Norsk*’ devotes three entire pages to this phenomenon. The title of this section in the book³⁰ is ‘*The English Illness is Spreading*’ (Den engelske syke sprer seg). This book, as well as the TV

³⁰ Cf. Schjerven 2005:24

programme, is directed towards the everyday language user. Highly entertaining and truly informative, its style is informal and easy to relate to. No doubt the immense popularity of the show also reflects the current linguistic interest of many Norwegians today. The fact that language receives attention on a profiled television show is of course beneficial in that it highlights language as a field that is of an intrinsic public interest. This again is likely to make people more aware of their own linguistic habits, and may be effective in that it accentuates the incorrect usage of open compounds in Norwegian. The flip side of the attention, however, is when subjective attitudes and nuance-less reasoning are forwarded to such a great audience.

May it not be the easy way out to refer to the English language as a disease? Placing the blame for compounding errors solely on English influence does appear unjust and simplistic. As will be shown in the presentation of my survey, a vast majority of my informants mentioned English as one of the reasons for compounding errors. Even more commented that the general opinion seems to be that English influence is to blame. Making English the scapegoat may be an easy and practical way of explaining why Norwegian compounds in more and more instances are written open.

One of the hypotheses of the present study is that the extensive employment of open compounds in Norwegian is *not* solely caused by English influence. As in other areas where problems occur, it is helpful to look to oneself before pointing to others. One reason for the increase in open compound usage may be the increased use of spell-checking programmes on computers. Very often compounds in Norwegian especially will be underlined to indicate that the spelling is wrong. In many cases the word is not wrong, but is simply not an entry in the computer's dictionary. In the same manner the very popular text-messaging function on cellular telephones creates problems. The dictionary inherent in the cellular telephone does

not have the capacity for a great number of entries, and especially with regards to compounds problems arise. In lieu of entering in a word manually, as is possible with many cellular telephones today, many will choose to enter a space and then enter the next part of the compound. The result is open compounds. This tendency may not in itself cause people to choose the wrong orthography, but will most likely advance the 'it's not a big deal, people understand anyway'-attitude that one teacher mentioned during the teacher interviews.

Another issue is that of aesthetics. Very often, when composing headlines or marketing texts, the writer or designer is limited by the size of the space available. Often it is necessary for the written message to extend beyond one single line. If in the text there is a compound that must stretch over two lines, a hyphen should be used in order to observe correct Norwegian orthography, and also to get across the correct message. Very often, however, compounds in such instances are written without a hyphen, most likely because it looks better without one. This type of text is referred to as 'gestalt-tekst' ('form text'), text such as headlines, commercial advertisements, book titles etc, where first and foremost the visual impression is emphasised. If people encounter such examples often enough, they might begin to view this as an elegant way of writing compounds, and some may not even spot the error. The danger is if the majority of the Norwegian people as a rule begin to employ open compounds, because it might then with time become the preferred and ultimately correct manner of usage.

The Swedish language is very similar to Norwegian. Swedish morphological aspects correspond also with respect to the employment of open compounds. The Swedish linguist Katharina Hallencreutz writes in the article 'Skyll på längden, inte på engelskan' (Hallencreutz 2001) that as to open compounds in Swedish, the visual form of the word is a more important explanation than is English influence. Hallencreutz distinguishes between

open compound usage in so-called ‘gestalt-text’, i.e. book titles, names of consumer goods, names of companies, as opposed to usage in longer texts, and explains how in gestalt-text the visual is just as important a message as the words as such (2001:8). Despite the fact that many language users might be able to distinguish between open compound employment in gestalt-text and in longer texts, this does not apply to all language users. Spelling in marketing and in advertisement is very visible text which innumerable people encounter daily. Although spelling conventions in gestalt-text may be somewhat freed from ordinary orthography, the realm of its usage and the influence it has over language users may very likely serve to further open compound usage also beyond the scope of gestalt-text.

In *’Språk 2005- en situasjonsrapport ’* (Vinje 2004:88) Finn- Erik Vinje, Professor of modern Nordic languages, says with regards to compounding that in modern Norwegian, the tendency to write open compounds can be a result of influence from the Norwegian language as well as from English patterns. For instance, in oral Norwegian, dialects are hallmarks that nearly every Norwegian takes pride in. In the later years, it has become trendy to make use of one’s dialect also in written language in for example e-mails and text messages. This factor was mentioned by informants from each informant group as a possible cause of the problems with clipped words, compounds and the genitive case.

A study carried out by the Norwegian linguist Roar Walmsnes in 1999 supports one of the hypotheses of the present thesis; that problems in Norwegian morphology is not solely caused by English. Walmsnes writes in an article in *Språknytt* (Walmsnes 2002:26) that he examines in his thesis the extent of compounding errors in texts produced by first-year upper secondary school students. Further, he investigates possible reasons behind the problem. First of all, we can state that compounding errors in fact are a problem in Norwegian orthography.

Furthermore, we can establish that even at the upper secondary level students have problems with the orthography in this area. From his survey Walmsnes concludes that errors in Norwegian compounding at high school level to a great degree have to do with insufficient morphological knowledge. His results are interesting, and show that 30% of his informants employed open compounds in one or more instances in a given test. Walmsnes concludes that among his informants the level of morphological knowledge in general is poorly developed. This thesis also establishes that students who spend much time reading have a better knowledge in morphology, and as a result make fewer mistakes in compounding. With regard to the English influence, Walmsnes states that errors in compounding occur before students are introduced to English. This indicates that influence from English is not solely to blame, and that it does not even have a crucial role as a projector of compounding errors.

4.2.3 THE GENITIVE CASE

4.2.3.1 BACKGROUND AND DEFINITION

The genitive case in Norwegian is to many people another source of much distress and frustration. In many instances, especially in marketing and in names of establishments of various sorts, the English genitive case rather than the Norwegian is employed. In English, genitive case is marked by the use of an apostrophe (') followed by an -s, and in Norwegian the genitive case is formed with an apostrophe only in words ending in -s, -x, or -z, such as 'Franz' kiosk' or 'Marx' teori' (Marx' theory). In words that do not end in one of these three letters, we mark genitive case by adding an -s *without* apostrophe. By this rule, 'Evas grill' and 'Helens salong' are correct examples, whereas 'Adam's grill' and 'Henri's salong' are not.

Though the orthography in this area of morphology should be quite straightforward, a surprising number of incorrect examples of the genitive case occur in written Norwegian. By incorrect, it is referred to the manner in which the apostrophe is added before a following –s. There are, of course, a few exceptions to the general rule of no apostrophe. According to the websites of the Norwegian Language Council the apostrophe should be used;

- In abbreviations that end in a majuscule, and which are written without a full stop:
'AP's politikk' (politics) , 'LO's fordeler' (advantages)
- After single letters: 'a's bruksområder' (area of application)
- After various abbreviations: 'Larsen og Co's firmabil' (rental car)
- In words used temporarily as a noun: 'sitte's partisippform' (the participle form of sit)

The rules of the Norwegian genitive case are thus fairly clear. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, the incorrect use of the apostrophe is very much in evidence nowadays. On the website³¹ of AMO is found an extreme example of incorrect use of the apostrophe in the Norwegian genitive case: 'Husk uken's tilbud's brød!' Here, the apostrophe is not only employed incorrectly in the genitive case, it has also been inserted into the adjective 'tilbuds' ((E) offer) in the compound 'tilbudsbrød'. This example portrays how incorrect usage may spread.

4.2.3.2 MORPHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

There are various possible reasons for uncertainty within this specific area of morphology. Again, popular opinion holds that this tendency is increasing as a result of English influence. In some cases including the apostrophe + s in Norwegian, i.e. the English pattern of the genitive case, will be referred to by native Norwegians as 'in English'.

³¹ <http://www.amo.no>

The question, however, is if Norwegians who employ the apostrophe plus –s in fact do it deliberately, or if they are simply not aware that this is incorrect Norwegian. In some cases the apostrophe is knowingly made use of. This implies that the writer does so without regard to Norwegian morphology and orthography, and there is likely to be an ulterior motive behind the choice. It may then be argued that many Norwegians employ the English pattern because they wish to cultivate an international image. Thus, the use of the English or Anglo-American pattern may be an issue of prestige or status.

In the case of morphological uncertainty in this area, however, when the apostrophe is *not* used deliberately, the matter is of quite another nature. In many cases of wrong genitive case usage it may seem as though people just do not know better. In other words, Norwegians in some instances make genitive case mistakes unintentionally; they simply are not aware of correct Norwegian orthography. If this is the case, there will be other basic reasons for the wrong usage. Such reasons may for example include poor or lacking morphological training, or a poorly developed awareness of one's native language. As to the English influence then, may it be said to be a direct factor in the case of unintentional use of the apostrophe in the Norwegian genitive case? If people use the English pattern deliberately, then it can be said to be a result of English influence; the apostrophe plus –s is used with an intention of e.g. prestige or status. As to the Norwegians who unintentionally employ the English pattern, the English influence as a cause appears subordinated to the factor that many Norwegians are uncertain of the morphology of their own language. Results from the teacher interviews indicate that the use of the apostrophe plus –s is a trend that occurs after basic schooling in Norwegian. This suggests that there is also a 'domino effect' which helps along wrong genitive case usage.

4.3 LINGUISTIC MAINTENANCE

4.3.1 PURISM AND LINGUISTIC BORROWING

Purism is to many a fairly vague term. The context of its usage will in most cases define its meaning. Nonetheless, acquaintance with the true meaning of purism is favourable in that it may lead to more profound insight with respect to its inherent principles. A few definitions will therefore be presented so as to establish what is meant by ‘purism’. The British Collins English Dictionary³² defines purism as ‘*Insistence on traditional canons of correctness of form or purity of style or content, esp. in language, art or music*’. The American Merriam-Webster Online-Dictionary³³ states that purism is ‘an example of rigid adherence to or insistence on purity or nicety especially in use of words; *especially*: a word, phrase, or sense used chiefly by purists’ or ‘the quality or practice of adherence to purity especially in language’. For a definition of linguistic borrowing we may turn to Anne-Line Graedler, who defines borrowing in language as ‘the use of elements from one language, the source language, in the context of another language, the borrowing language’ (Graedler 1998:38).

4.3.2 LINGUISTIC PURISM

A definition of purism seen within the scope of language may be found in the Norwegian linguist Endre Brunstad’s *Det Reine Språket* (Brunstad 2001:25). In his book, Brunstad refers to George Thomas’ definition of purism in ‘*Linguistic Purism*’:

Purism is the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originated in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but

³² <http://www.collins.co.uk/wordexchange/Sections/DicSrchRsult.aspx?word=purism>

³³ <http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/purism>

primarily the lexicon. Above all, purism is an aspect of the codification, cultivation and planning of standard languages. (Thomas 1991:12)

Although Thomas' definition may be problematic in that it considers dialects, sociolects and stylistic differences as elements which in purism language is to be preserved from, it does provide useful information as to what purism is within the scope of language. From this, we can state that the principle of linguistic purism in essence is to strive for a pure language with as little interference from other languages as possible. The ideal of purism in Norway is a genuinely Norwegian language. Linguistic elements and borrowings from e.g. English are considered intrusive and threatening to the pure Norwegian language. Within purism then, the ideal is avoiding the use of foreign linguistic elements with a view to maintaining a genuinely pure language.

4.3.3 ENGLISH LOANWORDS AND LINGUISTIC PURISM IN NORWEGIAN

The Norwegian linguist Dag Gundersen in Blaauw et al. (1996) states that:³⁴

The main task of the last 150 years in the treatment of written Norwegian language may be presented as such:

1. Linguistic emancipation from Danish
2. Approximation of bokmål and nynorsk ('riksmål'/'landsmål')
3. Simplification
4. Norvagation (Perfecting the Norwegian)³⁵

Thus it may be said that it is especially during the last 150 years that the Norwegian language has been perfected so as to manifest what is characteristically Norwegian. The effort during the last decades has, however, not only been directed towards perfecting the Norwegian

³⁴ Gundersen 1996:42

³⁵ My translation

language. Norwegians have in addition felt a need to shelter their language from the English influence, and linguistic borrowing from English into Norwegian is according to popular opinion today the largest threat to the Norwegian language. Many Norwegians are concerned that the context of the Norwegian language will become English, and this fear projects English loanwords as a threat to Norwegian.

Though Helene Uri and others supporting her claim that English words enter into Norwegian at a slow rate, many state the opposite, namely that the extent of English loanwords has become more profound during the last four or five decades.³⁶ Furthermore, the use of English loanwords is conventional within many realms of society, for example in Norway-based international companies or in Norwegian companies which have international contacts or branches. Further, to many Norwegians English loanwords hold a prestigious status, which is a factor that is likely to further the intensity and advancement of English loanwords in Norwegian. Nonetheless, Anne-Line Graedler (1996) mentions other aspects which influence the status of borrowings from English to Norwegian: the origin of the word; the manner of borrowing (into written or spoken language); the word's age and extensiveness; the length and complexity of the word; its style; and not least the ability to adapt into Norwegian systems of inflection.³⁷ These are all factors that determine the manner and rate in which English loanwords enter into Norwegian.

As suggested earlier, English is consciously elected as a means of communication by many Norwegians, and is not as much forced upon them. Thus, though the extent of English loanwords in Norwegian has become more profound, we may also state that this may be due to the attitude of Norwegians to the English language as such. Compared to for example

³⁶ Cf. Fausa 1994:1

³⁷ Graedler 1996:68

Iceland, which has a very purist policy with respect to English loanwords, Norway may be said to have had an open attitude to the English influence.

4.3.4 MAINTENANCE OF THE NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE

The effort to maintain the Norwegian language under the influence of English is effectuated in two ways;

1. Norvagation. Defined by the Norwegian Language Council on their website as ‘... at ein gjev importordet norsk skrivemåte’ (‘...to provide the imported word with a Norwegian spelling’). An example of Norvagation would for example be the Norwegian spelling ‘fait’ for the English word ‘fight’.
2. Norwegianising. Defined by the Norwegian Language Council on their website as ‘... at ein finn eit norsk ord (ofte kalla eit ‘avløysarord’) for importordet’ (‘...to provide in place for the imported word a Norwegian word (often referred to as a ‘native substitute’). An example of Norwegianising would for example be the Norwegian word ‘kollisjonspute’ for the English ‘airbag’.

The term ‘imported word’ suggests the same as does loanword, that is ‘the use of elements from one language, the source language, in the context of another language, the borrowing language’ (Graedler 1998:38). The Norwegian Language Council especially is preoccupied with linguistic purism and aims to norvagate as many as possible of the loanwords that enter into the Norwegian every-day language. The Language Council’s approach to loanwords is based on the report by the Norwegian linguist Helge Sandøy, *Lånte fjører eller bunad?* (1997) The report, and accordingly the approach of the Norwegian Language Council, is thus based on providing acceptable Norwegian forms as replacements for English loanwords. By means of either norvagation or norwegianising the adapted Norwegian words are to adhere to

existing patterns of pronunciation in Norwegian. Loanwords that refer to specifically English circumstances will most in most cases not undergo attempts of purism. Similarly, if the word is composed in a manner that already is faithful to Norwegian spelling and orthography, the loanword will be kept intact.³⁸

4.3.5 REACTIONS TO PURIST EFFORTS

Strong reactions have been evoked in Norway by efforts of the Norwegian Language Council to norvagise forms of English loanwords. In 1996, 'sørvis' ((E) 'service'), one of the norvagised words, caused a stir because many Norwegians felt that the effect of such norvagation would be a degradation of the Norwegian language. Similarly in 2004 the Norwegian Language Council enraged many Norwegians with suggested spellings of English loanwords. The loanword 'nonchalant', for instance, was according to the resolution of 2004 to be spelt as 'nonsjalant', and the more Norwegian digraph '-sj' was to replace the original '-ch'. Though more Norwegian in form, the suggested spelling 'nonsjalant' was offensive to many Norwegians.

Scepticism towards purist efforts is not only a reaction of the modern Norway society. In an orthography resolution in 1862 many originally French words that had come into Norwegian through Danish were norvagised. Examples include (N) 'seremoni' for (F) 'ceremonie', (N) 'prosedyre' for (F) 'procedure', (N) 'refleksjon' for (F) 'reflexion', and (N) 'sjonglør' for (F) 'jongleur'. The spelling of the loanwords was met with great scepticism in 1862, but is by Norwegians today considered genuinely Norwegian. Naturally, people react when familiar ways are altered. In an article in *Aftenposten* following the reactions to the norvagation of a number of English loanwords in 2004, the Norwegian linguist Helene Uri writes:

³⁸ <http://www.sprakrad.no/templates/Page.aspx?id=3173>

‘F-o-t-b-a-l-l-c-u-p, staver hun. Mamma, hva er fotballsup- en suppe for fotballspillere? Jeg er ikke overrasket over at det ble bråk da språkrådet i forrige uke drøftet fornorskede skrivemåter av en del lånord. Det blir alltid bråk av sånt. Mennesker er vanedyr.’

(E)³⁹

’ F-o-t-b-a-l-l-c-u-p, she spells. Mum, what is fotballsup- a soup for football-players? I am not surprised that a stir was caused when the Language Council last week discussed norvagised spelling of a few loanwords. Such efforts will always cause trouble. People are creatures of habit.’ (Uri 2004)

People are creatures of habit, and to many, old habits die hard. It is also characteristic of humanity to be sceptical about anything that challenges the established perception of ‘normalcy’.⁴⁰ Thus, when Norwegians oppose efforts to norwegianise and norvagise English loanwords, it may be that they most of all are opposed and sceptical about the removal of a habit.

4.3.6 MORPHOLOGICAL PURISM IN NORWEGIAN

Written Norwegian projects and maintains what is characteristically Norwegian. In a country with such a myriad of different dialects, and not to mention with two different language variants, the morphology is especially significant in the manifestation of the genuine Norwegian language. Morphology is important because it functions within a language as a cursor which guides and aids language users in determining meaning and function of a word. For example, there is, as mentioned earlier, a great difference in Norwegian between ‘lammelår’ and ‘lamme lår’.

³⁹ My translation

⁴⁰ Cf. Edward Said 1978. *Orientalism*.

The employment of conventional Norwegian morphology becomes especially important under the influence of English. If Norwegians are acquainted with their native morphology, it will be easier to maintain the distinctiveness of Norwegian. For example ‘Annas gym’ appears much more Norwegian than does ‘Anna’s gym’, and similarly, ‘Kennelklubb’ is more Norwegian in form than is ‘Kennel Klub’.

Furthermore, although the majority of people in Norway today know and understand English, it is crucial to recognise that far from all Norwegians are familiar with English. In order for the Norwegian language to remain non-discriminative, the morphology as such should be at the helm of the vessel that is Norwegian. When faced with a new loanword, inflectional morphology will be a means to determining word-class, and might as such in a given context lead to the understanding of a new loanword. As such, it is all-important that Norwegians maintain and become certain of the orthography and morphology of their native language. Fortunately, the guidelines of purism in Norway also affect the Norwegian morphology. In the report by Sandøy (1997) we can read that: ‘Norvagised nouns, verbs and adjectives are to be placed within Norwegian inflection so that they may acquire traditional Norwegian inflections.’ (1997:124). However, one must keep in mind that borrowed verbs react differently than do nouns and adjectives when taken into Norwegian. As mentioned earlier, Graedler (1996:70) states that a borrowed verb cannot fully function in Norwegian without adhering to Norwegian rules of inflection, and further explains that nouns and adjectives are not restricted in such a manner.

Because they do not react in a set manner when imported into Norwegian, loanwords belonging to the word-class of nouns are more likely to cause morphological uncertainty than are verbs. Clips words belong to the word-class of nouns, and as Graedler states, they do not

react in a regulated manner in Norwegian. As such, clips words become problematic in that they are interpreted in various manners according to the person who employs or encounters them. Therefore, the principles of morphological purism in Norwegian are helpful in that they are a means to establishing commonplace usage of clips words in Norwegian.

Although morphological purism in Norwegian is a useful tool with which to maintain Norwegian morphology, there are in fact grounds for concern, especially with respect to orthographical features of morphology. According to many of my informants, the current knowledge in Norway of native morphology and orthography is dissatisfactory. If this is the case, it implies that although the means to maintaining Norwegian morphology, realised by morphological purism are at hand, they are not effectively made use of by many Norwegians.

PART 2

CHAPTER 5: ATTITUDES TO THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON NORWEGIAN MORPHOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this part of the thesis a presentation of the characteristics from the survey will be presented. The three main informant groups have been treated separately so as to make evident any potential tendencies within them. The subgroups, however, have not been treated separately, as it has not been an aim of this investigation to look at differences in attitude based on gender. The academic employee informant subgroups differ not in gender but in place of employment and have therefore been treated separately. As such, the results are represented within four separate categories.

5.2 ORGANISATION OF RESULTS

The results are considered with respect to the three specific morphological features of clips words, compounding and the genitive case. In order to illustrate any latent variations between the informant groups the outcome of the survey is rendered according to the following four categories:

1. Language students
2. Other students
3. Academic employees: language
4. Academic employees: other

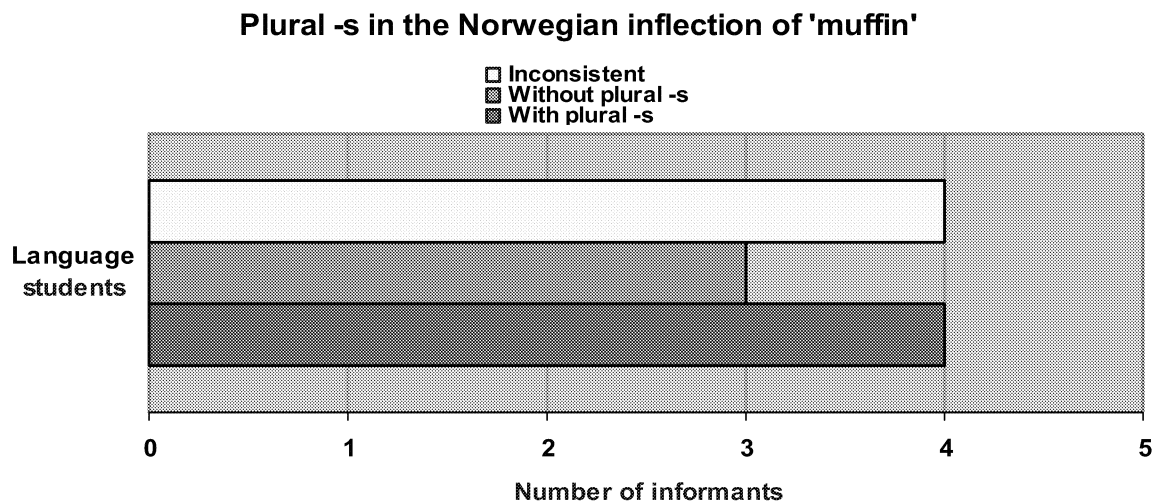
A short conclusion of the findings within each morphological feature group is provided consecutively following each presentation.

5.3 PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

5.3.1 CLIPS WORDS

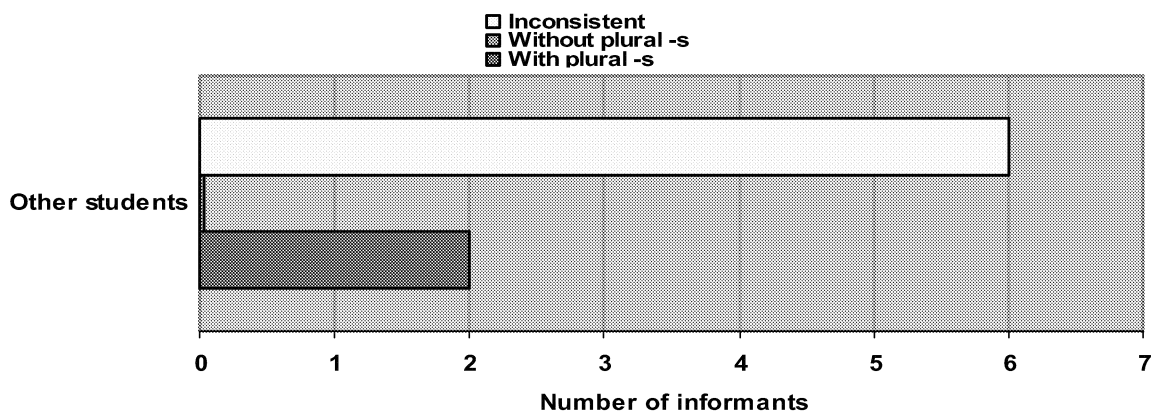
5.3.1.1 IDENTIFICATION OF THE PLURAL –S IN ‘MUFFIN’

5.3.1.1.1 LANGUAGE STUDENTS



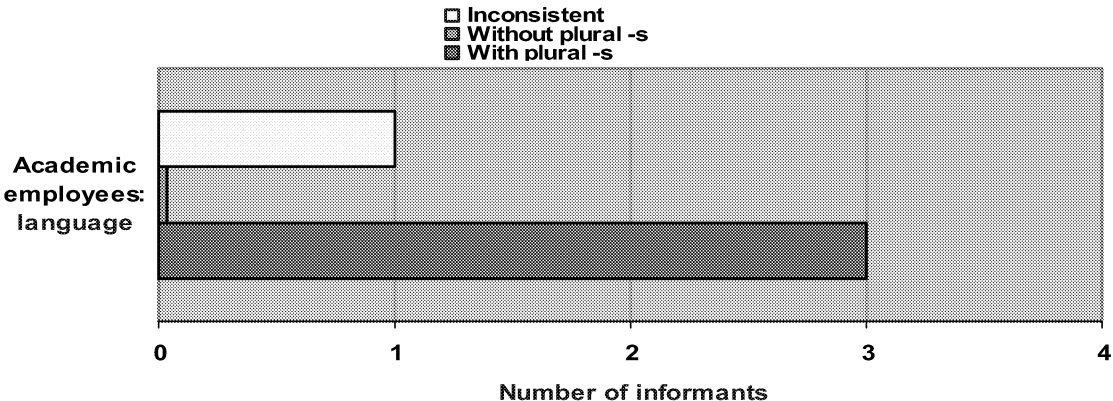
36% of the language students consistently made use of the plural –s in the Norwegian inflection of ‘muffin’, whereas 27% did not. The remaining 37% were inconsistent with respect to the usage, and would for example claim in the questionnaire that they employed the plural –s, but would during the conversation state otherwise.

5.3.1.1.2 OTHER STUDENTS



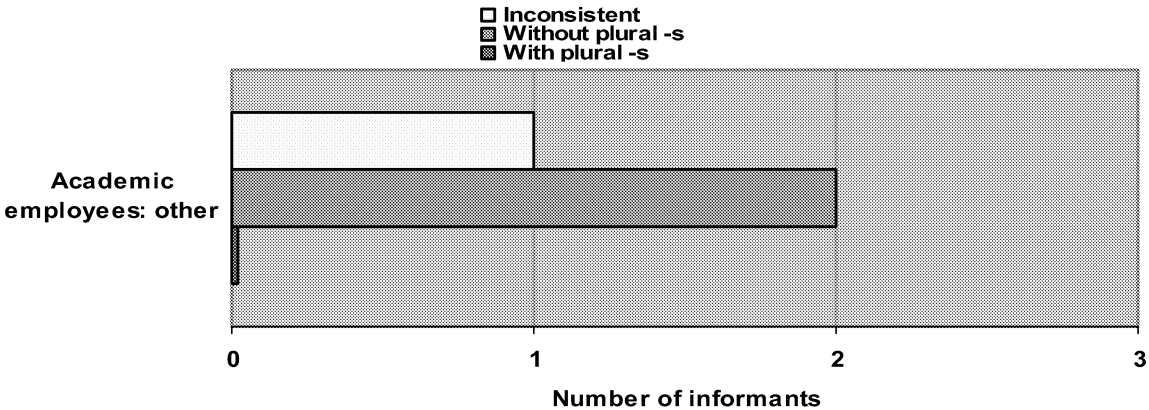
25% of the other students consistently made use of the plural –s in the Norwegian inflection of ‘muffin’, whereas none were consistent in not employing it. The remaining 75% were inconsistent with respect to the usage. This suggests that language students to a greater degree seem to be more acquainted with the phenomenon of clips words, and thus seem to have a more aware approach to usage.

5.3.1.1.3 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: LANGUAGE



75% of the academic employees from faculties of linguistics consistently made use of the plural –s in the Norwegian inflection of ‘muffin’, whereas none were consistent in not employing it. The remaining 25% were inconsistent with respect to the usage.

5.3.1.1.4 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: OTHER



None of the academic employees from faculties other than linguistic consistently made use of the plural –s in the Norwegian inflection of ‘muffin’, whereas 67% consistently did not employ it. The remaining 33% were inconsistent with respect to usage. Compared to the academic employees from faculties of linguistics, the other academic employees make use of the English form also in Norwegian. This suggests that the academic employees from faculties of linguistics to a greater extent than the academic employees from other faculties distinguish between Norwegian and English usage of the clips word ‘muffin’.

5.3.1.2 ESTABLISHED WORDS VERSUS WORDS UNDERGOING ADAPTATION

Of the 26 informants, 50% had not considered the established⁴¹ words ‘tips’, and ‘triks’ to be clips words. A mere 15% of the informants did regard these words as similar to the clips word ‘muffin’, whereas 35% of the informants could not or would not provide an answer.

The word ‘pin’, however brought forth comments on the widespread ‘wrong’ usage of this type of words. Though the definition of ‘wrong’ varied according to the view on clips words of each informant, it was clear that these were words which the informants in fact had encountered and reflected over. These clips words, together with other similar clips words such as ‘muffin’, ‘smoothie’ and ‘event’ may be referred to as words which are undergoing adaptation⁴²; they will potentially become integrated Norwegian lexical items, but have not yet been fully accepted. 26% of the informants mentioned on their account that they deliberately distinguished between Norwegian and English usage of the clips word ‘muffin’. Only when the plural -s was employed as part of the root of the word was the loanword muffin considered a Norwegian lexical item.

⁴¹ Cf. Fausa 1994:6

⁴² Cf. Fausa 1994:5

5.3.1.3 CONCLUSIONS: CLIPS WORDS

As a natural result of the stages of the borrowing process⁴³, clips words such as 'muffins', '(micro)chips' or 'brownies', which many Norwegians react negatively to now, will in twenty years most likely not be considered more English than Norwegian. In most cases, people will not react negatively to them, or even consider them as different from Norwegian words that they are already accustomed to. Clips words such as 'et tips' or 'et triks' are already established loan words in the Norwegian language, and will thus in most cases not even be considered English and 'wrong' in the same way as will clips words such as 'muffin' and 'smoothie', which may be said to be in the process of adaptation. Language students to a greater degree than other students seem acquainted with the phenomenon of clips words. The same applies to the academic employees from faculties of linguistics compared to academic employees from faculties other than linguistic. Thus, the informants who are connected with linguistic faculties or linguistic studies appear to have a more aware approach to the usage of clips words.

The investigation shows that 35% of all the informants did integrate the plural –s in the root of the word 'muffin'. Only 19% consistently did not employ the plural -s, whereas 46% of the informants displayed inconsistent usage. Although some informants have a clear view of how clips words are to be inflected and managed, many seem unaware of how such 'clips words' are to be used in Norwegian. Some even did not seem to grasp exactly what a clips word was. Most of the informants had never considered the words 'et tips' and 'et triks' as having been English, but rather saw them both as Norwegian words. Many of the same informants had minutes before criticised how the English plural marker –s was wrongfully used in Norwegian as part of the word stem in the word 'muffin'. The investigation thus shows that a majority of the language student informants do consider English –s as a plural marker in Norwegian also,

⁴³ Cf. Fausa 1994:4

and consequently they consider it wrong to view the English plural –s as part of the root of a clips word.

5.3.2 COMPOUNDING

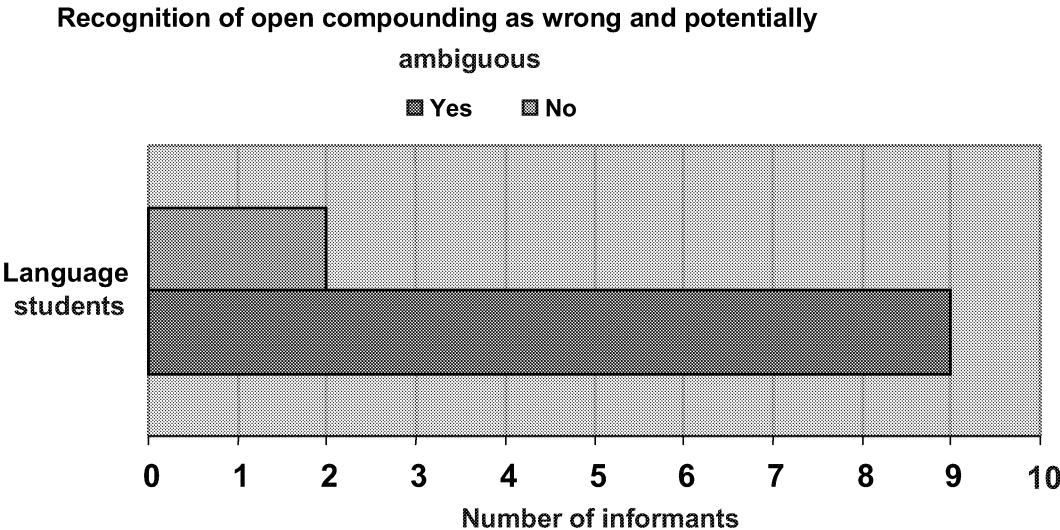
5.3.2.1 RECOGNITION OF THE EFFECTS OF OPEN COMPOUND USAGE

In the conversation, the informants were provided with a set of open compounds and were asked to comment on the given examples. The open compounds which were presented to the informants are:

- Flytte Gutta
- Norsk Kennel Klub
- Tunfisk biter i olje
- Rottweiler valper
- Smådyr klinikk
- Tilbake melding
- Internett oppkobling
- Rimelige fly reiser til hele verden

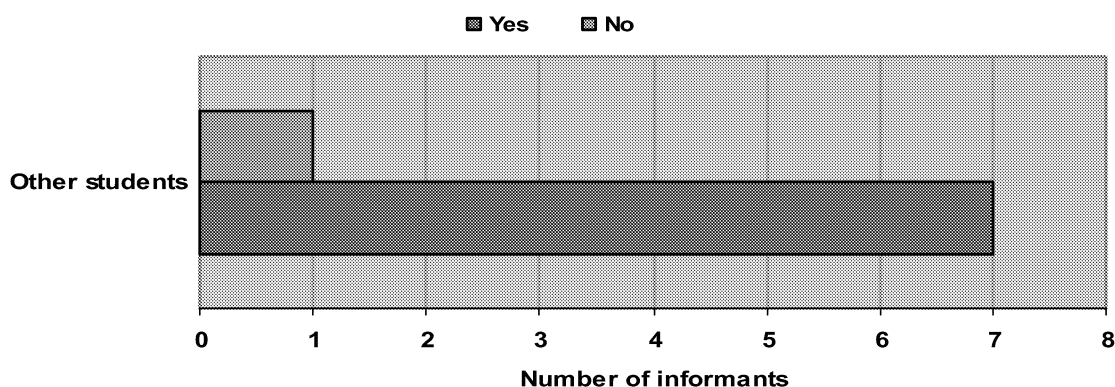
The exercise aimed to determine whether or not the informant would recognise that these examples of open compound usage were in fact orthographical errors, and moreover, if they were able to identify that some of them in addition were ambiguous.

5.3.2.1.1 LANGUAGE STUDENTS



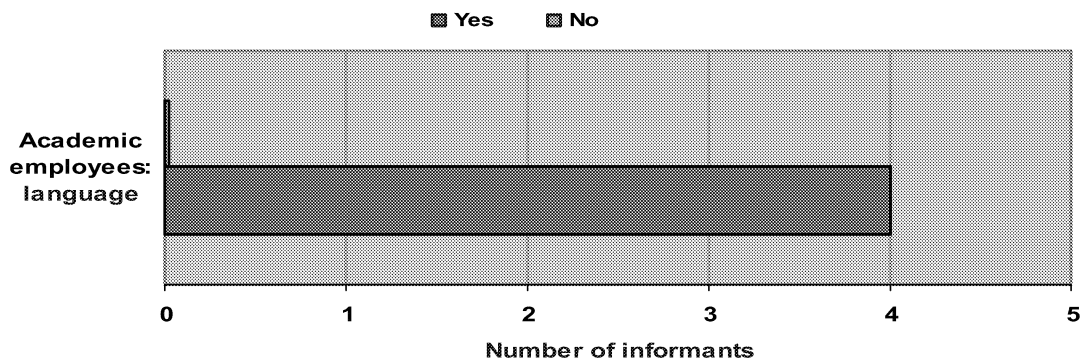
82% of the language students recognised the orthographical conventions, i.e. the standard morphology, of compounding in Norwegian. These informants were found to be aware that open compound usage is wrong and that such usage may potentially create ambiguities. As many as 18% of the language students were not fully aware of correct compound usage in Norwegian. These informants displayed errors in usage in the questionnaire or failed to recognise ambiguity in presented examples of open compound usage.

5.3.2.1.2 OTHER STUDENTS



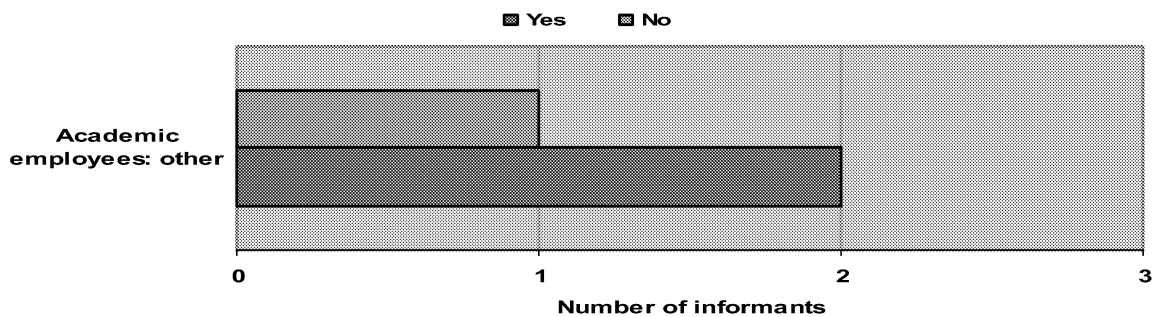
87.5% of the other students recognised the orthographical conventions of compounding in Norwegian, and may be said to be aware that open compound usage is wrong and that it may potentially create ambiguities. Only 12.5% of the other students displayed inconsistent or wrong compound usage in Norwegian. Strikingly, students from faculties other than linguistic faculties appear to be more aware of the correct spelling of compounds in Norwegian.

5.3.2.1.3 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: LANGUAGE



100% of the academic employees from faculties of linguistics adhered throughout the interview to the standard morphology of Norwegian compounds.

5.3.2.1.4 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: OTHER



67% of these informants recognised correct spelling of compounds in Norwegian, whereas 33% did not. Taken into consideration the profession of the informants in this group, this may be said to be a very high percentage. Within such a small group of academic informants (three persons), it could be expected that each informant would have recognised and adhered to correct Norwegian compound usage.

5.3.2.2 OPEN COMPOUND USAGE

In a set of 13 compounding exercises⁴⁴ only 38.5% of the informants were found to have made no mistakes. 23% of the informants in one or more instances made use of a hyphen in the compound, and the remaining 38.5% in one or more instances employed open compounds.⁴⁵ In other words, the results show that the percentage of informants who adhered to the standard rules of morphology in compounding is lower than the percentage of informants who displayed poor or wrong knowledge.

5.3.2.3 CONCLUSIONS: COMPOUNDING

The informants were provided with examples of open compounds. Some of the provided examples were ambiguous. In total, 85% of the informants recognised the mistakes and ambiguity of open compounds, and may be said to be familiar with the orthographical conventions of compounding in Norwegian. The remaining 15% failed to recognise ambiguities in presented examples of open compound usage. Students from faculties other than linguistic faculties appear to be more aware of the correct spelling of compounds in Norwegian than do language students. 12.5% of the informants from the ‘other students’ informant group did not recognise errors or ambiguity in the provided examples, whereas among the language students, 18% failed to recognise compounding mistakes and ambiguity.

Only 38.5% of the informants were consistent in the employment of solid compounds in a set of 13 compounding exercises. This very low percentage of informants who displayed consistent usage of solid compounds is truly alarming, especially considering the specific selection of informants who participated in the present survey.

⁴⁴ Exercises 1A and 1B of the questionnaire. See Appendix 1

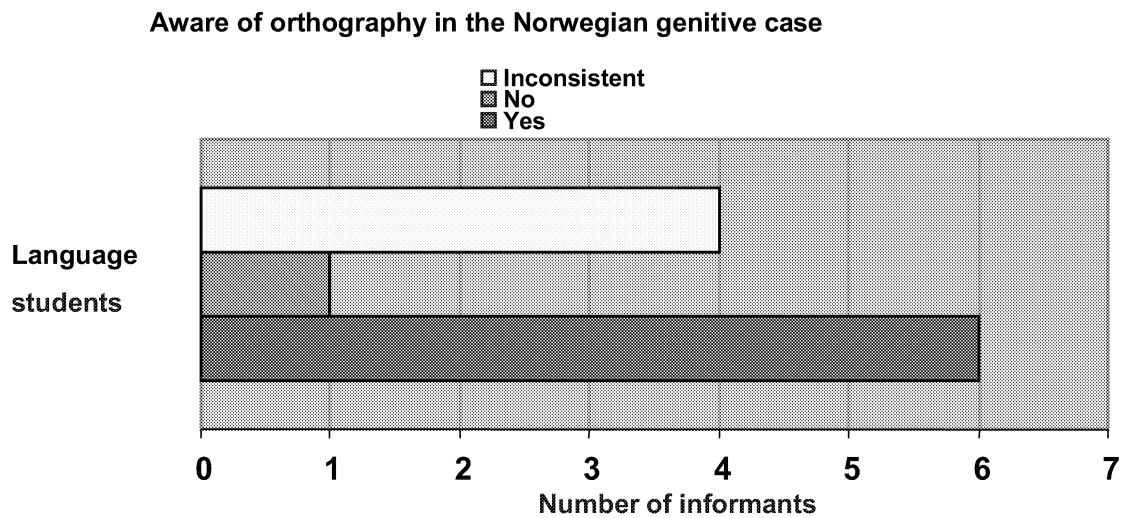
⁴⁵ Ten informants (38.46%) made no mistakes, six informants (23.07%) in one or more instances made use of a hyphen, and the ten remaining informants (38.46%) in one or more instances made use of open compounds.

5.3.3 THE GENITIVE CASE

5.3.3.1 ORTHOGRAPHICAL AWARENESS

By means of a total of nine exercises in the genitive case⁴⁶ the informants' competence in the use of the Norwegian genitive case was tested.

5.3.3.1.1 LANGUAGE STUDENTS

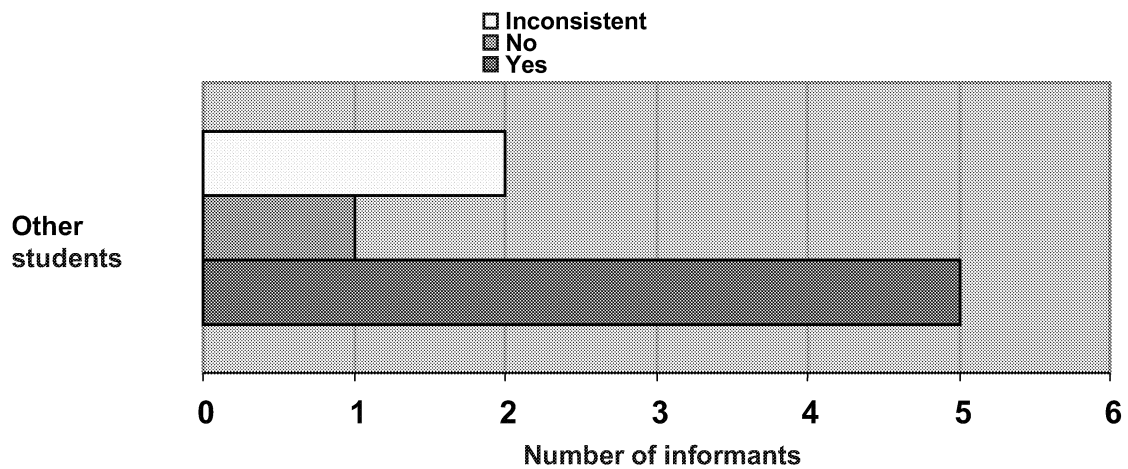


55% of the language students showed proficiency in the employment of the Norwegian genitive case. 9% made two or more mistakes in the questionnaire, and 36% of the language students made one mistake, or chose to make use of 'garpegenitiv'.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Exercises 3A and 3B of the questionnaire. See Appendix 1.

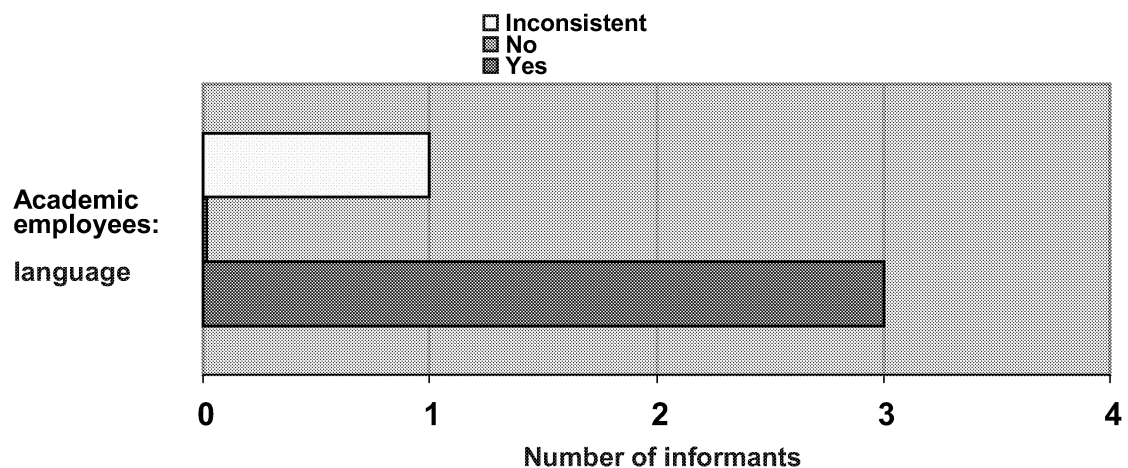
⁴⁷ Employment of the Norwegian possessive pronoun 'sin' to form the genitive case, thus avoiding the use of the apostrophe.

5.3.3.1.2 OTHER STUDENTS



63% of the other students are shown to be aware of the Norwegian orthography of the genitive case. 13% displayed two or more mistakes in the questionnaire, and 25% made one mistake or in some examples chose to make use of garpegenitiv. Compared to the language students, a higher percentage of the other students made two or more mistakes.

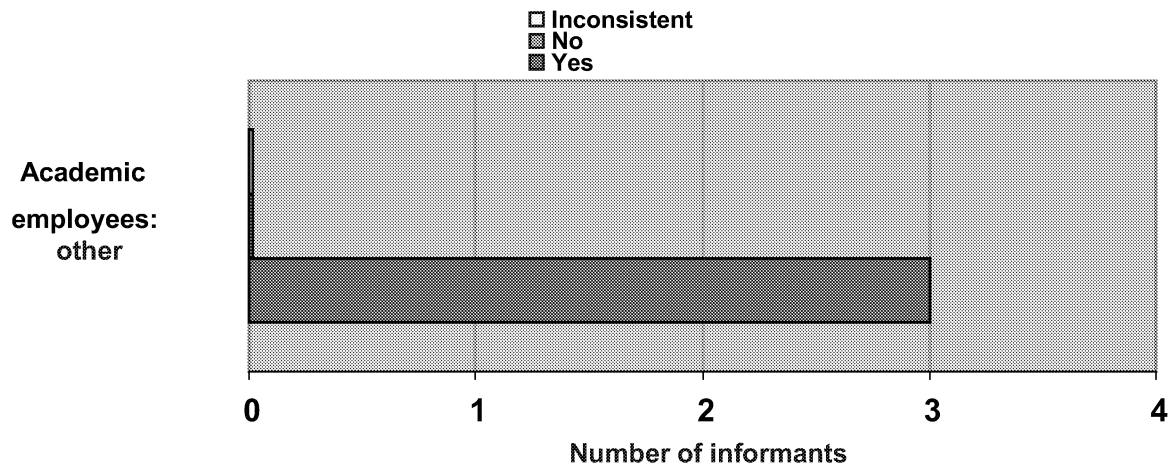
5.3.3.1.3 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: LANGUAGE



75% of the academic employees from faculties of linguistics demonstrated correct usage of the Norwegian genitive case, and none made two or more mistakes in the questionnaire. 25%

were shown to be inconsistent, either by making one mistake, or by making use of garpegenitiv.

5.3.3.1.4 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: OTHER



100% of this informant group displayed correct use of the genitive case.

5.3.3.2 APOSTROPHE USAGE

During the conversation with the informants, the researcher was interested in investigating the attitudes of the informants with respect to the widespread use of the genitive case in marketing texts. The informants were asked how they would employ the genitive case if they were to market the fictive business 'Siris grill'. 65% of the informants stated that they would not have made use of the apostrophe, i.e. they would employ the Norwegian genitive case. 12% were uncertain or could not answer, and 23% stated that they would employ the apostrophe in the name of the given business. As to why the apostrophe is used so extensively in Norwegian, several different reasons were suggested. The various reasons mentioned are rendered below:

1. The Anglo-American form suggests prestige/status	35%
2. Insufficient orthographical knowledge	35%
3. Aesthetics: The apostrophe provides a clearer definition of the proper noun in the 'sign'	15%
4. 'Domino effect'	10%
5. Other reasons/uncertain of reasoning	5%

5.3.3.3 CONCLUSIONS: THE GENITIVE CASE

In total, 65% of the informants were found to be aware of the correct orthographical conventions and the standard morphology of the Norwegian genitive case. 8% made two or more mistakes and 27% made one mistake or chose to make use of *garpegenitiv*. The fact that a higher percentage of the other students (63%), compared to the language students (63%), displayed correct genitive case usage may be referred to as unanticipated. It is not unlikely to assume that informants who specialise in linguistics would perform better than those who have chosen to specialise in other fields. The percentage of inconsistent language student informants (36%) is also higher than that of the other student informants' percentage (25%). This may suggest either that more language students made one mistake in the questionnaire, or that they may deliberately have made use of *garpegenitiv*. Nonetheless, compared to the language students, a higher percentage (4%) of the other students made two or more mistakes in the questionnaire.

In order to unveil some of the reasons behind apostrophe usage in the formation of the genitive case in Norwegian, the informants were asked which orthography they would prefer if they were to start a company. When faced with two alternatives where one adhered to correct Norwegian morphology and the other followed the English pattern, close to all of the

informants claimed to prefer the English pattern. The reasons which were presented differed. Some said that signs would be easier to read when the apostrophe was added; they felt that the name in the example 'Siris grill' was more difficult to define without the apostrophe. The apostrophe may then be used by some for purposes of readability; the name on the sign was easier to recognise. Others simply mentioned that it looked better with the apostrophe there.

The survey results furthermore indicate that many Norwegians employ the English pattern of forming the genitive case because they wish to cultivate an international image; 35% of the informants stated that the prestigious status of English may be an important reason as to why the apostrophe is used to such a great extent in the Norwegian genitive case. This was one of two mentioned potential causes of the increasing use of the English pattern which because of the high percentage was set apart from the other reasons mentioned. A corresponding percentage (35%) believed that insufficient orthographical knowledge caused morphological confusion in this area.

Such arguments as the ones above may be said to apply only if the use of the apostrophe is deliberate. Then the apostrophe is made use of without regard to Norwegian morphology and orthography. In the case of morphological uncertainty in this area, however, when the apostrophe is *not* used for reasons of aesthetics, readability or of internationalisation, the matter is of quite another nature. When asked whether or not the majority of instances of apostrophe use in the genitive case in written Norwegian were intentional, most of the informants, and especially the linguists, answered that they believed that in most cases people simply did not know better. In other words, genitive case mistakes are in many cases made unintentionally; people are not aware of standard morphology in Norwegian. Some of the informants expressed the view that the English influence might be a factor in the case of

unintentional use of the apostrophe in the Norwegian genitive case. The majority of these nevertheless also added that the English influence as a cause was merely a subordinate factor. The fact that many Norwegians unintentionally employ the English pattern because they are uncertain of the conventional orthography of their own language was the most frequently mentioned cause.

Though most of the informants stated that they would make use of the apostrophe in ‘Siri’s grill’, the matter was quite different when asked if they would have applied the apostrophe if the business was of another kind. The informants were asked specifically if they felt that an apostrophe plus the –s would be inappropriate if the firm in question was a law firm.

Astonishingly, the answer from all informants was yes. Further, the informants were asked if they would consider other equal options if they encountered an establishment which made use of the English pattern of the genitive case. If the establishment was a bistro or a hairdresser, in general the informants did not feel that this would lead to them choosing other options. When asked if the same would apply if the establishment were a law firm, some of the informants expressed that they would in fact choose other options. They felt, in other words, that language expresses a level of intelligence and identity. This supports a view that one should be aware of the orthography in one’s own language. If orthography is considered not at all important, this might reflect on the message expressed to others.

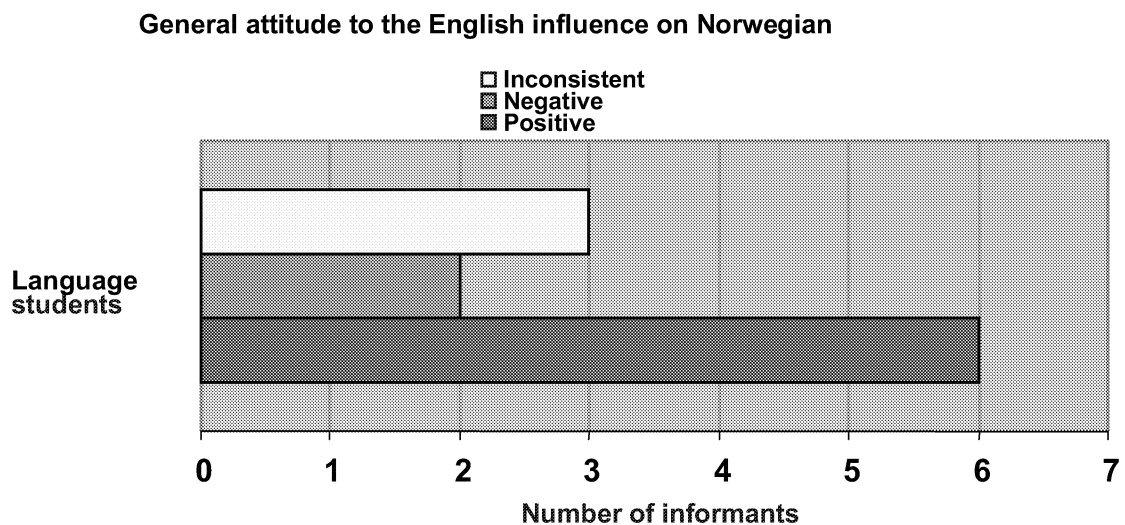
In the interviews with the teachers of Norwegian language and literature, the aspect of the genitive case in students’ writing was felt to be the second least problematic. All three teachers felt that in general their students had a clear understanding of the orthography, and that very few employed the English pattern on a regular basis. This may indicate that the use of the apostrophe plus –s is a trend that occurs after basic schooling in Norwegian.

5.4 ATTITUDES AND VIEWS

The interviews also disclosed views on linguistic aspects that can be said to be of a more general nature. The attitudes that were brought forth reflected the informants' views to the English influence on Norwegian morphology. While encouraged to keep in mind the morphological features of clips words, compounding and the genitive case, the informants were asked about their general views on the English influence on Norwegian. In particular, the informants answered inquiries as to whether English was the sole reason for problems in Norwegian orthography.

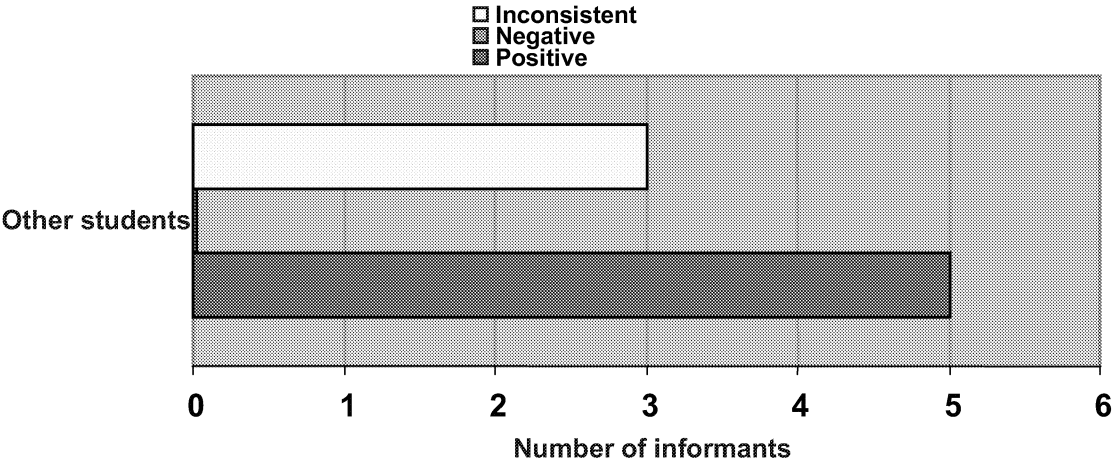
5.4.1 ATTITUDES TO THE ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON NORWEGIAN

5.4.1.1 LANGUAGE STUDENTS



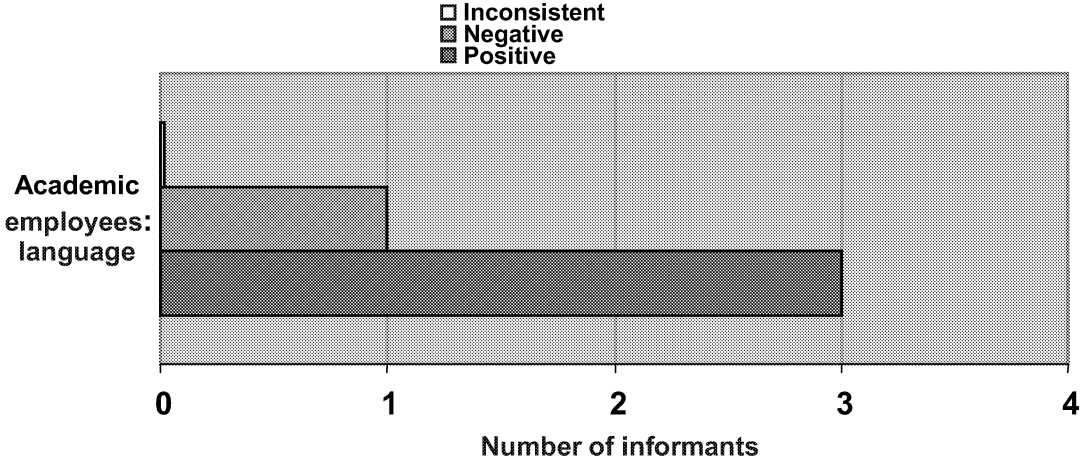
55% of the language students were chiefly positive to the English influence, 8% considered the influence as negative. 27% were divided in their view, or would not answer.

5.4.1.2 OTHER STUDENTS



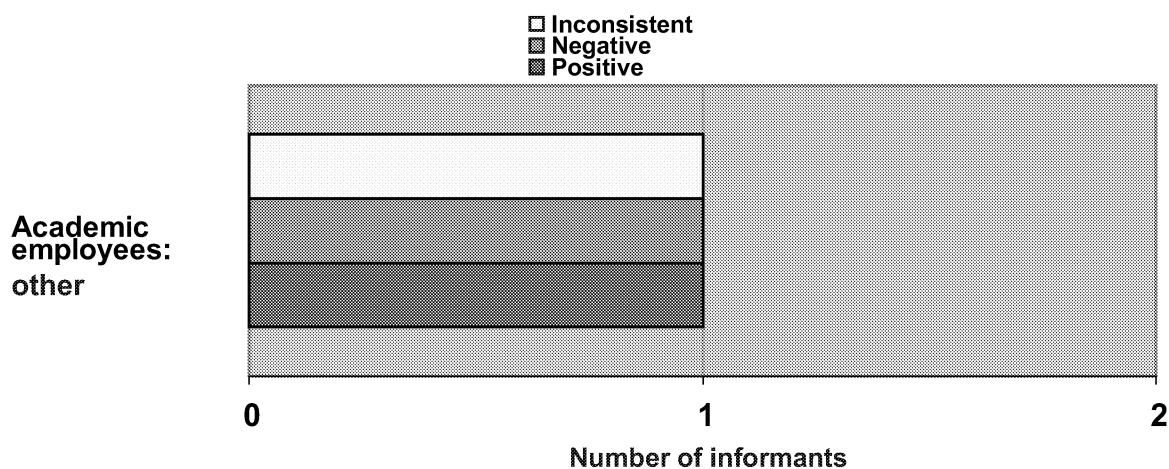
62.5% of the other students were positive to the English influence, while none held that it was negative. 37.5% were divided in their view, or would not answer.

5.4.1.3 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: LANGUAGE



75% of the academic employees from faculties of linguistics viewed the English influence as positive, and 25% stated that the influence was negative.

5.4.1.4 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: OTHER



The most evenly divided answer came from the academic employees from faculties other than linguistics: 33% were positive, 33% were negative and 33% were divided in their views or would not answer.

5.4.1.5 CONCLUSIONS: ATTITUDES TO ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON NORWEGIAN

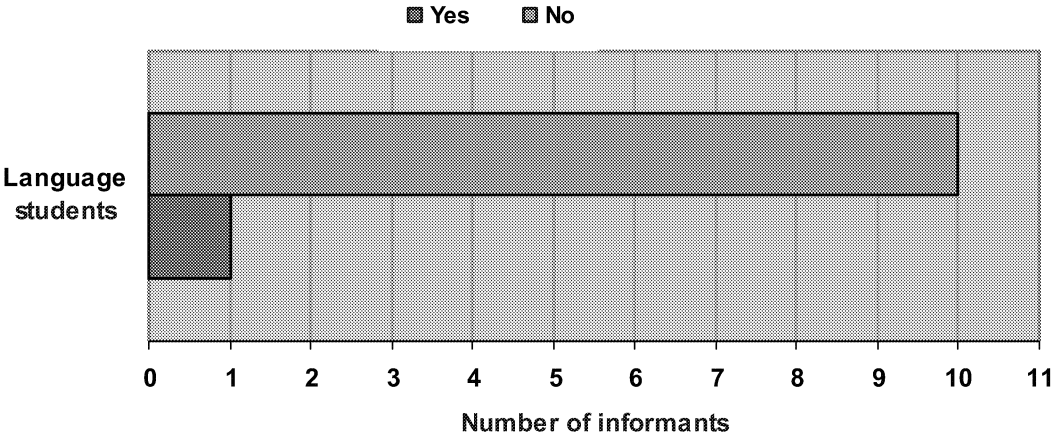
The majority of the informants, 58%, were in general positive to the English influence on Norwegian. Only 15% said they were chiefly negative towards the English influence. 27% were divided to such an extent that they felt unable to answer, or chose not to. The informants who did view the influence as positive felt that the English language enriched their Norwegian, both in terms of new vocabulary items and with respect to how they viewed their own language. By means of the English influence many claimed to have become increasingly aware of the inherent structures of Norwegian, as well as having come to appreciate more their own native language. The informants who felt that the English influence was a negative factor considered English as a means of communication and expression which was a threat to Norwegian. They felt that as English gained momentum, Norwegian as a result was reduced in effectiveness. They further feared an eventual loss of Norwegian distinctive qualities, i.e.

that Norwegian words and expressions would not only be challenged by English variants but altogether replaced.

5.4.2 ENGLISH AS THE SOLE REASON FOR THE PROBLEMS IN NORWEGIAN ORTHOGRAPHY

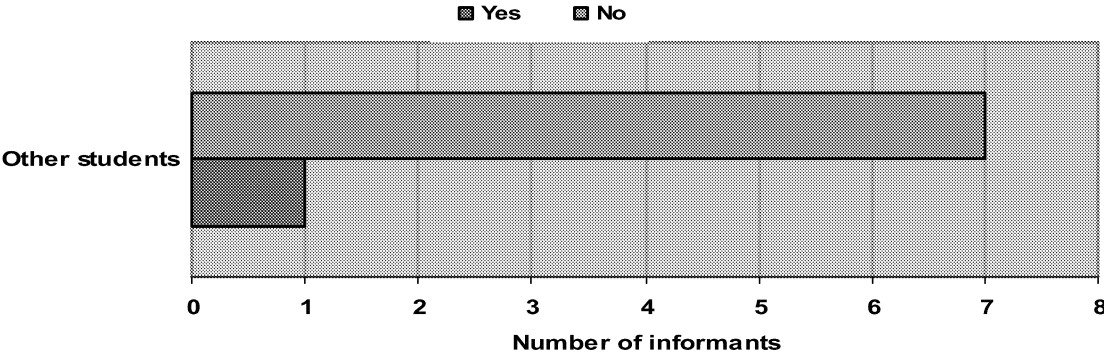
5.4.2.1 LANGUAGE STUDENTS

Is English the sole reason for problems in Norwegian orthography?



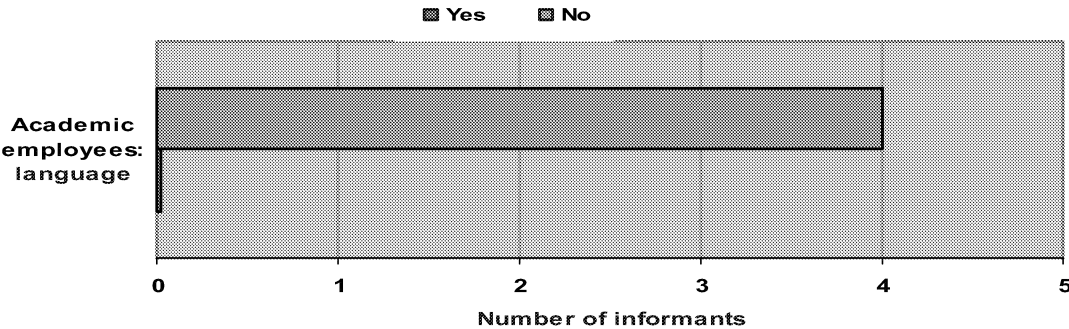
91% of the language students did not see English as the sole reason for problems in Norwegian morphology; only 9% stated that English was the only reason for uncertainty in Norwegian orthography.

5.4.2.2 OTHER STUDENTS



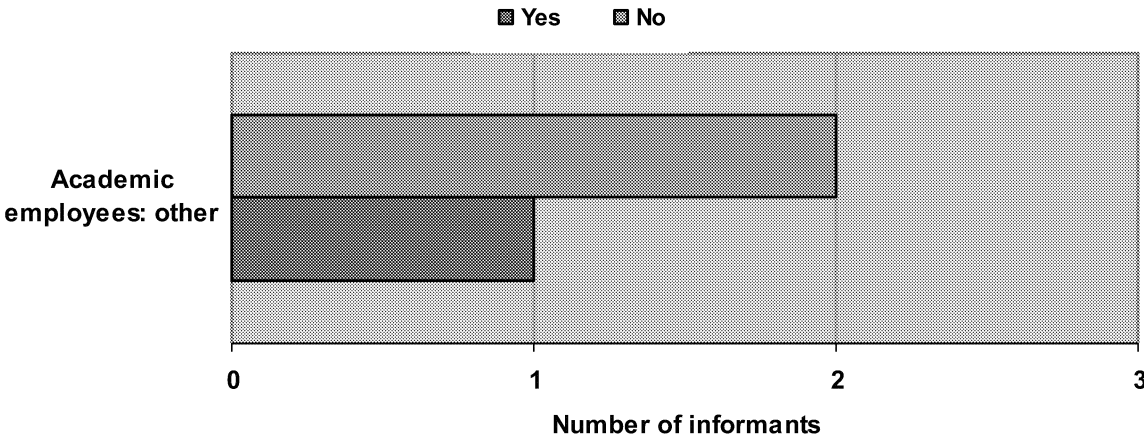
87.5% of the other students did not consider English as the single reason for uncertainty and problems in Norwegian orthography. 12.5% felt that English was the only threat causing orthographic uncertainty.

5.4.2.3 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: LANGUAGE



100% of the academic employees from faculties of linguistics did not regard English as the sole reason for uncertainty in Norwegian orthography.

5.4.2.4 ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES: OTHER



67% of the academic employee informants from faculties other than linguistics did not see

English as the only reason for problems in Norwegian orthography. 33% did however consider English as the sole cause.

5.4.2.5 CONCLUSIONS: ENGLISH AS THE SOLE REASON FOR THE PROBLEMS IN NORWEGIAN ORTHOGRAPHY

In all, 88.5% of the informants disclosed that they did not view English as the sole reason for problems in Norwegian orthography, while 11.5% stated that English was the only factor that caused uncertainty in Norwegian orthography. In general, the informants connected with linguistic faculties and studies appear as more positive to the role of English on Norwegian orthography. Out of 15 language informants, only 6% considered English as the sole reason for orthographic uncertainty in Norwegian, whereas out of 11 non-linguistic informants 15.4% were positive that English was the only cause.

The results may be said to indicate that English is not the main factor that leads to an increasing use of open compounds, nor does English influence on its own cause the widely varying views of how clips words should be handled, or the wrong use of the apostrophe in the Norwegian genitive case. The majority of the informants mentioned the lack of knowledge of Norwegian grammar as a plausible reason for the problems within the three aspects of the Norwegian morphology examined in the present survey. Further, it was indicated that they felt the teaching of grammar and orthography in Norwegian schools was inadequate, and that this is a factor which actively produces morphological mistakes and orthographic uncertainty, and thus also wrong use of Norwegian morphology.

5.4.3 RECURRING MENTION OF PROBLEMS IN NORWEGIAN ORTHOGRAPHY

During the interviews 53.8% of the informants (14 of the total 26 informants) expressed of their own accord that rather than the English influence on Norwegian, it was the fact that Norwegians in general had poor knowledge of orthography that caused uncertainty both within the three areas that was under investigation, as well as regarding other morphological features in Norwegian. The informants further claimed that teaching of grammar and orthography in Norwegian primary and secondary schools was inadequate and insufficient in that it did not ensure that pupils saw orthography as important or as an integrated aspect of their writing skills as such. The result of the insufficiency was made manifest in two ways:

1. Poor orthographic skills
2. Indifference to orthography

46.2% out of the 26 informants did not spontaneously suggest insufficient teaching of orthography as a concern, but did when asked nonetheless find this to be a plausible reason. These informants were familiar with the projected view of English as the illness or disease which is contaminating Norwegian morphology, and had not considered that there may be other active factors that caused problems in Norwegian morphology and orthography. Had these informants objected to the proposition that insufficient knowledge of the vernacular might be the cause of the orthographical problems in the given morphological areas, my hypotheses that English is not the sole reason would have been disproved. As they did not, we have substantiated not only that English is not the sole reason for problems in Norwegian morphology, but also that the uncertainty is linked to the lack of knowledge of Norwegian orthography and morphology among Norwegians.

Furthermore, 96% of the informants stated that poor orthographic skills could be a factor that determines choice. The informants believed that the projected knowledge of orthography in

any variety of written text was connected to the level of seriousness of the business, and moreover its ability to provide reliable goods and services. Incorrect morphology, such as e.g. the open compound use in 'Flytte Gutta' and 'Byen's Kinamat' can as such be said to be a very negative projection of image for the businesses in question. Also, the informants said that they would seriously question the level of professionalism if they received a formal letter where open compounds and the English form of the genitive case were employed.

It is evident that the teaching of grammar and orthography in Norway is of great significance and a failure to provide adequate instruction in these areas may have grave consequences. The informants pointed not only to poor orthographical skills as such, but also referred to the apparent indifference of many Norwegians to orthography. It is clear that measures must be taken so as to ensure that the approach to the teaching of orthography is of a nature that will engage pupils. Thus, orthography might once more be viewed by most Norwegians as an integrated and important part of writing skills and of Norwegian as such. By guaranteeing qualitative teaching of grammar and orthography, the distinctive Norwegian morphology will be maintained.

5.5 FINAL NOTES

Each interview was initiated by the question if in general the informant was interested in language. Given that the majority of the informants had volunteered to participate in this survey of linguistic aspects, it is not unexpected that the majority of the informants, 92% out of 26 informants, describe themselves as interested in and concerned with language and topics of a linguistic nature. It is engaging to notice that of the informants within the 'other groups'⁴⁸, as many as 85% out of eleven finds language interesting and important. Only two

⁴⁸ Other students and other academic employees

informants, or 15%, both from the 'other students' group did not consider themselves concerned with language.

Although high, the percentage of informants who state to be interested in language is representable only for the specific selection of informants of the present survey. In an other selection of informants, the results might have been otherwise manifested. Nevertheless, the outcome of 92% indicates that the current linguistic interest in Norway is very much present in an academic setting. The outcome of the survey might have ensued even more obvious with a selection of informants with other prerequisites than those of the informants employed herein. My selection exclusively consists of persons with higher education, of which 58% are connected to departments of language.

CHAPTER 6: ASPECTS OF CURRENT NORWEGIAN MORPHOLOGY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

At a seminar on purism held at the University of Oslo on November 17th 1995⁴⁹, a statement worthy of note was made by Barbara Gamborg:

English is not the most imposing threat, but rather the fact that we constantly misuse our own language. Our children do not learn proper Norwegian. Has schooling disappeared? After all, grammar is the foundation.⁵⁰

Gamborg here points to specifically the aspect of current Norwegian morphology which to many linguists and lay people today is a cause for unease and worry. There are several indications that the teaching of Norwegian in schools today is such that we may refer to it as inadequate. On the tabloid *VG*'s website '*elevavisen*', students at all levels post blogs relevant to school events. This blog⁵¹ was entered by a tenth grade student:

NORSK?

Til Onsdagen er det på'n igjen med en ny prøve. Dette skal være en Norks prøve som skal teste skrive ferdighetene, men hva har mars og fakta om mars med skrive ferdigheter å gjøre?

(E)

Norwegian?

This Wednesday there is another test again. This is supposed to be a test in writing skills in Norwegian, but what do Mars and facts about Mars have to do with writing skills?)

The matter is not that children are victims of 'misteaching', the problem seems to be that the importance of orthography, and thus morphology is not emphasised as much as it should be.

In the example above, the student indicates that Mars does not have anything to do with

⁴⁹ A seminar on purism arranged by The Norwegian Language Council

⁵⁰ My translation. Cf. Purisme på norsk? Norsk språkråds skrifter, nr 4.

⁵¹ 30.03.06: <http://interaktiv.vg.no/elevavisen/dagbok.php?id=2780>

writing skills. The emphasis is then perhaps not so much on writing skills as it should be, but rather the facts about Mars have become the more important aspect of the exercise.

Grammar, i.e. orthography and thus morphology, does, as Gamborg points out, provide the foundation of a language, and ought therefore to be in the forefront of language schooling in Norwegian. Nonetheless, current usage of morphology in Norway indicates that grammar is not considered as important now as earlier. If this is so, we may suggest that it may well be a direct cause of the uncertainty in morphology of many Norwegians. This chapter will aim to establish whether this may be a sound statement, or if it is merely an allegation which easily may be disproved.

6.2 TEACHING OF GRAMMAR AND ORTHOGRAPHY IN NORWEGIAN

Earlier, the Norwegian subject may be said to have been a subject of a normative nature. The subject was chiefly concerned with teaching of proper and correct writing skills so as to educate able and sound writers. The focus in Norwegian schools was to a great extent on vernacular orthography, on spelling rules and on avoiding grammatical errors. Today, Norwegian linguistic policy is still concerned with proper language usage. In a report from January 2006 The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training states with respect to the teaching of Norwegian that it has;

‘...a clear proficiency objective: Pupils are to be able to understand what they read, and they are to be able to write correctly and communicatively with regard to ordinary conventions of genre and purpose of the texts.’⁵²

⁵²Utdanningsdirektoratet 2006:51 http://www.uddanningsdirektoratet.no/upload/Rapporter/Framtidas_norskfag.pdf . My translation.

The intent of the Norwegian subject is thus still to ensure that children become proficient in writing, reading and in spoken communication. As such we may state that the aim of teaching in written Norwegian also implies that the pupils are familiarised with the orthography and grammar of their vernacular. However, the indication that many Norwegians today seem not to consider orthography a significant or even integrated part of written Norwegian, it may be suggested that the aim of teaching in Norwegian is not in reality adhered to. A new curriculum was implemented at the beginning of the autumn term of 2006. The curriculum is referred to as 'Kunnskapsløftet', in English 'Knowledge Promotion', a new comprehensive reform in primary and secondary education in Norway. According to the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, the reform will imply for primary and secondary education a series of changes in content, structure and organisation. The aim of the reform is provided on the websites of the Ministry of Education and Research:

The aim of the reform is to sustain and develop the best in basic education (understood as all schooling from the start of primary to the end of upper secondary education), with a view to ensuring that pupils are better able to meet the challenges of the knowledge society. The learning goals will be stated more clearly. The basic skills of pupils and apprentices will be strengthened. At the same time, the schools' central role as mediator of values, general educational standards and culture will be safeguarded. Schools meet pupils and families from increasingly diverse backgrounds. All students and apprentices have a right to adapted and differentiated learning and teaching programmes, according to their own requirements and needs. It is a precondition of equality of opportunity that all pupils and apprentices are given the same chance to develop their knowledge and skills.⁵³

⁵³ <http://www.kunnskapsloeftet.no/filer/rundskeng.pdf>

While the Knowledge Promotion reform seems promising, it does not promise directly to emphasise the role of Norwegian orthography as an integrated aspect of written Norwegian. Providing sufficient attention to orthography is a responsibility which will effectively be delegated to each individual school. ‘Decisions on organisational matters, methods and forms of work will be delegated to the teaching institutions.’⁵⁴

6.3 THE CORE OF THE PROBLEM

When orthography is not at the core of language learning in Norwegian, an attitude that meaning is understood from the context takes over as a principle of retrieving meaning from text. Orthography in many cases is not even taken into account. This particular problem in Norwegian morphology is evident in many realms of everyday-life, for example in signs, in advertisements in newspapers and magazines, and in various other informal texts. The alarming aspect of this tendency is that many Norwegians do not seem to be aware of the effect of wrong orthography, and will not for example consider the advertisement ‘billige fly reiser til hele verden’ wrong or even ambiguous.

The trend today seems to be that principles of contextual interpretation is emphasised rather than orthographical conventions. When such principles are adhered to, one is likely to project the wrong meaning at some point, and for some it may cause confusion as to the intent of the message. Moreover, it may cause others to take the message or even the speaker or writer less seriously. An example of this was found in an e-mail⁵⁵ reporting that an ‘ekstra ordinært møte’ ((E) extra ordinary meeting) was to be held prior to a visit from the president of a company which the researcher was working for. From the context one could understand that this was an extraordinary meeting that was to be held due to the special occasion. However,

⁵⁴ <http://www.kunnskapsloftet.no/filer/rundskeng.pdf>

⁵⁵ Personal correspondence

the effect of the wrong orthography in this case is not simply that the meaning as such became ambiguous, it became a different meaning entirely. 'Ekstraordinært', as it should have been put, means special, out of the ordinary, whereas 'ekstra ordinært' means 'extra ordinary', an additional normal or usual meeting. Though such examples may be amusing, it is important to keep in mind that to a somewhat language conscious person, such a mistake will be considered to be of a grave nature, and may lead to the questioning of professionalism and seriousness.

Such instances may easily be avoided if orthography is emphasised in schools as the foundation of our language. The problem then, to a great extent, appears to be the manner in which the focus on orthography has been altered compared to earlier, when teaching was of a more prescriptive nature. It is crucial that children are made aware of the significance of orthography in a language, and that they are introduced to morphological features in a language so as to provide them with a basis by which to become aware language users. When orthography is disregarded in schools, a conscious attitude to correct meaning is not allowed to develop, and may in turn lead to problems in morphology and even to the demise of our language.

6.4 INTEGRATED ORTHOGRAPHY

Orthography should be emphasised and acknowledged as an integrated aspect of written language in all instances of text. Further, it must be made clear in basic schooling in Norway that it is wrong to consider orthography an additional aspect of language. Alarmingly, the interest in learning orthography seems low, and the tendency appears to be that orthography no longer is considered important. In general, the approach to language is not a conscious one, and this may be the core of the problem.

6.5 TEACHER INTERVIEWS

6.5.1 BACKGROUND AND BASIS

These interviews were carried out during April 2006 as an additional survey with a view to providing deeper insight into the teaching of Norwegian in Norwegian schools after an alarming number of my informants expressed that they felt the knowledge of Norwegian among Norwegians was insufficient. The three different levels of primary and secondary schools are represented with a view to learning more about how at each level teachers of Norwegian regard the current status of aspects of morphology and orthography. For guidance and in order to ensure that the dialogue kept within similar frames, all three interviews are based on the same questions.⁵⁶

6.5.1.1 PRIMARY SCHOOL

This teacher names reading, writing skills, orthography and grammar as focus areas in Norwegian. Though teaching of orthography and grammar is mentioned as focus areas in her teaching, she remarks that there are pupils that display in written Norwegian that their knowledge of orthography is poor. Although pupils at this level have only just encountered English, the primary school teacher explains that they may still make mistakes in compounding. This supports the claim made by Walmsnes (1999:26) that errors in compounding occur before students are properly introduced to English. Very few pupils find the genitive case problematic, and clips words were not considered an issue by this primary school teacher. The teacher feels that errors in orthography such as open compounds are not considered as significant by the pupils. In addition to an indifferent attitude to orthography, she mentions the effect of the language of text messaging and e-mails as a factor that may cause problems in orthography. These media are often marked by very casual language, and

⁵⁶ The questions employed during the teacher interviews are provided in appendix 3.

orthography in many instances plays a minor role. A factor that she feels may further confusion in orthography is that many pupils use dialect also in written Norwegian.

She further explains that because of the nature of the curriculum the time set aside for training in orthography as such is often limited, and that this may be reflected in the pupils' level of proficiency in orthography. When asked which areas she would provide more time and attention to if she could choose, she answers time for training in writing skills, with orthography as an integrated aspect.

6.5.1.2 SECONDARY SCHOOL

The secondary school teacher describes current teaching of Norwegian as divided; there is focus on proficiency in reading and in writing, and in addition there is focus on 'nynorsk', i.e. New Norwegian. With respect to orthography, this teacher states that because time is limited, pupils display poor orthographical skills, and he believes that many of the students are not certain of the orthography of their vernacular. Problems with the genitive case are rare, and clips words have not been mentioned by any his pupils. However, he claims to have seen an increase in the use of open compounds. Especially pupils who in general achieve low grades employ open compounds.

He also states that because of the vastness of the curriculum there is not enough time to correct all mistakes in pupils' texts. He often emphasises the process of writing, rather than the product, and in many cases he will only focus on and correct a certain type of mistake within pupils' texts. Especially with weaker pupils he will employ what he refers to as 'selective correcting' as he feels it is de-motivating to the pupil to have papers returned with an extensive amount of underlining in red.

Further he says that many pupils seem to find grammar and orthography boring and useless, and also distinguishes between specifically orthographic teaching and integrated orthography. His pupils as a rule find orthography as such interesting, but many find it difficult to integrate orthography in writing. This teacher specifically mentions how influence from other languages is positive. Rather than a cause of confusion, he states that the introduction of other languages, such as German or French has in some cases caused awareness and a more conscious approach to Norwegian.

6.5.1.3 UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL

The upper secondary school teacher states that he has seen a change in pupils' level of orthography in Norwegian. He says that he is sometimes shocked by examples of extremely poor knowledge of orthography, as well as by indifferent approaches to grammar and writing skills. He feels that the quality of teaching in Norwegian prior to upper secondary school is reflected in the level of the students' knowledge. From his experience far too many pupils commence upper secondary school teaching with poor knowledge of and abilities in Norwegian orthography and grammar. He believes this is related to the fact that some secondary school teachers may be neglecting orthography and grammar in their teaching. The quality of teaching in primary and secondary school does set the standard of the teaching that he can commence with, and teaching cannot advance until pupils have acquired the needed orthographical skills. He provides every new class with a 'crash course' in grammar and orthography because the basic knowledge of orthography in many cases is not present. In spite of 'crash courses' and of recurring updates in grammar and orthography, the lack of a good orthographical foundation inhibits many pupils throughout upper secondary school.

The upper secondary teacher mentions the use of open compounding as especially problematic. He says that during his twenty-eight years as a teacher he has seen an increase in the use of open compounds, and at present he encounters a very generous amount of this type of mistake in pupils' texts. Some pupils who employ open compounds are good pupils who know well correct orthography. Others are not aware that open compounds are incorrect in Norwegian. In any case, he feels that in general the attitude of the pupils to this specific problem is very nonchalant and indifferent. Reasons for the increased level of usage of this phenomenon are difficult to pinpoint, he says, but he believes that pupils to a great extent appear indifferent because orthography has not been emphasised during their basic schooling.

The upper secondary school teacher stresses how he consequently corrects orthographical mistakes such as open compounds, and confronts pupils with them. Language, in his view, should be precisely and exactly formulated, and as such pupils are dependent upon proper teaching of orthography.

6.5.2 ASSESSMENTS OF THE TEACHER INTERVIEWS

Attitudes to orthography brought forth in teaching are of utmost importance to the future views and attitudes of a pupil. Orthography should be introduced as an integrated part of all written texts, and not as an additional or supplemental aspect. The decreasing level of orthography may have to do with the fact that some secondary school teachers may be neglecting orthography and grammar in their teaching. Perhaps given the vastness of the subject of Norwegian there is simply not enough time to fully serve the pupils' needs in these areas. Furthermore, the misunderstood kindness of not correcting every error in a student text is likely to be a disservice to Norwegian pupils. It is difficult for pupils to employ correct orthography when they are not made aware of their mistakes. Such misunderstood kindness in

basic schooling may, because it completely disregards the significance of orthography, develop into an indifferent attitude to this discipline. A recurring point in the three interviews is the mention of indifferent approach of pupils to orthography. Though pupils may be talented and aware, many disregard the importance of writing skills, and therefore do not pay attention to existing rules.

Compounding is regarded as problematic in secondary and upper secondary school, and the respective teachers state that they have seen an increase in the use of open compounds. The pupils are in many cases aware of the correct orthography of compounds, but do not feel it is necessary or important to adhere to these orthographical conventions. Increased use of open compounds in Norwegian may thus seemingly be caused mostly by other aspects than by English influence. None of the teachers feel that use of apostrophe in the genitive case is a widespread tendency in pupils' texts today. All have seen some instances of incorrect usage of the apostrophe, but in general the problem is minor. The vast employment of the apostrophe for example in advertising and in other commercial texts may then be said to be a tendency that occurs at a later stage, either because orthographic skills have not been maintained, or simply due to a deliberate choice. Clips words are not described as problematic by any of the three teachers. Thus, this aspect of morphology may, as Vinje (1987) claimed, cause irritation and frustration only when the knowledge of the language in question is good.⁵⁷ As the knowledge of English improves, awareness of linguistic features such as the morphology of clips words will progress and may as a result potentially become problematic.

Lack of a conscious approach to one's own language caused by teaching where orthography is not emphasised may thus, unfortunately, be said to be real disadvantage.

⁵⁷ Cf. Graedler 1998:115

6.6 THE ROLE OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON NORWEGIAN ORTHOGRAPHY

The English influence is viewed by many Norwegians as a formidable threat to the indigenous Norwegian orthography. Many turn to English influence as a means to explain the decline of orthography in Norwegian. On the websites of the Norwegian Language Council, for instance, there are several examples where normal or recurring errors in orthography are explained as typically caused by English influence.

There is no doubt that English to a great extent influences the Norwegian language, Norwegians are at present widely exposed to the English language. By some English is used with a view to marking prestige, and in other instances it is a means of communication within closed social spheres. While it is important to make people aware of the influence from English on Norwegian usage, it is a mistake to blame poor orthography only on English. If people are confident in their use of orthography and morphology in their own language, they will also be able to make use of their knowledge of English influence in a positive manner, rather than allow it to be a source of contamination.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUDING REMARKS

'Well, but surely, Hermogenes, you do not suppose that you can learn, or I explain, any subject of importance all in a moment; at any rate, not such a subject as language, which is , perhaps, the very greatest of all.'

From '*Cratylus*' in Plato's '*Dialogues*'.

7.1 SUMMARY AND BACKGROUND

The present thesis has investigated within a college setting current attitudes to English influence on three specified areas of morphology. The results have been provided by means of a questionnaire and a conversation with each informant. On their own, the questionnaire and the conversations with the informants have clear disadvantages. In combination, however, they complement each other in a beneficial manner; the one's weakness is the other's strength. The results of the survey are therefore likely to suggest current views and attitudes within the elected setting of the investigation. Attitudes to various aspects of language will differ greatly according to sociological, historical, political and cultural conditions, as well as to schooling, aptitude and level of interest. The aim of the present thesis has not been to provide explanations for the reasoning behind the various attitudes to morphology. Rather it has been to expose within an academic setting current views on aspects of Norwegian morphology and attitudes to the role of the English influence so as to elicit synchronically and specifically the state of Norwegian morphology. Furthermore, investigation of the current state of Norwegian orthography has come to be a complementary aim. In this chapter the results of the survey will be consulted as a means to testing the hypotheses⁵⁸.

The results of the survey have indicated that within the specific academic setting of the Agder University College the three areas of morphology in question may in fact be said to be realms

⁵⁸ As stated in 1.2.2

of uncertainty. Moreover, it has been suggested that it is not the English influence specifically that is the cause of the apparent problems, but rather that it may be inadequacies in morphological teaching in Norwegian schools today which are to blame and which should be considered a reason for concern. The results of the present survey reflect merely the attitudes and views underlying a limited specific setting. Nonetheless, it must be taken into consideration that the informants are students and employees who are not from one geographical place only. Furthermore, the informants volunteered to participate in this linguistic study, and 92% claimed to be interested in linguistics in general. The indicated interest in language of the informants leads us to believe that the informants have considered issues of a similar nature before. The results of the survey are thus strengthened because of the prior reflection of the informants, the fact that their answers are arguably not haphazard, and that their contribution to the survey may possibly reflect a general tendency in Norway today.

7.2 POSSIBLE MORPHOLOGICAL REALMS OF UNCERTAINTY

In the introductory chapter three hypotheses were presented:

4. That compounds, clips words and the genitive case are areas of Norwegian morphology, which in fact are realms of uncertainty for users of the Norwegian language
5. That the uncertainty is not solely a result of English influence
6. That the uncertainty to some extent is due to the lack of knowledge of Norwegian orthography and morphology among Norwegians

Through the present thesis, all three propositions may be said to have been developed and explicated in detail.

7.3 HYPOTHESES TESTED

The results of the survey suggest that compounds, clips words and the genitive case in fact *are* realms of uncertainty within Norwegian morphology. Users of Norwegian are not adequately familiar with the orthographic features of these specific areas. Though the Norwegian language, including its morphology, undoubtedly is under intense influence from the English language, the uncertainty reflected within the three specified areas of morphology is *not* solely caused by the English influence. To a great degree the insufficient knowledge of Norwegian orthography and morphology among Norwegians has given rise to the evident uncertainty.

7.4 GENERAL ASSESSMENTS

The English language may today be labelled a global language; it has ‘developed a special role that is recognised in every country’.⁵⁹ Naturally, there are mixed feelings about the position and the success of English. Many are fascinated by the English language, and actively participate in promoting it as a means of communication and of expressing identity. Others may be distressed at the thought of this levelling force on a minority language such as Norwegian. English, the modern lingua franca, is definitely present as an influential force on Norwegian, and it has by many Norwegians been accorded yet another function: the role as a linguistic suppressor. Notwithstanding the fact that English is linguistically influential on Norwegian, the idea that English is the only cause of orthographic problems in Norwegian may be said to be a rather simplistic interpretation.

Section 1.5 stated that the thesis had a two-fold purpose. Specifically, the purpose was specified as:

⁵⁹ Crystal: *English as a Global Language*. (1997:3)

1. To establish whether uncertainty about the specified morphological features gives ground for unease
2. If so, to establish whether the increasing influence of English alone causes such uncertainty in Norwegian morphology or whether inadequate teaching of grammar and orthography may be said to intensify the problem

Through the present thesis it has been established that compounds, clips words and the genitive case are in fact areas of Norwegian morphology which may be referred to as realms of uncertainty. The three areas are indeed morphological features which are problematic, specifically in that Norwegians are not aware of their orthographic features.

7.4.1 ASSESSMENTS: CLIPS WORDS

Clips words may be problematic because they are words which do not have a clear definition. Furthermore, the extent of knowledge of English by people in Norway varies greatly and actually complicates the picture with respect to usage. The Norwegian Language Council has, however, standardised the inflection of the Norwegian word 'en kaps' ((E) 'a cap'). The word 'en kaps' has incorporated the original plural -s, and may therefore be said to be a clips word. As such, there exists today an established inflection of clips words. The informants in general did not consider 'tips' and 'triks' in Norwegian to be English or unfamiliar, nor did they react in the same manner to these words as they did to 'muffins' and 'smoothies'. With regard to clips words, Fausa's explanation of the borrowing process (Fausa 1994:4-6) is helpful.

Whereas 'tips' and 'triks' now are established in the Norwegian vocabulary, new clips words such as 'muffins' are not. New clips words find themselves first in the process of adoption, where usage initially commences; thereafter they will proceed onto the process of adaptation, becoming integrated and accepted. This process may be explained also by means of the natural scepticism as reported by Said in '*Orientalism*'. (Said 1978.)

7.4.2 ASSESSMENTS: COMPOUNDS

The current tendency in Norway of writing open compounds is pronounced. According to many of my informants the employment of open compounds is a trend among Norwegians which is gaining momentum. Although there are distinct rules pertaining to the orthography of Norwegian compounds, many seem to find the correct spelling of compounds difficult.

The upper secondary school teacher of Norwegian in the interview on 7 April 2006 also claimed that he had seen in student texts an increase in the use of open compounds. When confronted with this type of mistakes, he said that the students often would respond that they were aware of the correct orthography, but that one understood the meaning even if words were written incorrectly. In other words, the increased use of open compounds in Norwegian may thus be said to be caused by lack of a conscious approach to one's own language. It seems that orthography is not an issue that concerns students today as it might have before, when language teaching was of a more prescriptive nature. The problem with open compound usage thus without comparison emerges as the most profoundly challenging of the three investigated areas within Norwegian morphology.

7.4.3 ASSESSMENTS: THE GENITIVE CASE

Employment of the apostrophe in the genitive case in Norwegian is not a tendency that is marked in primary and secondary school. Though unquestionably a realm of uncertainty, this morphological feature is as such a tendency which for the most part must be said to originate after the completion of basic schooling. Nevertheless, the inclination to make use of the English form seems firmly settled in Norwegian, especially in various marketing texts. The wish to be viewed as international and accessible is probably the most logical explanation of the prevalence of this morphological innovation.

7.5 FINAL CONCLUSIONS

92% of the informants of the present investigation have described themselves as interested in and concerned with language. As the problems discussed in the present survey are closely linked to the level of linguistic awareness, it is possible that the percentage of linguistically aware informants might have been lower had they been selected in another manner.

Nonetheless, the survey does serve the purpose of investigating attitudes to linguistic aspects within an academic setting, and displays clearly and concisely the linguistic considerations found in the interviews with the 26 informants.

The ostensible cause for unease concerning the three areas of Norwegian morphology is the idea that Norwegian morphology is profoundly influenced by English derivational and inflectional morphology. The three areas of morphology taken into consideration in the present investigation all belong to the word-class of nouns. Because they do not react in a predictable manner when imported into Norwegian, they are thus likely to cause morphological uncertainty. Borrowed nouns may become problematic because they are treated in various manners according to the person who employs or encounters them. The principles of morphological purism in Norwegian may be a tool to establishing commonplace usage of clips words in Norwegian,

From the present discussion we have seen that the prevalent attitude among students and employees at Agder University College is that the English influence should in fact not be the main concern. Decades of inadequate teaching of grammar and orthography in Norwegian schools may to a greater extent than the English influence be the cause of unease within the three areas of morphology in question. The survey results indicate that given the current state of orthography, there is ground for unease. The survey has further pointed out that the three

areas of morphology, and especially compounding, serve as manifestations of problems within the teaching of orthography in Norwegian basic education. A surprising number of informants expressed distrust of and dissatisfaction with the teaching of Norwegian in Norwegian schools, and the presence of English in Norwegian was on the whole not seen as the main cause of poor orthography in Norway.

Thus, the results of the survey have shown that there are reasons for concern much more profound than the English influence. The most urgent cause for unease is the inadequate present-day teaching of Norwegian in primary and secondary schools. The teaching may be said to be deficient specifically in not being capable of convincing pupils of the importance of morphological competence. The results of this are visible in Norwegian everyday-and work language today, and an effort must therefore be made to re-introduce the teaching of grammar in Norwegian schools.

The role of the Norwegian Language Council as a prescriptive and advisory body should be considered of the utmost importance in this task because of the opportunity it offers of making Norwegians aware of linguistic issues that need to be considered. The competence needed to ensure the continued existence of 'proper' Norwegian already exists; the need is to be allowed the opportunity to become aware of the standard morphology by being reminded of the value of correct orthographical usage.

Despite the fact that the English influence is intense, and although it is likely that the influence will increase in strength in the years to come, there are ways of maintaining the well-being of the Norwegian language. By ensuring that the importance of morphological competence is stressed already in elementary education, competence in the use of Norwegian

orthography and hence of Norwegian as such will become more confident. If the notion of correct morphology is strengthened, the English language may become less of a threat to Norwegians.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMO Astronomer Mot Orddeling

AUC Agder University College

(E) English

(N) Norwegian

(No) Old Norse

(OE) Old English

(n) Noun

(v) Verb

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- Various for sale advertisements retrieved from <http://www.finn.no>

APPENDIX 1: Questionnaire

Exercise 1:

A) How would you write these words in Norwegian?

- | | |
|------------------------|----|
| 1. Internet connection | 1. |
| 2. Milk chocolate | 2. |
| 3. Chocolate mousse | 3. |
| 4. News report | 4. |

B) With regard to orthography, which of the alternatives do you prefer? (Mark with bold typing)

1. Kontakt punkt, kontakt-punkt or kontaktpunkt?
2. Fakta opplysninger, fakta-opplysninger or faktaopplysninger?
3. Student valg, student-valg or studentvalg?
4. Stallgang, stall-gang or stall gang?
5. Pose løs støvsuger, pose-løs støvsuger, poseløs støvsuger or poseløsstøvsuger?
6. Reise hårføner, reise-hårføner or reisehårføner?
7. Leie biler,leie-biler or leiebiler?
8. Rudolf Steiner Skolen, Rudolf Steiner-skolen or Rudolf Steinerskolen?
9. Rotteunger, rotte-unger or rotte unger?

C) Is there only one correct alternative? 'Bær bar', 'bær-bar' or 'bærbar'? Which alternative do you prefer? Why?

D) The sentence below is an example gathered from an advertisement at a travel agency. Explain the meaning of the sentence. Can it be understood in more than one way?

'Rimelige fly reiser til hele verden.'

EXERCISE 2:

A) The word 'muffin' is borrowed from English into Norwegian. In English, the noun 'muffin' is inflected as follows:

Singular: a/the muffin

Plural: some/the muffins

How do you prefer to employ this word in Norwegian?

Definite

Indefinite

Singular:

Definite

Indefinite

Plural:

B) The English noun 'smoothie' is inflected as follows::

Singular: a/the smoothie

Plural: some/the smoothies

Write down your suggestion of how this word should be inflected and used in Norwegian.

EXERCISE 3:

A) Right or wrong? If you think any of the examples are wrong, write the example(s) in question as you believe it should be written.

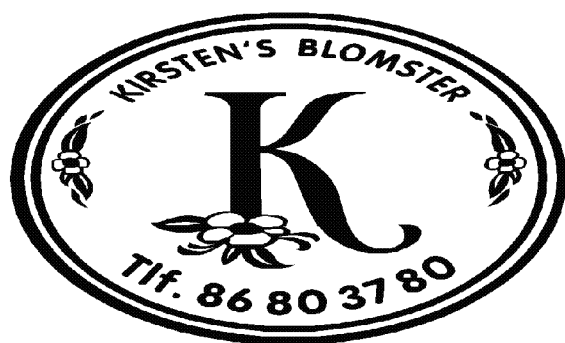
- | | |
|----------------------------|----|
| 1. Reidun's leilighet | 1. |
| 2. Anders' salong | 2. |
| 3. Sørlandet's lærerstevne | 3. |
| 4. Damene's aften | 4. |
| 5. Franz' datamaskin | 5. |
| 6. AP's politikk | 6. |
| 7. Håvard's hest | 7. |

B) Are these examples both correct? Might anything be wrong? Explain briefly.

1. Maten hos McDonald's er utrolig sunn. (The food at McDonald's is incredibly healthy)
2. Astrid's jakke var skikkelig fin. (Astrid's jacket was really nice.)

C) Does one of the signs attract you more than the others? If so, which? Explain briefly.⁶⁰

Kirstens Blomster
Borgergade 16, 8600 Silkeborg, Telefon 86 80 37 80, Fax 86 80 37 84



⁶⁰ Both signs are Danish, but are relevant because they are similar to examples that exist in Norwegian. The morphology of the genitive case in the two signs differs despite the fact that they are used in marketing of the same business.

APPENDIX 2: Conversation chart

Are you concerned with language?

In which way?

Do you consider Norwegian an important part of culture?

Do you feel that the Norwegian written language is influenced by any other language in particular?

Have you any thoughts as to why this is?

Are there any aspects of language that you feel are particularly influenced?

Are there any aspects of language in particular that you feel should be kept 'Norwegian'?

Does the influence have any positive aspects? Are you positive towards the influence? Do you think that Norwegian may be enriched by influence from other languages?

Does the influence have any negative aspects? Are you negative towards the influence? Are you afraid that Norwegian may become thinned out as a result of the influence?

Many claim that the level of orthography in Norwegian has decreased because of influence from English. How do you feel about this?

Do you ever react to written Norwegian orthography that displays 'English' influence?

Positively or negatively?

Can such orthography help determine any of the choices you make in life? (E.g. open compounding in company names, ads, other written material))

How do you feel about the examples below:

'Flytte Gutta', 'Norsk Kennel Klub', 'tunfisk biter i olje', 'rottweiler valper', 'smådyr klinikk', 'tilbake melding' and 'internett oppkobling'.

Are there any examples you would like to comment on?

Would you say 'en muffin' or 'en muffins'?

Do you ever consider that 'et tips' and 'et triks' are words of the same type as 'muffins'?
'Siri's grill' eller 'Siris grill'? As a sign for your own company which would you employ,
and why?

Do you consider English as the cause of errors in orthography of the same kind as those
above, or are there other factors that need be considered?

Could clearly English-inspired orthography lead to stigmatisation?

Are you in any way concerned about the Norwegian language?

APPENDIX 3: Teacher interview

- Which year do you teach?
- For how long have you taught Norwegian?
- Which years have you taught?

- How would you describe the Norwegian course today?
 1. Target areas/focus (Are these already set, or do teachers have the opportunity to adjust them so as to serve the individual needs of the students in each separate class?)
 2. Do you feel that the subject adequately fulfils its purpose? When you first encounter new students are they well prepared for their year, and when they leave you are they ready for the next phase?
 3. In general are students positive or negative to the course?
 4. If it were up to you, are there areas that you would like to focus more on, or less?

- During your career as a teacher, has the subject changed in any way?
 1. How?
 2. Why? (Political reasons? Other reasons?)

- Brief presentation of the survey, and of the concern that the current knowledge of Norwegian in general is poorly, and that the limited knowledge of Norwegian to a greater extent than English influence is the cause of the types of morphological errors that have been examined. Presentation of the claim that there is too little focus on

orthography and grammar in Norwegian schools today, and that teachers to a great extent are concerned that the students write at all, and not *how* they write.

1. Do you think that their concern is legitimate?
 2. Does it worry you?
- Has the level of orthography altered in any way during your career as a teacher of Norwegian?
 1. Which errors do you encounter?
 2. Which errors (or tendencies) are increasing?
 3. Why does this happen do you think? Interest in language in general? Approach to language; is it less 'conscious' now than in the past?
 - Do you see in your students examples of the aspects of morphology that have been examined in the present survey?
 1. Compounding:
 - Do students understand the Norwegian compounding orthography?
 - Do you feel that compounding is a problem in written Norwegian?
 - Do you believe the problem is caused by English influence, or are there other reasons?
 2. The genitive case:

- Do students understand the Norwegian genitive orthography? Do you see examples of usage of the apostrophe?
- Do you feel that errors involving the genitive case are a problem in Norwegian?
- Do you believe the problem is caused by English influence, or are there other reasons?

3. Clips words:

- Have any of your students commented on the English plural inflection –s being made use of as Norwegian singular?
- Do you feel that the –s in words like 'kaps' and 'muffins' is a part of the root of the word or do you regard it as a plural marker in Norwegian also?

APPENDIX 4: Examples

Aspect of morphology: Compounding

Example(s):

'Personlig Trener Service'.

'Sykkel løp i Sandnes'.

'Etter nølerne tar vi etterpå'.

'Ekstra ordinært møte'.

'Krabbe klør'.

'Dekk Spesialisten'.

'Pyramidene Reiser'

'Agder Hus Service Senter'.

'Spesial pølser'.

'Flytte Gutta'.

'Sør Press'.

Expressed by means of:

Gym in Stavanger.

Promotion for a bicycle race.

From personal correspondence.

From personal correspondence.

Haugesund quay sign.

Tire shop in Stavanger.

Norwegian travel agency.

Kristiansand-based firm.

Butcher shop in Haugesund.

From a newspaper advertisement.

Printing shop in Kristiansand.

'Smådyr Klinikkk'.	Animal clinic in Oslo.
'Bruk og kast kulturen'.	From the television programme ' <i>Typisk norsk</i> ' 12.05.04.
'Natur attraksjoner'.	From website. ⁶¹ 31.10.06
'...det eneste spiss alternativet...'	From web-based football forum
'Faktura syklus', 'kontakt punkt'), 'total leverandør', 'fakta opplysninger.'	Workrelated training.
'Kurs mengdene' and 'tilbake meldinger'	Personal correspondence.
'Rudolf Steiner Skolen'.	From website ⁶² 18.01.06
'Norsk Kennel Klub'	Norwegian
'Pose løs støvsuger', 'reise hårføner', 'bær-bar cd-spiller'.	Electronics store in Kristiansand.
'Rimelige fly reiser til hele verden'.	Travel agency advertisement.
'Tyveri sikret'.	Advertisement for Netcom mobile- telephone company.

⁶¹ <http://www.visithaugalandet.no/attraksjoner.aspx>

⁶² <http://folk.uio.no/tfredvik/amo/rudolf.html>.

'Vinter sport salg'.	Advertisement for clothing company.
'Hann katt gis bort'.	From website 18.01.06. ⁶³
'Repsil halstabletter' and 'Repsil hals tabletter'.	The same box of cough drops has examples of both alternatives.
'Tunfisk biter i olje'.	Canned tuna-fish.
'Rotweiler valper, golden retriever valper, bull dog valper', 'hunde bur', 'dame sykler', 'herre sykler'.	Various advertisements from http://www.finn.no
'Høse service' (should be 'høseservice')	Sign in porcelain shop in Kristiansand.
'Start brødet'.	Bread from Kristiansand.
'Fløte gratinerte poteter'.	From 'TORO'.
'Ananas biter'.	From <i>Eldorado</i> .
'Ferge café'.	Ferry café (Arsvågen to Mortavika)
'Salgs agent'.	Television commercial.
'...mer folk en noen sinne...'	From pamphlet at a training centre in Stavanger.

⁶³ <http://finn.no/finn/bap/object?finnkode=6863912&sid=1aYpgkCYJ289701&pos=20&tot=2246>

'...nytt Hjemme PC tilbud...'	Workrelated
'Godkjennings signatur'.	From contract of sale.
'Kommentar felt'.	From computer programme.
'Overtids timer'.	Workrelated.
'Arbeids sted'.	Personal correspondence.
'Team medarbeider'.	Workrelated.
'Oppdaterings møte'.	Workrelated.
'Dør åpner'.	Sign on ferry.
'Kontra beskjed'.	Workrelated.
'Helikopter seter'.	Workrelated.
'Grill mat'.	From takeaway-menu, Oslo.
'Rulle kebab'.	From takeaway-menu, Oslo.
'Tynn ribbe'.	Sign at grocery shop in Stavanger.
'Sjekk liste'.	From handout, University of Oslo.
'Kina opplevelser'.	Travel agency in Stavanger.

Aspect of morphology: the Genitive Case

Example(s):

Expressed by means of:

'Emil's overnatting'.

Bed and breakfast in Haugesund.

'Nordmo's Tannlegesenter'.

Dentist in Kristiansand.

'Kirsten's Blomster'.

Internet based flower shop.

'Møller's Tran'

Norwegian brand name.

'Rolf's Elektro'.

Electronic's store in Kristiansand.

'Natvig's Brukthandel'.

Furniture shop in Kristiansand.

'Susann's avdeling...'

From private e-mail.

'Sørlandet's Lærerstevne'.

Announcement at Agder University
College.

'Wenche's Frisør'.

Hairdresser in Kristiansand.

'Byen's Kinamat'.

Chinese restaurant in Kristiansand.

'... beboere av Sia's ferieleiligheter...'

Sign in Kristiansand.

'...en av Halliburton's medarbeidere...'

Personal correspondence.

'Pelle's service byrå'

'Handyman' business, Stavanger.

'Norge's vakreste eventyr'

Television advertisement for tv-programme, '71° nord'.

Aspect of morphology: Clips Words

Example(s):

Expressed by means of:

'... hestepass og *micro-chip*...'

From website 20.01.06.⁶⁴

'...*stands* i Vilhelm Krag's hall⁶⁵...'

From website 02.03.06.⁶⁶

'... julebord og andre '*happenings*'...'

Online advertisement 25.01.06.⁶⁷

'... *laptops*, spill, hester,
bøker, bunader, spisestuemøbler, butikkinventar,
biotoalett, bowlingkuler m.m.'

From website 18.01.06.⁶⁸

'...registrert i NKK, *chipset*, vaksinert...'

From website 26.10.2005.⁶⁹

'...Et språk for alle. En serie *essays*...'

From website 18/01/06.⁷⁰

'...ICE oppsto blant *paramedics*...'

From website 27.01.06.⁷¹

⁶⁴ <http://www.finn.no/finn/bap/object?finnkode=6908188&sid=5aMhm3yl8359958&pos=5&tot=2237>

⁶⁵ Note the compounding error.

⁶⁶ From <http://student.hia.no/>.

⁶⁷ <http://www.vg.no>

⁶⁸ <http://finn.no/finn>

⁶⁹ <http://www.finn.no/finn/bap/object/?pdc=1130316156441?finnkode=6323541&sid=3a6GaUdfx156419&pos=18&tot=819>

⁷⁰ <http://www.vgb.no/search.php?keyword=spr%E5k&blog=fri&P=spr%E5k>

⁷¹ <http://www.vg.no/pub/vgart.hbs?artid=136630>

'Litt ekstra kos. Valgfri kaffe og <i>muffins</i> ...'	Petrol station offer. 14.03.06
'Jordbær <i>smoothies</i> stor kr 27,-'	Agder University College cafe. 10.12.05
'...ingen <i>events</i> i denne måned...'	From website ⁷² 25.04.06.
'... <i>events</i> for næringslivet...' '... et skreddersydd <i>event</i> ...'	From website ⁷³ 25.04.06
'Ukens <i>hits</i> '.	From website ⁷⁴ 26.04.06
'...bli spist av en <i>aliens</i> ...'	From tv-interview 07.10.2006 ⁷⁵
'...hver <i>muffins</i> er pakket inn...'	Television commercial for <i>Ballerina</i> muffins.

⁷² <http://www.womanweb.no/>

⁷³ <http://www.festarrangoren.no>

⁷⁴ <http://www.msn.no>

⁷⁵ Interview with Victoria Winge on 'Senkveld med Thomas og Harald'.