KÄLLSTRÖM and LINDBERG (eds)

Young Urban Swedish

Variation and change in multilingual settings

GÖTEBORGSSTUDIER I NORDISK SPRÅKVETENSKAP 14

This volume brings together results from the project "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings" (the SUF project). For the first time, articles by researchers in the project are published together and in English for an international audience. Many articles contain analyses of various linguistic features of Swedish in the spoken and written data collected from the in total 222 young people participating in the project in the cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. These analyses concern developments in the phonology, syntax and pragmatics in Swedish youth language that have not been described earlier. Other articles use data from the SUF project to explore alternative research approaches and methodologies or to discuss well-established concepts and distinctions within the field of language variation from a critical perspective. Furthermore, some articles deal with multiethnic youth language data from other contexts or with multilingualism on a socio-political level. Taken together, the twelve articles in this volume cover a wide range of aspects of language and language use in multiethnic areas in Sweden, highly relevant for fellow researchers and students at different levels of the educational system in Sweden as well as internationally.

Co-workers in the SUF project gathered outside the Faculty of Humanities, University of Gothenburg (Ulrika Magnusson, Julia Prentice and Emma Sköldberg are missing from the picture).

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Young Urban Swedish

Edited by

ROGER KÄLLSTRÖM and INGER LINDBERG

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1. Magnus Fernberg: *Kåseristil.* 2004.
2. Tore Otterup: *”Jag känner mej begåvad bara”. Om flerspråkighet och identitetskonstruktion bland ungdomar i ett multietniskt förortsområde.* 2005.
3. Per Fröjd: *Att läsa och förstå svenska. Läsförmågan hos elever i årskurs 9 i Borås 2000–2002.* 2005.
4. Jenny Nilsson: *Adverb i interaktion.* 2005.
5. Susanna Karlsson: *Positioneringsfraser i interaktion. Syntax, prosodi och funktion.* 2006.
6. Thorwald Lorentzon: *Mellan frihet och jämlikhet. Jämförande studier av lexikala förändringar i moderaternas och vänsterpartiets valmanifest 1948–2002.* 2006.
7. Maia Andréasson: *Satsadverbial, ledföljd och informationsdynamik i svenskan.* 2007.
8. Sofia Tingsell: *Reflexivt och personligt pronomen. Anaforisk syftning hos ungdomar i flerspråkiga storstadsmiljöer.* 2007.
9. Claes Ohlsson: *Folkets fonder? En textvetenskaplig studie av det svenska pensionssparandets domesticering.* 2007.
10. Peter Andersson: *Modalitet och förändring. En studie av må och kunna i fornsvenska.* 2007.
11. Gudrun Rawoens: *Kausativa verbkonstruktioner i svenskan och nederländskan. En korpusbaserad syntaktisk-semantisk undersökning.* 2008.
12. Sven Lövfors: *Historiska angivelser i allmänna ordböcker med särskild hänsyn till Svensk ordbok utgiven av Svenska Akademien.* 2010.
13. Julia Prentice: *På rak sak. Om ordförbindelser och konventionaliserade uttryck bland unga språkbrukare i flerspråkiga miljöer.* 2010.
14. Roger Källström and Inger Lindberg (eds): *Young Urban Swedish. Variation and change in multilingual settings*. 2011.

Göteborgsstudier i nordisk språkvetenskap 14

Young Urban Swedish

Variation and change in multilingual settings

(Sammanfattningar på svenska)

Edited by Roger Källström
and Inger Lindberg

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

”Specific to urban youth, I believe there is an ever evolving element of culture. This change has a rough edge and self expression is integral to it. Language lives inside this interface, and the youth of every generation contributes a new understanding.”

Sampson Wilcox

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Contents

Contributors i

Preface iii

Introduction v

Ellen Bijvoet and Kari Fraurud
Language variation and varieties in contemporary multilingual Stockholm: an exploratory pilot study of young people's perceptions 1

Petra Bodén
Adolescents' pronunciation in multilingual Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm 35

Lena Ekberg
Extended uses of *sån* ('such') among adolescents in multilingual Malmö, Sweden 49

Kari Fraurud and Sally Boyd
The native–non-native speaker distinction and the diversity of linguistic profiles of young people in multilingual urban contexts in Sweden 67

Natalia Ganuza
Syntactic variation in the Swedish of adolescents in multilingual urban settings – a thesis summary 89

Sofie Johansson Kokkinakis and Ulrika Magnusson
Computer based quantitative methods applied to first and second language student writing 105

Roger Källström
Multiethnic youth language in reviews of the novel *Ett öga rött* 125

Inger Lindberg
Fostering multilingualism in Swedish schools – intentions and realities 149

Tore Otterup
"It's simply a gift" – multilingualism as an individual and societal resource 173

Julia Prentice and Emma Sköldberg
Figurative word combinations in texts written by adolescents in multilingual school environments 195

Gudrun Svensson
Discourse particles in Swedish youth talk in multilingual settings in Malmö 219

Sofia Tingsell
Tracking language change. Anaphoric binding in multilingual urban settings in Sweden 237

Sammanfattningar på svenska 251

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Preface

The project "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings" (the SUF project) was conducted between 2001 and 2006. The project was financed by The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Fund, with additional support from the Institute for Swedish of a Second Language at the University of Gothenburg. Twenty researchers from universities in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Lund have contributed to the project in various ways and at various stages. This volume is the result of our effort to bring together most of the themes of research in the project in a single volume. We chose to publish this collection in English, in order to make our research on the interesting linguistic processes and practices in contemporary multilingual contexts in Sweden known to international scholars and students.

Thanks are due to several people who have contributed to make this book possible. First of all, we would like to thank the authors of the individual articles for their efforts and patience in the work with this volume, and the reviewers who read the articles and provided constructive ideas and criticism. Sally Boyd has read the manuscript and provided valuable comments. We are also grateful to the editors of the GNS series, Göteborgsstudier i nordisk språkvetenskap (Gothenburg Studies in Scandinavian Linguistics), for accepting it for publication, and especially to Elisabet Engdahl and Barbro Wallgren Hemlin who have read the manuscript as editors for GNS.

We are thankful to The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation for funding the project and also contributing to the printing of this volume, and to the Department of Swedish Language at the University of Gothenburg for financial and administrative support. Finally, we would like to thank Sampson Wilcox, who generously allowed us to use his painting "City talkers" for the front cover.

The book has been long-awaited, and we are very happy to see it now come to fruition. We hope that it will prove to be useful for researchers and students alike.

Gothenburg and Stockholm, February 2011
Roger Källström and Inger Lindberg

Introduction

The project "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings" (financed by The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Fund 2001–2006), for short referred to as the SUF project, set out to describe, analyse and compare language use and varieties of Swedish in multilingual contexts in the three major Swedish cities: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. The project has resulted in a large database, important contributions to our knowledge of language use in multilingual settings and a large number of publications. Since most of the work within the project so far has been published as individual articles or theses in Swedish, this volume fills two important functions, namely to summarize and bring together the different strands and studies carried out within the project in a comprehensive publication and to present the work carried out within the project to an international audience.

The volume includes twelve articles by researchers associated with the SUF project. Half of the articles contain analyses of various linguistic features of Swedish found in the spoken and written data collected from the 222 young people who volunteered to participate in the project.

Petra Bodén looks into the phonology and phonetics of speech samples from speakers characterised by other young people as speakers of the "foreign-sounding" Swedish youth varieties typical of the areas in question. Bodén's results offer some initial insights into the characteristics of these varieties as compared to other varieties in the same region, and how speech samples from the three urban areas differ from each other. Moreover her study confirms that young people with a more or less monolingual Swedish-speaking background also sometimes use this variety.

Lena Ekberg examines the use of *sån* 'such', a feature often claimed by young people in Malmö to be typical of the local multiethnic youth language, Rosengård Swedish. Recorded informal speech of two groups of young women shows extended use of *sån* as compared to spoken Standard Swedish. Interestingly,

Ekberg finds that *sån* seems to be grammaticalised into a determiner with functions similar to some of those of the indefinite article, and that a group of monolingual girls show the same tendency as a group of multilingual girls towards the extended uses of *sån*.

Natalia Ganuza investigates subject-verb order variation in linguistic contexts requiring subject-verb inversion in Standard Swedish. It has been claimed that a frequent use of XSV (without inversion) is typical of the Swedish used among adolescents in multilingual urban areas in Sweden and Ganuza explores how the variation might be constrained by different situational, linguistic and demographic variables. Ganuza shows that most of the participants did not use XSV to any large extent and that XSV was most commonly used in peer-peer conversations involving youths with a multilingual background. For some adolescents the use of XSV appeared to be part of their casual language repertoirs.

Julia Prentice and *Emma Sköldberg* study the use of figurative word combinations in written texts produced by participants in the project. Figurative word combinations in the data are classified into three categories: conventionalized word combinations, partially modified conventionalized word combinations and novel word combinations. Prentice & Sköldberg find that conventionalized word combinations are the most frequently used type in the data, followed by partially modified and novel figurative word combinations, respectively. Their results also show that monolingual students use more conventionalized word combinations than multilingual students, whereas modifications of conventionalized figurative expressions are more frequent in the multilingual students' texts.

Gudrun Svensson looks into the use of the discourse particles *duvet* 'you know', *ju* 'as you know', *ba(ra)* 'just', *liksom* 'like' and *typ* 'sort of' in spontaneous speech by two groups of girls, one group consisting of only first-language (L1) speakers of Swedish and one group consisting of only second-language (L2) speakers of Swedish. The particles are shown to be polyfunctional and polysemous, and frequently used in both groups. But Svensson also finds some significant differences between the groups concerning the frequency and placement of *duvet*, *ju* and *liksom*, and argues that several factors may contribute to the differences: group solidarity, differences in how the particles are conceptualised and differences in the degree of automatization of a syntactic structure.

Sofia Tingsell uses elicitation techniques to study the use of the reflexive third person pronouns *sig* (personal) and *sin* (possessive), as opposed to the non-reflexive pronouns. What Tingsell calls the typical pattern, laid down in Standard Swedish grammars, is followed in 97% of all instances where a choice between a reflexive and a personal pronoun is called for in the tests. The most

frequent deviation from this pattern is the use of a non-reflexive possessive pronoun ('her'/'his'/'its') where the reflexive possessive pronoun *sin* is called for according to the typical pattern. Tingsell also found that deviation is more frequent in prepositional phrases and in elliptical responses to questions, and that the L2 speakers vary more in their use of the pronouns than the L1 speakers.

Of the remaining six articles, three apply key concepts in language variation to data from the SUF project or discuss alternative approaches for the analyses of variational data.

Sofie Johansson Kokkinakis and *Ulrika Magnusson* apply standard quantitative measures for the analysis of text qualities to written texts produced by participants in the project. The aim is to investigate possible correlations between the measures and student variables associated with their first versus second language background such as age of arrival in Sweden and age of onset of the acquisition of Swedish. The results show that three of the measures (nominal ratio, word variation index and word length) seem to capture differences between L1 and L2 learners, while a fourth (lexical density) shows no significant differences between learner groups.

Ellen Bijvoet and *Kari Fraurud* highlight the need to supplement studies of language production with a systematic study of language perception in a broad sense, including both attitudes towards different varieties/groups of speakers and sociolinguistic awareness of language variation. Seeing varieties as social constructions, they argue for the benefits of studying these very constructions in the way they are reflected in listeners' perceptions of language variation, using a methodology inspired by the folk linguistic research paradigm. The approach is illustrated by an exploratory study of listener perceptions of the speech of a few Stockholm participants in the SUF project.

Kari Fraurud and *Sally Boyd* investigate a large body of background data collected in the SUF project for a critical exploration of the native speaker/non-native speaker distinction. They analyse data on linguistic background and practices from 222 participants and find linguistic profiles that display great diversity among informants in terms of nativeness criteria, a variation which according to the authors can also be expected in other similar contexts. According to Fraurud & Boyd, this implies that a categorisation of informants in such contexts according to the native speaker/non-native speaker distinction will inevitably result in two widely heterogeneous groups. On the other hand, the inclusion of only clear cases of (non)nativeness would exclude a considerable number of language users from investigation.

The remaining three articles deal with issues of multiethnic youth language and multilingualism from different aspects or in other contexts.

Roger Källström studies the treatment of multiethnic youth language in newspaper reviews of the novel *Ett öga rött*, which is written almost exclusively in a version of multiethnic youth language. In his analyses of the reviews, Källström shows that all the critics mention and give a sample of multiethnic youth language. Moreover, in order to offer their readers samples of the chief character's language use and a glimpse of his character, several critics stylise multiethnic youth language to give the review a humorous and light tone. Källström compares the stylised passages to out-right parodies but finds that the reviews are generally neither parodic nor denigrating. He concludes, however, that the stylistic effects used by some of the critics may also convey a probably unintended condescending view of multiethnic youth language and its speakers to readers of the reviews.

Tore Otterup reports on a study based on interviews with eight young multilinguals from a multiethnic urban area in Gothenburg. In the analysis of the interviews, based on Grounded Theory methodology, he identifies ambivalence, investment and empowerment as important concepts for the understanding of the construction of the syncretic identities that often characterise young people in multilingual settings. Otterup claims that the ambiguities of the postmodern society and the many choices it calls for, although frustrating for many people, can also offer individuals unique opportunities for self-fullfillment. Multilingual young people, Otterup argues, possess valuable cultural capital for the development of a society in which cultural and linguistic diversity is an important asset.

Inger Lindberg focuses on mismatches between language education policies and everyday classroom practices in Swedish schools. Lindberg attributes such implementation failures to language policies not being sufficiently attuned to the sociolinguistic realities in many multilingual contexts, thus disregarding issues of power and identity. With reference to findings in recent critical ethnographic research, she suggests that strategic essentialism at a general policy level, as well as linguicism as a manifestation of prevailing deficit ideologies at an institutional and individual level of practice, contribute to an unresolved tension between the official policy and local educational practices.

Some of the findings presented in this volume concern developments not documented in earlier research. Bodén identifies a new possible (marginal) phonematic distinctions and an utterance final contour not described before, Ekberg describes extended uses of *sån* and Tingsell documents increasing variation in the use of reflexive and personal pronouns.

On the other hand, some of the articles show that some commonly held beliefs about the lingusitic make-up of multiethnic youth languages may be mistaken. Bodén finds that the lexical tonal distinction between accent I and

acccent II words is not lost in the speakers from Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö that she studies. Similarly, Ganuza's results show a pattern that runs contrary to common belief and observations in earlier (less systematic) research, namely that XSV word order is on the whole an infrequent phenomenon in multiethnic youth varieties.

Other findings are related to common features of L2 learning. Prentice & Sköldberg's results show that multilingual students use fewer conventionalized figurative expressions and modify conventionalized figurative expressions to a greater extent than L1 students. Svensson finds that differences in placement of some discourse particles are due to a lesser degree of automatization of a syntactic rule among L2 speakers, while Johansson Kokkinakis & Magnusson document a correlation between some statistic measures of text quality and the writers' L1/L2 background.

Two articles contribute to the discussion of research procedures and basic linguistic concepts. Bijvoet & Fraurud argue for a social constructivist view of language varieties and demonstrate the value of studies of attitudes and sociolinguistic awareness in the study of linguistic variation and varieties, while Fraurud & Boyd's results clearly reflect the complexity of the linguistic situation in the urban areas studied and cast doubt on the value of traditional and widely used dichotomies such as native/non-native speaker and monolingual/ bilingual, at least in sociolinguistic studies.

Other articles look at circumstances outside the immediate context of multilingual suburban areas. Källström's contribution concerns the perception of multiethnic youth language, as manifested in book reviews. Otterup and Lindberg address wider societal issues. Otterup finds support in his study for the view that individual multilingualism is an asset for individuals as well as society in general, while Lindberg discusses explanations for the wide gap between official policy for fostering multilingualism and actual practice in the eduational system. A wider social context is also drawn into the discussion towards the end of Bijvoet & Fraurud's article.

Taken together, the twelve articles in this volume contribute to elucidate several important – new as well as previously investigated – aspects of language and language use in multilingual settings. Explorations of alternative research approaches and methodologies, critical perspectives on fundamental concepts and distinctions as well as socio-political and language policy considerations are also found in this volume, which we hope will find readers among fellow researchers as well as students at different levels of the educational system in Sweden and elsewhere.

Language variation and varieties in contemporary multilingual Stockholm: an exploratory pilot study of young people's perceptions[1]

Ellen Bijvoet and Kari Fraurud
Stockholm University

Abstract

The investigation of language variation in contemporary multilingual Sweden calls for a combination of perspectives and approaches. This chapter highlights the need to supplement studies of language *production* with a systematic study of language *perception* in a broad sense, including both attitudes towards different varieties/groups of speakers and sociolinguistic awareness of language variation. The chapter starts with an inventory of the kind of varieties of Swedish that may appear in today's multilingual Sweden. Then the notion of variety and its usefulness in the current context is discussed. Using a view of varieties as social constructions (rather than 'things') as its point of departure, the chapter argues for the benefits of studying these very constructions in the

[1] The work reported in this chapter has partly been carried out within the Göteborg–Lund–Stockholm project Språk och språkbruk bland ungdomar i flerspråkiga storstadsmiljöer (SUF) 'Language and language use among adolescents in multilingual urban settings', funded by The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (2001–2006). We would like to thank all the people who in various ways have contributed to the study: participants and teachers, as well as our colleagues in the SUF project and at the Center for Research on Bilingualism at Stockholm University.

way they are reflected in listeners' perceptions of language variation, using a methodology inspired by the folk linguistic research paradigm. The approach is illustrated by an exploratory pilot study of listener perceptions among young Stockholmers.

Keywords: folk linguistics, listener perceptions, language attitudes, sociolinguistic awareness, Rinkeby Swedish

1. Introduction

In Sweden, as in several other European countries, migration-related variation in the majority languages has attracted considerable attention in media as well as in academia. Since the 1980's labels such as 'immigrant Swedish', 'Rinkeby Swedish'[2] and, during the last years, 'blatte Swedish'[3] have been used as tools in political debates on immigration, segregation, unemployment and education. New forms of language and language use which deviate from the dominant norm are alternatively perceived as new varieties of Swedish or simply as 'bad language'. In the spring of 2006 a heated debate set off when literature professor Ebba Witt-Brattström in a broadcast panel discussion on bilingual education criticized the Swedish government for "signaling to our new Swedes that it's good enough if they learn a bit of blatte Swedish so that they can put up a market stand and sell bananas in Rosengård"[4] (our translation, see Dagens Nyheter, April 16, 2006). The quote gives an inkling of the climate of the public discourse which is an important aspect of the current societal context for our study.

The Swedish debate about language and language use has to be understood in the light of the increasing multilingualism and migration-related language diversity in Sweden today; in the capital Stockholm, for example, more than one third of the population is born abroad or has at least one parent who is (USK 2007). Many of these Stockholmers belong to the growing number of young people who have grown up in multilingual urban neighborhoods, but who cannot easily be described in terms of dichotomies such as native/non-

[2] Rinkeby is Stockholm's (and Sweden's) most well-known multiethnic suburb; the name has gained an emblematic status and is loaded with connotations to immigrants and multiethnicity.

[3] 'Blatte' (with unclear etymology) is – as used by most outgroup speakers – a strongly derogatory word for (stigmatized) immigrants (cf. Jonsson 2007).

[4] Rosengård is a multiethnic suburb of Malmö.

native speakers, first/second language users, or mono-/multilinguals (cf. Fraurud & Boyd, this volume, Leung, Harris & Rampton 1997). This group of language users is very heterogeneous, but with regard to mono-/multilingualism they may all be said to be multilingual in the very broad sense that they:

> (1) have a linguistic background that in different ways involve one or more languages in addition to the majority language Swedish (and foreign languages in the national curriculum such as English and French) – either due to domestic or community multilingualism – and
>
> (2) are born in Sweden or have arrived at an early age and speak Swedish as (one of) their first language(s) or as an early additional language; they have a high proficiency in Swedish, which is also the language that many of them feel most confident in and prefer to speak (cf. Fraurud & Boyd, this volume).

The way some of these young people use Swedish sometimes differs from that of young people from more homogeneous monolingual neighborhoods. The observed linguistic variation has been approached by researchers from a sociolinguistic perspective as well as from a psycholinguistic and second language acquisition (SLA) perspective. Sociolinguistically, the variation may be analyzed in terms of new or emerging varieties of Swedish resulting from language contact and change (e.g. Fraurud & Bijvoet 2004; Kotsinas 1988, 2000). A language learning approach may suggest a comparison with advanced second language use (Ekberg 1998; Hyltenstam 1992; Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson 2003; Prentice 2010; Stroud 1988). We believe that both these perspectives, together with other approaches, have to be integrated in the analysis of the language variation discussed in this volume. Regardless of approach, however, the variation must be related to the total of linguistic resources present in the environment of these young people, i.e. the multitude of language varieties and practices potentially available to them. Therefore, it is necessary to take into consideration their perceptions and constructions of different ways of speaking the majority language Swedish. We may think of these as alternative language models – models which may or may not constitute targets in language development and use (for a similar notion, norm-ideals, see Kristiansen 2004).

In the interaction between young people from the multilingual neighborhoods and the majority society, the mutual perceptions of 'one's own' and 'other's' ways of speaking play an important role. These perceptions are not confined to evaluations as measured in language attitude research, but also have to do with which linguistic differences the listener actually identifies and which social meanings he/she associates with these, i.e. aspects of sociolinguistic awareness. Sociolinguistic awareness is important for the individual's ability to adjust his/her language to different situations and to assess different inter-

locutors' social background or linguistic competence. Limitations in this respect may result in a failure adequately to modify one's way of speaking (or writing) – something that many young people are accused of. It may also lead to misjudgments of other speakers, as when competent multilinguals incorrectly are identified as language learners or speakers of 'poor' Swedish due to their use of certain sociolinguistically determined variants.

The present social context, characterized by asymmetric power relations associated with social class and gender as well as with ethnic and linguistic diversity, has both scientific and ideological implications for the study of language variation. It calls for the development of conceptual and methodological tools appropriate for exploring 'new' variation and varieties and it urges us to consider how our research and the way we disseminate it may influence the public debate and political developments.

Most studies of migration-related language variation are based on observations of language production. This chapter argues for the usefulness of supplementing such production data with data on speech *perception* – where perception is understood in a broad sense, comprising both attitudes to different varieties/groups of speakers and sociolinguistic awareness about language variation. The chapter starts with a brief survey of the theoretically possible (types of) varieties of Swedish in today's multilingual Sweden, and discusses some prevailing ways of categorizing and labeling these varieties. Then the very notion of variety and its usefulness in the present context is discussed. Using a view of varieties as social constructions (rather than 'things') as our point of departure, we approach our object of study by exploring these very constructions as reflected in listeners' perceptions of language variation, with a methodology inspired by the folk linguistic research paradigm (Niedzielski & Preston 2003; Preston 1996). This approach is here illustrated by an exploratory pilot study of listener perceptions among young Stockholmers. Finally, we briefly comment on the ideological dilemma inherent in research on a stigmatized object of study receiving massive media attention.

2. Language variation in today's multilingual Sweden

In addition to (varieties of) a number of minority languages with a long history in Sweden such as Saami and Romani and (varieties of) a multitude of more recent minority languages such as Arabic and Turkish, linguistic diversity in today's Sweden encompasses considerable regional and social variation in the

majority language Swedish – including migration-related variation conceived of as 'new' varieties. Here we focus on the latter.

2.1. Language variation and varieties

Speaking in terms of *language varieties* and types of varieties is a way of trying to grasp a complex linguistic reality, which in actual fact encompasses an infinite inter- and intraindividual variation. Hence it is natural that one of the recurrent concerns in popular as well as academic discourse about contemporary migration-related variation has been to define and characterize alleged new varieties. Let us start by briefly mentioning some related terms for types of varieties from sociolinguistic and second language acquisition research that have been used in discussions about language variation.

One general distinction sometimes made in sociolinguistics is that between varieties determined by users or by uses, a distinction based on the fact that our ways of speaking (or writing) are influenced by factors which are more or less stable or temporary (e.g. Halliday 1978). More stable factors include regional and social background, associated with the terms (*regional*) *dialect* and *social dialect* (or *sociolect*). Such user defined varieties are acquired during early childhood language socialization but may of course change or expand later in life due to local or social mobility. Language varieties determined by more temporary factors such as the speech situation and interlocutor is commonly referred to by the overarching term register (Biber 1994; Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens 1964, p. 48). Particularly clear examples of this are the kinds of language we sometimes use when talking to small children, *baby talk* or *child directed speech*, or to second language users, *foreigner talk*. But the term register is also used for referring to variation relating to for example degrees of orality, formality, speech planning and attention to own speech – variation which traditionally is referred to as *style* (e.g. Labov 1972). In more recent sociolinguistic literature, the term style has been employed in a different and much wider sense; described by Eckert as "a clustering of linguistic resources, and an association of that clustering with social meaning" (2001, p. 123, cf. also Coupland 2007 and contributions in Eckert & Rickford 2001 and Auer 2007). *Genre* is another term that has been extended to cover conventionalized structural patterns of not only written texts but also of speech forms, such as for example football commentaries.

Generally, however, language variation is linked to both users and usage. This is particularly clear in the case of *group languages*, i.e. varieties related to different affiliations like profession, age group, or sub-culture as well as to different domains of usage.

Since the 1970's the notion of variety has also been used in second language research (SLA) in order to characterize the language of learners and second language users. In early SLA research learners' language was seen as merely defective versions of the target language, negatively influenced by the learner's first language. With the introduction of the Interlanguage Hypothesis (Selinker 1972, 1992), the language of the learner, *interlanguage*, was acknowledged as a (systematic) variety in its own right, distinct from both the first and the second language. Today *learner language* is often used in the same or a similar sense. Both terms suggest the existence of a language system that is continuously transforming in the direction of a second language, the target language. The notion of a target, however, raises questions such as: what is the 'end state', who is a learner (and for how long)? The higher proficiency a second language user has, the less adequate it seems to talk about learner language, since language development in principle does not have any end point; first and second language users alike go on acquiring, e.g., new styles and words for new phenomena. It is therefore reasonable to reserve the terms interlanguage or learner language for stages where there are clear signs of an active on-going learning process, and use compounds with *second language*, e.g. *second language* Swedish, as a broader notion only implying that the first language encountered in language socialization has been a language other than Swedish.

The term second language is sometimes used in contrast to *foreign language*, distinguishing languages learned in settings where they have a central function in the life of the learner, e.g. in immigrant contexts, from those learned in class room settings. That this distinction is by no means unproblematic is illustrated for example by English in Sweden today. Despite the fact that it is taught as a foreign language at school, for most young people it can be regarded as a second language due to its increasing role in many formerly monolingual domains, such as higher education, popular culture and business (Hyltenstam 1999; Phillipson 1992).

Other attributes commonly ascribed to the language of second language speakers are *accented* and *broken*, e.g. *broken Swedish*. The term accent has no generally agreed upon definition (cf. Lippi-Green 1997), but mostly it is applied to discernable first language influences on the second language, in particular on the phonological level.

If we apply this terminology to different migration-related ways of speaking Swedish, we may identify at least two main types of varieties in the current context: on the one hand individual second language varieties and on the other more or less stabilized new or emergent group varieties of the majority language. A well known example of the latter is the modern slang originating in the multilingual neighborhoods. This *suburban slang* (Bijvoet & Fraurud 2006) is primarily spoken by young people in these neighborhoods (rather than by

adults and younger children); it is mostly used among peers and not in all situations. In the literature, group languages like this have alternatively been labeled *youth language* (Kotsinas 1994), *multiethnolect* (Quist 2000), *multiethnic youth language* (Fraurud & Bijvoet 2004) or, less technically, *suburban slang* (Bijvoet & Fraurud 2006).

In addition to interlanguages and group languages among young people, it is possible to envisage the emergence of regional-social dialects (Bijvoet & Fraurud 2006; Fraurud 2004; Kotsinas 1988, 2007). Such a development would imply that certain linguistic features[5] are conventionalized in the speech of a wider part of the population as markers of local and social affiliation, and that these markers are transmitted to following generations as components of a stabilizing social-regional dialect. This would represent a way of speaking Swedish that only indicates that the speaker has grown up in a multiethnic neighborhood – without implying that he/she is a second language user or of a certain age. There is, however, still relatively little systematic knowledge of such a possible development, as well as of the sociolinguistic conditions for it (cf. Fraurud 2004).[6]

Several of the linguistic features that are frequently found in learner Swedish also appear in other types of varieties. One example is the (stigmatized) deviation from the V2 rule in word order, e.g.: *sen han gick* 'then he left' with word order XSV rather than standard Swedish XVS: *sen gick han*. This feature is also sometimes used by speakers with Swedish as (one of) their first or early second language(s) who are capable of navigating between different ways of speaking Swedish (Ganuza 2008). When this happens, it is not a manifestation of second language acquisition, but rather of a social process in which different linguistic features are conventionalized as markers of identity and group affiliation. In order to identify which kind of phenomenon a particular instance of this feature may represent, we also need to consider language use, development and context. If we contrast learner language and the kind of group language among young people that was mentioned above, we may envisage at least the following differences (Fraurud 2004):

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[5] These features might be features of second language use, or elements from suburban slang, but also linguistic features that are unstable in the whole Swedish population, such as for example personal/reflexive pronouns (cf. Tingsell 2007, this volume).

[6] The possible emergence of pidgin and creole languages, and creoloids has also been discussed (Kotsinas 2000; for a critical discussion, see Fraurud & Bijvoet 2004).

Learner language	Group language
more idiosyncratic	more conventionalized
more dynamic	relatively more stable
more or less evident L1-influence	no influence traceable to a certain L1
limited repertoire of the language (the speaker's only version of the target language)	extended repertoire of the language (one of the speaker's ways of speaking)
used unidirectionally (independently of interlocutor)	often used bidirectionally (in-group use)

As mentioned above, part of the terminology briefly introduced here is sometimes difficult to apply in contemporary multilingual contexts, where neither speakers nor ways of speaking can readily be fitted into commonly accepted categories and dichotomies. This of course also applies to the distinction learner language/group language made here; the categories are not mutually exclusive. Also second language users – beginners as well as advanced – may be more or less influenced by and receptive to suburban slang. And slang speakers may consciously use salient learner features as a means, among other reasons, for establishing solidarity.

2.2. Varieties as 'things' or constructions?

Thus far we have been talking about language varieties as if they are relatively homogeneous and delimitable 'things' or entities, which can be observed in the world and 'put under the microscope' for analysis. Such a view has been (and still is) common among lay people, but it is also implicit in many linguistic studies. It is, for example, reflected in the methodology of classical dialectology, which involved a search for authentic speakers assumed to represent the dialect and a description of the language system of these individuals. Needless to say, this approach has not been without its critics. Already in the first edition of his now classical textbook in sociolinguistics, Richard Hudson (1980) carries out a useful deconstruction of the notion 'variety' and the related notion 'speech community'. In a comprehensive discussion he exemplifies, among other things, the problems of delimiting varieties and types of varieties and concludes that:

> [...] the only satisfactory way to solve these problems is to avoid the notion 'variety' altogether as an analytical or theoretical concept, and to focus instead on the individual linguistic item. For each item some kind of 'social description' is needed,

> saying roughly who uses it and when: in some cases an item's social description will be unique, whereas in others it may be possible to generalize across a more or less large number of items. The nearest this approach comes to the concept of 'variety' is in these sets of items with similar social descriptions, but their characteristics are rather different from those of varieties like languages and dialects. On the other hand, it is still possible to use terms like 'variety' and 'language' in an informal way, [...] without intending them to be taken seriously as theoretical constructs. (Hudson 1980, p. 71)

From the point of view of such an ontological stance neither languages nor language varieties 'exist' as delimited entities 'in the world'. This may sound like a truism, but still deserves mentioning in order to draw attention to the power of the metaphor of 'languages as things' which shapes our thinking about language and language variation. The metaphor is continuously re-inforced by other concepts and ideas associated with language: language as something that can be genuine and authentic, that can be treated and mistreated, and that can be polluted, be threatened, die, etc. It is the strong impact of this metaphor that makes it necessary to remember that what is 'out there' in the physical world is just a flow of sounds (interpreted in terms of linguistic items) and occasions when people say different things in different ways in complex patterns of variation. Thus the important lesson from Hudson's deconstruction of the traditional notion of variety is that we should beware of preconceived views of the homogeneity and delimitation of varieties as well as of their very existence (cf. also Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Le Page (1977) describes languages as abstractions that may differ between speakers, communities and researchers:

> Various kinds of systematic abstraction are made – by individual speakers, by social processes, by linguists or other observers – to which we attach the name 'language' and, in doing so, tend to treat them as if they were all the same abstraction. (Le Page 1977, p. 223)

According to such an ontology, languages or varieties only exist as abstractions. This means that lay people as well as experts – all in their own ways – envisage something that is sufficiently constant and homogeneous to be named. And by being named, spoken about and described, varieties are socially and cognitively reified.

Obviously, the problems of delimiting and systematically describing varieties will vary according to the specific object of study. As pointed out by Ferguson (1994),

> [s]ets of identifying markers of dialect, register, and genre variation vary greatly in the degree of cohesiveness they show as systems and the sharpness of the boundaries between them; the more cohesive the systems, the sharper the boundaries, and the

> more they are perceived by the participants as separate entities, the more useful it is to analyze them as language varieties: dialects, registers, and genres, respectively. (Ferguson 1994, p. 23)

In every single investigation we thus need to assess the complexity of our object of study and decide just *how useful* the notion of variety is for capturing the investigated language variation – a decision involving not only the actual patterns of variation, but also the speakers' own perceptions of it.

In the case of our object of study – Swedish in multilingual urban settings – there seems to be a low degree of cohesion in Ferguson's terms; we observe blurred boundaries, a lack of clustering of linguistic features, and dynamic and flexible inter- and intra-individual variation (cf. Boyd & Fraurud 2010). Furthermore, our study does not concern any homogeneous speech community, but individuals with diverse linguistic backgrounds and interactive experiences (cf. the non-homogenizing approaches to language variation in two similar contexts in Jaspers 2008 and Møller & Jørgensen 2008).

Even in those cases where a variety by *the language users themselves* is perceived as a 'separate entity' (something which is fairly common), we must be aware of the dissimilarities between different individuals' constructions of this 'entity' as regards its boundaries and characteristics. The character of our object of study therefore motivates an approach in which language varieties are seen as social constructions, and the focus of our study lies on these very constructions as reflected in lay people's perceptions of language variation. Such speech perception data may, we believe, in a fruitful way supplement speech production data on contemporary language variation.

Understood in a wide sense, social constructions of language variation have been studied within a broad cross-disciplinary field including language attitude research, with its roots in social psychology (e.g., Garret, Coupland & Williams 2003; Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum 1960), and language ideology studies, with a background in linguistic anthropology (e.g., Gal & Irvine 1995; Irvine 2001). Within sociolinguistics and dialectology, lay people's perceptions of dialectal variation were studied already in the 1950's by dialectologists in Japan and The Netherlands (for an overview, see Preston 2002). These dialectologists saw a need to supplement traditional dialect descriptions by studies of subjective judgments about differences between dialects, among other things in order to tackle the problem of delimitation of varieties. Later, in the USA, Dennis Preston and his colleagues developed a similar methodology within the research paradigm that has come to be established as perceptual dialectology. Perceptual dialectology can be seen as a part of the larger paradigm called folk linguistics, which focuses on all aspects of the linguistics of lay people, i.e. "the beliefs about, reactions to, and comments on the language by what we call 'real people' (i.e., nonlinguists)" (Niedzielski

& Preston 2003: vii). Folk linguistics as an object of study has sometimes been regarded with suspicion due to its subjective quality, which is then contrasted with the linguists' 'objective' observations, cf.:

> Although the perceptions of speakers and hearers may inform our decisions, such perceptions are usually called language attitudes or language ideologies, while our own perceptions are labeled analysis. (Bucholtz 2003, p. 407)

However, an increasing number of scholars have been inspired by the folk linguistic paradigm, resulting in a large number of studies in the USA, but also in other parts of the world (see, e.g., Kulbrandstad 2004, 2008; Long & Preston 2002; Preston 1999; Røsstad 2009).

3. A folk linguistic study

The folk linguistic study presented here is a perception experiment exploring sociolinguistic awareness and language attitudes among young people in multilingual Stockholm. It is an exploratory pilot study with the aim to develop methodology and generate hypotheses in the preparation of a larger study (cf. Bijvoet & Fraurud 2010 for an outline and initial results of that study). 'Perception' is here taken to embrace both language attitudes in a traditional sense and sociolinguistic awareness, i.e. awareness of linguistic differences and social meanings associated with these. Whereas the term *sociolinguistic awareness* highlights language users' awareness of and attention to variation in their own and others' ways of speaking, the term *language attitudes* traditionally refers to "any affective, cognitive or behavioral index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers" (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian 1982, p. 7). In language attitude research it is commonly assumed that language attitudes reflect attitudes towards the group associated with a language or variety rather than towards the language/variety per se (cf. Edwards 1982).[7] Such associations, in turn, also influence *what* the listener believes he/she is hearing and thereby his/her constructions of language varieties. Sociolinguistic awareness and language attitudes are, in other words, closely related aspects of people's perceptions and constructions of language variation.

[7] Whether also purely aesthetic judgments may contribute to the formation of attitudes towards different languages/varieties is still an under-researched issue (cf. Giles & Niedzielski 1998; Trudgill & Giles 1978).

One particular focus in our research is on the language and language use of young people with different backgrounds as regards mono-/multilingualism and majority/minority identifications. The research questions we formulated prior to the pilot study concern how groups of language users differ with regard to: (1) which (types of) varieties they identify and how they label and describe these varieties, (2) the degree of variation that their constructions of these varieties may contain, (3) which linguistic features they perceive to be characteristic of these varieties, and (4) which attitudes they display towards these ways of speaking.

3.1. Design

In the listener experiment, seven speech samples of young Stockholmian speech of about 30 seconds each were played back to listeners with different backgrounds. The listeners were asked to fill out a questionnaire containing questions about how they perceived the speech samples and the speakers. The questionnaire consisted of two parts. In the first part, attitudes towards different ways of speaking were assessed by means of a traditional verbal guise technique involving semantic differential scales of the kind frequently used in language attitude studies. In the second part of the questionnaire the listeners were asked to label and describe speech samples and speakers. This part focused on sociolinguistic awareness, but also these responses of course reflect attitudes towards different groups of speakers and ways of speaking.

The speech samples were selected from two sources containing audio recordings of senior high school students: the database compiled in the SUF project presented in this volume (see fn. 1) and a series of interviews performed in the planning phase of the project (see Bijvoet 2003). The selection of speakers was based on the degree to which their speech was characterized by different linguistic features associated with 'foreign-sounding Swedish' (in the following, for brevity, called 'non-standard' features;[8] cf. e.g. Kotsinas 1994, Bodén, this volume; Ganuza, this volume):

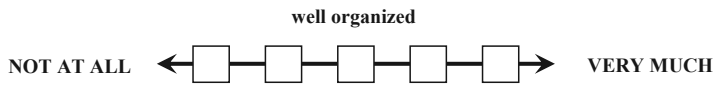
- vocabulary: slang words associated with multiethnic suburban culture; non-idiomatic expressions
- prosody: an intonation/rhythm commonly described as 'staccato'
- phonology: segmental features influenced by the speaker's first language, i.e. accent

[8] Space does not here allow for a discussion on the problems with the concept of standard language, in particular in relation to spoken language (but see, e.g., Coupland 2007: 21).

- morphology and syntax: e.g., deviations from the V2 rule and from standard grammatical gender and agreement patterns

The seven speakers and their ways of speaking may, in terms of linguistic background and use of selected linguistic features, in a very simplified way be characterized as 'representing': the regional norm (Gustav and Lisa), L2 Swedish (Didi and Hasan), and suburban slang (Bushra, Ashur and Eleni).[9] Gustav and Lisa are monolingual Swedish speakers, living in a relatively homogeneous, monolingual neighborhood. They differ from each other with regard to social background. These speech samples do not contain any of the non-standard linguistic features mentioned above. Both Didi and Hasan are born outside Sweden and they live in multiethnic neighborhoods. Their ages of arrival are 7 and 14 respectively, and they differ with regard to their command of Swedish; Hasan's sample displays non-standard features on all linguistic levels, while Didi's L1 is perceivable only through a slight accent and one syntactic deviation. Bushra, Ashur and Eleni are born in Sweden. They are all bilingual and have grown up in multilingual suburban Stockholm. In the speech samples, they use linguistic features that are associated with suburban slang – albeit to different degrees (for more details, see below).

In the experiment, the listeners first listened to short excerpts from each of the speech samples in order to become familiar with the range of voices. Then the samples were played back one at a time, and the listeners were asked to indicate their evaluations of each speaker on semantic differential scales, or, for short, adjective scales. In this study, eight unipolar five-graded scales were used. The task was formulated as in the following example with the adjective *ordentlig* 'well organized' (translated into English):



How do you perceive this person, based on his/her way of speaking in this excerpt?[10]
How well do you think the following word applies to him/her?
Tick off one box on each of these scales.

[9] All names are pseudonyms.

[10] This formulation was chosen in order to emphasize that all people speak in different ways in different situations, and that the speech sample selected here is only part of the speaker's repertoire.

The other seven adjectives were: *duktig* 'competent', *feminin* 'feminine', *humoristisk* 'humorous', *säker* 'self confident', *trevlig* 'nice', *tuff* 'tough' and *ärlig* 'honest'. After having completed the scales for all seven speech samples, the listeners listened once more to the stimuli one at a time, now making guesses about the speakers' linguistic and social background by answering the following questions:

a. Where in Stockholm would you guess that the speaker lives?

b. How long has she/he lived in Sweden, would you guess? [alternatives: her/his whole life (i.e. about eighteen years); about fifteen years; about ten years; about five years; less than one year]

c. Which is/are the mother tongue/tongues of the speaker, would you guess?

d. How would you label the kind of Swedish that he/she is speaking? (Scanian or bureaucratic Swedish are examples of such labels, but of course, these are not appropriate in this context)

e. What do you perceive as typical for the kind of Swedish he/she speaks, with regard to pronunciation, grammar, etc.?

f. Comments, if any.

In order to get as broad a picture as possible of how language users may label and describe neighborhoods, speakers and different way of speaking, we opted for open questions rather than multiple choice questions (with the exception of question b).

The listener experiment, or various parts and versions of it, was carried out with groups of listeners that we encountered in our work as researchers and teachers. The listeners were of different ages and differed with regard to ethnic and social background as well as linguistic experiences. They included students from a number of junior and senior high schools in Stockholm, university students, nursery and compulsory school teachers from different parts of Stockholm, and a group of retired university employees. For all listener groups, background data were gathered by means of a short questionnaire. Here, we will present data from two listener groups who both participated in the most elaborate and comprehensive version of the experiment (as described above):

Group A (N=16): students from a suburban senior high school in Stockholm.[11] The student body of this school includes a large number of students with multilingual background. Twelve of the students who participated in the experiment reported that they have grown up with and use at least two different languages at home; the other four have a monolingual family background but are familiar with multilingualism since many of their peers are multilingual. Median age: 19.

Group B (N=24): university students studying on a linguistically oriented program. All of them have a homogeneous monolingual background. Most of these listeners were somewhat older than the listeners in group A. Median age: 28.

3.2. Results

The response rate was generally high. Some differences in this regard are, however, found; response frequency may vary with regard to task, speaker and listener group. Both the adjective scales in the first part of the study and the multiple choice question on the speaker's time in Sweden in part two of the questionnaire obtained a response rate of almost 100%, with only two missing values out of 2240 possible responses (8 scales x 7 speakers x 40 listeners) and one missing value out of 280 possible responses, respectively. Also the open questions about the speaker's area of residence and mother tongue obtained high response rates: 265/280 and 262/280, respectively (where missing values also include responses such as "?", "no idea" or "don't know"). All missing responses to these questions come from listener group B. The tasks of labeling and characterizing the different speech samples resulted in somewhat lower response frequencies, 238/280 and 251/280, respectively; in particular for some of the speakers these questions were left blank. The possibility to add comments was utilized 46 times. The majority of these comments were serious in tone, e.g. "It is difficult to pinpoint, but I think that he has a first language other than Swedish" and "I assume that he has read a lot of books, fiction", while other comments were more witty (but nevertheless informative), e.g. "All right, he doesn't have to attend the Swedish as a second language classes". Most of the comments (26/40) stem from listeners in group B, most jocular comments however from group A.

[11] These students were participants in the larger SUF project – not, however, from the same school as any of the stimuli speakers.

For the sake of space, we cannot discuss the responses to all questions for all speakers here, but only highlight some of the results. We start by giving an account of some of the diverging responses to the tasks to label, characterize and comment on the different speech samples (questions d, e and f), with a special focus on speaker Ashur. Then we show how the adjective scales reflect differences between the two listener groups with regard to the evaluation of another of the speakers, Eleni.

3.3. Variety labeling

The task to label the speech samples (question d) elicited a diversity of variety labels and descriptions. Let us first compare the reactions to the speech sample that elicited the most diverging reactions among the listeners, viz. that of one of the young people born in Sweden with multilingual background, Ashur. This speech sample was recorded in a relatively formal situation (a presentation in front of the class). It contains neither slang words nor grammatical deviations and the pronunciation cannot, according to a panel of linguists from Stockholm University, be traced to any particular first language. It is only on the prosodic level that this speech sample diverges from the dominating regional norm – with its light touch of the 'staccato intonation' often mentioned in descriptions of multiethnic youth language (Bodén 2007; Kotsinas 1994).

Table 1 displays the responses from listener groups A and B on the task to suggest a label characterizing Ashur's way of speaking.

As the table shows, almost all responses from the listeners in group B contain words such as *learner*, *immigrant*, *Rinkeby*, *suburb*, *accent* or comments on prosody and pronunciation (19/21). In this group, also responses to question e ("What do you perceive as typical for the kind of Swedish he/she speaks, with regard to pronunciation, grammar, etc.?") include many descriptions highlighting prosody, e.g.:

B03: det mesta är språkligt korrekt, det är mest melodin som avslöjar ett utländskt påbrå
'most of it is linguistically correct, it is in particular the melody that reveals a foreign background'

B08: lite "stötigt" uttal, livlig intonation
'a bit "staccato-like" pronunciation, a lively intonation'

B12: intonation, lite ryckigt
'intonation, somewhat staccato'

Table 1. *The listener groups' labels for Ashur's way of speaking (question d) (in semi-literal English translation, and with an attempt at thematic ordering).*

Responses from group A:[12]	Responses from group B:
A01: Standard Swedish [Sw. 'rikssvenska']	B22: learner language
A02: Swedish	B08: immigrant Swedish
A07: Swedish	B17: immigrant Swedish
A16: Stockholm dialect [lit.: 'Stockholmian']	B15: refined immigrant Swedish
A15: good Swedish	B01: suburban Swedish with an accent
A32: tries to be smart	B07: Rinkeby Swedish
A13: good at Swedish for an 'immigrant'	B10: Rinkeby Swedish
A33: good but with a Rinkeby accent	B12: Rinkeby Swedish
A34: better Swedish but with an accent sometimes	B14: Rinkeby Swedish
A05: he adds *s* in the end of some words	B19: near Rinkeby Swedish
A35: a mixture of suburban language and standard Swedish [Sw. *rikssvenska*]	B20: Rinkeby Swedish, not completely
	B16: intellectual 'Rinkeby Swedish'
A27: Rinkeby Swedish	B05: multiethnic youth language
	B13. immigrant youth Swedish
	B24: suburban prosody, youth variety marking group membership
	B11: a staccato-like rhythm [Sw. *stötigt*]
	B09: youth language - a little 'immigrant-ish'
	B23: youth language/Rinkeby Swedish (but without the 'new' words)
	B03: standard language with an accent
	B02: 'OK Swedish' youth influenced
	B21: standard Swedish; 'normal' pronunciations etc.
[no response: N=4]	[no response: N=3]

Also listeners B02 and B21, who describe the speech sample as *OK Swedish* and *standard Swedish*, respectively, comment on Ashur's pronunciation when answering question e:

[12] In order to make cross-references possible, the codes for listeners in group A are the same as those used in the SUF project.

B02: i huvudsak bra svenska, något enstaka grammatiskt fel. Avslappnat. Viss brytning
'in the main good Swedish, a few grammatical mistakes. Relaxed. A slight accent'
B21: följer normen (utom uttal)
'follows the norm (except when it comes to pronunciation)'

A quite different picture emerges if we examine the labels provided by group A. These listeners more often characterized the speech sample as *normal* or *good* Swedish, or just *Swedish* (5/12), and in the cases where elements such as *immigrant*, *Rinkeby*, *suburb* or *accent* are mentioned, they occur as modifiers of the main word in the attempt at labeling the sample (see for example A33 and A13 in table 1). The task to characterize the speech sample (question e) resulted in responses such as:

A01: 'normala' uttal osv.
'"normal" pronunciation etc.'
A07: ordentlig
'well organized'
A15: bra uttal, bra rytm i språket, bra grammatik
'good pronunciation, good language rhythm, good grammar'
A16: han försöker prata ren svenska utan att använda slangord
'he tries to speak pure Swedish without using slang words'

Interestingly, a relatively large number of listeners were not able to (or did not want to) provide a label for this particular speech sample (7/40). A possible explanation might be that this sample for some listeners simply was hard to classify since it only contains non-standard features on one level (prosody). The number of non-responses was however not equally divided between listener group A and B: 4/16 and 3/24, respectively. Most of the listeners in group A (the group with the proportionally higher number of non-responses) have a background similar to Ashur's; they are born in Sweden and live in multilingual suburban Stockholm. We may speculate that the difference between the two listener groups as regards the number of non-responses can be related to the observation that people generally seem to be more ready to categorize (and label) *others* (and their ways of speaking) even on the basis of one single salient feature. But for exploring such a hypothesis further investigation, involving additional, qualitative as well as quantitative, data will be needed (e.g. subsequent interviews with participants in the listener experiment).

As illustrated above, the open questions elicit widely diverging and multi-faceted responses. The labels, characterizations and comments constitute a rich source of information that would have escaped us if we had opted for multiple choice questions throughout the experiment. At the same time, this approach complicates a more global analysis of the 840 possible responses (40 listeners x 7 speakers x 3 questions). In order to be able to describe the differences between

the listener groups in a quantitative way, we carried out an interactive analysis of all labels, characterizations and comments for all speakers with regard to discernable meaning components (see figure 1, Level 1). Components with a related content were then assembled into three wider categories, labeled *STANDARD/PRESTIGE*, *NON-STANDARD*: *ETHNIC* and *NON-STANDARD*: *OTHER* (figure 1, Level 2). The distinction *STANDARD/PRESTIGE* – *NON-STANDARD* reflects the dominating language ideology in society, where ways of speaking close to the written standard constitute the (prestige) norm. *ETHNIC* here refers to phenomena associated with multilingualism, whereas *OTHER* is a broad category for the remaining components commonly associated with lower linguistic prestige. Each response may contain one or more components from one and the same or different Level 2 categories, e.g. *snooty Swedish*, containing the component *upper class* (→ category *STANDARD/PRESTIGE*) or *a mixture of suburban language and standard Swedish*, containing the components *suburb* and *standard* (→ categories *NON-STANDARD*: *ETHNIC* and *STANDARD/PRESTIGE*).

Level 1: Components	Level 2: Categories
suburb *immigrant* *learner* *accent* *foreign*	*NON-STANDARD: ETHNIC*
dialectal *youth* *slang* *vernacular* *working class*	*NON-STANDARD: OTHER*
Stockholm	
common *standard* *upper class*	*STANDARD/PRESTIGE*

FIGURE 1. *Categorization of the responses to the open questions labeling, characterization and comments.*

In the majority of cases, the categorization of these components was relatively unproblematic. An interesting exception is the component *Stockholm*, which seems to represent different concepts for different listeners (hence its in-between position in figure 1). One listener describes Gustav's speech as *close to standard Swedish/*

Stockholmian/standard language, a standardized pronunciation, following the grammatical norm for written language (a characterization which obviously should be included in the category *STANDARD/PRESTIGE*). But Stockholmian may conversely be associated with the old slang of *Söder* 'South', a former working class district in the inner city of Stockholm (→ category *NON-STANDARD*: *OTHER*). The latter association does not surface in the limited data of this pilot study, but is made by some listeners participating in our ongoing main study (Bijvoet & Fraurud 2010). Again, further qualitative data and elaboration of the analytical tools are called for.

The tendency for listeners in the two groups to differ with regard to the labeling of Ashur's speech sample, noted above, is confirmed quantitatively when applying the component-category analysis to the amalgamated responses on all three questions d, e and f. This is illustrated in figure 2.

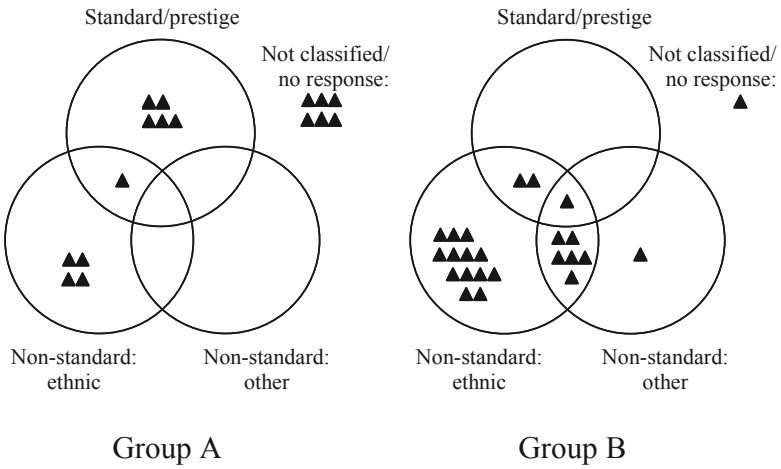


FIGURE 2. *Categorization of the listeners' responses to the open questions d, e and f: label, characterization and comments for Ashur. Every listener is represented by the symbol* ▲.[13]

Listeners in group B more frequently suggest labels and characterizations that place Ashur's speech in the category *NON-STANDARD*: *ETHNIC*, while listeners in group A more often evaluate the sample as *STANDARD/PRESTIGE*. In contrast to group A listeners, group B listeners also provide labels and characterizations containing components belonging to the category *NON-STANDARD*: *OTHER* – in

[13] "Not classified/No response" includes listeners who provided either no response at all or a response that could not be subsumed under any wider category, e.g. the listener A05's comment on Ashur: 'he adds 's' in the end of some words'.

almost all cases (7/8) the component *youth*. This can probably be explained by the fact that the listeners in group B are somewhat older than the stimuli speakers, while the listeners in group A are of more or less the same age.

As we already have noted, one of the labels attached to Ashur's speech sample – in particular by group B listeners – is the (in Sweden) well-known label *Rinkeby Swedish*. Let us compare the listeners' use or non-use of this label (or the variant *Rinkeby language*) for all seven speakers. Generally, some listeners (especially in group B) tend to use the label more frequently and to apply it more broadly, i.e., to a larger number of speech samples, than other listeners.

Table 2. *The listeners' use of the label* Rinkeby Swedish/language *for all speakers.*[14]

	Eleni	Bushra	Ashur	Didi	Hasan	Lisa	Gustav	Tot.
B19	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-			5
B23	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-				4
B20	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-				4
B16	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-		rinkeby-			4
B10	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-					3
A33	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-					3
A27	rinkeby-	rinkeby-	rinkeby-					3
A16	rinkeby-	rinkeby-		rinkeby-				3
A32	rinkeby-	rinkeby-			rinkeby-			3
B01	rinkeby-	rinkeby-			rinkeby-			3
A10	rinkeby-	rinkeby-						2
A09	rinkeby-	rinkeby-						2
B08	rinkeby-	rinkeby-						2
B04	rinkeby-	rinkeby-						2
A05	rinkeby-	rinkeby-						2
B22	rinkeby-	rinkeby-						2
B14	rinkeby-		rinkeby-					2
A07	rinkeby-							1
A02	rinkeby-							1
B06	rinkeby-							1
A15		rinkeby-						1
B24		rinkeby-						1
B03		rinkeby-						1
B07			rinkeby-					1
B12			rinkeby-					1
Tot.*	20	19	10	4	4	0	0	57

* Six listeners in group A and nine in group B did not use the label at all.

[14] The scalability of this implicational table reaches 96% when speech samples that are never labeled Rinkeby Swedish (speakers Lisa and Gustav) and listeners that never use the label (N=15) are included. When these speakers and listeners are excluded, the scalability is 92%.

As can be seen from table 2, the label *Rinkeby Swedish/language* is used 57 times in response to question d: "How would you label the kind of Swedish that he/she is speaking?" All four listeners who apply the label *Rinkeby Swedish/language* to four or even five of the seven speech samples belong to group B, and none to group A. These four – monolingual – listeners appear to use the label for referring to various kinds of linguistic variation associated with multilingualism, perhaps simply identifying 'foreign-sounding Swedish' (cf. Bijvoet & Fraurud 2006). The majority of the listeners in the – predominantly multilingual – group A use the label in a more restrictive way. In other words, the label *Rinkeby Swedish/language* seems to have different semantic scopes for different listeners, something that presumably can be related to differences in their social and linguistic experiences.

3.4. Language attitudes as reflected in the adjective scales

Differences between the two listener groups with regard to the evaluation of speakers and ways of speaking are also reflected in the data from the semantic differential scales. We will illustrate this finding using the evaluations of one of the speakers. We choose to focus on Eleni, the speaker to whose speech sample the label *Rinkeby Swedish/language* is attached most frequently (20 times, see table 2). This sample is taken from a peer group discussion involving five girls. The girls are talking about language issues and the conversation is very lively. The sample does not contain any slang words, nor any non-standard grammar or (according to a panel of expert listeners) L1-induced phonological features. Eleni uses some discourse markers which are frequent in everyday informal (in particular young people's) language, such as *typ* 'like' and *eller hur*? 'isn't it?' (cf. Svensson 2009). The only feature in her speech that could be associated with suburban slang is the earlier mentioned 'staccato' prosody. Some listeners characterize the speech sample as follows:

A27: lägger till en massa onödiga ord HELA TIDEN, svamlar och lägger in ljud t.ex. (Lixom, öhh...)
'adds a lot of unnecessary words THE WHOLE TIME, waffles and inserts sounds such as (Sort of, uhh...)'

A32: grammatiken är inte särskilt bra, uttalet är något stödigt [sic; =stötigt/stöddigt?] och ryckigt. Blandar en och ett osv., mycket slangord.
'grammar is not so very good, pronunciation is somewhat staccato/cocky and bumpy. Mixes n- and t-gender etc., many slang words.'

B06: snabbt, lite hårt, stockholmskans nasala vokalljud slår lite igenom, mkt liksom och bá, inga tvekningar, ordföljden speciell
'fast, somewhat tough, the nasal vowel sounds of Stockholmian are present, a lot of sort of and just, no hesitations, special word order'

These characterizations illustrate a general phenomenon, viz. the tendency (among lay people as well as linguists) to 'hear what is not there' in the speech signal. In this process, the mere manifestation of even a single linguistic feature may trigger in the listener a stereotype of a group of speakers which, in turn, may trigger assumptions about the whole language system of the speaker – assumptions that are, in fact, often disproved by systematic analysis. In Eleni's speech sample, for example, contrary to what the listeners here claim, the sample does not include any occurrence of the word *liksom* 'sort of', or of mistakes with regard to gender, or of deviations from the V2 rule, nor does it contain any slang words.

In order to interpret the data from the adjective scales, we carried out a factor analysis which helped us identify the underlying dimensions accounting for the patterns of correlation. This analysis reduced the eight adjective scales to three factors, which we here (after the property with the strongest loading, cf. table 3) label: COMPETENT, conflating the properties competent, well organized, nice, and honest; TOUGH, conflating tough, humorous, self confident, and – negatively loaded – well organized; and FEMININE, conflating feminine, nice, humorous, and – negatively loaded – self confident.

TABLE 3. *Factor analysis of the adjective scale data for all speakers and all listeners.*[15]

Factor 1: COMPETENT		Factor 2: TOUGH		Factor 3: FEMININE	
competent	0.83	tough	0.83	feminine	0.80
well organized	0.77	humorous	0.76	nice	0.39
nice	0.68	self confident	0.65	humorous	0.36
honest	0.64	(nice)	(0.11)	(honest)	(0.13)
(self confident)	(0.29)	(feminine)	(0.07)	(tough)	(–0.03)
(feminine)	(0.06)	(competent)	(–0.02)	(competent)	(–0.21)
(humorous)		(honest)	(–0.06)	(well organized)	(–0.22)
(tough)	(–0.19)	well organized	–0.32	self confident	–0.50

[15] The total variance explained by the three factors is 67%. (Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.)

Looking at the listeners' evaluations of Eleni's speech sample, we find considerable differences between the two listener groups. As shown in figure 3, the factor COMPETENT is strongly negatively represented in the responses from listener group A, which means that these listeners assign very low values on scales measuring the properties competent, well organized, nice and honest. The other two dimensions (TOUGH and FEMININE) do not contribute either positively or negatively to these listeners' characterization of Eleni.

Also the listeners in group B attach fairly low values to the properties conflated in the factor COMPETENT – although significantly less so than the listeners in group A ($p<0.01$). On the other hand, group B listeners ascribe high values to Eleni for the factor TOUGH, a factor much stronger represented than the factor COMPETENT. In other words, according to this listener group it is in particular TOUGHness that characterizes Eleni's speech. Also in these data the difference between the two listener groups is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

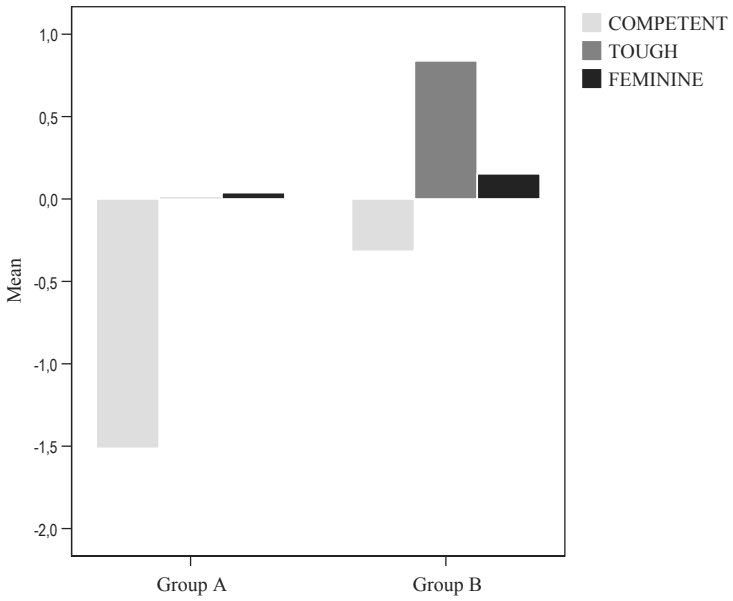


FIGURE 3. *Speaker Eleni: mean values for the factors COMPETENT, TOUGH and FEMININE. (Significance: COMPETENT $p<0.01$: TOUGH $p<0.01$.)*

3.5. Summary

The results of the exploratory listener experiment presented in this chapter illustrate how language users with different backgrounds may divide and relate to the linguistic space of Stockholm in different ways. We note, for example, that the extension of labels such as *Rinkeby Swedish* may vary considerably from individual to individual as may the attitudes and characteristics associated with different ways of speaking Swedish. This is of course partly a natural reflection of the general tendency for people to perceive phenomena at a distance from themselves in terms of gross categories and stereotypes, while they differentiate to a higher degree when it comes to their immediate environment. Thus some of our listeners who have less experience of multilingual neighborhoods appear mainly to discriminate between, on the one hand, 'native Swedish' – which in turn may be differentiated according to social class – and, on the other hand, 'foreign sounding Swedish' – which without further differentiation is referred to as "broken", "immigrant" or "Rinkeby" Swedish. The listeners from multilingual neighborhoods rather tend to characterize the speech samples along the dimension of correctness, referring to 'good' as opposed to 'bad' Swedish – where 'bad' may apply to both accented learner language and casual speech containing slang words. These observations regarding people's diverging perceptual foci – nativeness and correctness dimensions, respectively – form a basis for hypotheses to be further explored in the main study.

The results of this pilot study must for several reasons be interpreted with caution. We used a convenience sample, and the number of participants is limited. The speech samples are elicited from different types of more or less spontaneous discourse and therefore differ considerably as regards topic and situational context, something which complicates the interpretation of the listener reactions. Furthermore the pilot study did not include qualitative data in the form of interviews or group discussions, which we deem to be a necessary prerequisite for a deeper and more valid interpretation of the questionnaire data.

Despite these limitations, we hope that we have been able to illustrate the potential of this kind of folk linguistic listener studies. This and several following pilot studies were mainly aimed at method development and hypothesis generation. On the basis of an evaluation of these studies, together with highly valued input from colleagues in the field, we now have developed a modified research design for a larger perception study. This design has been employed in the on-going main study of listener perceptions involving 343 students from nine senior high schools in Stockholm, the initial results of which are presented in Bijvoet and Fraurud (2010).

4. Concluding remarks

Already in their influential study from 1985, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller pointed out the importance of taking the language users' own views about their language(s) as a point of departure for the analysis of language variation:

> We do not ourselves then need to put a boundary around any group of speakers and say 'These are the speakers of Language A, different from Language B', except to the extent that the people think of themselves in that way, and identify with or distance themselves from others by their behaviour. (1985, p. 9)

Despite the fact that a quarter of a century has passed since then, this aspect of the work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller has more seldom been highlighted. To us their work has been an important source of inspiration, since it – despite the considerable differences between the societies we are studying – so clearly illustrates the way multilingual contexts challenge traditional sociolinguistic notions and approaches. Another important source of inspiration has been the work carried out within the research paradigms of perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics, which also, we believe, have more to offer sociolinguistics than has sometimes been acknowledged.

We would like to suggest that listener studies of lay peoples' perceptions of the kind presented in this chapter may contribute essentially to the understanding of contemporary language variation in Swedish and other majority languages. Focusing on mutual perceptions among people with widely differing backgrounds, this type of study may also shed light on possible linguistic as well as social consequences of minority–majority encounters as well as on social processes such as discrimination, marginalization and segregation. How we perceive our own and others' ways of speaking plays an important role in all kinds of interaction – in different ways for different (combinations of) individuals. To young people in particular this is relevant for both their identity negotiations and their access to higher education and the job market. Language proficiency does not only include productive competence, but also the capability of making adequate interpretations and evaluations of variation in the speech of others. For employers and other social gatekeepers an awareness of language variation is necessary for making adequate assessments of the competence of job applicants, for example. We believe that many agents in society would have much to gain from a raised sociolinguistic awareness, and that this implies that awareness raising should receive more attention within the educational sector, including also the training for various professions in the public and private sector (cf. Boyd 2004).

Let us conclude this chapter by briefly considering the conflict that may arise between scientific and ideological implications of studying stigmatized

groups of people – related to the issue of essentializing speakers and ways of speaking. On the one hand, there is an increasing awareness among linguists of the scientific inadequacy of essentializing descriptions. On the other, this awareness sometimes conflicts with an ideological need to make use of essentializing categorizations, especially in interactions with society outside academia.

With the development of sociolinguistics in the 1960's the 'ideal speaker' of the Chomskian paradigm was challenged. Sociolinguists drew attention to socially determined language variation and in particular to non-standard varieties, acknowledging that also these varieties represent language systems in their own right and attempting to describe the variation systematically. Although focusing on variation, many of these descriptions underrated language diversity and individual variation and tended to treat speech communities and varieties as more or less clearly delimited and homogeneous (cf. Dorian 1994). During the last decades homogenizing and essentializing approaches have been challenged by an increasing number of scholars. One of these is Mary Bucholtz, who describes some of the theoretical, methodological and political problems with essentialism as follows:

> The problems associated with essentialist reasoning have been enumerated at length in nearly every corner of the academy; these range from the theoretical (essentialism reduces the diversity of humanity to a small set of attributes and behaviors recognized by the theory) to the methodological (no characteristic of group membership that meets the essentialist standard has been definitively identified) to the political (essentialism disempowers many people by excluding them a priori from groups in which they might on other grounds count as members). (Bucholtz 2003, p. 400)

The need for a critical approach to established categorizations becomes particularly visible in the study of linguistic diversity in contemporary multilingual settings.

But this context also evokes another facet of essentialism. Despite her criticism, Bucholtz points out that essentialism in specific contexts also may function as an important intellectual and social tool. She discusses the way both researchers and the groups they study may choose to use what can be called *strategic essentialism*:

> Yet despite these serious problems, essentialism is also an important intellectual and social tool. For researchers, essentialist assumptions may facilitate analysis by enabling them to identify a previously undescribed group and offer a preliminary description; for group members, essentialism promotes a shared identity, often in opposition to other, equally essentialized, social groups. For both, essentialism is, among other things, a tool for redressing power imbalances, as when the group under study is seen by the dominant groups as illegitimate or trivial, or when a stigmatized group forms an oppositional identity to counter such negative ideologies. (Bucholtz 2003, p. 401)

In the analysis of language variation in contemporary Sweden we need on the one hand, as argued above, conceptually and methodologically to free ourselves from essentializing notions of language varieties and communities. On the other hand, we may in certain (perhaps particularly in non-academic) contexts feel the need to use strategic essentialism in order to counter popular negative stereotypes of speakers and ways of speaking (hopefully not replacing them by new stereotypes, cf. Svalberg 2007). It is in particular in view of the latter ambition that 'new' labels such as youth language or suburban slang are introduced and applied by us researchers – well aware that we cannot avoid contributing to the reification of ways of speaking.

In order to be able to contest the essentialization and stigmatization of young speakers and their ways of speaking, we need more detailed and thorough knowledge about the diversity of linguistic practices developing today. A deeper understanding can, we believe, only be the result of a combination of and exchange between a range of different research approaches and paradigms. This chapter has illustrated a folk linguistic approach to language variation. In the SUF project, within which our study was initiated, a number of other approaches have been used, as reflected in the chapters of this volume (see also Boyd & Fraurud 2010). Several similar projects have been carried out and new ones have started in other Scandinavian countries (see, e.g., contributions in Nordand 2008/2 and Quist & Svendsen 2010).

Another precondition for an open-minded and respectful approach towards the young people involved in our research is aiming at empowerment (Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton & Richardson 1994), that is to make serious efforts to do research with and not just about and for these young people. This is something that also appears to be requested by some of the young agents in the so called blatte debate, mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, as illustrated by the following quote from the editor of the monthly magazine Gringo.

> Det intressanta med språkdebatten är att vi för första gången fått vara med och definiera vår egen kultur. Det var knappast några miljonbor från säg Alby som en dag kom på att de pratar Rinkebysvenska. Det var snarare ett begrepp som sattes av förstå-sig-påare och språkvetare utan någon förankring i miljonprogrammen. Sen användes det så flitigt i media att också Albyborna anammade det (Zanyar Adami, Gringo 2006-06-07).

> 'The interesting thing about the language debate is that we for the first time were allowed to participate in defining our own culture. It was hardly some suburban[16] inhabitants from, say, Alby who one day found out that they speak Rinkeby Swedish. Rather it was a concept coined by those-who-claim-to-know and linguists without any roots in the suburbs. Then it was used so frequently in the media that even the Alby residents took it on' (our transl.).[17]

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[16] In the Swedish original, the word *miljon* 'million' is used twice as an index for multilingual suburbs. 'Million' refers to the Swedish 'Million Program', a housing program in the sixties and seventies with the goal of building one million residences to meet the needs of a growing population.

[17] In the present discussion, the issue of who actually was the first person to use the label Rinkeby Swedish (cf. Kotsinas 1988) is of less importance. Clearly, however, linguists and the media have played a crucial role in the reification process.

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Adolescents' pronunciation in multilingual Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm

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Abstract

The pronunciation of Swedish as spoken by adolescents in three Swedish multilingual urban settings is described in the following paper. First, a set of listening tests has been carried out with the purpose of having adolescents of the same age as the recorded speakers identify suitable speech data for the description. The results of the listening tests further confirm previous claims that foreign-sounding pronunciation is used even by adolescents without immigrant background. Speech samples identified as so-called Rosengård Swedish, Gårdstenish and Rinkeby Swedish are analyzed and compared with one another as well as with other regional varieties. The results offer some initial insights into what is characteristic of these varieties as compared to other varieties in the same region, and how speech samples from the three urban areas differ from each other. Possible explanations for phonetic similarities found among speakers in the three areas are also discussed.

Keywords: foreign accent, word accents, affricates, phrase-final lengthening, hyperarticulation

1. Introduction

Adolescents' language use has probably always been a thorn in the side of adults. The growing interest in Sweden today for genuine dialects and regional standard varieties does not include a general acceptance of the different regional youth varieties and their particular pronunciation. The foreign-sounding "Rinkeby Swedish" and the like are particularly often (wrongly) identified as a threat to the Swedish language (Thelander & Josephson 2006).

With the introduction of compulsory elementary school in 1842, a spoken counterpart to the already standardized written Swedish spread across the country. This spoken Standard Swedish (Sw. *rikssvenskan*) was based on the pronunciation used in the nation's capital and surroundings and has since been perceived by the general public as appropriate Swedish in formal contexts. In recent years however, regionally colored varieties of Swedish have become increasingly used and accepted in the media. They can be heard in newscasts, weather reports and children's television programs. Dialects in television commercials are no longer used solely to achieve a special (e.g. comic) effect. Nowadays, the dentist recommending a new brand of toothpaste may very well speak Scanian whereas previously Scanian seemed to be reserved for commercials for products directly relating to farming (i.e. products typically produced in Scania). Speakers with Swedish as a second language are also to be found in present day commercials, and not only when some aspect of their non-Swedish background should be called to mind. Another language variety heard in the media is used primarily by adolescents and people in their early twenties or younger, such as musicians and sportsmen. They use a variety (or varieties) of a Swedish hereafter called Swedish on Multilingual Ground (SMG) or Swedish multiethnolect (cf. Quist 2000). In addition to being regionally colored, their Swedish has an obvious but indirect relation to Swedish as a second language. The common denominator for their Swedish is a non-native "sound". Foreign linguistic material is borrowed and incorporated into their spoken (or sung) Swedish, e.g. foreign words and speech sounds. Unlike second language learners of Swedish, the Swedish of these speakers is not necessarily influenced by their first language but rather by a number of languages. SMG has also found its way into present day Swedish commercials, youth television programs and the like. Its usage in the Swedish media is substantial enough to have given rise to two new entries in the latest version of the Swedish Academy's word list (Svenska Akademien 2006). Recently, Gösta Bruce further acknowledged SMG by including it in his description of Sweden's phonetic geography (Bruce 2010). Nevertheless, SMG is a source of irritation even to many linguistically interested, and its mere existence as a language variety has been questioned (Eriksson 2000, Witt-Brattström 2006).

This relatively new, foreign-sounding way of speaking Swedish is primarily heard among adolescents in suburbs and urban districts with a high proportion of immigrant residents, e.g. in Rosengård, a district in Malmö, in Gårdsten, a district in Gothenburg and in Rinkeby, a district in Stockholm. It has a given place in Swedish hip hop culture since the Latin Kings' breakthrough some 15 years ago. Ulla-Britt Kotsinas (1988) was the first to analyze and describe the variety. Many of its speakers are born in Sweden or have arrived in Sweden at an early age, and they have acquired Swedish simultaneously with their first language (at least since kindergarten). As reported by several researchers (see e.g. Bijvoet 2003, Kotsinas 1990), this non-native way of speaking Swedish is not heard only among speakers with an immigrant background. Therefore, its foreign-sounding features cannot only be explained as direct transfer or interference from the speakers' first language. It has furthermore been reported that speakers of this foreign-sounding Swedish master a standard variety of Swedish as well (see e.g. Bijvoet 2003; Bodén 2010; Kotsinas 2000). These findings have led to the claim that this foreign-sounding Swedish is one or several new Swedish varieties (dialects, group/youth languages or multiethnolects) rather than individual speakers' interlanguage.

The purpose of the research project "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban areas" is to describe and analyze Swedish on multilingual ground and its use among adolescents in Gothenburg, Stockholm and Malmö. In the present study, the variety's or varieties' pronunciation is investigated. Adolescents in the three cities are asked to listen to short recordings and identify speakers of "Rosengård Swedish" (the Malmö variety), "Gårdstenish" (the Gothenburg variety) and "Rinkeby Swedish" (the Stockholm variety), respectively. The pronunciation of the identified speakers is then investigated and described.

2. Methods

2.1. Listening tests

Thirty-second long speech samples were extracted from the research project's speech database and played over loudspeakers to adolescents in Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm. The listeners came from the same seven upper secondary schools in Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm as the speakers in the speech samples. The listeners were only asked to listen to recordings that had been made in their hometown. Care was taken to minimize the risk that the listeners knew the speakers in the speech samples. The listening tests were

not carried out in classes that had been recorded. In Malmö, the listeners were furthermore only asked to judge speakers attending other Malmö schools than their own. By the time the listening tests were carried out in Gothenburg and Stockholm, the speakers in the speech samples no longer attended upper secondary school.

The listeners were asked to answer two questions about each sample: "Does the speaker speak what is generally called 'Rosengård Swedish' (in Malmö)/ 'Gårdstenska' (in Gothenburg)/'Rinkeby Swedish' (in Stockholm)? (yes or no)", and "How confident are you of that? (confident, somewhat confident, somewhat uncertain or uncertain)". The listeners were also asked a few questions about who they believed typically speaks SMG. The 108 Malmö listeners were asked to listen to a subset of 30 speech samples, and the 81 Gothenburg listeners and 57 Stockholm listeners listened to 20 speech samples, respectively.

The main purpose of the listening tests was to identify speakers upon whose speech acoustic-phonetic studies could be made. The results of the listening tests are, nevertheless, also relevant for the following two of the project's research questions:

- Can SMG be delimited as a variety on its own in relation to learner language and other local youth varieties?
- Are both bilingual and monolingual speakers using the SMG varieties?

The listening tests are described in more detail elsewhere (Bodén 2007, Bodén & Große 2006, Hansson & Svensson 2004). They were undertaken with the help of project members Sofia Hallin, Natalia Ganuza (Stockholm University), Julia Prentice (formerly Große, University of Gothenburg) and Gudrun Svensson (Lund University).

2.2. Acoustic-phonetic investigation of speech data

The 27 speech samples labeled as SMG by a statistically significant majority of the listeners ($p<.01$, Chi-square test) in the above-mentioned listening tests were investigated with the purpose of identifying phonetic characteristics. Both auditory and acoustical analyses were undertaken. The acoustical analyses were undertaken using the speech analysis program Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2008). The results of the acoustic-phonetic investigation are relevant for the project's following research questions:

- What is characteristic of the SMG varieties as compared to other varieties in the same city?
- How do the regional varieties of SMG differ from each other?

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Listeners' ability to identify SMG

The degree of agreement between listeners in the listening tests varied greatly depending on what speech sample the listeners were asked to classify, as was expected. Some speech samples were obvious examples of SMG, some were obvious examples of something other than SMG, and some were not easily categorized. The same is to be expected if you ask listeners to classify a range of speech samples for example as either 'Scanian' or 'not Scanian'. Some speakers use a broader and thus more easily detectable language variety than others.

Agreement among listeners in classifying samples as SMG reached as high as 93 % in Malmö, 93 % in Gothenburg and 96 % in Stockholm. Agreement in classifying samples as non SMG was equally high (98 % in Malmö, 93 % in Gothenburg and 96 % in Stockholm). Agreement among listeners was as high as 100 %, if only answers listeners reported certainty of, were considered.

The fact that listeners were in almost complete agreement on some speakers' samples shows that they have a conception of SMG. Some sort of consensus apparently exists among adolescents about how SMG typically sounds.

3.2. SMG's relation to foreign-accented Swedish

Two interrelated research questions of interest to the project concern whether or not SMG is spoken by monolingual speakers and if SMG can be distinguished from learner Swedish (and foreign accent).

Four of the identified 24 speakers of SMG were monolingual: two female and two male speakers. They were born in Sweden of Swedish-born parents and had Swedish as their (only) first language. The four individuals were classified as speakers of SMG even by listeners who claimed that only people with an immigrant background could speak SMG. It would thus appear that SMG can be learned and convincingly spoken in much the same way as any other variety of Swedish. This distinguishes SMG from foreign-accented

Swedish, which is the result of the speaker transferring (parts of) the phonological system of the first language to the second (Major 2005).

3.3. Regional features in SMG

It is a well known fact that second language learners of Swedish find it difficult to perceive and produce the Swedish word accent distinction, i.e. the difference between words such as *Polen* [pólən] 'Poland' and *pålen* [pòlən] 'the pole'. Given the close relation between foreign accents and SMG, one possible common feature of the SMG varieties may be a lack of word accent opposition. At the same time, our data reveal obvious regional influences in the production of word accent opposition.

Acute and grave word accents are melodically distinct in Swedish. The perceptual impression of speech melody correlates closely with acoustically measurable changes in fundamental frequency (hereafter abbreviated F0). The difference between acute accent (or accent I) and grave accent (accent II) is visually observable in F0 contours as a difference in F0 peak timing. The F0 peak of accent I words has an earlier alignment with the stressed syllable than the F0 peak of accent II words in all Swedish dialects (except Finland Swedish which lacks a word accent opposition). The exact alignment of the word accents' F0 peaks is, nevertheless, dialect-specific (Bruce & Gårding 1978).

In the Malmö dialect, the F0 peak is found at the beginning of the stressed syllable in accent I words and at the end of the stressed syllable in accent II words. The same pattern is predominant in speech samples categorized as Rosengård Swedish in the listening tests, see e.g. the F0 contour in Figure 1. The words *här* 'here' and *nu* 'now' are accent I words and *prata* 'talk' is an accent II word. F0 in the accent I words reaches an early peak and then falls in the stressed syllable, F0 in the accent II word rises in the stressed syllable and falls thereafter.

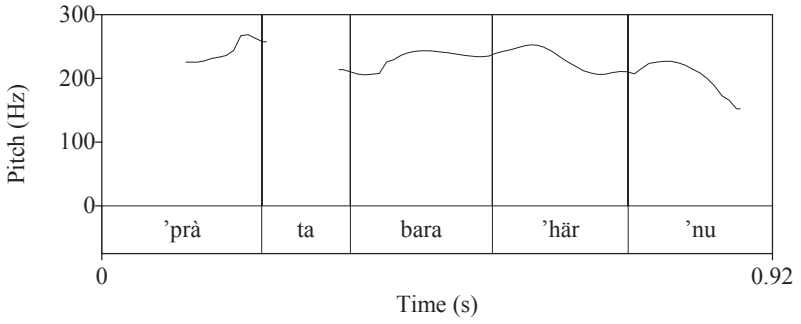

FIGURE 1. *F0 contour of speaker E14's production of* prata bara här nu *'just talk here now'.*

In Stockholm Swedish, accent I words have (if any) an accent peak in the pretonic syllable, and accent II words have a peak at the beginning of the stressed syllable. In focal position, accent I words are produced with an F0 peak at the end of the stressed syllable, and in accent II words the first F0 peak is followed by a second. In compounds, the second peak is associated with the secondarily stressed syllable (Bruce & Gårding 1978).

The Stockholm SMG data revealed that a Stockholm word accent distinction is used, see e.g. the F0 contour in Figure 2. The word *speciellt* 'especially' is an accent I word and *förorterna* 'the suburbs' is an accent II word. In the non-focused accent I word no F0 movement can be observed (as expected), and in the focused accent II word F0 falls slightly in the stressed syllable and a second peak can be observed in the secondary stressed syllable.

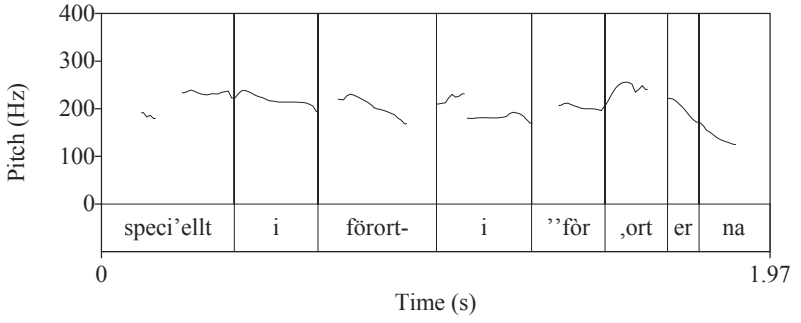

FIGURE 2. *F0 contour of speaker K08's production of* speciellt i förort- i förorterna *'especially in the suburb- in the suburbs'.*

The Stockholm data also revealed some deviating patterns. Perceptually prominent accent II words are, for example, not always assigned two F0 peaks (the focal rise is missing). On the other hand, Heldner and Strangert (1997) have shown that focus can be perceived in the absence of an F0 rise, and it would therefore be of no surprise if production data from other recorded Stockholm speakers contained non-rising focal accents, too. The word accents in Stockholm SMG merit further investigation.

In Gothenburg Swedish, the F0 peak is found at the beginning of the stressed syllable in accent I words and at the end of the stressed vowel in accent II words. In focus, the accent peak is followed by a high tone, which is aligned with the right edge of the word (or the right edge of the prosodic phrase if phrase-final) (Bruce & Gårding 1978, Riad & Segerup 2008).

The Gothenburg SMG data also revealed a difference in timing of F0 peaks depending on word accent type, see e.g. the F0 contour in Figure 3. In the accent I word, the F0 peak occurs at the beginning of the stressed syllable. In the accent II words, the F0 peaks occur later in the stressed syllable. A final high tone is reached at the end of the prosodic phrase, in the last syllable of *lugnande* 'calming'. The timing is, in other words, consistent with the West Swedish pattern described above.

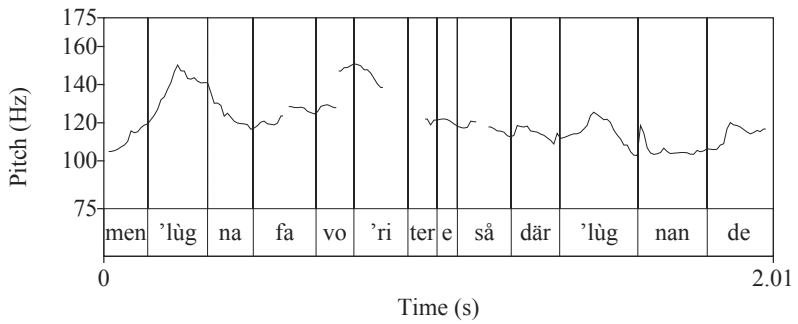

Figure 3. *F0 contour of speaker P10's production of the accent I word* favoriter *'favorites' and the accent II words* lugna *'calm' and* lugnande *'calming'.*

However, the high tone at the end of prosodic phrases is often missing in the Gothenburg SMG data. Several of the speech samples classified as SMG do not contain a single instance of the characteristic high rising ends of prosodic phrases in West Swedish.

Whereas the SMG varieties are set apart from other varieties in the same city by their foreign-sounding features (see next section), the different regional

varieties of SMG are minimally set apart from each other by their regional Swedish features, e.g. the realization of the word accent opposition.

3.4. Foreign-sounding features in SMG

Rosengård Swedish, Gårdstenish and Rinkeby Swedish are perceived as variations on a theme. However, little is known about whether the perceived similarity simply lies in a foreign-sounding pronunciation or whether actual phonetic similarities exist. References, for example, to a special (choppy or staccato-like) speech rhythm are common in descriptions of multiethnolects throughout Scandinavia (Jacobsen 2000, Kotsinas 2000, Quist 2000, Svendsen and Røyneland 2008). The acoustic correlate or correlates of such a speech rhythm are, nevertheless, largely left undescribed, and thus no comparisons can be made. Another perceived similarity between Swedish multiethnolects, sometimes put forward to me at seminars and conferences, is that they are perceptually less dialectal than other local varieties from the same region. This similarity, however, takes on different forms in the three cities: in Rosengård Swedish, uvular r-sounds and diphthongized vowels are less frequent than in the genuine Malmö dialect, in Gårdstenish, trilled r-sounds and the phrase-final F0 rises are less frequent than in West Swedish, and so forth.

Nevertheless, actual phonetic similarities are also to be found. An example of a segmental similarity is the use of affricates in borrowings, i.e. pronouncing words such as *chillar* 'chilling' with an initial [tʃ] instead of /ɕ/. At the supra-segmental level, phrase-final lengthening (or phrase-final stress additions) and intonational patterns involving an expanded pitch register have been found in our data from all three cities. An example of the substantial phrase-final lengthening in SMG is seen in Figure 4. The second, lexically unstressed syllable of *alla* 'everyone' is subject to substantial lengthening. As in this particular example, the lengthening sometimes co-occurs with an F0 rise. Further details on the suprasegmentals of SMG and examples are presented in Bodén (2010).

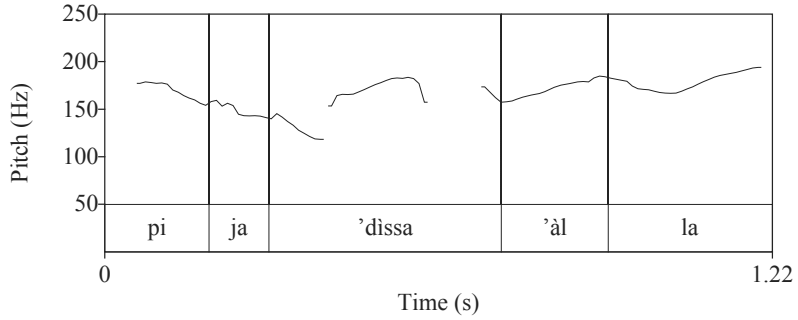

FIGURE 4. *F0 contour of Malmö speaker P04's production of* pi ja(g) dissa(de) alla *'I dissed everyone'.*

The hyperarticulated pronunciation reported by Kotsinas (2000) in Rinkeby Swedish is also present in Rosengård Swedish and Gårdstenish. Swedish is a stress-timed language with a non-fixed lexical stress, i.e. the placement of stress is distinctive, and the acoustical and perceptual difference between stressed and unstressed syllables is large. Stressed syllables are produced with longer durations and a more clearly articulated pronunciation than unstressed syllables, which in turn are subject to more assimilations and reductions. In our SMG data, it is evident that speech sounds in many – although certainly not all – unstressed syllables are being hyperarticulated. Swedish speech sounds that are particularly prone to reduction in unstressed positions, e.g. r-sounds, are among the most easily detectable. Both professional impersonators (such as Robin Paulsson), and amateurs who imitate SMG on the spur of the moment, can be heard picking up (and often exaggerating) this particular feature of SMG.

Not all foreign-sounding features in SMG are common to the regional varieties of SMG. The F0 rise, associated with the lengthening seen in Figure 4 for example, has thus far only been observed in our Malmö data, and the [x]-like pronunciation of the phoneme /ɧ/ present in our Stockholm data was not used by any of the ten speakers of SMG identified in the Malmö listening test.

4. General discussion

Through discussions with adolescents, we know that "Rosengård Swedish", "Gårdstenish" and "Rinkeby Swedish" are perceived as variations on a theme. Effectively, hip hop musicians in Malmö do not imitate the Rinkeby Swedish

used by their forerunners, the Latin Kings, they use the apparently equally marketable Rosengård Swedish. In the present paper, we have addressed the question of whether perceived similarities between SMG varieties simply lie in non-native pronunciation, or are, indeed, actual phonetic similarities. We found that each SMG variety is a combination of features from the region and features foreign to the Swedish language, and that some of these foreign features are indeed found in all three cities investigated. But why are there similarities? The relation to learner language and foreign accent is of course obvious in Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm, but a foreign accent can sound in a multitude of different ways.

One possible explanation is, of course, that the same language or language family influences all SMG varieties. On the other hand, SMG does not sound like one particular foreign accent. Another explanation is that the varieties are characterized by features which are typologically unmarked and frequent in the world's languages. It is either related to the fact that many of those features exist in the adolescents' first languages, or to the fact that simplification and usage of unmarked features is generally favored in language contact situations (regardless of what the languages in contact are). A third explanation is that it is features in the Swedish language that give rise to the varieties' similar "sound", e.g. the difficulties encountered when learning Swedish. Some pronunciation features are particularly difficult to learn, e.g. certain Swedish phonemes, and they are more likely to become subject to sound substitutions than others (Johansson 1973), and so on. The explanations are to a certain extent interrelated and all three probably have some explanatory power, although none completely accounts for why the varieties sound the way they do. Word accents are unusual in the speakers' first languages, tend to disappear in language contact situations (as in Finland Swedish), and are difficult for second language learners to learn. A word accent opposition is, nevertheless, maintained in SMG. As we have shown in the present paper, the word accent opposition is produced at each recording location in much the same way as in the rest of the region in question. A fourth explanation for the similarities is provided by the 'gravity model of diffusion' (Trudgill 1974) or the 'cascade model' (Labov 2003): language change may spread from city to city by so-called city hopping. This model predicts that similar linguistic features spread from one city to another, without these changes affecting more rural areas between the cities.

The non-native sound of SMG is perhaps its most salient feature and the characteristic that unifies the different regional SMG varieties. The foreign pronunciation features in SMG are, nevertheless, subtle and some are best described as elusive in nature (e.g. the perceptually distinct speech rhythm). As a result, the foreign features distinguish the SMG varieties from other local varieties without causing them to lose a fairly strong regional coloring. In that

sense, the SMG varieties are better seen simply as new variants of Malmö Swedish, Gothenburg Swedish and Stockholm Swedish than as related variants of a spreading or "city-hopping" Swedish multiethnolect.

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Extended uses of *sån* ('such') among adolescents in multilingual Malmö, Sweden[1]

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Abstract

According to adolescents in Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden, a frequent use of the pronoun *sån* ('such') is a characteristic feature of the local variant of multiethnic youth language, Rosengård Swedish. This article investigates the uses of *sån* in a multilingual context in Malmö, based on speech data from two female groups. One group consisted of four bilingual informants of which two were judged as speakers of Rosengård Swedish in a perception experiment. The other group consisted of three monolingual informants of which two were judged as not being speakers of Rosengård Swedish in the same experiment. On the basis of the collected data it is verified that adolescents in a multilingual school context in Malmö show extended uses of *sån* compared to spoken standard Swedish. Above all, *sån* is grammaticalized into a new determiner, replacing the indefinite article *en/ett* ('a'). However, there are no significant differences between the two groups.

Keywords: multiethnic youth language, comparative pronoun, determiner, focalizer, recognitional function

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1. Introduction[2]

The present article investigates the uses of the pronoun *sån* 'such' in Swedish youth language in a multilingual context. It shows that in addition to the uses in standard Swedish (Teleman, Hellberg and Andersson, 1999, vol. 2, 447–448), *sån* is also used as a determiner and, sporadically, as a discourse marker. The analysis is based on a subset of data collected within the project "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings" (referred to in the following as the SUF project). The informants are female adolescents, with different linguistic backgrounds, in two upper secondary schools in Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden. What the informants have in common is the multilingual school environment. The frequent use of *sån*, in a number of functions, is a characteristic feature of the local variant of multiethnic youth language, Rosengård Swedish, according to adolescents in Malmö (Bodén 2007, 2010). As the present investigation shows, this use is however not limited to speakers of Rosengård Swedish but is found also among other adolescents in Malmö. In contrast, *sån* as a determiner or as a discourse marker is not found among adolescents in Stockholm.

In standard Swedish the pronoun *sån* is typically constructed as an attribute, usually preceded by the indefinite article when the head noun is singular: *en sån klänning* (lit. 'a such dress'). The primary meaning is to denote an entity by comparing it to another one, typically specified in an embedded clause (underlined).

(1) Jag vill ha **en sån klänning** som Lisa har
I want to-have **a such dress** as Lisa has
'I want to have a dress like Lisa's'

Along with the primary comparative use, *sån* may be used more or less purely deictically to refer to entities in the speech situation. This holds for standard Swedish as well as for the youth language in question. Among the adolescents in Malmö *sån* shows, however, additional extended, and grammaticalized, uses (Ekberg 2006, 2007, forthc.). Most strikingly *sån* may function as a determiner, namely in contexts where it seemingly replaces the indefinite article. In (2) one of the informants, Gordana, is telling her friends that she happened to see a cute little baby at the bank the other day. She introduces the new discourse referent (the baby) by construing it as the logical subject of a presentational construction (*var de(t) sån liten bebis*, idiom. "there was this little baby"). (All

[2] I am grateful to Bente Ailin Svendsen, Carita Paradis, Christer Platzack, Pia Quist, and an anonymous reviewer for valuable comments on a previous version.

names of the informants are pseudonyms. The transcripts are written in a modified standard orthography. See Appendix for an explanation of the symbols used.)

(2) asså när jag var i bibl+ # ee var i banken i fredags # så **var de(t) sån lite(n) bebis** # asså du vet så jag ville bara ta du vet som å # ta henne å krama henne (Gordana)

well when I was at libr+ # ee was at bank-the last Friday # so **was it such little baby** # well you know so I wanted just take you know like and # take her and hug her

'when I was at the libr+ # ee was at the bank last Friday # then there was this little baby # well you know I just wanted to take you know like and # take her and hug her'

In Swedish (as well as in English) the logical subject must be indefinite; in (2) the indefinite noun phrase has the form ***sån*** *liten bebis* ('such little baby'), whereas in standard Swedish it would be ***en*** *(sån) liten bebis*, i.e. the logical subject would be constructed with the indefinite article *en* (or *ett*, depending on the gender of the head noun).

The everyday language of adolescents in multilingual settings in Malmö also comprises another grammaticalized extension of *sån*, although not as apparent as the determiner function, namely the discourse function of focusing the new information in an utterance. As I will argue the two grammaticalized extensions are both motivated by the inherent deictic element of *sån*.

Before proceeding with the extensions of the use of *sån*, I will introduce the informants and the corpus of data (section 2). The bulk of the article (sections 3 and 4) consists of a survey of the uses of *sån* among the informants in Malmö, in comparison with the uses in spoken standard Swedish. I will pay particular attention to *sån* as a determiner, arguing that the specific meaning of *sån* in this function can be related to the comparative and deictic meaning of the pronoun.

2. Informants and data

My analysis of the use of *sån* is based on a subset of data collected in two upper secondary schools in Malmö during 2002 and 2003, henceforth referred to as the Malmö corpus. The schools were given the code names Cypresskolan and Ekskolan. Both schools are situated in the centre of Malmö and receive students from all areas of the city. The proportion of multilingual students differs between the schools, but in the groups from which our informants were selected the number of students with foreign background was fairly equal, around 65

percent. (That is, either the students themselves or at least one of their parents was born abroad.) The data consist of spontaneous speech collected with no researcher or other adult present. Either the informants took part in semi-directed group conversations at school, or conducted self-recordings in situations they chose themselves, interacting with peers. In both cases the recordings were carried out on mini-discs (Sharp MD MT-190H).

The informants belonged to two peer groups. The first one, here referred to as the C-group, consisted of four bilingual students from Cypresskolan: Gordana, Sabaah, Jing and Duhi. The other, the E-group, consisted of three monolingual students from Ekskolan: Bodil, Märta and Aurora. Nearly 6 hours (357 minutes) of recorded speech were investigated. The total number of tokens is approximately 46 000. (Tokens include not only words but onomatopoetic expressions and interrupted words as well.) Of the total amount of recorded speech 193 minutes are from the C-group (the number of tokens is approx. 27 000) and 164 minutes from the E-group (approx. 19 000 tokens).

Specimens of speech from all four informants in the C-group and two of the three informants in the E-group (Märta and Aurora) were included in a perception experiment in which pupils in Malmö were asked to identify signs of Rosengård Swedish (Hansson & Svensson 2004; Bodén 2007). The stimuli (each approx. 30 seconds) had been extracted from the project's database. The stimuli from Sabaah and Duhi were both regarded as Rosengård Swedish by a significant majority of the listeners ($p<0,01$), whereas the stimuli from Jing were regarded (also significant, $p<0,05$) as not being Rosengård Swedish. Concerning Gordana, the listeners did not agree; approximately half of the listeners classified her as a speaker of Rosengård Swedish. As for the two informants in the E-group, both were regarded as not speaking Rosengård Swedish by a significant majority of the listeners ($p<0,01$). (For details of the significance test, see Bodén 2007).[3]

The result of the perception experiment supports the intuitive impression that the adolescents of the bilingual group had more traits of what we may refer to as a multiethnic youth language than the monolingual group (see Bodén 2007, 2010, this volume, for an account of phonetic characteristics of the stimuli classified as Rosengård Swedish). This result was the point of departure for a comparison of the use of *sån* in the two peer groups, since a frequent use of this word (among other things) was reported to be characteristic of Rosengård Swedish by the adolescents taking part in the perception experiment. However,

[3] Note that in Bodén's study the informants have code numbers instead of pseudonyms. Sabaah = C32, Duhi = C41, Jing = C37, Gordana = C28; Aurora = E40, Märta = E33.

the number of the instances of *sån*[4] in the two groups shows that there is no significant difference as regards the frequency in general; in the C-group the percentage of *sån* is 0,74 (of approx. 27 000 tokens) whereas in the E-group the percentage is 0,72 (of approx. 19 000 tokens). There might however still be a difference between the groups as regards the use of *sån* as a determiner, the most obvious extension of the word. I will come back to this question in section 4.

The following section gives an overview of the meanings and functions of *sån* in spoken standard Swedish, in comparison with the uses of *sån* in the Malmö-corpus in general.

3. Polyfunctional *sån*

In colloquial Swedish *sån* is used in a number of meanings and functions. The primary meaning is to compare two referents concerning type, henceforth the *comparee* and the *comparand*. The comparand (B) serves to identify or characterize the comparee (A). The comparee is implicit, whereas the comparand is typically explicit, cf. example (1), repeated as (3a). It is however not necessary to linguistically express the comparand. In (3b) the comparand is only implied, which is fully possible e.g. when it is physically present in the speech act situation.

(3) a. Jag vill ha [en **sån** klänning]$_A$ [som Lisa har]$_B$
I want to-have [a **such** dress]$_A$ [as Lisa has]$_B$
'I want to have a dress like Lisa's'

b. Jag vill ha [en **sån** klänning]$_A$
I want to-have [a **such** dress]$_A$
'I want to have a dress like that'

The meaning of comparative *sån* is thus complex; *sån* designates an indefinite, unspecific instance (A) by way of referring to an indefinite, specific instance (B) of the same type. In (3) however, the meaning of *sån* is not only comparative but deictic as well; the speaker is pointing to B, linguistically and maybe also physically, in order to describe A. When B is present in the situational context, but not linguistically explicit (or specified), the deictic meaning is strengthened, cf. (3b). The speaker is either physically pointing or in another way directing the addressee's attention to B, in order to describe the relevant properties of the designated entity, A. In (4) the deictic meaning is further strengthened so that

[4] Instances with *sån*, or actually the neuter form *sånt*, in so-called tags, *å sånt* ('and such'), are left out here. See Ekberg (2007) for an account of the use of *å sånt* in the Malmö corpus.

sån rather functions as a demonstrative pronoun. Although bleached, the meaning of comparison is however still relevant, since the implicit comparand (a "normal" body of a forty-five year old man) plays a role in describing (evaluating) the comparee.

(4) tänk dej en förtifemåring ha **sån kropp** (Jing)
assume REFL a forty-five-year-old [man] have **such body**
'would you imagine a forty-five year old man having a body like that'

The demonstrative use in (4) is close to the purely expressive use in (5). In (5) *sån* denotes a subjective evaluation of the propositional content of the designated entity, namely a high degree of the properties designated by the noun *tur* ('luck').

(5) **sån tur** jag hade avstängt (Sabaah)
such luck I had turned-off [said about a cell phone]
'such luck I had turned it off'

Also in (5) there is an implicit comparative meaning, since the notable properties of the designated entity can only be evaluated when compared to an imagined comparand.

Finally, *sån* may be used deictically to refer to entities in the memory of the speech act participants. In (6)–(8), taken from the Malmö corpus, the speaker is referring – mentally pointing – to entities that the speaker assumes the hearer can identify via shared knowledge and experience (cf. Opsahl, 2010).[5] That is, *sån* has a *recognitional* function in that it actualizes or introduces a referent that is construed as known to the participants. Simultaneously, the use of *sån* may indicate that the speaker is uncertain how to denote or describe the referent. In standard Swedish *sån* is often elaborated with the locative adverb *här* 'here' or *där* 'there' in this use (Teleman *et al.*, 1999, vol. 2, 447), that is *sån badplats* in (6) would optionally, and perhaps preferable, be expressed as *sån där badplats*. In the Malmö-corpus *sån* is however usually constructed without *här/där*. A further difference is that the singular noun phrases with *sån* in (6)–(7) (in bold) lack an indefinite article, which in standard Swedish would precede *sån*. The hypothesis elaborated in section 4 is that *sån* itself may function as a determiner in these uses.

(6) jag var på **sån badplats** (Jing)
I was at **such bathing-place**
'I was at this bathing place'

[5] See Lie (2008) for an account of Norwegian *sånn*, which has several functions similar to *sån*.

(7) har du sett den filmen # om **sån chokladfabrik**? (Gordana)
have you seen that movie # about **such chocolate-factory**?
'have you seen that movie # about this chocolate factory?'

(8) åå vi bytte *såna* kort # **såna typ fotokort** (Märta)
and we exchanged such cards # **such like photo-cards**
'and we exchanged these cards # like photo cards'

The recognitional function has been observed cross-linguistically in the use of demonstratives in spoken language (Diessel 1999:105ff; Himmelmann 1996: 230ff.; Prince 1992; for an account of the recognitional use of Swedish demonstratives *den här/den där* ('this/that') see Lindström 2000). Like recognitional demonstratives, recognitional *sån* introduces a referent that is new in the current discourse but in some sense is old to the hearer. Reflecting this, recognitional *sån* is often accompanied by *du vet* ('you know'), emphasizing the assumed shared knowledge (see further Svensson 2007, this volume). Although the speaker assumes that the hearer is familiar with the referent, as Himmelmann (1996:230) states: "[a] central feature of this use is that the speaker anticipates problems with respect to the information used in referring to a given referent". That is, the speaker is uncertain whether or not the information given is sufficient in allowing the hearer to identify the referent. Consequently, it would be more appropriate to say that recognitional *sån* (as well as a recognitional demonstrative) construes, rather than denotes, the referent as known or identifiable to the speaker (see further section 4).

The uses accounted for thus far are found in colloquial Swedish in general as well as in the Malmö corpus. However, in addition to those uses, typical of the Malmö corpus is, primarily, the occurrence of *sån* in noun phrases that lack an obligatory indefinite article, cf. (6)–(7). (I will come back to this use in section 4.) There are also other deviating uses in the Malmö corpus, compared to standard Swedish. What they have in common is that *sån* appears not to be part of a noun phrase but syntactically independent. In (9) Bodil is telling Märta that the teacher always placed her at the very front in the classroom. In a follow-up Bodil explains why, beginning with the conclusive *asså* ('thus', 'you know'). The "pointer" *sån* is placed before the rhematic constituent, *busfrö* 'little devil', that is, before what is new and important in the utterance. In (9) *sån* seems to have a focusing discourse function, rather than a descriptive or syntactic function.

(9) Bodil: i mellanstadiet fick jag alltid sitta längst fram alltid alltid alltid
in primary-school had I always to-sit furthest front always always always
'in primary school I was always forced to sit at the very front always always always'

Märta: varför det?
why that?
'why was that?'

Bodil: hon ville inte ha mej där bak # asså jag var **sån** busfrö #
she wanted not to-have me there back # you-know I was **such** little-devil
'she didn't want me to sit in the back [of the room] # because I was such a little devil'

An indication that *sån* is a discourse marker, rather than being integrated in the noun phrase, is that it may have a deviating form or position, compared to standard Swedish. There are several examples in the Malmö-corpus that *sån* does not agree with the following noun, although such agreement is obligatory in standard Swedish. In (9) *sån* appears in common (non-neuter) gender although the following noun (*busfrö*) is neuter. Compare also (10) where *sån* appears in singular whereas the following noun is plural. The uninflected form of *sån* is used sporadically both by monolingual and bilingual speakers, which indicates that this "deviation" is not a learner feature.

(10) byta typ **sån** två gånger (Aurora)
exchange type **such** two times
'exchange like two times'

In (11) *sån* is indeed inflected (*såna*) but the position is remarkable. *Såna* is placed before the quantifier instead of after, which is the unmarked position in the noun phrase in standard Swedish. Finally, in (12) *sån* is placed before an adjectival phrase (underlined), a position that is not possible for pronominal *sån* in standard Swedish.[6]

(11) nej de(t) e journalfilm # dom har sån e sån färgfilm # ja # **såna** fem kakor (Gordana)
no it is newsreel # they have such e such colour film # yes # **such** five cookies
'no it is a newsreel # they have this e this colour film # yes # these five cookies'

[6] It is notable that the equivalents of the examples (10)–(12) are possible in colloquial Danish, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer. In Danish *sådan en* ('such a'), the equivalent to Swedish *en sån* ('a such'), is often contracted to *sånn*. Thus *sån* used by the adolescents in Malmö would hypothetically be a contracted form of a regional construction *sån en*, influenced by Danish. Speaking against this hypothesis is the fact that there are no instances of the "un-contracted" form *sån en* in the Malmö corpus.

(12) **sån** svensk och blond å sånt du vet (Jing)
such Swedish and blond and such you know
'like Swedish and blond and all that you know'

In (9)–(12) *sån* is used cataphorically to point to the rhematic element, i.e. the new information, in the utterance. In this function *sån* is similar to the use of the English discourse marker *like* (cf. Underhill 1988; Romaine & Lange 1991; Dailey-O'Cain 2000) as well as Swedish *såhär/sär* ('like'), both functioning as focusing discourse markers (Öqvist 1997). (*Sär* is usually analyzed as a contraction of *såhär* ('like this'), but Öqvist mentions also *sånhär/såndär* (lit. 'such this/that') as a possible source, where the first part of the compound is *sån*.) There are comparatively few instances of *såhär* in the Malmö-corpus that can be interpreted as discourse markers. In contrast, *såhär* is frequently used in the language of adolescents in Stockholm, as indicated by data collected within the SUF project, cf. the example in (13).

(13) vet du att jag drömde att jag hade f+ att jag köpte såna dära # du vet **såhär** skor igår (Fawza)
know you that I dreamed that I had f+ that I bought such those # you know **like** shoes yesterday
'you know I dreamed that I had f+ that I bought these # you know like shoes yesterday'

In (13) *såhär* is placed immediately before the object *skor* ('shoes'), the new information. The pause before *du vet såhär skor* ('you know like shoes') indicates that the speaker is searching for the appropriate noun. The use of *såhär* before *skor* ('shoes') may be seen as a means of "pointing" to the (finally) chosen expression. In the examples below, taken from the SUF-data from Stockholm, *såhär* is used before an adjective phrase, a noun phrase and a preposition phrase, respectively, obviously functioning as a means to emphasize the following constituent.

(14) a. jag var **såhär** tveksam (Fawza)
I was **like** hesitant
'I was like hesitant'

b. jag vill också ha ett vitt skärp men mitt skärp de(t) e **såhär** gult smuts (Bushra)
I want also to-have a white belt but my belt it is **like** yellow dirt
'I also want to have a white belt but my belt is like yellow dirt'

c. å sen han kommer **såhär** från utomlands du vet (Fawza)
and then he comes **like** from abroad you know
'and then he comes like from abroad you know'

Comparing *sån* in (9)–(12) with *såhär* in (13)–(14) it seems plausible that the two expressions have an identical function in these contexts. While adolescents

in Stockholm use *såhär* as a focalizer, adolescents in Malmö instead use *sån* as a focalizer (see further Ekberg forthc.).

In sum, for the uses of *sån* exemplified in (3)–(8) there is a common deictic element; *sån* is used to point to a referent present either in the narrowly defined speech situation (3), or in a wider context where the referent is known (or construed as known) to the participants. In the recognitional use in (6)–(8) the deictic meaning is thus extended beyond the immediate situation. The meaning of comparison is however not absent in this use, since the referent designated by *sån* functions as an explicit or implicit comparand needed to identify another referent, the comparee. Also when the deictic meaning is strengthened to a demonstrative (4) or an expressive meaning (5), comparison is relevant, since an imagined comparand functions as the implicit norm for evaluating the designated (properties of the) referent. Finally, *sån* may also relate to elements in the information structure, in that it may cataphorically point to the rhematic element in an utterance (9)–(12).

When *sån* has a recognitional function it may introduce a new referent in the current discourse. The function of *sån* to introduce a new discourse referent coincides with the function of the indefinite article. As shown by the examples in (7)–(8), *sån* also syntactically seems to replace the indefinite article. In the following section, we will take a closer look at *sån* as a determiner.

4. The meaning and use of *sån* as a determiner

In standard Swedish *sån* is typically used as an attribute in an indefinite noun phrase, with or without an overt nominal head, cf. (15a) and (15b), respectively. The neuter singular *sånt* may also be used in isolation with generic dividuative reference (15c).

(15) a. Jag vill ha en **sån klänning** som Lisa har
I want to-have a **such dress** as Lisa has
'I want to have a dress like Lisa's'

b. Jag vill ha **en sån**
I want to-have **a such**
'I want to have one like that'

c. **Sånt** gillar jag inte
such like I not
'I don't like things like that'

In the Malmö corpus there is a total of 338 occurrences of *sån*. These include variant forms inflected for neuter gender (*sånt*) and plural (*såna*), but not

occurrences of *sånt* in tags (see note 4). In the majority of cases, approximately 60 percent, *sån* occurs as part of a noun phrase with an overt noun, either immediately preceding the head noun or followed by a descriptive attribute, *(en) sån (röd) klänning* ('(a) such (red) dress'). In yet another 20 percent, *sån* appears in a noun phrase without an overt nominal head (15b). A closer look at the indefinite noun phrases with *sån* reveals differences between the Malmö corpus and standard Swedish. In standard Swedish an indefinite noun phrase with a singular, countable head noun must be preceded by an indefinite determiner, i.e. the article *en/ett* ('a'), or a quantifier, e.g. *någon* ('someone') or *ingen* ('nobody') (optionally together with an adjectival attribute). When no quantifier is present the indefinite article is normally obligatory. In the Malmö corpus however, noun phrases with *sån* often lack the indefinite article, even though there is no (other) quantifier; cf. the example in (6), repeated as (16):

(16) jag var på **sån badplats** (Jing)
I was at **such bathing place**
'I was at this bathing place'

Also when *sån* occurs in a noun phrase without an overt nominal head the indefinite article may be omitted in the Malmö-corpus:

(17) **sån** har jag också (Duhi) [standard Swedish: *en sån*, cf. (15b)]
such have I too
'I have one like that too'

Of the 338 instances of *sån* in the Malmö-corpus 156 are found in noun phrases where the indefinite article is obligatory in standard Swedish. These include contexts where *sån* occurs in a headless noun phrase. 115 of these 156 noun phrases lack the indefinite article, i.e. the indefinite article is left out in approximately 74 percent of the cases. If we look separately at the two peer groups (table 1), we find that the indefinite article is left out more often in the C-group (77 percent) than in the E-group (68.3 percent). However the percentage of omission is notably high in both groups, and the difference is not significant according to the chi-square test ($p = 0.15$ (one-tailed)).

Table 1: Sån *constructed without the indefinite article in the Malmö corpus*

Group	Article absent/obligatory contexts
C	74/96 ≈ 77 %
E	41/60 ≈ 68.3 %
Total	115/156 ≈ 73.7 %

When the indefinite article is absent *sån* is the only determiner candidate. The question is whether *sån* also has the same function as the indefinite article, i.e. to introduce a new discourse referent. This proves to be the case. The typical syntactic context for introducing a new discourse referent is the presentational construction. One of the contexts where *sån* occurs without an indefinite article is precisely as part of a noun phrase that is the logical subject of a presentational construction, e.g. *de(t) e sån N* ('it is such NP', idiom. "there is this NP"), cf. the utterance in (18) where Duhi three times uses a presentational construction with *sån* (in bold) to introduce the new discourse referent, a character in a movie. The indefinite article is left out in all three occurrences.

(18) så så **finns de(t) sån ee typ tecknad figur** nåt sånt # **nej de(t) e inte tecknad figur** # **de(t) e sån figur** du vet för barn # så **e de(t) sån fågel som e gul** så jag (Duhi)

so so **is it such ee type cartoon character** something such # **no it is not cartoon character** # **it is such character** you know for kids # so **is it such bird that is yellow** so I

'then there is this like cartoon character or something like that # no it is not a cartoon character # it is a character for kids you know # it is a bird that is yellow so I #'

As pointed out by Heine (1997: 72) an early developmental stage of indefinite articles is its use as a presentative marker to introduce a new discourse participant presumed to be unknown to the hearer. What we witness in the Malmö corpus may thus be an instance of ongoing grammaticalization where the primary comparative, descriptive pronoun *sån* is developing into a determiner. As *sån* may replace the indefinite article, the unreflecting assumption is that *sån* simply expresses the same meaning as the indefinite article. As we will see this is only partly true.

As a comparative pronoun, *sån* relates the designated entity, the comparee, to another entity, the comparand, cf. (3a). Conceptually, *sån* is pointing to the comparand in order to identify the comparee. The comparand is thus included within the scope of *sån*, that is, the context necessary for the interpretation of the designated entity. Whereas the comparand as well as the comparison are linguistically explicit in the prototypical comparative use, *sån* lacks a linguistically expressed (or physically present) comparand in its recognitional use; cf. (2), repeated as (20).

(20) asså när jag var i bibl+ # ee var i banken i fredags # så **var de(t) sån lite(n) bebis** # (Gordana)

well when I was at libr+ # ee was at bank-the last Friday # so **was it such little baby** #

'when I was at the libr+ # ee was at the bank last Friday # then there was this little baby #'

However, when the speaker is using *sån* in (20), she is referring to an imagined comparand, appealing to the common knowledge and experience of the participants. As the imagined (or construed) comparand is necessary to identify the comparee, the comparand is consequently part of the scope of *sån* also in the recognitional use.

In examples such as (20) *sån* fulfils the function of introducing a new discourse referent, not previously known to the hearer. Simultaneously *sån* evokes a meaning of comparison. The speaker is construing the new referent as "known to us" by way of the imagined comparand, which the hearer is encouraged to "create" in the ongoing speech situation. Thus the comparee and the comparand are in fact fused in this use of *sån*.

Consequently, the descriptive meaning of *sån* (comparing two referents concerning type) is present, although backgrounded, also in its function as a determiner. In (20), *sån lite(n) bebis* ('such little baby') is construed as a type of baby known to the hearer, although the referent is not previously mentioned and presumably unknown to the hearer. In other words, *sån* refers to an indefinite entity, belonging to a type of entity, which is construed as known to the hearer. The overall indefinite meaning thus comprises a definite element arising from the conception of (a known) type inherent in *sån*. This layered meaning explains why *sån* simultaneously can be used to identify (actualize) a referent that the hearer is familiar with – via the category it belongs to – and to introduce a new discourse referent. In the latter case the use of *sån* functions as a signal to the hearer to "look for" properties characterizing the referent.

5. Conclusion

The pronoun *sån*, whose primary meaning is comparative, has a wide range of uses both in spoken standard Swedish and in the data studied in this article. The investigation of the language use of adolescents in Malmö has revealed two different, but related, grammaticalized extensions of *sån*. The most striking one is the development of *sån* into a determiner, replacing the indefinite article *en/ett* 'a'. The other grammaticalized extension is the use of *sån* as a focalizer that points to the rhematic element in an utterance, thus relating to the information structure and not to the propositional level. In this function *sån* precedes but is not integrated in the syntactical structure of a noun phrase or an adjective phrase.

I have argued that the primary comparative meaning of *sån* is present also in the extended meanings. What is common to the primary meaning and its extensions is the deictic, or demonstrative, element. *Sån* designates a referent A by pointing to an implicit or imagined referent B, which serves as an identifying category for A. The demonstrative element is fundamental to the discourse function of *sån* as a focalizer as well. The act of pointing to an entity in the speech situation is extended to pointing to an entity adhering to the level of information structure.

As a determiner, *sån* overlaps in meaning and distribution with the indefinite article. There are however also differences between the two, which can be attributed to the semantics of *sån*. In the function of introducing a new discourse referent this referent is construed as known to the hearer, thus appealing to the hearer's experience of the type of referent mentioned in the process of "creating an image" of the new referent. Thus the meaning of *sån* is obviously more complex than that of the indefinite article, which of course also may be due to the fact that *sån* has not gone as far as the indefinite article in the process of grammaticalization.

The investigation of the use of *sån* among adolescents in a multilingual context in Malmö was motivated by the high frequency of this word in spontaneous speech. In addition, the adolescents themselves reported that a frequent use of *sån* was one of the characteristic traits of the multiethnic youth language in Malmö, so-called Rosengård Swedish. The investigation was based on speech data from two female peer groups. One group consisted of four bilingual informants of which two were judged as speakers of Rosengård Swedish in a perception experiment. The other group consisted of three monolingual informants of which two were judged as not speakers of Rosengård Swedish in the same experiment. It thus seemed plausible that the speech style of the bilingual group contained traits of Rosengård Swedish, whereas the speech style of the monolingual group did not. Further it seemed plausible that the use of *sån* would be more frequent and extended in the bilingual group. As regards the general frequency and functional use of *sån* there were however no major differences between the groups. Although it seemed that the bilingual group used *sån* as a determiner more often than the monolingual group this difference was not significant.

One might still wonder why the frequent use of *sån* is perceived as characteristic of speakers of Rosengård Swedish, when *sån* obviously is frequently used also among other adolescents in the same geographical area. Could it be that the foreign-sounding way of speaking Swedish that is connected to Rosengård Swedish (cf. Bodén, 2010) triggers the listener to search for (other) non-standard traits? This question waits for an answer.

On the basis of the hitherto available data we can at least verify that adolescents in a multilingual school context in Malmö show extended uses of *sån* compared to spoken standard Swedish. Above all, *sån* is grammaticalizing into a new determiner, which will have consequences for the grammar of the Swedish noun phrase and the system of determiners.

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Appendix

Transcription symbols

#	short pause
##	longer pause
+	interrupted speech
xxx	unintelligible sequence
<text>	quoted speech
(de)	standard orthographic addition

The native–non-native speaker distinction and the diversity of linguistic profiles of young people in multilingual urban contexts in Sweden

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Abstract

The distinction between native and non-native speakers (NS/NNS) has played a central role in all areas of linguistics, but is also perennially questioned. This paper aims to contribute to the discussion of the usefulness of the distinction by exploring a large body of empirical data collected in the SUF project. Data about linguistic background and practices from 222 informants were analyzed by means of what we call *linguistic profiling*. The resulting linguistic profiles display great diversity among informants regarding nativeness criteria, which can also be expected to be found in other similar contexts. This implies that the application of a binary NS/NNS distinction in such contexts will either result in a categorization of informants into two widely heterogeneous groups, or, if only clear cases are included, result in the exclusion of a considerable number of language users from the investigation. These observations should have implications for the study of language variation and change in multilingual contexts more generally.

Keywords: native speaker, multilingualism, adolescents, non-stratified sampling, language variation

1. Introduction[1]

Language contact in many contexts around the globe has led to a revival of the perennial discussion of concepts such as *native/non-native speaker,* and *first/second language*.[2] In this paper, we would like to contribute to this discussion by contrasting the first of these binary distinctions with a *linguistic profile* analysis of data from 222 young people living in multilingual settings in Sweden's three largest cities. While our conclusions relate to this particular group of informants, we believe that several of the observations made in this paper are also applicable in studies of young people in other contemporary European multilingual settings[3] and, more generally, in any study of language variation and change involving multilingualism.

Our main point is that it is not only the case that the native/non-native speaker distinction turns out to be difficult to apply in some, more or less exceptional, individual cases. Rather, the distinction appears to be fundamentally unsuited to capture the linguistic background, practices and proficiencies of a sizeable proportion of young people today. In our study, an overwhelming majority of the 222 informants did not fit neatly into any of the categories "native" or "non-native" as defined in the literature. There is still a need for characterizing and generalizing over informants, however, and as an answer to this need we have developed a method of analysis that we call *linguistic profiling*, further described below.

The data we use has been collected and analyzed within the project "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings".[4] The overarching goal of the project is to describe, analyze and compare the everyday language and language use of young people in multilingual

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[1] This is a slightly revised version of "The native–non-native speaker distinction and the diversity of linguistic profiles of young people in Swedish multilingual urban contexts", in F. Hinskens (ed.) (2006) *Language variation – European perspectives* (pp. 53–70). It is republished with kind permission of John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, www.benjamins.com

[2] E.g., Firth & Wagner (1997) and other contributions in *The Modern Language Journal* 81, 3; 82, 1, Kramsch (1997/2003), Leung et al. (1997), Singh (1998), Cook (2002), Block (2003), Davies (2003).

[3] Cf. Rampton (1995), Quist (2000), Doran (2002, 2004), Kallmeyer and Keim (2003), Appel and Schoonen (2005) and Kerswill and Torgersen (2005).

[4] Cf. http://www.svenska.gu.se/forskning/isa/forskningsverksamhet/Projekt/Sprak-och-sprakbruk/ We would like to acknowledge the practical assistance and helpful comments of our colleagues on the project, as well as those of our colleagues at our respective departments. We are also grateful for the financial support of The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, which has financed the research project as a whole. See also contributions in Quist & Svendsen (eds) (2010).

areas of Gothenburg, Malmö and Stockholm. The project has been carried out by a team of senior researchers and graduate students, who are studying various phonological, grammatical and pragmatic features of the varieties used by young people with different linguistic backgrounds in these settings. The first step in the fieldwork was a series of interviews with 222 young people (age 16–21, median 17) in our target informant group.[5]

In an earlier paper, we looked at the concept of "second language" and "second language speaker" (Boyd & Fraurud 2004) in relation to this informant group; in this paper, we examine critically the related concept of "native speaker" (NS) to assess its usefulness in studies such as ours. We begin by briefly looking at this concept in various branches of linguistics in order to see which criteria are normally used to identify native speakers. Then, using these criteria as a point of departure, we look at the diversity of backgrounds represented in our informant group, and propose, rather than using one or two of the suggested criteria, combining several criteria to produce a multitude of *linguistic profiles*. In the final part of the paper, we suggest ways in which a linguistic profile analysis can give a more accurate and detailed picture of the diversity of linguistic backgrounds in settings such as the one we have studied.

2. Definitions and uses of "native speaker" (NS) within linguistics

In an anthology from the early 1980's, *A Festschrift for Native Speaker*, which examined the concept of native speaker, the editor Florian Coulmas (1981, p. 1) calls this concept "a common reference point for all branches of linguistics" [...] "of fundamental importance to the field." Despite the centrality of the concept however, it turns out, not surprisingly, that the concept is conceived of and used somewhat differently by different linguists. There is, on the one hand, the idealized native speaker as a theoretical construct in, e.g., generative grammar. Chomsky's view is that (1963, p. 3): "Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with the ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly". On the other hand, more empirically oriented linguists (some of whom may actually also need an

[5] The informant group is not a random sample of young people living in these areas. Rather, schools and classes in these schools were selected in order to fulfill various criteria of representativity and comparability among the three cities. All the students in the chosen classes were invited to participate in the study, and all but a few accepted.

idealized native speaker for their theories) are faced with methodological problems regarding whom they should choose as their source of empirical data about a particular language. Others are in need of a native speaker as a norm or control group against which to measure non-native speakers of the language. Our paper is oriented toward the question of the usefulness of the concept of NS in empirical work, i.e. the second conceptualization, in particular in studies of language and language use in contemporary multilingual contexts.

In his introduction to the *Festschrift*, Coulmas (1981) makes a conceptual analysis which takes up several of the central criteria for a native speaker of a certain language. The criterion he considers to be most necessary and common to all conceptualizations of NS is that of language acquisition in early infancy, in conjunction with primary socialization (Coulmas 1981, p. 4). This criterion is closely related to most meanings of the term *native* in the collocation *native speaker*.

In the same volume, Ballmer (1981) presents a typology of native speakers, where he enumerates a number of additional criteria. In the passage quoted below, he summarizes the practical problems of finding a suitable native speaker for typologically oriented or other studies within the broad field of descriptive linguistics. He draws the conclusion (1981, p. 57) that a good candidate can actually be difficult to find:

> A native speaker is old enough to know the language and not so old as to have forgotten it. He is healthy in every relevant respect, thus especially neither blind, deaf, handicapped, paralysed, nor does he lisp, stutter or have a cleft palate. He is monolingual, he lives in his birthplace, his family, especially his mother, speaks natively his natural language L, the place where he lives is strictly monolingual: there is no standard speech/dialect split and there are not other competing languages. […] The native speaker is educated enough to enter the experiment, but not so educated as to call into question its outcome.

Taking Coulmas (1981) and Ballmer (1981) as points of departure, we can say that these sources bring forward several important criteria for NSs, primarily thought of as adequate representatives for a community of speakers of a language.

Also within sociolinguistics, the concept of native speaker has been needed for practical reasons, as a necessary criterion for informants. In his dissertation, Labov (1966) describes how he selected informants for his New York City study, based on an earlier random sample carried out on the Lower East Side. However, Labov excluded almost half of the persons selected for the earlier study because they were born abroad, had not come to the neighborhood until after the age of eight, or had "marked foreign characteristics" in their English (1966, p. 175). Of the original sample of 553 individuals, Labov's sample comprised only 312, or 56%. His criteria for selecting informants thus included birthplace,

monolingualism and sedentaryness, while age of (dialect) acquisition is operationalized in terms of age of arrival in New York City.

Moving on to the area of second language acquisition (SLA) research, the concept of native speaker here builds to a high degree on the Chomskyan conception that universal grammar and the language acquisition device (LAD) is not available to (at least late) second language learners.[6] The definition of the field is in fact dependent on a conception of second language learning or acquisition as different from first language acquisition. Usually, the distinction is conceived of in terms of age of acquisition or age of onset. In addition, native speakers are often selected to act as standards of comparisons to persons learning a second language; they are conceived of both as necessary sources of input and as targets for the second language learning process. This role accentuates native speaker proficiency as an important further criterion. Proficiency is either implicitly assumed to be entailed by other criteria, or explicitly specified (as in Davies 2003, 2004) to include intuitions about one's own idiolect and its relation to standard grammar, one's fluency, communicative competence in production and comprehension, creative writing ability, etc.

In a paper outlining future directions for research in the field, Long (1993, p. 205) wrote about experimental studies comparing non-native speakers and native speakers:

> NS subjects clearly need to be more comparable to NNS comparison groups than has sometimes been the case in the SLA literature in the past. The most crucial requirement [is] that NSs speak the L2 variety or second dialect that was the acquisition target for the NNSs […] In addition NS controls should be comparable in age, sex, education and social class […] Ideally, they should also be monolinguals, since there is increasing experimental and anecdotal evidence that learning additional languages can sometimes affect first language abilities in as yet poorly understood ways.

Here, then, we see some similarities to Ballmer's conception, quoted above, in that Long considers the native speakers' age, sex and education to have a potential effect on their native speaker competence. Crucially, they should also be monolinguals, because multilingualism can have an effect on first language abilities (see e.g. Cook 2003; Jaspaert et al. 1986).

Also in foreign language research and teaching, the concept of native speaker has routinely been taken for granted as a norm for students in the classroom. In response to arguments against the feasibility of such a norm for all learners (e.g. Kramsch 1997/2003), several researchers defend the need for the native

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[6] As evidenced in the vast literature on ultimate attainment, opinions differ widely as regards at what age this happens (cf. Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson 2003; Montrul 2008).

speaker norm in foreign language classrooms (e.g. Koike & Liskin-Gasparro 2003, p. 263):

> [I]f the native speaker is not to be considered the model for learners to emulate, then who should provide that linguistic model? […] [Without the native speaker,] the teachers and learners of foreign language are left (1) without a target language norm, and (2) with an unrealizable dream of becoming native-like speakers. These two notions render any efforts in the FL classroom unproductive.

In this passage, the authors bring out another proposed quality of the native speaker, that of *identity*. For many, the native speaker should identify her/himself and be identifiable (or at least able to pass, cf. Piller 2002) as a full-fledged member of the speech community by other native speakers.

Drawing on these and other sources, we summarize our brief survey with the following list of common criteria for the concept of native speaker. The first criterion, the essential one according to most definitions, is that of early exposure during primary socialization, the *age of onset* criterion. Other criteria vary in importance in the various sources or are assumed to be entailed by age of onset. They include continued *use* of the language throughout the lifespan; a particular (usually high) level of *proficiency* in the language; an adequate, but not too high level of *education* (or, similarly, *class*); *monolingualism* (albeit to different degrees); and a number of criteria that can be subsumed under the heading of *context* and that assume a homogeneous environment without influences from other varieties or languages (see further below). A final criterion is that of having an *identity* as a native speaker.

Like many others, we perceive a number of ideological, theoretical and methodological problems associated with the use of the binary NS/NNS distinction, and with the NS criteria and their operationalization. In this paper, however, we will confine our discussion to some issues raised by our empirical material.

3. Applying the concept of native speaker in a contemporary multilingual context

No one acquainted with current multilingual settings can have failed to meet individuals whose linguistic background and practices challenge the binary NS/NNS distinction (for a particularly insightful analysis, see Leung et al. 1997). It is still common, however, both in research and in popular discourse, to talk and act as if such individuals would be more or less exceptional; the majority of speakers in a community or group are thought of as being either

NS or NNS. Behind such a "dichotomy-with-exceptions view" lies an underlying assumption of homogeneity, implying a strong association between the various nativeness criteria mentioned above. In this study we therefore wanted to explore the NS/NNS distinction in relation to a larger database, built up within the project mentioned above.

Background data about the 222 young people participating in the project was collected through a questionnaire filled out by the researchers during individual audio-recorded interviews. The questionnaire comprised 80 items, consisting of both multiple choice questions with follow-ups and open questions, generating a high degree of detail and heterogeneity in the replies. In addition to the pre-processing required in encoding data into SPSS, the profiling procedure illustrated in this paper involves making the database more manageable by further grouping values and merging variables at different levels of detail. It should be remembered that, while each such step increases comparability and generalizability, it is at the cost of loss of (possibly important) information. We will return to this below.

3.1. Operationalizing NS criteria

A large number of background variables in the database are potentially relevant to an assessment of our informants' nativeness according to the criteria reviewed above, including also such variables as, for example, writing practices and media consumption preferences. For the present discussion, however, we have selected some variables that more immediately relate to the NS criteria. These are listed in Table 1 with brief descriptions.

For several of the relevant variables in our database it is convenient to divide responses into three main categories: *Swedish/Sweden only (SS), Swedish/Sweden and other (language/country) (SO),* and *Other (language/country) only (OO)*, as shown under "Values" in Table 1. For reported age of onset and age of arrival, in the present illustration of the profiles we use a binary division of responses into *early* (before three years of age) and *late*. Just as in the case of selection of specific variables, this is but one of several possible options. Responses to the open question as to where Swedish was first spoken were divided into *home*, contrasted to all *other* settings, such as at pre-school or school, or with friends. The values *Swedish/Sweden only (SS), early,* and *home* will collectively be referred to as "NS-values", as opposed to all other, "NNS values". Almost all variables involve a number of theoretical and methodological problems, of which we can only briefly mention a few here.

Table 1. *Native speaker criteria and some related background variables in the database, all based on reported data. (SS=Swedish/Sweden only, SO=Swedish/Sweden and other, OO=Other only. Values within parentheses are theoretically possible but non-occurring values.)*

Criteria	Some related background variables in the database	Values	Code
Age of onset	age of onset of Swedish	early/late	AGEON
	age of arrival to Sweden	early/late	AGEARR
	where Swedish first spoken	home/other	SWFIRST
	first learned language	SS/SO/OO	FIRSTLG
Proficiency	best language(s)	SS/SO/OO	LFPROF
	proficiency in mother tongue, mother tongue 2 & Swedish, respectively: speak/understand/ write/read & understand	1–5	[several]
Use	preferred language(s)	SS/SO/OO	LGPREF
	language(s) used with parents	SS/SO/OO	LGPAR
	language(s) used with siblings	SS/SO/OO	LGSIB
	language(s) used with close friends	SS/SO/(OO)	LGFRIEN
Context	born in Sweden / abroad	SS/OO	BORN
	parents born in Sweden / abroad	SS/SO/OO	PARBORN
	mother tongues of close friends	SS/SO/(OO)	FRIENLG
Mono-/ bilingualism	several, including languages spoken, language practices in relation to various contexts, media etc.	[open]	[several]
Education & social class	several, including education and occupation of parents/step parents in Sweden & country of origin, living area and type of housing, etc.	[open]	[several]

Determining an individual's *age of onset* (AO) is far from trivial, at least for individuals who were not born into families and communities where only one language is used. Somewhat surprisingly, the notion and its operationalizations are rarely problematized in the literature. Theoretically, it is not clear what conditions should be fulfilled for an individual's contact with a language or language development to be counted as an onset of language acquisition. It is possible to imagine a broad continuum from active interaction to mere exposure to the language, which may be infrequent, only receptive, limited in mode (e.g. only television), etc. Methodologically, determining AO is problematic since in most cases one must rely on reported data, which may have low reliability due to respondents' insufficient memory of details on language use early in li-

fe and their different interpretations of "onset" (or "when you start to speak/learn the language" or whatever wording is used in the question). Operationalizing onset by replacing it with (probably more reliable) reports of age of arrival at a specific place may reduce the validity of the data; arriving in a country does not necessarily imply starting to acquire the majority language in any other sense than that of minimal exposure. In our background database we are of course faced with the same reliability and validity problems, and we here try out the possibility of combining and comparing several onset-related variables. In addition to reported AGEON and AGEARR, we include the variables FIRSTLG, reported first learned language(s), and SWFIRST, whether Swedish was introduced within or outside the family, which in many cases indirectly indicates age of acquisition.

Language proficiency as assessed by analyses of oral and written production and various tests is clearly relevant in descriptions of linguistic profiles insofar as the tests are valid and relevant to the research questions. It should be noted, however, that such tests/analyses inevitably involve problems with the choice of norm against which to measure. This is something which is especially pertinent in our context, where the presence of alternative language models (such as for example the alleged new youth varieties of Swedish (Bodén 2004; Kotsinas 1988, 1992) complicates the analysis of non-standard features (Bijvoet & Fraurud 2008, 2010, this volume; Boyd & Fraurud 2010). Since our database does not include test data, we here only consider self-reported data, in particular the responses to the question "Which language or languages do you think you know best?".

With regard to *language use*, we include the responses to one general question, "Which language or languages do you prefer to use?", and three questions of habitual use: language(s) used with parents (and step parents), siblings and friends. Even these questions tend to hide important quantitative as well as qualitative variation. The code "Swedish and other" for language use with parents can include instances of code-switching, varying language choice in different situations, speaking one language to one parent and one to another, parents' speaking one language and children speaking another (in a single conversation) and many other variants.

Context is in Table 1 represented by but a few of several possible variables. Country of origin (of parents and child) is often referred to in studies of bilingualism and SLA in Sweden, partly due to the fact that it – together with citizenship – is the only resource in official Swedish statistics for conjectures about ethnic or linguistic affiliation (cf. De Geer 2004). As elsewhere, people who were born abroad or have parents born abroad are often grouped together

under the label "first and second generation immigrants",[7] subsequently used for generalizing about this "group" as opposed to "(native) Swedes". Obviously, the birthplace of an individual or of his/her parents does not necessarily imply anything about his/her mono-/multilingualism. Still BORN and PARBORN are included in Table 1 under "Context", as two of several variables that indicate the potential presence of languages other than Swedish in an individual's earlier and current environment. The variables AGEARR and SWFIRST, listed under 'Age of onset', can, or perhaps should, also be seen as context variables. Another possible source of linguistic influence, especially for this group of young people, is the mono-/multilingualism of friends, here reflected in the question: "What are the mother tongues of the friends you see most?" (FRIENDLG).

Mono- and multilingualism (to different degrees) can in our database be traced in responses to several different questions, including one open question of currently spoken languages (see below). It is also reflected in the proficiency, use and preference variables that we described above, and which we will use here.

Education and *social class*, finally, are reflected in our database with answers to some open questions about parents' education and earlier and current occupation etc. They are highly complex variables, especially in settings like ours, where migration sometimes involves dramatic changes in socio-economic status both within and between generations, while information about education in countries of origin is difficult to assess. Furthermore, the linguistic literature using the native speaker concept gives different signals about which social class or level of education is ideal for a native speaker. The criteria of education and class are not included in our present analysis.

3.2. Distribution with regard to nine "NS variables"

Let us consider the distribution of some putative nativeness variables (hereafter "NS variables") over the 222 young people participating in our project. According to the simplistic "dichotomy-with-exceptions view" described above, our informants would split into two main groups, clear native and clear non-native speakers – leaving a small number of unclear or mixed cases in between. In our database, there is one variable that produces this kind of distribution, viz. reported first learned language(s) (FIRSTLG, cf. Figure 1).

[7] Recent statistics, however, use the term "foreign background", applied either to persons born abroad and/or with both parents born abroad, or only to those born abroad and/or with a foreign citizenship.

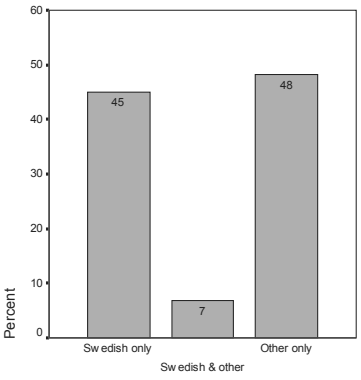

FIGURE 1. *Reported first learned language(s).*

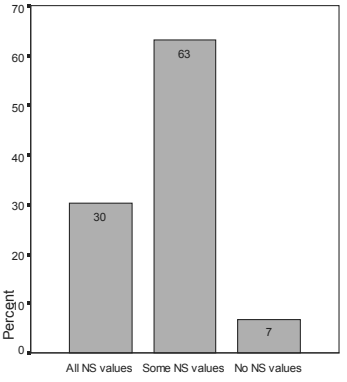

FIGURE 2. *Nativeness/non-nativeness calculated on nine variables:* AGEON, AGEARR, SWFIRST, FIRSTLG, LGPROF, LGPREF, LGPAR, LGSIB, LGFRIEN.

It is illuminating to evaluate the responses to questions about FIRSTLG and the other onset-related variables, AGEON, AGEARR, and SWFIRST, compared with each other. The separate frequencies for NS values on all four onset related variables are: AGEARR=early (73%), AGEON=early (58%), SWFIRST=home (45%), FIRSTLG=SS (45%). Pair-wise comparisons show that the overlap between these variables (including the two latter) in our data is only partial, and – more importantly – that there is no absolute implicational relationship among them. Thus, an "early" age of arrival does not imply an "early" age of onset. In our dataset there are 35 exceptions to this assumption, with a difference of up to seven years, while an "early" age of onset does not imply learning Swedish at home. In this instance, there are 30 exceptions. Furthermore, the reliability and validity problems connected with AO, discussed above, may be even more serious for responses to the question of which language was learned first. For example, nine informants claimed Swedish (only) to be their first language *and* to have started to speak Swedish outside the family, two of them also saying that this was after three years of age. This and other observations suggest that the questions of which language(s) one learnt first and when are open to different interpretations and are difficult to answer. It may be easier to remember *where* one started to speak/learn a language than *when*, hence the variable SWFIRST in an important way complements the other age related variables.

As may be expected in a group comprising many young people with immigrant parents or grandparents the distribution of FIRSTLG and other onset-related variables contrasts sharply with those of current best language (LGPROF) and preferred language (LGPREF). A large majority of young people consider Swedish to be the language they know best and a large (but not identical) majority prefers to speak Swedish. For the group as a whole, then, this may suggest a general trend of language shift, but, as we will show below, the picture is in fact more complex.

Translating central nativeness criteria to variables in our database, the NS group among our informants could, as a first approximation, be operationalized to include those who (i) have acquired Swedish in the family at an early age, as their only first language, and in Sweden, (ii) consider Swedish their best and preferred language, and (iii) are monolingual in the restricted sense of using only Swedish with parents, siblings or friends (besides possessing no additional first/best/preferred language). Nearly one third of the informants fulfill all of these nine NS criteria (the 30% "All NS values" in Figure 2). Very few, 7%, did not have an NS value on any one of the nine criteria. An overwhelming majority of the 222 young people in our study, therefore, falls "in between" – with a combination of NS and NNS values. The exclusion of this large group of informants from the object of study is of course no option if we want to study language and language use in current multilingual settings. Hence we need to develop tools for capturing possible general patterns among our informants without imposing new unwarranted categories or assumptions.

3.3. Multilingual profiles of 222 Swedish adolescents

As we have already pointed out, our initial analyses of the data indicated that there is no single nativeness criterion which produces a neat division of our informant group into two homogeneous groups. Instead, we need a method that allows us to explore and systematize the variation in our informant group prior to further both statistical and qualitative analysis. For our needs it is essential to be able to group informants according to linguistic background and practices (i) at different levels of detail and (ii) without losing track of either the individuals within groups or the different variables and possible combinations of values. What we call *linguistic profiling* analysis provides such a characterization of groups and individuals through combinations of (a variable number of) values of (a variable number of) variables hypothesized to be relevant for the particular study at issue.

Table 2. *Multilingual profiles on (only) eight variables. (SS=Swedish only, SO=Swedish and other, OO=Other only.)*

Profile no.	N inf.'s	Age of onset			Language use				Proficiency
		age arr	age ons	sw first	lg par	lg sib	lg frien	lg pref	lg prof
1	65	early	early	home	SS	SS	SS	SS	SS
2	2	early	early	home	SS	no sibl.	SS	SS	SS
3	3	early	early	home	SS	no sibl.	SO	SS	SS
4	1	early	early	home	SS	SS	SO	SS	SS
5	2	early	early	home	SS	SS	SS	OO	SS
6	10	early	early	home	SO	SS	SS	SS	SS
7	3	early	early	home	SO	SS	SO	SS	SS
8	6	early	early	other	SO	SS	SS	SS	SS
9	3	early	early	other	SO	SO	SS	SS	SS
10	1	early	early	other	SO	SO	SO	SS	SS
11	1	early	early	other	SO	SO	SO	SO	SO
12	3	early	early	other	OO	SO	SS	SS	SS
13	1	early	late	home	SO	SS	SO	OO	SS
14	5	early	late	other	SO	SS	SS	SS	SS
15	3	early	late	other	SO	SS	SO	SS	SS
16	5	early	late	other	SO	SO	SO	SS	SS
17	3	early	late	other	SO	SO	SS	SS	SS
18	1	late	late	other	SS	SS	SS	SS	SS
19	5	late	late	other	SO	SS	SS	SS	SS
20	8	late	late	other	SO	SO	SO	SS	SS
21	5	late	late	other	SO	SO	SS	SS	SS
22	3	late	late	other	SO	SO	SS	SO	SS
23	3	late	late	other	SO	SO	SS	OO	SS
24	4	late	late	other	OO	SO	SO	SS	SS
25	4	late	late	other	OO	SO	SO	OO	OO
26	1	late	late	other	OO	OO	SO	OO	OO
Subtotal:	152								
27–88	70	(70 informants distributed over 62 different profiles not represented in the table)							
Total: 88	222								

In the present application of this method, we wanted to explore common nativeness criteria against empirical data. We have here used eight of the nine variables in Figure 2 above:[8] three with two, four with tree, and one with four[9]

[8] The variable "firstlg" has here been excluded for reasons discussed above.

[9] "lgsib": ss, so, oo, and 'no sibling'.

possible values. It should again be emphasized that this particular choice of variables and values is one of several possible alternatives for illustrating the complexity of the data with regard to nativeness criteria by means of the profiling procedure.

Altogether, 88 combinations of values were represented among the 222 informants (see Table 2). In order to save space, only 26 of the profiles could be included in the table: all profiles shared by three or more informants plus a few others with only one or two members, illustrating different points in the discussion.

In Table 2, each row represents a unique combination of values on eight NS variables, a *linguistic profile*. For each profile, column one contains a reference number and column two the number of informants sharing the profile. The variables are ordered from left to right according to (*non-absolute*) implicational relationships established by means of pair-wise cross-tabulations comparing the probabilities that one NS-value predicts another NS-value. The profiles are then ordered from top to bottom by sorting the contents of the columns according to highest NS-value, starting from the left-most column.

The young people sharing profiles 1 and (without siblings) 2, are those 67 forming the 30% with "All NS values" in Figure 2 above.[10] That is, they have the values *early* for AGEARR and AGEON, *home* for SWFIRST, and *Swedish only* for LGPAR, LGSIB (if not missing), LGFRIEND, LGPREF and LFPROF. Depending on how strictly the monolingualism criterion is applied, however, some or all of these informants' nativeness could also be questioned. The earlier mentioned context variables, PARBORN, BORN and FRIENDLG, reflect some potential sources for multilingual influence not revealed in the eight NS variables included in the profiles presented in Table 2. Twelve of the 67 "all NS" young people have one or more parents born abroad and one is himself born abroad. More than half of them have close friends with mother tongues other than Swedish. If these context variables were included among the NS variables, the "NS group" would be reduced to 12% of all the young people. Perhaps more importantly, all the young people (including this 12%) are multilingual in various degrees due to other factors than parents: school, of course, but also mass media and friends. When asked about which languages they speak, all 222 informants except one[11] report that they in addition to Swedish speak at least one language (often English), or more commonly, two or up to six other languages.

The informants who do not have NS values for all eight variables are distributed over 86 different profiles. For a few young people, "non-heritage" multilingualism turns up in the use of both Swedish and another language with

[10] In Table 2, however, missing values due to no siblings are not replaced, unlike in Figure 2.
[11] This response is probably due to a narrow interpretation of "speaking a language".

friends (profiles 3–4) or as a preference for speaking another language (profile 5). Several young people report that they learn languages through friends, resulting in degrees of competence ranging from merely a familiarity (understanding words in many languages or when friends speak a particular language, picking up words and everyday phrases) to a more active command. Similar phenomena have also been observed in, e.g., Switzerland (Franceschini 1999) and Germany (Auer & Dirim 2003; Dirim & Auer 2004). An example in our data is Emmy[12] (profile 3), who, when asked which languages her friends have as mother tongues, reports that they can be "everything you can think of". Then she specifies that most have Arabic or Farsi and describes her language use with them like this:

> Emmy: "I mostly speak Swedish with them, but, you can say a little of this and that in Farsi and like that"

She also claims later in the interview that she writes SMS in different languages (including Arabic) and can understand some of what her boyfriend and his mother say when they speak Farsi with each other. In another study which is part of this project (Bodén & Grosse 2006), Emmy's speech in another speech situation is judged by young local listeners to be a good example of "Gårdstenska", a label which is associated with language use in multilingual areas of Göteborg. Although she has "NS values" on all other variables, language use with friends seems to have made an impact on how she speaks Swedish.

A majority of all informants are more or less multilingual in Swedish and one or more (other) heritage language(s). Many of them acquired Swedish in early childhood, report it to be their best and preferred language (e.g. profiles 6–10 and 12) and also often consider it their first language, either alone or in addition to another language. An important group of early learners (N=30) have started to acquire Swedish outside the family, usually at nursery school (in Table 2 represented by 14 informants in profiles 8–12). One example is Semra (profile 10), who is born in Sweden and started speaking Swedish at the age of one at nursery school. She regards Swedish as one of her first languages, along with Turkish. She uses Swedish and Turkish with parents, one older sibling and friends, but has a preference for and thinks she is best at Swedish. Conversely, there are late learners of Swedish who started learning Swedish at home; Maria (profile 13), who is also born in Sweden, started to speak Swedish by the age of three and a half, presumably with her parents and elder siblings.

As regards heritage languages other than Swedish, different patterns of language shift and maintenance are represented among the young people, from

[12] All names are pseudomyms.

the radical shift of Julli (profile 18) to various degrees of maintenance. Heritage language(s) may be retained with parents only (e.g. profile 6), or in the entire family domain (e.g. profile 9), or also with friends – as in the case of Xavier (profile 11), from whom we know that it is Spanish, one of his first languages, that he sometimes uses with friends. He also says he is equally good at both Swedish and Spanish, and has no preference for one language over the other.

As mentioned above, most of the informants regard Swedish as their best language. The exceptions are naturally found among very late learners, such as Data (profile 26), who arrived and started to learn Swedish at school at 18 years of age. But there are also a few informants (not represented in the table) with an early age of onset of Swedish who prefer and/or think they are best at another language. And conversely, there are several with an age of onset up to ten who now favor Swedish.

4. Concluding discussion

Our presentation of the linguistic profiles which emerge from an analysis of data on our 222 informants shows, we believe, that binary distinctions such as native/non-native are not very useful in studies of language and language use in multilingual environments such as the ones in our study. When binary distinctions are used by themselves, different nativeness criteria lead to different categorizations of an informant group, while, within categories, important variation remains hidden. On the one hand, we have suggested that heterogeneity within the group of "good candidates" for native speakership in Swedish can have significant consequences for studies of language variation in multilingual contexts such as ours. On the other, we have noted that there is enormous diversity among the young people in our informant group who do *not* qualify as "good candidates" for native speakership in Swedish. In fact, significant numbers within our informant group don't seem to qualify to be native speakers of any language, according to the criteria reviewed above. Considering them to be non-native speakers of all their languages seems like a very unsatisfactory solution, both theoretically and methodologically. Finally, we have shown that there is no absolute implicational relationship among "nativeness" criteria, which would make the use of one or a small number of variables adequate to divide our informants into a small number of categories. We would now like to draw some methodological and theoretical conclusions of our analysis.

When working with a fairly large and diverse informant group in a multilingual setting, such as the one in our study, we suggest that the only defensible way of proceeding is to treat the informant group initially as a single

group, defined by whatever geographical, age or other criteria that have been used to delineate the object of study. Rather than dividing the group into two or three a priori categories based on one or two background variables, we have found it rewarding to learn more about our informant group by carrying out a linguistic profile analysis using combinations of a larger number of variables.

Another important aspect of working with a multitude of linguistic profiles instead of a few gross categories, is the way it inspires and facilitates going back into the individual data, taking into account further variables or the same variables at a higher level of detail, or a return to the original recordings, for example to try to find explanations when apparent anomalies arise in the profile analysis. The risk if one doesn't do this is that assumptions about the relationships between background variables (e.g. age of onset and age of arrival) never actually get tested. It also allows the researcher to see the relevance of variables (e.g. in our study: mother tongues of good friends) that normally are not used as a basis for categorizing informants in terms of nativeness. In this way, less biased research can be carried out at both a macro and a micro level alternately. By moving between macro and micro, we both reduce the risk that interesting relationships and explanations are "swept under the rug" in order to manage the data, and at the same time allow ourselves to make generalizations above the level of individual cases.

In this paper, linguistic profiling has been used to explore the usefulness of the binary NS/NNS distinction and various native speaker criteria in the light of data from 222 young people in multilingual urban settings in Sweden.

In conclusion, we do not exclude the possibility that a binary NS/NNS distinction may be usefully operationalized, for example, in experimental studies focusing on one particular factor in language acquisition, where subjects are chosen according to this factor and other factors carefully controlled for. But we do not believe that this distinction is useful in studies of language use, variation and change in contemporary multilingual contexts. We find it likely that the diversity of linguistic profiles illustrated in this paper is not unique to the 222 young people in our project, but is also to be found in other similar settings. The application of a binary NS/NNS distinction in such contexts will either – if a single criterion is used – result in a categorization of informants into two widely heterogeneous groups, or – if multiple criteria are combined and only clear cases considered – result in an exclusion of a considerable number, possibly a majority, of language users from the object of study.

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Syntactic variation in the Swedish of adolescents in multilingual urban settings – a thesis summary

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Abstract

This article is a summary of the thesis *Syntactic variation in the Swedish of adolescents in multilingual urban settings*, which was written within the SUF-project. The thesis investigated subject-verb order variation in linguistic contexts that in standard Swedish require subject-verb inversion, and how the variation might be constrained by different situational, linguistic and demographic variables. It has sometimes been claimed that a frequent use of XSV is typical of the Swedish used among adolescents in multilingual urban areas in Sweden. The general results of this study showed, however, that most of the participants did not use XSV to any large extent. XSV was most commonly used in peer-peer conversations and was mostly produced by youths of a multilingual background. There was no direct link between the use of XSV and learner language in the current study. For some adolescents, the use of XSV appeared to be part of their casual language repertoires.

Keywords: youth language, syntactic variation, subject-verb order, multilingual urban settings

1. Introduction

Due to increased immigration in the last few decades, Sweden has steadily become more multilingual and multicultural, and there are today some sub-urban areas in Sweden's larger cities where the majority of the population is multilingual and many speak Swedish as a second language. Since the 1980s people have noticed the emergence of new ways of speaking Swedish in these settings, especially among adolescents. The project "Language and language use among adolescents in multilingual urban settings" (the SUF project, see Lindberg, Boyd, Ekberg, Fraurud & Källström 2001), was set up to investigate multilingual practices of youths in contemporary Sweden. The present paper is a summary of the thesis *Syntactic variation in the Swedish of adolescents in multilingual urban settings – Subject-verb order in declaratives, questions and subordinate clauses*, which was written within this larger project.

The aim of the thesis was to investigate young people's subject-verb order variations in multilingual settings. Of main interest for the study was how some of the adolescents vary between subject-verb inversion and non-inversion (from now on referred to as XVS and XSV respectively) in main declarative clauses that in standard Swedish require inversion, i.e. variation between sentences like *å sen gick jag* (XVS) and *å sen jag gick* (XSV), both corresponding to English 'and then I left'.

Generally, Swedish is considered a robust verb second language (V2-language), since the finite verb in main clauses is almost always tied to the second position of the clause. Thus, whenever a main clause begins with something other than the subject, subject-verb inversion occurs (compare example 1a and 1b).

(1a)	Jag	gick	dit
	S	V	X
	'I	went	there'

(1b)	Dit	gick	jag
	X	V	S
Lit.	'There	went	I'

There are only a few known exceptions to the V2-rule in standard and regionalized varieties of Swedish. For example, subject-verb inversion is optional after the clause-initial adverb *kanske* 'maybe' (see example 2a), and

inversion is also not used after a clause-initial *så* 'then/so' indicating conclusion/consequence (see example 2b)[1].

(2a)	Kanske	hon	gick	dit
	X	S	V	X
	'Maybe	she	went	there'
(2b)	Så	jag	gick	dit
	X	S	V	X
	'So	I	went	there'

The Swedish V2-rule is known to be difficult to acquire for second language learners of Swedish, and several studies have shown that the incidence of XSV is often long-lived in learner language (e.g., Bolander 1988; Hyltenstam 1978; Håkansson 1992). There are also some researchers who have claimed that XSV is commonly used in the Swedish of young people in multilingual settings (e.g., Kotsinas 1994). In the 1980's, Ulla-Britt Kostinas (e.g., 1988, 1989, 1994) conducted a number of small-scale studies of language use among adolescents in multilingual areas of Stockholm. She observed that the youths in her studies employed various linguistic features that were colored by the multilingual environment in which they lived. Among other things, Kotsinas noted that they used many slang words originating in the different minority languages spoken in the area, frequently employed XSV in contexts that in standard Swedish require subject-verb inversion, often confused grammatical genders and used a characteristic "choppy" prosody. Kotsinas (e.g. 1989, 1994) suggested that these features were not primarily the result of "errors" or of the adolescents' status as second language speakers of Swedish, but rather a means for them to mark their group identity, and their identity as multilingual youths (see also Fraurud & Bijvoet 2004). The characteristic features were used by adolescents of all different linguistic backgrounds, also individuals with a monolingual Swedish background, and Kotsinas began to refer to the adolescents' way of speaking Swedish as *rinkebysvenska* 'Rinkeby Swedish', a term that was popular in the media at the time, and a term that many of the adolescents used to refer to their own way of speaking Swedish.

Kotsinas' studies were pioneering, but considering that most of her claims were based on rather small samples of data, there is a need to further explore her findings and substantiate these with more empirical data (cf. Fraurud 2004).

[1] A clause-initial *så* 'then' that indicates temporal succession requires subject-verb inversion, however (e.g. SAG 1999).

My thesis had as its point of departure Kotsinas' (e.g. 1989, 1994) earlier observations of the frequent use of XSV among youths in multilingual settings. The aim of the study was to explore quantitatively how common the use of XSV was among different groups of adolescents and to investigate how their use of XSV might be influenced by the situational context and various demographic, linguistic and socio-pragmatic variables. Since the use of XSV is known to be typical of Swedish as a second language (see above), I also wanted to investigate the link to learner language.

In the study, the main focus was put on subject-verb order of main declarative clauses, but subject-verb order of *wh*-questions and subordinate clauses was also investigated.

2. Participants and data

The participants in the study were 127 adolescents from eight upper secondary schools in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, all situated in multilingual settings. All participants were part of the SUF-project. In each city, we selected at least one school in a highly multilingual area, where the majority of the students had a multilingual background, and at least one school in a somewhat less multilingual area, where a relatively large proportion of the students still had a multilingual background. The data included audio-recorded retellings, written essays and a grammaticality judgment test (from now on referred to as GJT). This data sample was collected and analyzed with the aim of comparing different groups of speakers, the three cities and the different schools within the city.

In order to make more in-depth inter-individual and intra-individual analyses of subject-verb order variation, a sub-sample of 20 participants from Stockholm was selected (from now on referred to as 'the focus sample', as opposed to 'the large sample'). The focus sample included data from audio-recordings of classroom presentations, semi-directed group conversations, and self-recordings, in addition to the other data.

In total, approximately 60 hours of recorded speech were analyzed for this study. All audio-recordings were transcribed by the author, and later analyzed linguistically.

3. General results

The results showed that the participants' subject-verb order in *wh*-questions and subordinate clauses predominantly agreed with standard Swedish word order rules and the word order variation found was of a type that is known to occur commonly in standard and regionalized varieties of Swedish, which is why these results will not be discussed further in this summary. The rest of the paper focuses on the subject-verb order variation found in main declarative clauses.

Contrary to my expectations, based on Kotsinas' earlier studies (see above), relatively few examples of XSV were produced in the samples studied. In general, participants followed standard Swedish rules for subject-verb placement in their declaratives. At the same time, relatively many of them produced sporadic examples of XSV in the oral contexts, irrespective of their linguistic background and/or where they went to school. There were also a few individuals in the samples who were frequent users of XSV in several contexts.

In the large sample (excluding the results of the GJT), approximately 3.5% of the main declarative clauses that began with a non-subject displayed clear XSV.[2] In the focus sample, which included contexts for peer-peer interaction, XSV was comparatively more common, reaching approximately 10%.[3] These figures are lower than anticipated on the basis of earlier research (e.g. Kotsinas 1994), anecdotal evidence, as well as the author's first impressions of the data (see Ganuza 2008, pp. 140–141, for more details). In the large sample, all but one participant produced more examples of XVS than XSV if all data is considered. The pattern is the same in the focus sample, but there were a few individuals who used more XSV than XVS in some recordings. For example during a planned group conversation in one of the more multilingual schools in Stockholm, all of the three male participants used more XSV than XVS (see table 1).

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[2] This figure excludes examples of *kanske* ('maybe')-SVX, since these are well-known exceptions to the V2-rule in standard Swedish (see above). It also excludes examples of possible XSV (pXSV), i.e. examples that are open to alternative interpretation. Otherwise the proportion of XSV would increase to about 5.5%.

[3] If examples of possible XSV (pXSV), i.e. examples that are open to alternative interpretation, were included, this figure would increase to about 15%.

Table 1. *Frequent use of XSV in a semi-directed group conversation [Ekmel, Mehmet, and Ismail].*

Participant	XVS		(p) XSV	
	N	%	N	%
Ekmel (B05)	2	11	17	89
Mehmet (B09)	3	18	14	82
Ismail (B16)	5	42	7	58
Total	10	21	38	79

Note: The figures in the last column include both clear and possible examples of XSV.

In the recording, the boys discussed the content of the short story *Elixir* by Alejandro Leiva Wenger (2001). The class had been given the assignment to read the short story at home and were to discuss the content of the story in smaller groups during a Swedish lesson. The language of the short story is unconventional and it is characterized by an abundant use of XSV, among other things, which may be one explanation as to why the boys used so much XSV in this particular recording (for a more detailed analysis of the recording, see Ganuza 2008, section 6.3). A short excerpt of the recording is given in example 3 to illustrate the boys' use of XSV in the recording. Mehmet (B09) is telling the other boys about the plot of the short story, and produces a number of XSV during this account.

(3) Mehmet: **å sen så va heter re eh får killen** [XVS] han han får blåa ögon # så han blir skadad # **å sen hans kompisar dom kommer** [XSV] dom säger varför har ru blåa ögon för # så han säger jag drack det dära xxx # **å sen dom dricker också** [XSV] # **å sen hans kompisar dricker också** [XSV] # **å sen dom får också blåa ögon** [XSV]

Mehmet: '**and then how do you say eh this guy gets** [XVS] he he gets blue eyes # so he's damaged # **and then his friends they come** [XSV] they say why do you have blue eyes # and he says I drank that xxx # **and then they drink too** [XSV] # **and then his friends drink too** [XSV] # **and then they get blue eyes too** [XSV]'

4. Factors influencing subject-verb placement

In an initial analysis, the influence of situational, linguistic, demographic and socio-pragmatic factors on participants' subject-verb placement was investigated. The results clearly showed that some participants' subject-verb placement varied with the situational context. In the large sample, most XSV

occurred in the oral context, i.e. in the retellings, whereas very few XSV were found in the written essays. In the focus sample, XSV was proportionately more common in the self-recordings and group conversations than in the other contexts studied (see table 2). The overall results of both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the material indicate that XSV, when used, occurs predominantly in peer-peer interactions and only rarely in interaction with adults (cf. Kotsinas 1988).

Table 2. *Distribution of XSV and possible XSV in the focus sample.*

Context	X-clauses	XSV		possible XSV	
	N	N	%	N	%
Group conversations	260	51	19.6	14	5.4
Self-recordings	400	55	13.8	18	4.5
Retellings	1 019	87	8.5	60	5.9
Presentations	361	35	9.7	15	4.2
Written essays	264	1	0.4	0	0

Note: Examples of *kanske* 'maybe'-SVX have been excluded.

Regarding the influence of the linguistic environment, research on variable subject–verb order in Swedish as a second language has shown that the type and nature of the clause-initial element, the subject, and the finite verb may influence learners' application of the verb-second rule (e.g. Bolander 1988). In an attempt to explore the link to learner language, a second analysis investigated whether the same linguistic factors would influence the use of XSV in the present study. Linguistic analyses of the data clearly showed that the nature of the clause-initial element was an important factor influencing the adolescents' subject–verb order. XSV was most commonly produced after adverbials, in particular after the connective adverbs *sen* 'then' and *då* 'then' (see example 4a–b), and after clause-initial subordinate clauses (see example 4c).

(4a) Rana (L39), self-recording.

Å sen	jag	har	lunch
X	S	V	O
'And then	I	have	lunch'

(4b) Ekmel (B05), presentation.

Då	landet	får	en sjukhus
X	S	V	O
'Then	the country	gets	a hospital'

(4c) Semra (L43), retelling.

När han kom tillbaka	man	trodde	han	levde
X (sub.clause)	S	V	O	(sub.clause)
'When he came back	you	thought	he	lived'

By contrast, practically no examples of XSV were found after clause-initial objects, predicative, or infinitival clauses. These results are similar to Bolander's (1988) findings regarding Swedish learner language.

The analyses also showed that participants' subject-verb placement was influenced by the presence of a topic placeholder *så/då* immediately after a clause-initial element (see example 5). The presence of *så/då* clearly favored inversion (cf. Svensson 1999, for Swedish learner language).

(5)	Å sen	så	gick	vi	dit
	X	topic placeholder	V	S	there
	'And then	[topic placeholder]	went	we	there'

However, contrary to what was found in Swedish learner language (e.g. Bolander 1988), the subject, whether it was a lexical noun phrase or a first, second or third person pronoun, or the status of the finite verb, whether it was a main verb, an auxiliary or a copula verb, did *not* influence participants' subject-verb placement in this study. Thus, the overall results are both similar to and partially different from the results found in studies of second language acquisition of Swedish. As in learner language, the type and nature of the clause-initial element appears to constrain some adolescents' subject–verb order, whereas the type and nature of the subject and the finite verb do not.

The general conclusion is that the linguistic context alone cannot explain the variation produced in this study. Language-internal variables, for example, do not explain why only certain individuals within the samples vary between XVS and XSV, or why these individuals vary in some contexts, but not in others.

In order to explore how different demographic factors might have influenced participants' subject-verb order, the results for different groups of participants were compared. In the large sample, comparisons were made between the results for the three cities and the different schools. The results suggest the possibility that the use of XSV might be linked in particular to the more multilingual schools in the Stockholm sample, since a somewhat larger proportion of XSV was found in these schools. At the same time, it should be noted that none of the differences between the cities or the different schools reached statistical significance. However, qualitative analyses of the data seem to support the link to Stockholm. All of the most frequent users of XSV in the large sample were from Stockholm. There were six participants from the Stockholm sample who produced between 5 and 53 examples each of XSV in their retellings. In comparison, none of the participants from Gothenburg or Malmö produced more than four examples each of clear XSV in their retellings.

Concerning the influence of participants' gender, in the large sample the male participants produced a slightly larger proportion of XSV than the female

participants. Results of the qualitative analyses of the data from the focus sample also suggest that XSV might be employed more extensively and in more contexts by the male speakers compared to the female speakers, which is similar to what Kotsinas found in her earlier studies (e.g., 1988). One should, however, not overemphasize these findings since the results show that both female and male participants use XSV in all the contexts studied and two female speakers were among the four participants with the highest overall number of XSV in the study.

Since XSV is common in learner language (see above) it would have been easy to assume a direct link between the use of XSV and second language use of Swedish in the present study. The link to learner language is supported by some of the findings. For example, as mentioned above, some of the same linguistic factors that are known to influence subject-verb placement in learner language constrained subject-verb placement in this study. In the large sample, a small positive statistical correlation was found between the production of XSV and participants' age of onset of Swedish acquisition, i.e. a higher age of onset was related to an increased use of XSV. The results also indicated that participants' background as multi- or monolingual speakers of Swedish was of importance for their use of XSV.[4] All of the most frequent users of XSV had a multilingual background, i.e. grew up with at least one more language in addition to Swedish during childhood, and most of them reported that they lived in multilingual settings, and/or that most of their closest friends had a multilingual background.

It is, however, important to point out that the results clearly showed that the production of XSV cannot be reduced simply to a learner phenomenon in the present study. Several of the most frequent users of XSV in both samples reported that they started learning Swedish along with another language at an early age, even before age three. By definition they would, therefore, not be defined as second language learners of Swedish, if we choose to draw the line between what leads to first language development and second language development at around age three to four, as has often been done in the literature (e.g., McLaughlin 1987; see also Håkansson & Nettelbladt 1993). At the same time, most of the participants with a later age of onset (i.e. who started learning Swedish after age six) produced no examples of XSV in the same contexts. In the focus sample, there were also a few individuals with a monolingual Swedish

[4] A participant was defined as having a "monolingual Swedish background" if s/he had grown up in a family where only Swedish was spoken during childhood. All other participants were defined as having a multilingual background. This is by no means an unproblematic operationalization of the dichotomy monolingual-multilingual, which is discussed in detail in Ganuza (2008, pp. 28–32). See also Fraurud & Boyd (this volume).

background who produced more than sporadic examples of XSV, although these examples were mostly produced in interaction with multilingual peers.

The data showed that irrespective of their language background, all participants employed subject-verb inversion in all the different situational contexts studied and they used it in many different linguistic environments. Almost all of them used more XVS than XSV, irrespective of context.

In sum, several of the variables studied were shown to influence participants' subject-verb placement to some extent, but none of the factors could alone or together fully explain the subject-verb variation found in the study. As discussed below, it is argued that factors beyond the situational, linguistic and demographic also have to be accounted for in order to understand the subject-verb order variation produced by adolescents in multilingual settings.

5. Frequent users of XSV

Despite the generally low occurrence of XSV in the study, there were some individuals who were relatively frequent users of XSV in certain contexts, for example female participant Bushra (K28) and male participant Ekmel (B05), whose results are displayed in table 3.

Table 3. *Results for two frequent users of XSV.*

	Group convers XSV		Self-recordings XSV		Retellings XSV		Presentations XSV		Written essays XSV	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bushra (K28)	7	24.1	15	27.3	53	36.3	–	–	0	0
Ekmel (B05)	16	84.2	6	42.9	1	1.9	29	53.7	0	0

Qualitative analyses of the participants' use of XSV suggest that it might best be explained by looking at various socio-pragmatic variables.

As mentioned above, XSV was predominantly produced in peer-peer conversations, and only rarely in conversation with adults. The use of XSV appeared to be linked to what Deborah Tannen (1984) has called a *high-involvement style*. Most XSV occurred when the adolescents spoke about something personally engaging to them, and in particular if they were allowed to speak continuously for some time without being interrupted. Apart from the use of XSV in these contexts, the adolescents' speech was also characterized by a number of other language features that are known to be typical of informal youth language (e.g., Nordberg 1984), for example frequent use of slang words,

an abundant use of epistemic markers such as *du vet* 'you know', *ba* 'just', *liksom* 'sort of' (cf. Svensson 2007, this volume), a fast speech rate, a lot of overlapping talk, fast turn-taking, as well as usage of expressive phonology and sometimes marked intonation (cf. Bodén 2005, this volume). XSV was particularly common in sequences of speech where speakers enumerated a number of events that had taken place or were about to happen, and especially if these enumerations began with a clause initial *å sen* 'and then'. The following three excerpts – an excerpt from a self-recording with female participant Bushra (example 6a), an excerpt from a self-recording with female participant Rana (example 6b), and an excerpt from a group conversation with the three boys Ekmel, Mehmet and Ismail (example 6c) – are presented here to illustrate how subject-verb inversion was constrained by the socio-pragmatic factors mentioned in this section.

(6a) Bushra (K28), self-recording.
han ba ring mej när du fyller arton **då vi kan gå ut å hitta på nånting** [XSV] asså han ville ju ta ut mej på asså han ville bjuda ut mej f' att jag fyller arton år förstår ru

'he just call me when you turn eighteen **then we can go out and do something** [XSV] you know he just wanted to take me out you know he wanted to ask me out 'cause I'm turning eighteen do you understand'

(6b) Rana, self-recording.
å sen jag kommer ner [XSV] jag lovar jag e nere kvart över [...] **å sen jag sitter med dej** [= XSV] **å sen jag har lunch** [XSV] lyssna # kolla mitt schema # jag skolkar där # å sen lunch

'**and then I come down** [XSV] I promise I'll be down at a quarter past [...] **and then I sit with you** [XSV] **and then I have lunch** [XSV] listen # check my schedule # I cut a class there # and then lunch'

(6c) Mehmet, group conversation.
asså de om vi baxar hennes nummer # **å sen vi ringer henne** [XSV] **å sen vi kanske kan bazz henne** [XSV]

'well if we "baxar" [steal] her number # **and then we call her** [XSV] **and then maybe we can "bazz" [fuck] her** [XSV]'

The results taken together indicate that the use of XSV is part of some of the participants' more casual language repertoires, i.e. part of their *vernacular language* to use a traditional sociolinguistic term (e.g., Labov 1972).

More importantly, however, the data also suggests that using XSV may carry a symbolic value for some of the speakers. In the data, some of the participants appear to use XSV as an active linguistic strategy with which they manifest their affiliation and identification with the multilingual suburb, show

solidarity with their peers in a classroom situation, and/or contest official discourses (see Ganuza 2008, section 6.3, for details and examples).

6. Grammaticality judgment data

The participants completed a written grammaticality judgment test (GJT), which tested their judgment of sentences with XVS and XSV.

The overall results of the GJT corresponded relatively well with the other data. For most part, the participants judged the sentences on the GJT according to standard Swedish norms for subject-verb order. On an individual level, there was a relatively good correspondence between GJT results and production data for some participants, but not for others. As an example of the latter, several of the most frequent users of XSV in oral production judged almost all of the sentences with XSV on the GJT as being "wrong". This was true for both Bushra (K28) and Ekmel (B05), for example, who were exemplified earlier as frequent users of XSV. In addition, some of the participants who produced no XSV in oral or written production judged relatively many sentences with XSV on the GJT as being "correct". These results show that there is not necessarily a straightforward correspondence between a participant's use of word order and what s/he "judges" as correct word order on a GJT.

7. Conclusion

As was discussed above, the overall results showed that the participants followed standard Swedish norms for word order most of the time, in declaratives as well as in questions and subordinate clauses. Although relatively few examples of XSV were found in declarative clauses if all the data is considered, the proportion of XSV varied significantly with the situational context. Group conversations and self-recordings, i.e. contexts of peer-peer interaction, elicited more examples of XSV than other contexts. Certain individuals were frequent users of XSV in several contexts.

In addition to the situational context, participants' subject-verb placement was affected by various language-internal, demographic, and socio-pragmatic factors. Concerning the influence of the linguistic environment, XSV was most commonly produced after clause-initial adverbials, in particular after the connective adverbs *sen* and *då* 'then', and after clause-initial subordinate clauses. In terms of the impact of different demographic factors, the results indicated

that XSV might be linked in particular to youth language practices in Stockholm, since all of the most frequent users of XSV were from this city. However, more research is needed to further support this finding. The overall results also showed that the participants' linguistic background was of importance for their subject-verb placement. All of the most frequent users of XSV had a multilingual background, and most of them also reported that they lived in multilingual suburbs and/or that their closest friends were multilingual. There were some individuals with a monolingual Swedish background who employed XSV more than randomly in peer-peer interaction.

As regards the link to learner language, the general conclusion was that the use of XSV in the present study could not be explained simply as a learner phenomenon. As discussed earlier, the most frequent users of XSV were not typical second language speakers of Swedish. Most of them were born in Sweden and reported that they started learning Swedish along with another language before age three. The fact that some speakers with a monolingual Swedish background used XSV also contradicts a direct link to learner language. Besides this, the results of the grammaticality judgment test showed that most of the frequent users of XSV were well aware of standard Swedish word order norms when put to test, and none of them used XSV in their written essays.

The results taken together indicate that the use of XSV is part of some adolescents' casual youth language repertoire in certain contexts. The use of XSV also carries a symbolic value for some participants, and the data suggests that some of them may employ XSV as an active linguistic strategy with which to show their affiliation and identification with the multilingual setting and to manifest solidarity with peers. In future studies, it would be fruitful to try to substantiate these latter findings further with in-depth participant observations of language use, and to explore further different kinds of meanings that adolescents may attach to the use of XSV and other linguistic resources in different contexts.

To conclude, the results show that there is no simple relationship between participants' background, their subject-verb placement in production and their judgment of subject-verb order on a grammaticality judgment test. The results show that an individuals' use (and/or judgment) of XSV in these multilingual settings, does not necessarily say anything about his/her command of Swedish subject-verb order rules.

However, although the general conclusion is that there is no direct link between the use of XSV and learner language in this study, I suggest that learner language might indirectly be the source of the participants' use of XSV, i.e. that learner language might have served as an inspiration for their use of XSV (cf. Jaspers 2008). This might explain why some of the same linguistic factors that

constrain subject-verb order in learner language constrain the variation produced in this study.

Judging by media and literary accounts of language use in multilingual settings (e.g., Källström this volume), the use of XSV is a salient language feature that is easily noticeable to the listener/reader and something that s/he often reacts to (see also Ganuza 2008, pp. 140–141). This might be one reason why the use of XSV, like the use of slang, might be an efficient means for adolescents to mark their group identity and their status as multilingual youths.

In future studies it would be interesting and necessary to explore further how conscious adolescents in these multilingual settings are of the word order variations they use, and to what extent they are able to manipulate word order in different contexts consciously.

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Computer based quantitative methods applied to first and second language student writing

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Abstract

Quantitative measures have been widely used in Swedish research on students' texts. There are however few quantitative studies focusing on differences between mono- and multilingual students' texts. We compare approximately 200 national tests in Swedish written by first and second language secondary students living in multilingual urban areas, gathered within the project "Language and language use among students in multilingual urban settings". The purpose of this study is to investigate whether lexical quantitative and qualitative statistical measures can be used to describe and compare different aspects of student writing. We identify three measures that suit this purpose: nominal ratio, measuring the number of nominal phrases vs. verbal phrases in a text; word variation index, measuring the number of different words or lexical items found in a text; and word length, describing the length of a token. The three dependencies investigated were: linguistic background vs. grades, student variables vs. quantitative measures, and correlations between quantitative measures. The multilingual students had lower results on some measures. One

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group of students with an age of onset for second language development of 4–7 years had lower results on some measures than multilingual students with a lower or higher age of onset.

Keywords: second language writing, language technology, multilingual settings, lexical analysis, quantitative measures.

1. Introduction

In Sweden, there is a long tradition of educational as well as linguistic research on students' writing. Writing in school has been studied from different perspectives, where both the classroom context and the make-up of texts written by students of varying age as well as social and linguistic background have been taken into account (cf. e.g. Folkeryd 2006; Garme 1988; Hultman & Westman 1977; Larsson 1982; Ledin 1998; Nyström 2000; Strömqvist 1987; Östlund-Stjärnegård 2002). Although the principal aim of the studies may vary, several of the text-oriented investigations include quantitative data such as word length or distribution of parts-of-speech, the earlier studies being conducted manually (Hultman & Westman 1977) whereas more recent ones often make use of computer programs (Nyström 2000; Östlund-Stjärnegårdh 2002; Johansson Kokkinakis 2008). Several studies concern quantitative differences between students' texts given different grades (Hultman & Westman 1977; Östlund-Stjärnegårdh 2002), while others relate textual differences to students' social and linguistic background. Folkeryd (2006), for example, studies attitudinal language, which she relates to linguistic background, and, outside Sweden, the Norwegian KAL-project (Berge 2005) relates social background to differences in word length (Evensen & Vagle 2003). Hultman & Westman (1977), investigating texts in national tests quantitatively, find strong correlations between distribution of parts-of-speech and grade, concluding that texts with high grades are generally more dense and nominal. Another variable that has been investigated is the gender of the pupils; e.g. Hultman & Westman found that boys use longer words and produce more dense texts. In Andersson (2002, p. 23) the boys seem to write a more nominal style and use longer words. Andersson's results hold for both first and second language students.

In second language research, the writing of second language speakers has attracted much interest, not least with regard to style and characteristics of academic language registers (Reynolds 2002, 2005), such as nominal style and genre-related use of lexis and conjunctions. Although results such as those of

Hultman & Westman (1977) can readily be compared to research on second language writing, there are, to our knowledge, few studies relating the quantitative methods used in Swedish research on students' writing to second language research, apart from one study (Andersson 2002), which compares texts from national tests written by 20 first and second language students. In Andersson's study, the second language students were found to write less "mature" texts in the sense that their average word variation index is lower (2002, p. 34); they also use shorter sentences and produce a less complex syntax with less subordination.

The purpose of our study is to investigate whether statistically analysed quantitative measures can be used to compute upper-secondary school essays written by first and second language students assembled in the project "Language and language use among students in multilingual urban settings". Our primary focus is to find lexical characteristics and correlations in a compiled corpus of texts produced by monolingual and bilingual students. We also intend to compare the lexical production in this corpus with results in similar quantitative studies. This paper is a first description of the data.

1.1. Second language writing

Today there is a substantial amount of research on second language writing (Matsuda 2003). Findings on various textual aspects suggest that texts written in a second language tend to be more oral and informal than texts written in a first language. For instance, Silva (1993), in a review of research on second language writing, reports that texts written in a second language are less complex, "mature", academic, and stylistically appropriate. Also, Hinkel (2003), in a comparison of about 1 000 texts written in English by mono- and multilingual university students, concludes that the second language texts are more everyday and personal (2005, p. 297). In Reynolds (2005), an investigation of texts written by mono- and multilingual students in school years 5–8, the first language texts were found to be more dense and academic, displaying greater genre-related differences and adhering more to the expected conventions of the genre. The second language texts had a more oral and everyday style. Cameron & Besser (2004) also report on genre differences between first and second language texts; for example, second language writers display more confidence and adhere more to genre conventions in narratives than in non-fiction texts.

Although there are thus obvious differences between texts written by first and second language users, the distinction between "first" and "second" language speaker, or between "native" and "non-native" speaker, must be used with caution; perhaps even more so in data like the present, where the writers

display great variation as regards linguistic background. Using the same data as the present study, Fraurud & Boyd (2006, this volume) question the binary distinction between native and non-native speakers. By combining variables related to nativeness/non-nativeness – such as age of onset, preferred language(s) in different contexts, or language proficiency – they find no less than 88 profiles among the 222 informants (2006, p. 63, this volume). We believe that such differences between informants, making the distinction between first and second language speakers more of a continuum than a binary opposition, are highly relevant also to the writing of the same students.

To sum up, the aim of our investigation is to apply methods used since long in Swedish writing research on student texts written by multilingual and second language students which hitherto have not been subjected to this kind of quantitative analyses to any large extent. Another aim of this study is to generate results that can readily be compared to other results in second language writing and contribute to the growing research on literacy and academic skills in a second language.

2. Material and method

2.1. Material

In the present study, we apply four quantitative measures to approximately 200 Swedish texts written by students with varying language background in upper secondary school (year 11 or 12). The texts were written as part of a national test in Swedish for upper secondary school students consisting of two parts (part *a* and part *b*), which have been analysed individually, part *a* consisting of a shorter and more dense text than part *b*. Some students have written both texts while others only have written one of the texts.

The students have been grouped in two ways, by age of arrival (AOA) and age of onset (AOO) respectively. On the basis of age of arrival, the students were divided into three major groups: the first group consists of students born in Sweden by Swedish parents (SweSwe), the second group of students born in Sweden by parents born abroad (Swe/Abroad), and the third of students born abroad (Abroad). Theoretically, the group of students born abroad could include children born abroad by Swedish parents; however, in the present data this is the case for one or a few students only. The reason for choosing age of arrival as the basis for classification of the students is that we consider it to be quite robust, something that, as we suppose, the students probably know for

sure as opposed to stating the actual age of onset which might be harder to know or remember.

The grouping by age of onset comprises three groups: students with an age of onset before the age of four, between four and seven, and after seven. Age of onset is perhaps a less reliable criterion, but on the other hand it is a linguistic criterion that is widely used when grouping informants (Ganuza 2008; Tingsell 2007).

It should be mentioned that the grading assessment applied when the tests in the present study were written was criterion-referenced, distinguishing between "Fail", "Pass", "Pass with distinction" and "Pass with special distinction". This grading system differs from the system used at the time when Hultman & Westman (1977) carried out their study referred to above in which a norm-related grading system was used. According to this system, grade 3 was the average grade, which the majority of the students were supposed to get on a national level, while fewer would get grades 2 and 4. Grade 1, the lowest grade, and 5, the highest grade (Linde 2003, p. 83f.) were reserved for even smaller groups of students in accordance with a normal distribution curve.

2.2. Text features studied

The measures used in this study may be symptoms of certain text characteristics, some of which are illustrated by the following two excerpts from the corpus (a rough, fairly literal translation is given after the quoted passage):

> TEXT 1
> Är det något som stressar mig så kan det nästan vara vad som hälst men oftast så är det skolan och tider. Av mina egna erfarenheter så tror jag att det kan vara lite jobbigt med tider eller komma i tid. T ex: när jag nu ska träffa någon vid en viss tid så brukar det nästa vara så att jag kommer några minuter sent pga att det händer någonting sista minuten innan jag ska gå. /…/ Jag har ett problem, när jag får reda på att jag har ett prov kanske några veckor innan så pluggar jag inte direkt jag tycker att jag har gott om tid på mig. Så skjuter jag upp det tills det är en dag kvar, då vet jag inte hur jag ska börja plugga. Får panik, blir stressad och så känner jag mig pressad. (P36 SvB)
>
> 'If there is something that stresses me it can be almost anything but most often it is the school and the clock. From my experiences I think that time or to be on time can be a bit difficult. For example: when I am to meet somebody at a certain time it is almost always the case that I am a few minutes late because something happens the last minute before I leave. /…/ I have a problem, when I learn that I will have a test perhaps some weeks in advance I don't cram on the spot I think I have plenty of time. So I put it off until there is only one day left, then I don't know how to start cramming. Get into a panic, get stressed and I feel under pressure.'

TEXT 2

Jag har hört att Kulturrådet ämnar ge ut en bok som skall läsas av väntande på olika platser i samhället. Jag har i årets häfte för det nationella kursprovet i svenska "Har du tid?" funnit en bild som jag anser skulle passa bra in i er kommande bok.

Bilden, Salvador Dalìs *Upplösningen av minnets varaktighet* (1952–54), föreställer ett landskap präglat av tid. I förgrunden syns små rektangulära figurer lätt svävandes sida vid sida sträcka sig till bildens mitt. /…/ Efter figurerna syns små spetsar skjuta iväg mot stranden av en sjö som samtidigt är ett tygstycke fäst i ett träd stående i bildens övre vänstra hörn. Till höger om det trädet och närmare betraktaren syns ett till, på ett antal ställen, delat träd, i vars ena gren en klocka "hänger". Bortom sjön ses en hägring av ett berg. Invid stranden ligger till höger i bild en fisk. (L02 SvB)

'I have learnt that the Arts Council intends to publish a book that is to be read by people waiting in different places in the community. I have in this year's booklet for the national test in Swedish "Do you have time" found a picture that I consider to be suitable for your future book.

The picture, Salvador Dali's *The persistence of memory* (1952–54), depicts a landscape characterized by time. In the foreground small rectangular figures are seen, gently floating side by side reaching to the middle of the picture. /…/ After the figures small points are seen, flying towards the shore of a lake, which is at the same time a piece of cloth attached to a tree standing in the upper left corner of the picture. To the right of the tree and closer to the viewer another tree, cut in several places, is seen, on one branch of which a clock "is hanging". Beyond the lake the mirage of a mountain is seen. Alongside the shore there is, to the right in the picture, a fish.'

We will not focus on lexical or thematic differences between the passages quoted but only on the grammatical divergences captured by our quantitative measures. The measures will be presented in more detail in 2.4; suffice it to say that the first text displays very low values regarding nominal style, almost as low as oral language, whereas the second exhibits a value higher than genres like textbooks or newspaper articles (cf. Table 2).[2] This quantitative difference between the texts is reflected in the oral style of the first text, characterised by adverbial subordinate clauses, that-clauses and short nominal phrases, and the more written, dense style of the second, in which the nominal phrases are expanded by different kinds of modifiers and where subordination (relative clauses) is found within the nominal phrases (*a book* ***that is to be read***, *a picture* ***that I consider***). Thus the first text is characterised by clausal complexity whereas phrasal complexity is typical of the second text, a difference which, according to Halliday (1998), is characteristic of spoken vs. written mode. Another conspicuous difference between the texts is the use of participles in the second text (*svävande, fast, stående*), allowing for non-finite, nominal constructions. These are all traits associated with the differences in nominal ratio between the texts.

[2] The nominal ratio of the texts is 0.29 and 1.41 respectively; in Melin & Lange (1995), the nominal ratio of oral language is 0.25.

2.3. Method

The methods of processing and analysing the text corpus included compiling the corpus by putting together xml-tagged text files. In the lexical analysis, we employed part-of-speech tagging with a statistical part-of-speech tagger (Brants 2000) trained on a balanced corpus representing various types of genres of Swedish texts, the SUC corpus (Källgren, 1998).

For the purposes of statistical analysis, a tailored computer program (Johansson Kokkinakis 2009) was created to fit the input of the corpus data and also to produce a suitable output accounting for all features/variables needed (i.e. nominal ratio, lexical density, language background; cf. below). The output was then used to perform statistical analyses with the statistical program SPSS (SPSS 1990) in which quantitative data were correlated and mean values of the quantitative measures for different student groups or grades were compared. Where this is relevant, we also used cross-tabulations, calculating the statistical significance with chi-tests. A p-value lower than 0,01 was considered significant at a two star level and a p-value lower than 0,05 is considered significant at a one star level.

2.4. Four quantitative measures

In order to analyse and compare textual structure and lexical composition, we have as mentioned earlier, chosen four quantitative measures, which relate to density and written style, and therefore are relevant in relation to second language writing research. As previously described, second language learners are known to write in a less dense style and would typically display a less lexically diverse and rich language and way of writing partly due to having a smaller vocabulary but also a less developed language over all (Laufer & Nation 1995; Rayson & Granger 1998). These are *lexical density, nominal ratio, word variation index* and *word length*. The complexity of these measures differs. Lexical density and nominal ratio are two measures which require a technical and linguistic analysis of each word in context in terms of part-of-speech tagging. Word variation index, however, does not require linguistic analysis but would take an extensive amount of time to compute manually. Word length is trivial and may be computed with any kind of word processing computer program. Definitions of and rationales for each measure are given below.

Lexical density (LD) is in general terms explained as a measure of the information load and density of a text. In discourse analysis, it might be used as a descriptive parameter which varies with register and genre. Oral language tends to have a lower lexical density than written texts. The proportion of

content words (i.e. nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs) vs. word tokens is calculated (Ure 1971; Laufer & Nation 1995). The definition of the LD measure is explained by the formula:

$$\frac{\text{nouns}_n+\text{verbs}_n+\text{adjectives}_n+\text{adverbs}_n}{\text{tokens}_n}$$

Nominal ratio (NR) concerns to what extent a text is nominal. A high NR is generally considered to be a sign of high information load. Spoken language is characterized by a low NR, whereas written texts often have a high NR and thus a high information load (Melin & Lange 1995; Hultman & Westman 1977). The definition of the NR formula is given as:

$$\frac{\text{nouns}_n+\text{prepositions}_n+\text{participles}_n}{\text{pronouns}_n+\text{verbs}_n+\text{adverbs}_n}$$

Word or Lexical variation index (WVI) is commonly used to measure a student's lexical production in terms of the number of different lexical items found in a text, i.e. word types. The measure can be calculated in various ways. The simplest way is to measure Type-Token Ratio (TTR) (types_n divided by tokens_n) or the logarithmic version Word Variation Ratio (WVR) ((log types_n) divided by (log tokens_n)). Preliminary results in our study indicate no significance in correlation with other variables. We have therefore used a more complex version of WVI[3], which is less sensitive to differences in text length (Hultman 1994). The formula is defined as:

$$\frac{\log \text{tokens}_n}{\log (2- (\log \text{types}_n/\log \text{tokens}_n))}$$

(tokens_n = total number of words, types_n=number of unique words)

Word length (WL) is simply defined as the mean length in characters of the lexical unit, the token.

2.5. Findings from earlier research

The word variation index measures the width of the lexicon, whereas lexical density and nominal ratio both typically aim to capture oral vs. written mode

[3] Word Variation Index is henceforth referred to simply as word variation.

and information load. Two texts with low vs. high lexical density and with low vs. high average word length might differ with respect to context dependence, as many short words might indicate many pronouns, which may also imply short noun phrases with few qualifiers and modifiers, resulting in low lexical density. Conversely, a text displaying clear characteristics of written style will probably prove to be nominal and context-independent, with a low degree of pronouns and a high degree of expanded noun phrases.

As mentioned earlier, in Hultman & Westman's (1977) investigation of national tests in Swedish written by upper secondary students, the quantitative measures co-vary to a large extent with the grades given. For example, as shown in Table 1, the mean word length varies between texts given different grades (1 being the lowest grade); for comparison, the mean word length of other genres is given as well (Melin & Lange 1995).

Table 1. *Word length in Hultman & Westman (1977) and in Melin & Lange (1995).*

Grade 1:	4.83	Newspapers:	5.32
Grade 3:	5.01	Brochures:	5.43
Grade 5:	5.52	Textbooks:	5.59

Similar differences are found regarding nominal ratio (table 2).

Table 2. *Nominal ratio in Hultman & Westman (1977) and in Melin & Lange (1995).*

Grade 1:	0.61	Spoken language:	0.25
Grade 3:	0.67	Newspapers:	1.04
Grade 5:	0.92	Brochures:	1.19
		Textbooks:	1.18

In Hultman & Westman (1977), both word length and nominal ratio are higher in texts given higher grades. As to word length, the highest mean value in the students' texts is rather high in comparison with the "adult genres", while the lower grades have lower mean values than these; all student texts have lower nominal ratios than the other genres.

3. Results

Below, we present an excerpt of the analyses performed in the present study, excluding non-significant results. First, results concerning learner and situation variables are presented in relation to each other, i.e. grades in relation to school and the students' AOA and AOO. Secondly, results concerning the four quantitative measures are presented in relation to variables, i.e. school, grade, and the students' background and gender, and treated statistically by means of descriptive statistics in the form of mean values and cross tables. Thirdly, we present results from statistical correlations between measures.

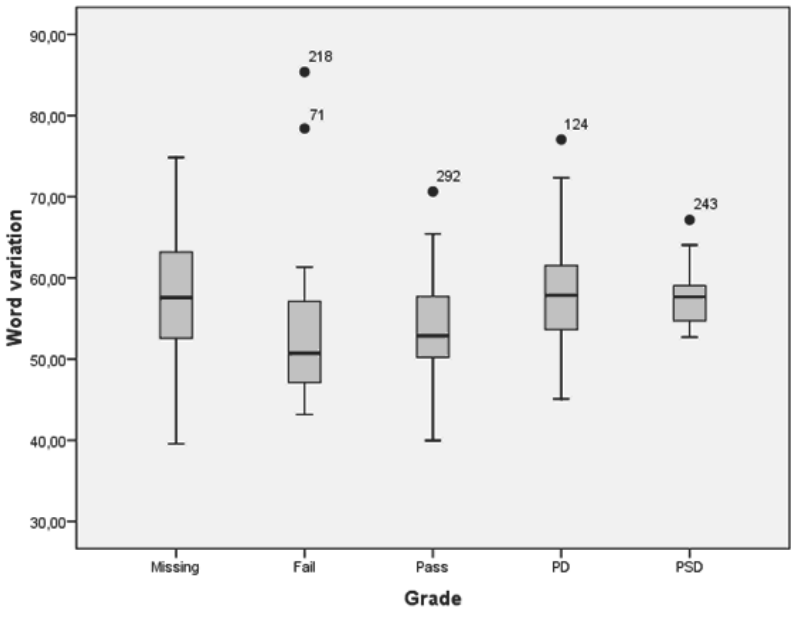
The presentation of the results investigated is divided into sections of linguistic or student/learner variables referred to as *meta data*. The quantitative measures have been analysed in relation to variables: grade, school and the students' gender and language background, defined as AOA and AOO.

3.1. School, grade and quantitative measures

A cross tabulation analysis of the relation between grade and school reveals that some of the schools participating in the project received higher grades on the national tests than others. For example, the grade *Fail* is unevenly distributed between schools, being the grade of 27 % of the texts from one school and of no texts from another. 52 % of the texts from the latter school got the grade *Pass with distinction*, a grade that only 6 % of the text from the former school got. The difference between the schools is statistically significant at a two-star level.

There are also statistically significant differences at a two-star level between the schools as regards all of the quantitative measures except for lexical density. Consistently, some schools tend to have more texts with higher values of nominal ratio, word variation and word length whereas others tend to have lower, and there are particularly conspicuous differences between some of the schools. These differences do not, however, co-vary with the grades of the schools.

In a cross tabulation analysis using chi-test, lexical density does not give rise to any statistically significant differences in relation to grade, however word length and word variation do at a two-star level; the p-value of the nominal ratio in relation to grade is also low, 0.06. Picture 1 displays the relation between word variation and grades in the form of a boxplot, showing e.g. that texts with the grade *Pass with distinction* display higher values than texts with *Pass* and *Fail*.



Picture 1. *Word variation related to grade.* (*Missing:* Grade missing*; PD:* Pass with distinction*; PSD:* Pass with special distinction.)

However, not all of the measures relate to grade in such clear-cut a way as word variation; e.g. some of the texts with *Fail* have rather high nominal ratio.

3.2. Student variables and quantitative measures

3.2.1. Grade and student background

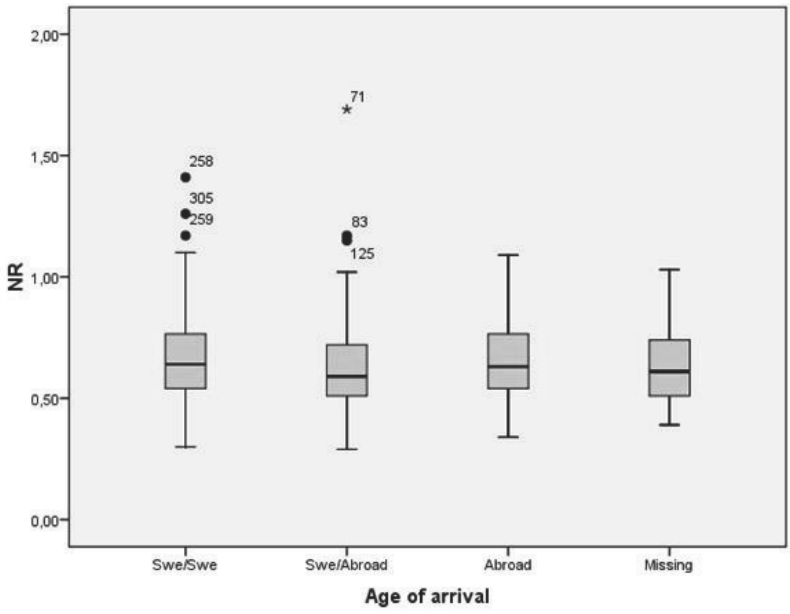
Before accounting for the relations between student variables and quantitative measures, we show the relation between two independent variables, grade and student background. Text grades differ between the student groups, as illustrated in Table 3; for example, texts written by students born abroad are less frequently given the grade *pass with distinction* than the others. However, as the grade on such a high share of the tests is missing in the data, e.g. on 45.5 % of the Swedish/Swedish students' texts, these figures must be treated with great caution.

Table 3. *Grade related to student background.*

	Swe/Swe	Swe/Abro	Abro/Abro	Total
Fail	3.3 % (4)	12.1 % (8)	14.15 % (11)	8.7 % (23)
Pass	22.3 %(27)	34.8 %(23)	26.9 % (21)	26.8 % (71)
Pass with distinction	26.4 %(32)	24.2 %(16)	6.4% (5)	20.0 % (53)
Pass with special distinction	2.5 % (3)	1,5 % (1)	0 %	1,5 % (4)
Grade missing	45,5 %(55)	27,3 %(18)	52,6 % (41)	43 %(114)
Total	100%(121)	100%(66)	100% (78)	100(265)

3.2.2. Age of arrival and quantitative measures

There are no statistically significant differences between texts written by the students groups defined by age of arrival regarding the quantitative measures investigated, when the students groups are compared together. As a way of illustration, the nominal ratio is displayed in relation to age of arrival in a boxplot in Picture 2, showing that the three student groups follow similar patterns.



Picture 2. *Nominal ratio related to age of arrival.*

If, however, the perspective is shifted and the students groups are compared not all four together but two by two, there are however statistically significant differences between student groups' mean values on the quantitative measures. For three of the four measures – nominal ratio, word variation index and word length – there are statistically significant differences between students born in Sweden by parents born in Sweden, on the one hand, and the other two groups, i.e. students born in Sweden by parents born abroad and students born abroad on the other. As for lexical density, however, there are no statistically significant differences between any of the groups. This pattern holds for the comparisons with all other measures except for nominal ratio; cf. table 4 below. The differences between student groups as regards the quantitative measures are displayed in Table 4:

Table 4. *Differences between student groups.*

Measure	Student group	P-value
Word var. index	Swe/Swe vs. Swe/Abroad	0.0004**
	Swe/Swe vs. Abroad	0.0005**
	Swe/Abroad vs. Abroad	0.8
Word length	Swe/Swe vs. Swe/Abroad	0.02*
	Swe/Swe vs. Abroad	0.02*
	Swe/Abroad vs. Abroad	0.9
Nominal ratio	Swe/Swe vs. Swe/Abroad	0.003**
	Swe/Swe vs. Abroad	0.1
	Swe/Abroad vs. Abroad	0.1
Lexical dens.	Swe/Swe vs. Swe/Abroad	0.1
	Swe/Swe vs. Abroad	0.1
	Swe/Abroad vs. Abroad	0.7

* = p-value $\leq$ 0.05

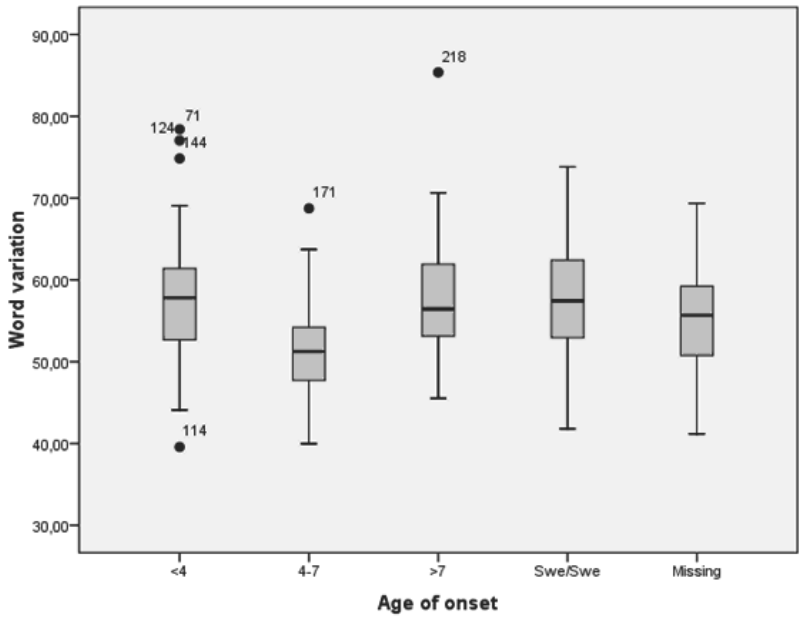
** = p-value $\leq$ 0.01

The group of students born abroad has also been divided into two subgroups according to their age of arrival before or after the age of six, in order to investigate whether there are any differences in relation to the measures related to arrival to Sweden. Age of arrival does, however, not correlate with any of the four measures in this study.

3.2.3. Age of onset and quantitative measures

When data are analysed in relation to age of onset instead of age of arrival, a somewhat different pattern emerges. There are no statistically significant differences between the student groups in relation to lexical density, nominal ratio and word length in a cross tabulation analysis using chi-test, but in relation to word variation there is a significant difference at a two star level. The

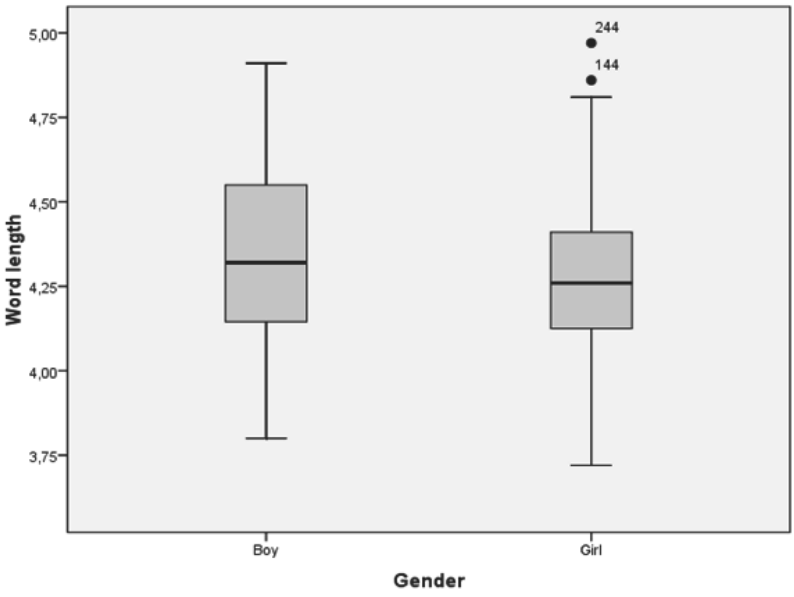
relation between word variation and the student groups defined by age of onset is displayed in Picture 3.



Picture 3. *Word variation related to age of onset.*

The picture shows fairly similar values for students with the earliest and students with the latest age of onset (before the age of four and after the age of seven respectively), but markedly lower values for the middle group, students with an age of of onset between four and seven years of age. Texts written by students born in Sweden by Swedish parents display slightly higher values, but their values also spread over a larger range.

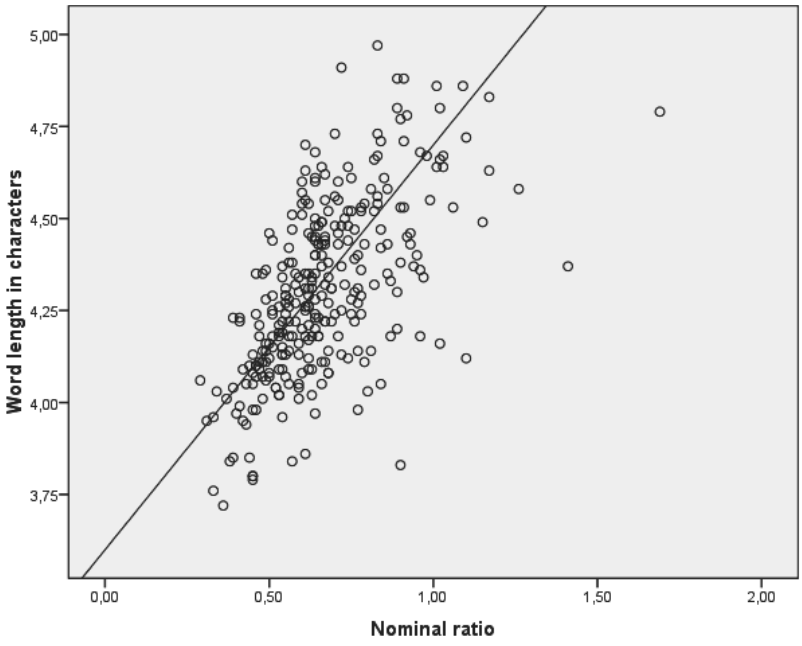
In a cross-table analysis, statistically significant differences appear between boys and girls regarding word variation index and word length, at a one-star and a two-star level respectively, and regarding nominal ratio the p-value is also low (0,06); the differences regarding lexical density are however not significant. The boys' texts tend to exhibit slightly higher values than the girls' texts. Picture 4 shows the differences concerning word length in the form of a boxplot, displaying the boys' slightly higher values and in general a wider range within the 50%-percentile.



Picture 4. *Word length related to gender.*

3.3. Correlations between quantitative measures

Strong correlations were found between all measures, except lexical density, which only correlates with word length and less strongly with nominal ratio. Interestingly, the simplest measure of them all, word length, can therefore be used to predict any of the other measures. Picture 5 provides an example of a correlation between word length and nominal ratio.



Picture 5. *Example of a strong correlation between word length and nominal ratio.*

3.4. The material as a whole in comparison with other studies

The data provided in Hultman & Westman (1977) is clearly of interest in relation to our data. The mean and median values of the present data for comparable measures are lower than in Hultman & Westman as a whole.

Table 5. *Measures in Hultman & Westman (1977) vs. the present study.*

	Hultman & Westman (1977)	Present study
Word length (mean value)	5.07	4.31
Nominal ratio (mean value)	0.74	0.66
Word variation index (median)	64.8	56.60

In Hultman & Westman, word length range between 4.83–5.52 for grade 1 and 5 respectively. Nominal ratio range between 0.61–0.92 for grade 1 and 5.

It is worth noticing that the mean values of word length and nominal ratio in the present study are lower than the mean values in Hultman & Westman. The mean value of word length is lower than the mean value of the lowest grade in Hultman & Westman, grade 1, whereas the mean value of nominal ratio is only slightly higher than the mean value of the lowest grade in Hultman & Westman. The word variation index in Hultman & Westman is a median value; the median word variation index in the present study is lower than in Hultman & Westman.

4. Discussion and concluding remarks

To summarise, the quantitative measures seem possible, to various degrees, to use as an indication of text qualities relating to nominal style and information load as described in section 3 earlier. Word length is the measure that seems most reliable as it is simple and correlates most strongly with the other measures, whereas lexical density is the least important, correlating to a lower degree with the other measures using the chosen formula of calculation. In addition, lexical density does not correlate as strongly and/or often with the variables as the other measures. Our intention is to modify the formula in future studies, for instance by separating analysis of co-occuring syntactic features, such as adjective and noun phrases or verb and adverb phrases, which noticeably coincide in the analysed texts.

As regards the variables studied, all measures, except for lexical density, co-vary with grade, i.e. a text with a higher grade typically show higher values on three measures. Student grades also correlate with respect to the variable "school". The quantitative measures do not co-vary significantly with the students' age of arrival when the groups are compared all together. If compared two by two there are, however, differences between the student groups, except for lexical density.

When analysed in relation to the students' age of onset, on the other hand, one of the measures, word variation, differs significantly between the student groups. This may suggest that age of onset, which is a linguistic criterion, is more reliable than age of arrival. It is also worth noting that the lowest values are found in texts written by the middle student group, those with an age of onset between 4 and 7. Possibly, the students with a later AO have had time to develop a firmer basis concerning literacy in their first language and can benefit from this when writing in a second language (cf. Cummins 1979); this finding must be studied further.

Finally, we have shown that several mean values on the measures used in this study are lower than those presented in Hultman & Westman (1977). Whether this is due to changes related to the national tests carried out since the earlier study was conducted, to differences between students or schools, or to other factors, remains an open question.

In view of the results of previous research such as Hultman & Westman (1977), where high grade coincides with high values on the measures investigated, the association between grade and quantitative measures in the present study is expected. Considering the heterogeneous student population in the present study, one cannot expect to find as clear associations between students' language background and the measures investigated as in studies comparing the writing of more straightforward first- and second language users. We find it noteworthy, however, that the texts written by students born abroad, including those with a late age of arrival and a late age of onset, display such high values, and that students with an age of onset between 4–7 display significantly lower values than the all other groups. Another unexpected result is the differences between schools as regards the measures.

This paper reports on a first investigation into the relevance of four quantitative measures for the analyses of written texts among upper-secondary school students in multilingual contexts. In future studies we want to pursue this investigation in more depth and focus on the extent to which these measures can be used to predict the quality of the lexical production of the texts.

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Multiethnic youth language in reviews of the novel *Ett öga rött*

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Abstract

The novel *Ett öga rött* is written almost exclusively in a version of multiethnic youth language. One of the themes of this article is the ways critics designate multiethnic youth language and multilinguals in Sweden in their reviews of the novel. Several of them use the controversial word *rinkebysvenska* 'Rinkeby Swedish' and even more use *blatte*, a denigrating word for people of non-Swedish descent. It turns out that reviewers use some typographic or linguistic strategies to soften the impact of these words. The second theme concerns those critics who stylise multiethnic youth language in their reviews. These stylised passages are not out-right parodies. They are generally deployed to give samples of the chief character's language use, and a glimpse of his character, while giving the review a humorous and light tone. However, it could be argued that the light tone is achieved at the expense of (speakers of) multiethnic youth language, since the stylistic effect is dependent on the inappropriateness of multiethnic youth language as a medium for literary reviews.

Keywords: stylisation, youth language, literary criticism, multiethnic language, imitation

1. Background and aim

The project "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings" (financed by The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Fund 2001–2006 and hereafter referred to as the SUF project) had as one of its goals to describe youth language spoken in multilingual areas in Gothenburg, Malmö and Stockholm, Sweden. Special attention was directed at language use displaying influence traceable to the complex multilingual situation in such areas. This latter kind of language use will here be called multiethnic youth language. (See the other articles in this volume for analyses of different aspects of multiethnic youth language.)

During a few months in 2001, the same year as the planning phase of the project started, literary use of multiethnic youth language became the focus of a discussion of contemporary Swedish literature. The reason was the publication of Alejandro Leiva Wenger's *Till vår ära* ('In our honour'), a collection of short stories, two of which were written in multiethnic youth language. When Jonas Hassen Khemiri's novel *Ett öga rött* ('An eye red') came out in 2003, the discussion continued. *Ett öga rött* is a fictitious diary where the chief character, Halim, uses his own version of multiethnic youth language, hereafter called *Halim's language*.

Ett öga rött is the first Swedish novel mainly written in what looks like multiethnic youth language and literary critics reviewing the book devote much attention to its language. They also, to a greater or lesser extent, give samples of this language and in several cases even imitate it. In this article, I look into the ways that the language of the novel is treated in reviews of it. Since the language use of some young people with a background in more or less segregated multilingual residential areas is a politically and ideologically loaded issue, it is interesting to study the use of words in the reviews referring to such language use and its users, and the form and effects of the samples of it. The first question addressed here is therefore if and how those reviewers who use sociolinguistically loaded words referring to multiethnic youth language and its speakers indicate their awareness of the ideological load of those words. The second focus of the article is on stylised multiethnic youth language in the reviews. Why do some reviewers imitate Halim's language/multiethnic youth language or borrow words from it? What are the effects of the stylised sequences?

2. Chief character, plot and language in *Ett öga rött*

The chief character of *Ett öga rött*, Halim, is about fifteen, born in Sweden of Moroccan parents and has recently lost his mother. After his wife's death, Halim's father has moved with his son from their old home in a multiethnic neighbourhood in Stockholm to a more homogeneous, middle-class and ethnically Swedish area so that his son can get a good education, absorb "good" Swedish and assimilate Swedish values and attitudes. Halim does not appreciate his father's ambitions. As a way for Halim to oppose his father and Swedish society he writes a secret diary, and he writes it in what is here called Halim's language, a special kind of Swedish with many multiethnic features and a few features that Halim seems to have invented himself. The use of Standard Swedish in direct speech etc. shows that Halim is a very competent user of Standard Swedish.

A main theme of the novel is the conflict in Halim's mind between what he construes as his own kind, whom he often calls *blattar* 'non-Swedes' and the others, often called *svennar* 'Swedes'. Another important theme is that of (non-) authenticity. Halim's language plays an important role in Khemiri's literary formation of these themes.

The lexicon and grammar of Halim's language is rich in features from multiethnic youth language, but also displays highly idiosyncratic traits which are interesting in connection with the authenticity theme. Khemiri stresses the important role of Halim's language for this theme in interviews (e.g. Ågren (2003); see also Källström (2010)). Here I will mention three of the most frequent and salient idiosyncratic features of Halim's language, which contribute strongly to an impression of it as non-authentic (a fuller description of Halim's language can be found in Göransson (2004)).

The most frequent and perhaps the most striking feature is *non-inversion*. Swedish is a verb-second (V2) language, which means that the finite verb has a fixed position, namely the second, in declarative main clauses and wh-questions (see Ganuza 2008, this volume, for a fuller description, including a few marginal exceptions). If the first element of such a clause has another grammatical function than that of subject, the word order will be inverted, i.e. the finite verb will precede the subject. However, Halim does not invert the order of subject and finite verb in such cases. The novel starts like this:

> Idag det var sista sommarlovsdagen… (Khemiri 2003, p. 9)
> today it was last summer-holiday-day
> 'Today was the last day of the summer holiday…'

In Standard Swedish, the clause would have started *Idag var det*, literally "Today was it", with inversion of the order of the subject *det* 'it' and the finite verb *var*

'was'. Non-inversion is used almost consistently in Halim's language. (See Källström (2010) for an analysis of the literary functions of non-inversion in *Ett öga rött* and two short stories by Leiva Wenger.) It is also found in learner language and multiethnic youth language, but considerably less frequently. (See Ganuza (this volume, 2008) for an analysis of non-inversion in spoken and written data from the SUF project.)

Another frequent and salient trait of Halim's language in *Ett öga rött* is the many *distortions and coining of multi-word expressions*, through which the form of e.g. many idioms and similes is manipulated and nonce compounds are formed. For example, Halim uses *eld i lågor* 'fire in flames' instead of *eld och lågor* 'fire and flames' (meaning 'very enthusiastic') (Khemiri 2003, p. 30) and *svårord* 'difficult-words' instead of *svåra ord* 'difficult words' (Khemiri 2003, p. 28). Große (2008) shows that in the speech and writing of adolescent bilinguals, multi-word expressions of the first type (*eld i lågor*) are used rather sparingly and that deviations from the established form, meaning and use tend to form a more complex and varied picture than in *Ett öga rött*.

A third frequent feature in Halim's language is fronting of a few adverbs like *också* 'also' that are not possible to use in clause-initial position in Standard Swedish. This will be called *också-fronting*. An example of this is *Också jag minns killen…* "Also I remember the guy…" meaning 'I also remember the guy'. *Också*-fronting seems to be found very seldom if at all in "authentic" language use. Note that as a by-product, *också*-fronting creates opportunities for Halim to break the V2 rule, i.e. for non-inversion.

3. The reception of *Ett öga rött*

Ett öga rött was very well received by literary critics and the general public. The reception of *Ett öga rött* was discussed in newspapers and other media in the months following its publication, and after that in articles in literary and cultural magazines, e.g. by Fegan (2004), Jones (2004), Löfgren (2005) and Trotzig (2004) (sometimes together with a few other books by a few young authors also often called "immigrant authors"). A recurrent target of criticism is the tendency of literary critics to let the authors' biography become their main characteristic, overshadowing their work and establishing readings of their texts as realistic renderings of life, people and language in the multilingual suburbs. Of these articles, Fegan (2004) in particular, but also Löfgren (2005) goes into some detail concerning language. Löfgren stresses the inherent and necessary non-authenticity of literary language: no literary dialect is a true rendering of natural speech, all are "faked" (Löfgren 2005, p. 30).

Fegan (2004) claims that literary critics in Sweden have a homogeneous Western European middle-class background, which means that they all lack first-hand experience of multilingual suburbs and language use in them. This homogeneity leads, according to Fegan, to unfair and prejudiced assessments of *Ett öga rött* (and Halim's language). Fegan claims that members of the imposed category of "immigrant authors" are not evaluated on the same terms as "Swedish authors", due to the current socio-political situation in Sweden: a kind of "friendliness racism" (Fegan 2004, p. 43) causes over-enthusiastic reactions to the "immigrant authors", and their writings are judged as truthful reports from the life of multilingual young people. The authors' literary language will in the same vein be construed as realistic renderings of youth language, and the "non-Swedish" features taken as authentic, picked up from the streets of the multilingual suburbs, and not subjected to serious evaluation as literary language.

There is some literary research on *Ett öga rött*. While most of this comments on or analyses at least some review, to my knowledge only Dahlstedt (2006), in her master's thesis, uses reviews as her primary data. She analyses ten reviews of *Ett öga rött*, together with reviews of four other purported "immigrant writers". However, linguistic issues are little discussed. Like most of the critics mentioned, Dahlstedt finds that critics generally focus on the authors' otherness, and ascribe them a role as representatives of young, suburban people with a non-Swedish background. She also claims that the ascription of otherness increases the authors' positive symbolic capital in the literary field. However, according to Dahlstedt, the emphasis on the otherness of the writers amounts to exoticising, which rests on a racist world-view.

In an earlier article (Källström 2006), I give a comprehensive overview of how Halim's language is treated in 32 reviews (the same reviews that are analysed in this article). Halim's language is a central theme in all the reviews. Samples of Halim's language are given in all of them. More than two-thirds of the reviewers are positive to Khemiri's use of Halim's language and only five are explicitly negative. As many as two-thirds of the reviewers have overlooked the linguistic aspect of the (non-)authenticity theme of the novel, i.e. they consider Halim's language realistically rendered multiethnic youth language. When giving examples of specific linguistic features typical of Halim's language, half of the reviewers mention slang and borrowings from languages other than Swedish and/or deviant word order, nine mention deviant multi-word expressions, and none mention *också*-fronting. When sampling Halim's language, most reviewers quote words or short phrases, and quite a few quote clauses or longer sequences. Borrowings and imitations are also found in many reviews.

4. Data

This article builds on an analysis of 32 reviews of *Ett öga rött*, varying in length and published in newspapers or magazines between 30 July 2003 and 8 February 2004 (see Sources below). The titles of the reviews have been excluded, since they are seldom formulated by the authors. All these reviews comment on Halim's language and all contain samples of it, in the form of quotations of single words or longer sequences, borrowings of words or short phrases, and imitations.

5. The use of *rinkebysvenska* 'Rinkeby Swedish'

As already mentioned, most reviewers consider Halim's language authentic multiethnic youth language. However, there is no generally accepted Swedish designation for multiethnic youth language, and the concept itself is ideologically loaded. There are clear indications in the reviews that the choice of what to call multiethnic youth language has been problematic. Table 1 shows those nominal heads of noun phrases referring to Halim's language as multiethnic youth language that are used in more than one review.

Table 1. *Heads of noun phrases referring to multiethnic youth language.*[1]

Head	Number of reviews
rinkebysvenska 'Rinkeby Swedish'	12 (7 hedged)
bruten svenska 'broken Swedish'	8
blattesvenska 'Blatte Swedish'	5
nysvenska 'New Swedish'	5 (1 hedged)
invandrarsvenska 'Immigrant Swedish'	4 (1 hedged)
förortssvenska 'Suburban Swedish'	3
konstruerad svenska 'constructed Swedish'[1]	3

The mere fact that seven different heads are used more than once (and several other used once) reflects the fact that there is no generally accepted designation. Nine designations have been hedged by the author. These contain verbal formulations or graphic devices suggesting that the author has some doubts

[1] In two cases, a modifier has also been included.

about the suitability of the expression. The following are English translations of the hedged expressions:[2]

- Call it new Swedish or Rinkeby Swedish or whatever.
- It is a language that for want of a better word is called "Rinkeby Swedish".
- In Stockholm it is called Rinkeby Swedish and in Scania Blatte Scanian.[3]
- what they call Rinkeby Swedish
- what for want of a better word is called Immigrant Swedish
- R…Swedish
- the broken Swedish we call R…Swedish
- so called R…Swedish
- the new linguistic variety that – a little carelessly, for it is not found only there – is called Rinkeby Swedish
- Rinkeby Swedish or whatever you choose to call it

R…Swedish is special because it alludes to an earlier article. When *Ett öga rött* was preannounced by the publisher as the first novel in "Rinkeby Swedish", Wiman (2003) (hopefully as a joke) threatened people who speak about "Rinkeby Swedish" with physical assault. However, Rabe (2003), the critic who uses "R…Swedish", may very well have chosen to do so because it is a convenient way of hedging her use of the word, and I have categorised her use of *R…svenska* as a hedged use of "Rinkeby Swedish".

Twelve reviewers have chosen *rinkebysvenska* 'Rinkeby Swedish', which is a widely used word. However, there are two problems with this word. It is connected with a certain neighbourhood of Stockholm, while multiethnic youth language is found in several other areas in Stockholm as well as in other cities. "Rinkeby Swedish" is also sociolinguistically loaded. (Stroud (2004) analyses "Rinkeby Swedish" as a concept embodying and constructing otherness.) There are some indications that the authors of reviews have been aware of these facts.

First, "Rinkeby Swedish" is only used by a little less than one-third of the reviewers, which is perhaps fewer than could be expected, considering the widespread use of the word and the fact that *Ett öga rött* was pre-announced as a novel in "Rinkeby Swedish". A Google search on 25 Aug. 2005[4] resulted in 1,050 hits on *rinkebysvenska*, while the second most popular of the competing words, *förortssvenska* 'Suburban Swedish', only got 156 hits.

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[2] All translations of quotations from the reviews are my own.

[3] *Scanian* refers to the dialect of Scania (Swedish *Skåne*), the southernmost province in Sweden.

[4] This is the date closest to the publication of the reviews when I made searches for these words.

Secondly, in as many as seven instances, "Rinkeby Swedish" is hedged. The reviewers in question seem to comment on their use of "Rinkeby Swedish" because they feel that although the word is well-known, it is not quite proper to use it. The sociolinguistic status of "Rinkeby Swedish" has almost certainly also played a role for the high frequency of hedging, although two reviewers say explicitly that they are reluctant to use "Rinkeby Swedish" because it has geographical connotations to a certain part of Stockholm (not identical to the suburb where Halim lived earlier).

"Rinkeby Swedish" evokes varying feelings and reactions. Here I will briefly mention three kinds of attitudes that seemed to be typical for the time of the reviews (and are probably still relevant). First, for several people the concept is negatively loaded. Not only the web sites and other sources that Stroud (2004) cites, but also many young people, teachers, administrators and others openly express negative attitudes to what they call "Rinkeby Swedish", seeing it as a kind incomplete, contaminated and inferior Swedish (Bijvoet 2003; Jonsson 2007, p. 97f.; Stroud 2004).

Secondly, another position is taken by many (but by no means all) young people from multilingual suburbs, who see this way of speaking as suburban slang which they find well suited for in-group use, but not suitable for use in other contexts (Bijvoet 2003; Bodén 2007, p. 11).

Thirdly, multiethnic youth language is by some people regarded as an exciting new variety, vitalised by influences from many other languages, encoding other experiences than Standard Swedish, and with a potentiality to vitalise also mainstream Swedish.[5] This stance is taken by many in the cultural elite and many academics, and also by some speakers of multiethnic youth language themselves.

Since almost all reviewers are positive to the novel and Khemiri's use of features from multiethnic youth language, it seems likely that many reviewers using "Rinkeby Swedish" would side with the third position. If that is correct, the high frequency of hedging of "Rinkeby Swedish" can be interpreted as indicating the reviewers' sensitivity for the problematic aspects of using this word. The author finds her/himself free to use this well-known and therefore convenient word, since her/his hedging shows an awareness of the possible negative impact of the word. In that way, she/he avoids criticism for using a word can be perceived as denigrating.

[5] At the time, the nation-wide magazine *Gringo* propagated such a view (though not the use of "Rinkeby Swedish" for multiethnic youth language).

6. The use of *blatte* 'non-Swede' and *svenne* 'Swede'

Even in a short review, you can hardly avoid referring to one of the central themes in *Ett öga rött*, Halim's division of the world into "us" and "them". A linguistic reflection of the conflict between "us" and "them" in the novel is Halim's use of *blatte* 'non-Swede' and *svenne* 'Swede'. But these words are sociolinguistically loaded. *Blatte* is a strongly denigrating designation for immigrants, especially young men with dark hair.[6] *Svenne* seems to have been introduced at about the same time as *blatte*.[7] However, it does not seem as loaded as *blatte*.

The frequency of *blatte* and *svenne* is very high. The roots (*blatt-* and *svenn-*) occur 84 times in the reviews. The frequency of each root is almost equal: *blatte* occurs 44 times and *svenne* 40 times. This shows that the reviewers have adopted Halim's way of naming the sides in the central conflict. However, the high frequency of the two words is surprising, considering the strongly negative associations associated with *blatte*. After all, it is quite possible to describe Halim's polarised worldview without using *blatte* and *svenne*. So why are they used? One reason is of course that they serve as samples of Halim's language, but this alone does not explain why they are used so much more often than other "multiethnic" words. It may be the case that the use of *blatte* and *svenne* is motivated by a desire to show sympathy for multiethnic youth language and the people using it. Note that *blatte* was used at the time by the group of young people (many with a multiethnic background) behind the then widely read magazine *Gringo* as the normal word for 'non-Swede'. However, I think that the main reason for the prolific use of *blatte* and *svenne* is that these words are well suited to convey a picture of Halim, to let the reader of the review hear Halim's own voice.

A closer analysis of how the roots *blatt-* and *svenn-* are used in the reviews offers further possibilities for explaining the high frequency of the two words. It turns out that *blatte* and *svenne* are used mainly in compounds and derivations. The simplex words are used much more seldom. The simplex words occur eleven and thirteen times each, whereas their roots occur in derivations and compounds 33 and 27 times, respectively. This may indicate that many of the writers have found a way of handling the dilemma caused by the sociolinguistic impact of the words. Derivations and compounds soften the connotations of these roots and add nuances to their meaning, compared to when they are used

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[6] Some groups of young people with a multilingual background seem now to have reclaimed the word for in-group use (see e.g. Jonsson 2007, p. 272f.).

[7] *Blatte* and *svenne* first appear in the concordances in The Swedish Language Bank in the same year, 1995, in newspaper articles.

as simplex words. The simplex words refer directly and bluntly to people, highlighting only their being "Swedes" or "non-Swedes" and may evoke strong reactions. As Halim makes frequent use of a couple of compounds and derivations of his own making, like *revolutionsblatte* 'revolutionary "blatte"' and *svennefiera* 'swedify', several reviewers use these to give a taste of Halim's voice. Thus, the high frequency of derivations and compounds as compared to the considerably lower frequency of the simplex words may reflect a wish to avoid criticism for using denigrating words. In this respect, we may have a parallel to the frequent use of quotation marks or verbal hedges in connection with "Rinkeby Swedish".

7. Imitation and borrowing as stylisation

As mentioned above, all the reviews, even the very short ones, contain samples of Halim's language/multiethnic youth language. This is significant, but not totally unexpected. After all, Halim's language deviates in new ways from ordinary literary Swedish, since it includes linguistic features associated with multilingual settings in Swedish cities and the low-status Swedish spoken by many people there. It is more unexpected that the sampling often takes the form of borrowing and imitation, and that sampling is quite frequent in a few reviews. Illustrative quotations of words etc. are to be expected in reviews treating language, but no less than 20 reviewers borrow at least one word from Halim's language and use it as their own, often also when other issues than the language of the novel are discussed, and six reviewers imitate it.

Imitations of what the reviewer perceives as Halim's language/multiethnic youth language are generally quite short, like the italicized sequence below (italics by me). My English translation of the imitation is close to the wordings of the original.

> "Ett öga rött" är en ung ny bok av en ung ny författare som, *du vet svenne, jag lovar vi ser mer av*! (Nordqvist (2003)
> 'An eye red" is a young new book by a young new author that, *you know Swede, I promise we see more of*!'

Stylised utterances are defined by Coupland (2004) as "bounded moments when others' voices are, in a somewhat more literal sense, displayed and framed for local, creative, sociolinguistic effect" (Coupland 2004, p. 249). Coupland treats stylisation in spoken interaction, but Nordqvist's written imitation above also seems stylised in Coupland's sense of the word. The italicised part of the text cited above constitutes a clearly bounded shift from the ordinary voice of

a literary critic to the voice of someone else, and the imitation is creatively used and achieves stylistic effects. (More will be said about sociolingustic effects later.) The parenthetic direct address to the reader "you know Swede" lends an everyday, spoken-language voice to the text. Moreover, the choice of words (*svenne* 'Swede'), the choice of tense of "see" and of the discourse marker *du vet* 'you know' and the use of "I promise" (with no marker of subordination in the clause that follows) will make most readers appreciate that this is a stylised version of the way young people from multilingual urban areas speak.[8] This stylised sequence gives a light, playful and humorous impression.

Sometimes reviewers stylise with the help of occasional lexical loans from Halim's language/multiethnic youth language. Arai (2003) writes:

> Han kan skriva som en svenne, men han vill inte. I skolan är han inte braish… (Arai 2003)
> 'He can write lika a "svenne" [Swede], but he does not want to. In school he is not "braish" [good]…'

Here, the two loans *svenne* and *braish* give a voice to the "he" of the clauses (i.e. Halim), while at the same time offering samples of Halim's language. Like the imitation just discussed, it gives a playful impression. As in the passage from Nordqvist (2003), the multiethnic words chosen are rather well-known and fairly neutral. As mentioned before, *svenne* 'Swede' is less controversial than *blatte* 'non-Swede'. Also *braish* 'good', including a fairly well-known expressive derivational suffix *-ish*, typical of multiethnic youth language, is comparatively neutral. This suffix seems to carry little meaning or function except as marking words as belonging to a multiethnic speech style.

Coupland maintains that "stylised utterances will often be emphatic, commonly hyperbolic representations of their targeted styles" (Coupland 2004, p. 253). However, hyperbolic representation is seldom found in the reviews. Perhaps Küchen's (2003) use of *svenne-gusse* 'Swedish girl' can be taken to involve some kind of hyperbolic representation. Küchen mentions explicitly that she uses Halim's words, but I have not been able to find *svenne-gusse* (or a variant *svenne-guss*) in *Ett öga rött*, nor can it be found in a Google search, in the SUF project's database or in Doggelito & Kotsinas (2004). It seems that Küchen has made creative use of what she considers Halim's language, but in so doing happened to form a non-existing word.

When it comes to he most extensive stylised passage in any of the reviews, a long imitation in Elam (2003), it seems clear that this involves hyperbolic

[8] Of these lexico-grammatical features, the use of *du vet* by some young people taking part in the SUF project has been studied by Svensson (this volume).

representation. This review contains two imitations, and one of those is by far the longest in my data. This imitation is reproduced below, with my own English translation which aims at representing the deviations from Standard Swedish, and is therefore close to the original wording in Swedish. Non-inversion in Swedish is rendered as inversion in English: *det språket vi måste* – 'this language must we'. The imitation starts after the bracket.

> (Halim uttrycker sig på invandrarförortssvenska och) eftersom Ett öga rött är en jagroman jag tänker det språket vi måste lära läsa. Med omvända ordföljden, andra grammatiken, främmande orden, men egentligen fett lätt förstå. Khemiri ofta får komiska poängen när slitna gamla uttrycket som nytt blir: ibland folk sticker med svansen mittemellan benen och klubbar bordet i stället för att slå klubban i det (Elam 2003).
>
> '(Halim expresses himself in immigrant suburb Swedish and) since Ett öga rött is an I-novel [= written in the first person] I think this language must we learn read. With the inverted word order, the different grammar, the foreign words, but really fat easy understand. Khemiri often gets the comical point when the worn old expression like new becomes: sometimes go away people with the tail in between the legs and gavel the table instead of to strike the gavel in it.'

In addition to many lexico-grammatical features known to occur in multiethnic youth language, another interesting syntactic feature is found. The subordinate clause *när slitna gamla uttrycket som nytt blir* 'when the worn old expression like new becomes' displays German/Dutch-like word order with the finite verb in final position. This word order is non-existent in Standard Swedish and seems to occur neither in multiethnic youth language, nor in any other variety or style. Neither has it been found in Halim's language.

This syntactic feature contributes to the impression of the passage as stylised, as does the high frequency and consistent use of a special kind of noun phrase well known as occurring in multiethnic youth language. Noun phrases of that kind are formally marked as definite, but have indefinite meaning. Such phrases occur five times and this is the only structure used to express indefinite meaning when the head is preceded by an adjectival modifier: *omvända ordföljden* literally "the inverted word order", *andra grammatiken* literally "the different grammar", *främmande orden* literally "the foreign words", *komiska poängen* literally "the comical point", *slitna gamla uttrycket* literally "the worn old expression". The structure and use of these phrases are typical of multiethnic youth language, and also well known as such by the general public.[9] They differ semantically and formally from Standard Swedish: their meaning is indefinite (despite the definite forms of the adjectives and the nouns), and they lack the

[9] A popular TV show at the time was called *Värsta språket*, literally "The worst language".

initial definite article *den/det/de*, which is normally obligatory in definite noun phrases with adjectival modifiers. This construction occurs fairly regularly in Halim's language, but it is far outnumbered by indefinite phrases of the Standard Swedish type, like *omvänd ordföljd* 'inverted word order', *annan grammatik* 'different grammar', *främmande ord* 'foreign words', *en komisk poäng* 'a comical point', *ett slitet gammalt uttryck* 'a worn old expression'. The latter kind of Standard Swedish noun phrase seems to dominate over the other type also in actual multiethnic youth language use. There seems to be little doubt that Elam's use of formally definite noun phrases without initial definite article every time noun phrases having indefinite meaning and containing adjectival modifiers is called for, is over-emphatic and, along with the misrepresentation of word order just treated, helps create an impression of a stylised version of multiethnic youth language.

Like Nordqvist's imitation just discussed and almost all stylised passages in the reviews, Elam's imitation is playful and humorous. Note how she starts the imitation with saying that she switches into her version of multiethnic youth language because she wants the reader (and herself) to learn to read "immigrant suburb Swedish". This is of course a joke. If Elam were serious about giving advice to those who want to learn multiethnic youth language, she would have recommended her readers to read the novel (remember that for Elam, Halim's language is multiethnic youth language). The light, playful impression is further strengthened in the very last line of the review. There Elam uses *fett* 'very', a well-known adverb from multiethnic youth language: *Det gör han* ***fett*** *rätt i*. 'That is very right done by him', meaning that Khemiri did just the right thing when he let the novel end as it does.

The comical effect of the stylised version of multiethnic youth language in Elam (2003), as the stylised passages in the reviews in general, is dependent on the contrast in style between the ordinary style of a literary review and multiethnic youth language.

The humorous effect so typical of almost all imitations and borrowings is lacking in Malm (2003). This review is altogether serious in tone. It contains many borrowings, and the multiethnic words seem to be used only in order to bring up the question of the legitimacy of multiethnic youth language in literature and literary critique (and in Swedish society in general). Malm uses 17 multiethnic words (twelve different roots) in his review. Eleven of these words are borrowed, i.e. integrated into Malm's own text without any indication that they are quoted.

Malm reads *Ett öga rött* as a realistic novel and considers Halim's language a realistic rendering of multiethnic youth language: "this is the first novel to be written consistently in immigrant Swedish", "from the first page to the last, 'blatte' syntax rules" (Malm 2003). Text about language occupies about one-

third of the review. Malm writes much about language in multilingual settings, and his borrowings seem to be intended as borrowings directly from multiethnic youth language, not from or via Halim's language. The last paragraph has the following headline:

> Men när kommer gussarna? (Malm 2003)
> 'But when will the "gussar" [girls] come?

The review ends with the following two sentences:

> De är minst lika grymmish, om inte mer. När tar de plats med samma självklarhet i rösten? (Malm 2003)
> 'They [the girls] are just as "grymmish" [clever], if not more so. When will they claim their place with the same naturalness in their voices?'

These few sentences are illustrative of the whole review. Like in the examples discussed above, the use of multiethnic words like *gussarna* 'the girls' and *grymmish* 'clever' creates a stylistic tension in the text: such words are not what the reader expects in a literary review. But in Malm (2003) the borrowings do not produce a humorous effect. His multiethnic loans appear in all kinds of context, throughout the review. While most other reviewers who borrow use their multiethnic loans when they describe the language or content of the novel, Malm uses multiethnic words also in passages like the one above, where he writes about general, societal issues as he discusses the wider implications of the publication of *Ett öga rött*. The use of multiethnic words in such contexts makes the words seem integrated at least "on trial" into the reviewer's own language and used with a distinct purpose in mind.

The incidental, parenthetic character of most borrowings and imitations is also lacking in Malm (2003). The multiethnic words seem to be treated as serious alternatives in a set of lexical options and not used in order to give a certain, light and comical flavour to a part of the review.

Malm's stylising is congenial with the contents of his review, and helps to raise sociolinguistic (and political) questions such as the following: Could multiethnic youth language be used in writing reviews? When will multiethnically coloured language be accepted as influencing and enriching Standard Swedish? When will the experiences of young people with a multilingual background be considered as valuable in school as those of young people with a homogeneously Swedish background?

Stylisations in other reviews than Malm's may also raise similar questions in the minds of the reader. While the intention of a reviewer stylising Halim's language/multiethnic youth language may be to give a sample of the language and at the same time achieve a humorous effect, readers' interpretations of the

stylisation may take other directions. What Coupland calls the pragmatic valency of a stylised voice has to be determined by the listeners or in our case the readers: "is it a 'mere' allusion, or a quotation, or an act of ingroup identification, or a parody (emphasising intergroup distinctiveness), or an act of vilification, or an ambivalent fusion of several of these?" (Coupland 2004, p. 254). A person stylising multiethnic youth language in spoken interaction where the participants are known may play consciously and skilfully on different possibilities of more or less complex interpretations by different participants (and co-present persons) (Coupland 2004, p. 254). But several possibilities may also be present in written stylisations.

While the author of a review has a model reader of reviews in mind and an intention with her/his stylising, the text may be read by people with another background etc. than the model reader, and the text itself carries possibilities of other and further interpretations than those intended. Thus, in the same way as stylisation in spoken interaction raises questions about identities and legitimate practice, participation and language use (see Coupland 2004, passim), the stylised sequences in all the reviews allow the possibility to consider a different kind of practice in writing literary reviews, with other kinds of language use or writers with a different background, and thus offers the genre of literary review for re-evaluation. Both literary reviews and multiethnic youth language are opened up for reconsideration, as are attitudes to literary critics and young people with a multilingual background.

It is also possible to imagine other ways of experiencing the force of the stylisations in the reviews. At whose expense is the creative and humorous tone of the reviews achieved? After all, to see the humour of the imitations and borrowings, it is necessary to perceive the difference in stylistic level between ordinary language use in reviews and multiethnic youth language. This means that one must acknowledge the inappropriateness of multiethnic youth language as a medium for writing reviews, either as an inherent property or as a sociolinguistic fact. This insight may lead to an interpretation of the stylisations and the attitudes behind them as slightly condescending toward multiethnic youth language (and users of it), and even opens up the question as to whether stylising, at least in some reviews, is close to parody.

8. Borrowing, imitation and parodies

Parodies of Swedish multiethnic youth language can be found on the Internet. Stroud (2004) analyses an Internet text in what he calls Mock Rinkeby Swedish. This text is clearly racist, and hyperbolic representation is an important feature.

Techniques used in this representation of Rinkeby Swedish include phonological stereotyping, representations of deviant grammar and extensive use of threats, interjections, insults and taboo words. The text is set in the format of a university syllabus, and this fact creates a wide gap between the contents, the style of the language, and the expectations of the genre. This has the effect that the producer of the text seems creative and humorous, and thereby may evade criticism for racism.

Stroud finds parallels to the representation of Mock Rinkeby Swedish in Ronkin & Karn's (1999) study of Mock Ebonics, a stereotyped, distorted version of Ebonics (African American English) produced for racist purposes. Ronkin & Karn show that Mock Ebonics on the websites they study is governed by a few simple rules of substitution of Standard English words for "Ebonics" words, and more or less haphazard insertion of a few phrases considered typical of Ebonics. The language parodied is presented as an inferior, degenerate language suitable only for "low" purposes (in the case of Mock Ebonics crime, male chauvinism, sexual abuse etc.). Hyperbolic representation and misrepresentation are essential features of Mock Ebonics. The grammatical rules of Ebonics are treated as so simple that any speaker of English can pick them up and apply them mechanically to their English and produce (Mock) Ebonics.

These two *mock languages* (as I will call them) share at least one or two features with the stylisations in (some of) the reviews, but on the whole there is little likeness between the outspokenly ill-willed parodies in Mock Ebonics or Mock Rinkeby Swedish and the samples of multiethnic youth language in the reviews. For one thing, only single lexical items are borrowed in the reviews, and of the imitations, only Elam's (2003) is comparable in length to the instances of mock language analysed by Stroud and Ronkin & Karn. There are also several other important differences.

There is no overt racism in the reviews. Unlike the parody of a syllabus analysed by Stroud (2004) and the texts in Ronkin & Karn's (1999) data, no review in my data reveals any sign of racism or even overtly negative attitudes to multiethnic youth language and/or its speakers.[10] On the contrary, a great majority are outspokenly positive to multiethnic youth language (and/or Halim's language) and its speakers.

There is no abusive language or content in the stylisations in the reviews. In Mock Rinkeby Swedish and Mock Ebonics, abusive language and content play a prominent role (Stroud 2004, p. 203; Ronkin & Karn 1999, p. 372 f.). With the possible exception of *blatte* 'non-Swede' (although see the discussion of the use of *blatte* in section 6), this feature is totally absent in the reviews.

[10] Five reviewers are negative to Halim's language, but only as a literary device.

Pronunciation is not represented in the reviews. Stereotypical representations of mispronunciations and deviant pronunciation are frequent in Stroud's example of Mock Rinkeby Swedish (Stroud 2004, p. 203) and in Mock Ebonics (Ronkin & Karn 1999. p. 363). It could perhaps be expected that pronunciation would not be represented by the reviewers, since there are no indications of deviant pronunciation in *Ett öga rött* and the novel is of course the main source of borrowing and the target of imitations. However, the matter is not as simple as that. Certain phonological features have repeatedly been mentioned as typical of multiethnic youth language (see e.g. Kotsinas (1987) and later work by her, and Bodén (2007, this volume)). It is often hard to ascertain whether a reviewer has Halim's language or multiethnic youth language in general as model, but in quite a few cases it seems clear that some borrowings and imitations go back not to the novel but to multiethnic youth language in general, which means that representations of pronunciation could have been included.

The imitated variety/style is seldom misrepresented in the reviews. An important point in Ronkin & Karn (1999) and Stroud (2004) is that the parodied styles are consistently misrepresented in the mock languages. As shown in the preceding section in connection with hyperbolic representation, there is little misrepresentation in the reviews, although there are two imitated passages in reviews where multiethnic youth language seems to be at least slightly misrepresented.

If the similarity between the reviews and Mock Rinkeby Swedish and Mock Ebonics is minor, parodies that Hill (2001) calls Mock Spanish show more parallels with the reviews. Mock Spanish consists of Spanish elements incorporated into American English in the speech or writing of speakers of English. The representation is hyperbolic, involving misrepresentations of morphology as well as phonology. Hill (2001, p. 94 ff.) shows that Mock Spanish serves racist purposes, even when the racism is covert, as when it is used in the press or public speeches. Mock Spanish positions the user of it as humorous and easy-going, which means that the user may avoid criticism for presupposing, perpetuating and reinforcing a view of Spanish and its speakers as inferior and Spanish as suitable only for informal purposes and the private sphere (Hill 2001, passim). The use of Mock Spanish also presents the speaker as educated and competent in picking up enough Spanish to be able to use a little of it just through being exposed to a little of the language. Many instances of Hill's Mock Spanish are part of the public, English-speaking sphere and occur in print and official speech. Mock Spanish in such contexts contributes a light and humorous tone to the text, since the use of Spanish is not expected. Users of Mock Spanish often seem unaware of its racist function.

The fact that Mock Spanish normally involves only occasional use of "Spanish", while Mock Rinkeby Swedish and Mock Ebonics are used more extensively and in longer stretches of language, makes the reviews in general seem more similar to Mock Spanish than the other two mock languages. In the reviews as well as in Mock Spanish, the expressions borrowed from or inspired by another linguistic code occur only infrequently, and the effect (as always in stylisation as understood by Coupland (2004)) depends on a contrast in style. However, the representation of Mock Spanish is often much more emphatic and hyperbolic than the stylisations in the reviews.

Hill mentions three strategies in Mock Spanish. One is semantic pejoration as when polite farewell expressions such as *adiós* and *hasta la vista* or the noun *amigo* 'friend' are used with a playful, condescending or even hostile meaning. Exaggerated mispronunciation is another frequent strategy, as is the use of Spanish morphology on English words, as in *mistake-o numero uno*, *not an el cheapo*, *numero two-o*, *Clintonistas* (Hill 2001, p. 94 ff.). There is nothing similar to these three strategies in the reviews.

The main similarity between Mock Spanish and the stylisations in the reviews is instead the humorous effect of clashes of styles and genres combined with the easy-going impression of those stylising that the stylisations create. The quotation above from Arai (2003), repeated here for convenience, can illustrate both the differences in form and the similarities in function.

> Han kan skriva som en svenne, men han vill inte. I skolan är han inte braish… (Arai 2003)
> 'He can write lika a "svenne" [Swede], but he does not want to. In school he is not "braish" [good]…'

The tone of the multiethnic slang words *svenne* 'Swede' and *braish* 'good' contrasts with the serious tone of the review (in a highly respected literary magazine), and this brings about a light tone and has a humorous effect. This effect is also achieved e.g. in the use of *mistake-o numero uno* in a movie review, cited by Hill (2001). But unlike many uses of Mock Spanish that Hill (2001) cites, the borrowed multiethnic words in Arai's text are not pejorated or formed through the writer's own use of multiethnic word formation rules. *Svenne* is used in its normal sense and with its normal range of meanings, unlike *amigo* in *If you're an illegal, head south, Amigo* (Hill 2001, p. 96). The use of the derivational suffix *–ish* (typical of multiethnic youth language) on *bra* 'good' is

not comparable to Hill's examples like *mistake-o numero uno*. While *braish* is found in multiethnic youth language, *mistake-o* is not a Spanish word.[11]

The humorous effect was also pointed out in the discussion of Elam's long imitation in the preceding section. In this imitation, a further similarity between many reviews and Hill's Mock Spanish comes to the fore. In a footnote Hill (2001, p. 95, fn. 16) expresses her astonishment that many people think they can imitate Spanish correctly just because they have been exposed to Spanish. Elam's long imitation shows signs of this kind of belief, and also of the fallaciousness of it: remember that she uses a kind of non-Swedish word order in a subordinate clause that does not exist in the style she imitates.

Another interesting feature of Elam's long imitation is the alleged ambition to teach the reader Rinkeby Swedish/multiethnic youth language. In Stroud's Mock Rinkeby Swedish text in the form of a curriculum, a comical effect was achieved through the contrast between expectations on the language use in curricula and the stylistic level of multiethnic youth language, much in the same way as the comical effect of Elam's long imitation is enhanced by the first clause of it, where she says that her intention is to learn "immigrant suburb Swedish" along with the readers.

9. Concluding remarks

The language of *Ett öga rött* indeed plays an important role in the reviews of the novel. A question that has not been pursued systematically here is why this is so. An explanation hinted at in section 7 is the fact that Halim's language is a new kind of literary Swedish, similar to Leiva Wenger's in two of the novels in *Till vår ära* (whose language also got much attention). Khemiri's literary use of lexical and grammatical features typical of multiethnic youth language was welcomed by the critics. As mentioned in fn. 10 above, only five out of 32 reviewers were negative to Khemiri's language in *Ett öga rött*. Besides, Halim's formulations are drastic, often comical and quite catching, and samples of his language can be effective to use as hints to his character. The freshness of Halim's language as a literary languge, the positive attitude to it and the contagiousness of some of Halim's expressions probably contribute to the attention the language of *Ett öga rött* receives and to the form that it takes, as borrowing and imitation, in addition to quotation.

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[11] Doggelito & Kotsinas (2004) do not list *braish*, but it is found in *Ett öga rött* and on web pages, e.g. in blog comments using multiethnic youth language. See for example http://www.nightlife.se/kenring/36091, comment posted on 13 July 2008.

As shown in section 7, Malm's (2003) review can be read as offering (words from) multiethnic youth language as serious alternatives for use in literary reviews and other contexts. However, there is reason to doubt that the other reviews where Halim's language/multiethnic youth language is stylised are doing the same thing. I draw this conclusion because the light, easy-going and humorous reading of these stylisations presupposes that multiethnic youth language is unsuitable for such purposes as literary reviews. Questions of legitimate use of multiethnic youth language are also raised by the stylised passages. The critics seem to find no problems with using loans from multiethnic youth language or imitating it in other ways. Elam (2003) is explicit on this point, as she does not hesitate to teach her readers to read multiethnic youth language. However, for some readers her efforts to write "immigrant suburb Swedish" may be perceived as an intrusion on other people's rights to their variety or speech style. For many users of it, multiethnic youth language is a group language not suitable for use by outsiders or for stylising by just anybody. Because of this, imitations and borrowings may be felt to be condescending and/or patronizing. If a stylisation misrepresents multiethnic youth language, this may be interpreted as a further lack of respect for the variety and its speakers. The title of Fegan's (2004) article seems to summarize such a view: "They take our words".

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Fostering multilingualism in Swedish schools – intentions and realities[1]

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Abstract

The continuous cast of ethnic and linguistic diversity in negative terms in Swedish schools reveals systematic mismatches between intended policies and everyday classroom practices. In this article, failures in terms of the implementation of language education policy are attributed to language policies not being sufficiently attuned to the sociolinguistic realities in multilingual contexts and at the same time disregarding issues of power and identity. With reference to findings in critical, ethnographic research, it is suggested that *strategic essentialism* at a general policy level as well as *linguicism* as a manifestation of prevailing deficit ideologies at an institutional and individual level of practice may contribute to an unresolved tension between the official policy and local educational practices. It is concluded that a number of challenges remain to be addressed before the vision of equal access to linguistic resources in Swedish schools can be realized.

Keywords: language education policy, mother-tongue tuition, Swedish as a second language, strategic essentialism, deficit ideologies, linguicism

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1. Introduction

The linguistic diversity that characterizes Sweden and many other Western European countries today has a great potential for strengthening human and social capital and meeting the demands of global communication and world-wide social relations of late modern times. Nevertheless, this diversity offers a considerable challenge to the educational systems at all levels. In 2010, 19.4 per cent of the students in Swedish compulsory schools had an ethnic minority background, by far exceeding the proportion of ethnic minority students in the school systems of well known immigrant nations like the UK, the US, Canada and Australia. At a more local level, the number of ethnic minority students with mother tongues other than Swedish has reached 80 to 95 percent in schools in many multiethnic urban areas. In Table 1, the ten largest mother tongues represented in Swedish compulsory schools according to official statistics from 2008 are listed (Skolverket 2009).

Table 1. *The 10 most frequent mother tongues other than Swedish in Swedish compulsory school 2008/2009.*

Language	Number of Students
Arabic	30 135
Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	14 337
Spanish	9 968
English	8 692
Finnish	8 662
Somali	7 369
Albanian	7 277
Farsi	6 607
Kurdish	5 692
Turkish	5 646
Other languages	59 768

Multilingualism in Swedish schools includes more than 140 mother tongues spoken by students with family backgrounds from all over the world. The fact that many students speak other languages than Swedish does not, however, imply that these students form a homogenous group with equal educational needs. Many students are balanced bilinguals or even multilinguals with a high proficiency in Swedish already when they start school, while others have had limited or no contact with Swedish when they enter school. Some were born in Sweden, while others have recently arrived. Some live in areas with a large proportion of ethnic Swedes, while others live in socio-economically and ethnically segregated areas with little contact with ethnic Swedes in their daily lives. Some have acquired literacy skills in their mother tongue before arriving

in Sweden, while others have experienced an abrupt language switch accompanied by a need to build literacy skills and subject knowledge through the medium of a new language. To support the language and academic development of the students in this extremely heterogeneous group, several educational measures have been designed in Sweden over the years.

2. Mother Tongue Tuition

An important educational goal for students belonging to other ethnic groups was reached in 1977 with the so-called Home Language Reform, which aimed at supporting the mother tongue for the personal, cognitive and academic development of bilingual students (Tuomela & Hyltenstam 1996; Winsa 1999). According to the reform, school authorities were obliged to provide mother tongue instruction at least two hours weekly for students who requested it. In addition, children with a mother tongue other than Swedish in pre-school education were given the opportunity to develop mastery in their home language. Today, mother tongue tuition is a school subject in its own right at both the compulsory comprehensive level and the upper secondary level. In addition to language aspects, the syllabus covers the literature, history and culture of the country of origin. Moreover, minority-language students should be offered mother tongue study guidance when explanation of the subject content of the classes is needed.

According to current regulations in the Compulsory School Ordinance (National Agency for Education 1994, p. 1194), this tuition is offered for groups of a minimum of five students and to students whose language is used on a daily basis in their homes. These restrictions do not, however, apply to students with indigenous minority languages.[2] The tuition, which used to take place as part of the regular school day, is nowadays almost exclusively offered outside the regular timetable at the close of the ordinary school day in compulsory school. This change impedes the integration of mother tongue tuition with other subjects. As a consequence, mother tongue teachers, ambulating between different schools, are often marginalized, isolated and excluded from the social life and everyday practice of other teachers (The National Agency for Education 2008). To take part in mother tongue tuition in upper secondary school, students must have a grade in mother tongue from

[2] Sami, Finnish, Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish), Romany Chib and Yiddish were ensured status as minority languages in the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages (Council of Europe 1992).

year nine which is the last grade of compulsory school. In upper secondary school the subject is offered as an individual option or in form of a remedial course.

Mother tongue tuition has suffered from serious implementation problems due to weak curricular support and a lack of trained teachers in many languages, circumstances which, in addition to general economic cutbacks in the school sector, resulted in a considerable decrease in mother tongue education during the 1990's. In 2001, the government therefore commissioned the National Agency for Education to investigate what changes in the rules and regulations were needed in order to improve the situation. In the report *More Languages – More Opportunities* (National Agency for Education 2002) several proposals for the improvement of mother tongue support were presented . The proposals focused on mother tongue tuition and its important role for the fulfilment of educational goals in multicultural and multilingual schools, including measures for the integration of mother tongue tuition into the daily school schedule by providing instruction in different school subjects in the students' mother tongues. To bring about a necessary change in attitudes, the Agency proposed measures for the dissemination of knowledge about the value of mother tongue tuition to civil servants and decision-makers. Moreover, the need for new techniques and teaching methods as well as continued work in support of the development and production of teaching aids in different languages was emphasised. Increased measures for the training and integration of multilingual teachers were also proposed.

According to a recent report (National Agency for Education 2008), based on the results of a questionnaire, a qualitative interview study carried out at thirteen schools in four municipalities, and a statistical follow up study, mother tongue tuition is still a marginalized subject. Mother tongue teachers report that they teach outside time-tabled hours, traipse between many different schools and sometimes must find rooms themselves in which to hold their lessons.

As for mother tongue tuition, only 50 % of all eligible students participated in the tuition. In schools with many minority language students, participation was larger and often included all students entitled to the tuition. In other schools with less experience with minority language students, the capacity to respond to linguistic and cultural diversity was often more limited. According to the report, mother tongue study guidance in different subjects was organized on a very limited scale. Due to the decentralized educational system introduced in the 1990's, the responsibility for compulsory and upper secondary school was transferred to the municipalities. Since then, funding for language support is no longer guaranteed through ear-marked grants, which is one of the reasons

for variation in school policies in terms of access to language support from school to school.

The students who participate in the instruction tend to represent families with higher levels of education. Although the scope of the tuition does not seem to amount to much more that one lesson a week in most cases, students taking part in mother tongue tuition have a noticeably higher average merit rating than students not taking part, irrespective of gender, family background (including level of education) and social standing. The difference is particularly noticeable in second generation students. Still, as noted in the report, some other circumstances related to family background which were not covered in the study, might have contributed to the higher merit values for participating students. There is, for instance, reason to believe that students taking part in mother tongue tuition represent a positive sample in terms of motivation and commitment to study. On the other hand, the results correspond to findings in earlier Swedish and international research, in which tuition in the mother tongue for bilingual students has been found to positively correlate with educational outcome in general (Hill 1995; Collier & Thomas 2002).

Whether these positive results will affect the status of, attitudes to and organisation of mother tongue tuition in Swedish schools in the future remains to be seen.

3. Second Language Tuition

There was an early demand for special tuition in Swedish as a Second Language (SSL) already in the late 1960's when SSL was introduced as an auxiliary subject to support and enhance development in the majority language for bilingual students. At that time, no regular teacher training was available for these teachers who, without any formal training or relevant teaching material attempted their best to satisfy the language support needs of heterogeneous groups of learners in different ages with different language backgrounds.

SSL was introduced as a transitory, compensatory measure and did not make its way into the mainstream curriculum during the 1970's and 1980's. Moreover, students from non-dominant language and culture groups were often regarded as a group requiring compensation not only as far as language was concerned but also for their "faulty" background (Reeves 2004, p. 2) in a more general sense. As Mohan, Leung and Davison (2004, p. 2) maintain, the increasing number of second language learners in school, although part of "a global, large-scale, long-term change", has been, and in many contexts still is, regarded "as an accidental peripheral happening, a temporary local incon-

venience or an interruption in the normal course of affairs" (ibid.). According to Mohan et al., the fact that many educational systems in highly developed countries have failed to serve the needs of large groups of minority-language students is explained by a number of prevailing myths about the education of language minorities. These myths are widespread and also seem to contribute to the maintenance of the linguistic hegemony of the majority in different ways. As examples of such myths, they mention the following (ibid.):

- Language minorities will acquire an education and a second language easily and quickly simply by exposure.
- All that language minorities need is a basic course in the second language.
- The education of language minorities can safely be isolated from the mainstream of education.
- Educational changes for the benefit of the language minority students will happen automatically or by the efforts of second language teachers or bilingual teachers acting without curricular change, institutional support or professional development.

Another prevailing myth is that no specific competence or training is needed to teach a second language as long as the teachers are native speakers of the language. In Swedish schools, for example, many teachers experiencing problems teaching regular classes have been offered SSL instruction on the grounds that instruction here is carried out in small manageable groups. This corroborates the view of Swedish as a second language as a marginalized and second rate subject, often taught with a strong focus on decontextualized language form and with a weak connection to the general curriculum (Myndigheten för skolutveckling 2004).

During the 1970's and 1980's, competence in the field of second language acquisition and bilingual development was still very limited among teachers, principals and school administrators. Consequently, most minority language students, especially in areas with relatively few immigrants, did not receive any instruction in Swedish as a second language at all. Instead, they were put into mainstream Swedish classrooms according to a sink-or-swim method without adequate support and professional guidance, sometimes after a limited period of pull-out intensive initial language training. The effects of this lack of engagement in minority language students' academic success were continuously demonstrated in negative school performance of this group of students, referred to as "pupils with a foreign background" in Swedish official statistics

4. SSL as part of the national curriculum

In the early 1990's, the need for an urgent change made professionals within the field – teachers and educators as well as researchers – seek ways to alter the situation (Tingbjörn 2004). To counter the view of Swedish as a second language as a compensatory, short-term school subject, it was suggested that it should be given the status of a subject in the national curriculum as an alternative to "regular" Swedish at every grade level. The argument was that minority language students would then be given the opportunity to compete on equal footing with students who had Swedish as their first language. Hence SSL in secondary school was also to be made equivalent to regular Swedish in terms of eligibility for post-secondary education. By normalizing and mainstreaming SSL and offering it as part of the national curriculum, it was thought that being bilingual could finally be acknowledged and appreciated as something regular and valuable instead of exceptional and defective. Thus, after years of compensatory malpractice, Swedish as a second language was established as a school subject within the national curriculum in 1995.

One would have thought that such major policy reform had been accompanied by various implementation measures by the school authorities. Very few initiatives in terms of regulations and guidelines for the introduction of the new school subject were, however, taken by the government. Consequently, school administrators and teachers were left with minimal guidance and support in their efforts to introduce, organize and teach the new subject in Swedish schools, where, in many cases, traditional, monolingual and monocultural norms still prevailed. Due to a wide-spread ignorance of the needs of minority language students and an incapability of building and establishing the new subject, the reform was therefore in many ways a disappointment.

In inspection reports and evaluation studies (Skolverket 2003; Myndigheten för skolutveckling 2004) following the reform, serious malpractice in terms of how the new subject was implemented was revealed, showing that the instruction of Swedish as second language was not carried out according to the intentions of the regulations in many schools. A study carried out by the National Agency for School Improvement (Myndigheten för skolutveckling 2004) reported that

- 50 % of the schools (many of which have a high percentage of bilingual students) did not offer any SSL instruction at all.
- 2/3 of the schools did not have plans for how to work with the language and knowledge development of bilingual students.
- 20 % of the schools automatically assigned minority language students to instruction in SSL without any language assessment.

- 50 % of the schools employed teachers without any formal training to teach SSL.
- Great confusion and ignorance was revealed among principles and teachers concerning the character, function and curriculum of SSL.
- A perspective of deficit characterized the view of minority language students in most schools.
- SSL was often regarded as a school subject for "the weak and difficult students".

One of the most serious implementation inadequacies reported in relation to the new subject was related to the ways students' needs of second language support were assessed. In many schools, decisions whether or not students should be assigned SSL instruction were made on spurious grounds or haphazardly. Highly unprofessional and unethical practices were reported and students were assigned to SSL instruction solely with reference to their non-Swedish background, a "foreign sounding" name or low general achievements rather than on professionally assessed linguistic needs. Interviews with students born in Sweden with a minority language background also revealed that many of them rejected fixed ascriptions of ethnic and linguistic identities; and they opposed the idea of taking part in a form of language instruction they distrusted and found discriminatory and excluding. The fact that many minority language students experience the praxis of assigning all students with a foreign background to tuition in Swedish as a second language as an act of exclusion is also reported in ethnographic research by Gruber (2006).

The rationale behind introducing SLL within the national curriculum was to obtain social and educational integration for language minority students. An important aim behind this curricular change was to alter the view of bilingual students as a group with a deficit or problem and to repudiate the status of SSL as a temporary support taken care of by teachers without any formal training until the "problem" was solved (Tingbjörn 2004). Moreover, it was thought that the presence of two alternative curricula in Swedish with the same official status, comparable standards and equal value in terms of eligibility for higher education would underscore the fact that Sweden had developed into a highly multilingual society.

In an effort to attain equity between the two Swedish school subjects and to emphasize their equal value, the two curricula were almost identically worded, a fact that has probably contributed to the vague identity of the new subject (SSL) and to the general picture of Swedish as a second language as just a second rate alternative of the regular Swedish – an alternative intended for students with various difficulties attending regular Swedish classes. The fact that the same standardised national test is used in both subjects, but with

differentiated criteria for assessment for first and second language students, probably reinforces this picture.

5. Adjustments to language diversity in the mainstream

In spite of all the efforts to enhance the formal status of the new subject and to offer minority language students equal access to language resources, the problems have persisted. Students with a migrant background have continued to be over-represented among students with poor school performance in secondary school and among those who fail to qualify for a national program or drop out in upper secondary school according to the official statistics published annually but the National Agency for Education (http://www.skolverket.se/sb/d/356)

This, however, is a situation that cannot solely be attributed to circumstances related to measures of language support in terms of mother tongue support and instruction in Swedish as second language. As long as issues related to the language development of minority language students are not considered a responsibility of all teachers, there is little hope for improvement as far as academic success for this group of students is concerned. In other teachers' classrooms, where most of the learning takes place and where students obviously spend most of their school time, things do not seem to have changed in terms of adjustments to the diverse and specific learning needs of minority language students (Taguma, Kim, Brink & Telteman 2010).

Since language proficiency is a prerequisite for learning irrespective of the school subject, an awareness of the linguistic dimensions of learning is of fundamental importance for all teachers. Each school subject also entails an encounter with particular subject-specific language patterns. Thus an essential part of becoming a history, physics or geography teacher, especially in multicultural settings, is to become aware of the linguistic demands of different school subjects. Learning how to provide for an inclusive learning environment, where content is made available to all students irrespective of social, cultural and linguistic background, and how to provide linguistic tools for school success is consequently an imperative for all teachers. In spite of the important role of language in learning, issues concerning language across the curriculum are to a large extent still neglected in teacher education in Sweden today. This affects the school situation not only for minority language pupils but also for many underprivileged majority students with little or no contact with patterns of the formal language use valued at school in their everyday social life.

Recent inspections carried out by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (2010) show that the diverse backgrounds, experiences and resources of the students in the schools investigated were not taken into account. In many schools, expectations for students varied with students' gender, socio-economic background and ethnicity. As for students with migrant backgrounds, the attitudes among many teachers and school leaders were characterized by low expectations and a deficit perspective.

6. An international outlook

It is interesting to consider the SSL reform in Sweden as a step towards educational integration in light of educational responses to ethno-linguistic diversity in other contexts. In the UK, English as an Additional Language (EAL) was mainstreamed in the late 1990's in accordance with a policy to remove barriers to equal access to education. As a consequence, all teachers were considered teachers of EAL and the view of EAL as a specific language and learning issue was abandoned for a view of EAL as a general teaching and learning issue.

As pointed out by Leung (2005), the EAL across the curriculum was thus not so much about the integration of specialist competence of EAL into the mainstream but more about student participation in a common curriculum. EAL was not given subject status and language minority students were thus supposed to learn English while engaged in curriculum subject work. As a result of the shift away from EAL as a specialist field, there is no longer any teacher preparation or mandatory specialist qualification for teachers in relation to the education of second language learners in the UK. Moreover, there has been no state-funded pre-service teaching training courses in higher education institutions in EAL as a specific subject since the early 1990's (Leung 2005). In fact, the proportion of specialist staff with appropriate qualifications in EAL is, in some places, down to three per cent, according to an official press release (OFSTED, 2002).

The mainstreaming approach with its strong emphasis on the affective and participatory dimensions of EAL is built on the assumption that learning is an implicit process which will follow communication and active participation in the classroom. A non-discriminatory agenda is no doubt of paramount importance for the achievement of social integration and equitable access to education in multiethnic and multilingual societies. As a policy in response to the underachievement of language minority students due to lack of competence

in the language of instruction, it is, however, not sufficient, as documented in international research (cf. Collier & Thomas 2002; PISA 2006).

Large scale studies and surveys (Collier & Thomas 2002; Mohan et al. 2001; Stanat & Christensen 2006) have shown that there are no quick or easy ways of eliminating language differences or "fixing" the language learning needs of minority language students. Lack of systematic second language support results in the underachievement of ethnic minority students. Therefore, voices raised against second language support based on arguments "that a supportive environment and exposure to the target language are sufficient for L2 development" (ibid., p. 41) are simply not warranted, as pointed out by Harris, Leung & Rampton (2002) in their discussion of educational policy and language diversity in the UK. Moreover, neglecting to address the language educational needs of members of diasporic communities can not be justified with reference to a non-discriminatory, inclusive agenda. As pointed out by Lewis (2001), equalisation of educational opportunity is not achieved by treating all students as if they were the same when in fact they are not. Instead, difference blindness and neglect of important differences in students in terms of culture, language, class, race, gender and ethnicity will inevitably produce inequalities.

An inability to deal with the language educational needs of newly arrived students and students with diaspora connections characterizes many industrialized societies as confirmed by data from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) within the OECD. As a comparative study of the school success of immigrant students in 17 OECD countries in PISA 2003 shows, 15-year-old immigrant students who do not speak the language of instruction at home are, on average, one year behind non-immigrant students in mathematics (Stanat & Christensen 2006). When it comes to reading, the disadvantage of this group of students is even greater Only two countries in the study show no significant differences between immigrant and non-immigrants students, namely Canada and Australia, both countries with selective immigration policies giving privilege to immigrants with higher formal education.

In the PISA study in question, Sweden was referred to as one of the countries with relatively positive outcomes. The fact that the gap between non-immigrant students and second generation immigrant students was much smaller than that between first and second generation immigrant students was considered a positive sign since it showed substantial advantage for students who have spent their entire school career in Sweden.

To further investigate successful programs and policies among the countries taking part in the above mentioned PISA study, an international follow-up survey was carried out in fourteen of the countries (Christensen & Stanat

2007). In this study, the practices and policies for language support in terms of types of practices implemented, intensity of practices, explicit curricula and standards as well as percentage of second-language learners were compared. According to this follow-up survey, Sweden had a number of factors in common with successful countries like Canada (the state of British Columbia) and Australia (the province of Victoria), such as systematic and structured language support, explicit standards and requirements, curricula based on centrally developed curriculum documents, time-intensive programs and sustained and continuous support over time. It was, however, pointed out that the governments in these countries also face problems of implementation in a substantial number of schools.

In the case of Sweden, comparisons with other Scandinavian countries, Norway and Denmark, are of particular interest since the countries are geographically close, with similar socio-political systems and closely related national languages. Moreover, the countries share many socio-cultural characteristics. Sweden has a population of nine million, approximately twice the size of that of Norway and Denmark respectively. The proportion of students from ethnic minority background in compulsory school is 19.4 %, compared to approximately 8 % in Danish and Norwegian schools. According to Stanat & Christensen (2006), the achievement level in reading and science in PISA 2003 was generally slightly higher in Sweden for all students, with majority language students outperforming minority students in all three countries. A comparison between first and second generation immigrant students, however, reveals an important difference between the countries. While second generation immigrant students performed substantially better than first generation immigrant students in reading as well as science in Sweden, there were much less pronounced differences in reading between first and second generation immigrant students in Norway and Denmark and no differences in science (cf. Hvistendal & Roe 2010).

While differences between the countries can be attributed to many factors, the possibility that the language programs in place may be part of the explanation cannot be ruled out. As a matter of fact, the educational strategies chosen in response to ethno-linguistic diversity in the three countries diverge substantially, with Sweden being the only country making long-term investments in systematic L1 and L2 support. In Denmark, mother tongue instruction has been almost completely terminated as a result of general restrictions in immigration policies. Furthermore, instruction in Danish as a second language is organised as transitional support outside the regular curriculum. In Norway, instruction in Norwegian as a second language was replaced by a voluntary curriculum in Basic Norwegian for new arrivals in 2007. The new transitional and level-based curriculum is offered without grades to minority students

irrespective of age until pupils have reached sufficient language proficiency to follow the regular curriculum in Norwegian education. In addition, instruction in mother tongue can be offered as a transitory and compensatory measure until the students are ready to follow the curriculum for regular Norwegian.

Although measures taken to increase non-dominant language students' access to educational language resources in Swedish schools in certain respects may appear relatively satisfactory in an international perspective, repeated evaluation reports and research studies (Myndigheten för skolutveckling 2004; National Agency for Education 2008; Taguma, Kim, Brink & Telteman 2010) as well as official educational statistics show that they have been far from successful. Moreover, the fact that migrant background students might be even more disadvantaged in other contexts can never justify a school system in which children with a certain background – ethnic or socio-economic – consistently perform at lower levels than other students.

7. Theoretical reflections

So how can we explain the fact that measures introduced to secure the rights to equal educational opportunities were implemented with such ignorance and neglect and even rejected as discriminatory and inequitable by those for whose benefit they were introduced? In the following, some backdrops for theoretical reflections on strategies and language policies in response to the educational needs of language minority students will be suggested.

7.1. Strategic essentialism

A theoretical concept relevant for the analysis of the Swedish strategy with two parallel Swedish subjects in the national curriculum is provided by Lionel Wee (2007) in a discussion of language rights in Singapore. Wee refers to measures of *strategic essentialism* in cases when language and other differences between groups are essentialized and treated as stable and clearly defined when in fact in they are highly fluid and fuzzy.

> In some cases, the appeal to essentialism may be *strategic* (Cowan, Dembour and Wilson 2001:10; McElhinny 1996) in that group members or advocates acting on their behalf are deliberately treating as stable and clearly defined phenomena that (they are aware) are in fact highly fluid, variable or even conflicting. Bucholtz (2003: 401) suggests that strategic essentialism is typically intended as a short-term

measure, although 'not all participants who commit themselves to an essentialist position necessarily recognize it as a temporary tactic' (Wee 2007, p. 1).

Whether or not the acknowledgement of Swedish as a second language as a subject within the national curriculum – with a categorisation of students as first or second language speakers of Swedish as one of its consequences – was based on strategic or more straightforward essentialist grounds is an open question. Still, the categorization rests upon a gross generalisation and obviously disregards the complex sociolinguistic situation in many multiethnic urban settings today, characterised by a wide range of linguistic and ethnic affiliations as documented in this volume and elsewhere (Jørgensen 2008; Quist 2000; Rampton 1995; Quist & Svendsen 2010). Substantial research shows that the multifarious dynamics of class, gender, ethnicity and language foster the emergence of transethnic, hybrid identities which oppose rigid classifications and traditional views of stable and homogenous identities (cf. Boyd & Fraurud in this volume; Otterup 2005). Hence, the needs in terms of access to language resources today are more diverse and multifaceted than ever before. They extend over a vast span of new arrivals and beginning learners of Swedish in different ages at one end of the continuum, over speakers with high levels of non-standard Swedish interactional competence, to highly competent multi- and monolingual speakers of standard Swedish at the other end.

Still, it should be remembered that the differentiation of first and second language students in Swedish schools was obviously less inadequate at the time for the initiation of the SSL reform in the mid 1990's when most language minority students were born outside Sweden and had no or little earlier experience of the Swedish language before they entered school. For these students, Swedish was clearly a second language – a fact that was rarely disputed by the students or by their parents. Since then, the situation has changed and a majority of non-dominant language children in compulsory school are now born and brought up with Swedish as one of their languages from early childhood. It goes without saying that the needs of language support for newly arrived children and children born in Sweden are radically different in terms of language support. Treating students with a linguistic background other than monolingual Swedish as a homogeneous group with essentially the same needs regardless of their L2 expertise has most likely contributed to the negatively marked status of SSL among many second generation immigrant students opposing what they regard as a stigmatized out-group Swedish learner identity.

7.2. Linguicism

Stephen Talmy, a Canadian second language researcher, has referred to the "stigma" associated with ESL in public schools as a widely referenced but little explored topic.

> (…) it is clear from the surprisingly scant applied linguistics research on K-12 ESL that the goal of "mainstreaming" ESL students coincides smoothly and rather deceptively with other (language) ideologies that cast ESL and ESL speakers in distinctly negative terms, ranging from linguistic nationalism (Woolard 1998), to ideologies of standard language (Lippi-Green, 1997), to the "native speaker myth" (Phillipson 1992; Rampton 1990). Each of these contributes in unique ways to the devaluation in K-12 settings of ESL as institutional, programmatic, and social-identity categories (Talmy 2009a, p. 235).

According to Talmy, the negatively marked status of 'ESL student' (Bucholtz & Hall 2004) is evidence of a wider neglect to address *linguicism (*see below*),* and its influence on ESL classrooms in applied linguistics. Parallel to concepts like racism and sexism, concerning prejudice related to race and sex, the concept of linguicism was coined (Phillipson 1988, 1992; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1986) with reference to judgements about an individual's intelligence, competence or other character traits, based on his/her language or characteristic language features. Stigmatization of local languages and dialects in educational settings which leads to unequal distribution of power and resources is consequently regarded as an instance of linguicism.

Talmy (2009a) reports on a critical ethnography study in a public school (Tradewinds) in Hawaii carried out in 15 high school classrooms, including eight dedicated ESL classes, over a period of 2.5 years. A main focus in the study is what Talmy refers to as the "mainstream/ESL hierarchy" according to which the native-speaker, 'mainstream and regular' students were depicted as the preferred norm in opposition to the divergent ESL students. Talmy also observed how the 'old-timers' or 'local' ESL students were major participants in the recursive projection of the mainstream/ESL division by expressing negative evaluations of ESL as a way of rejecting a low-prestige identity as 'ESL students' and co-membership with their lower L2-proficient and newcomer classmates sometimes scornfully referred to as FOBs (fresh off the boat).

> Thus, 'ESL student' as it was institutionally articulated at Tradewinds connoted a monolithic out-group of recently-arrived cultural and linguistic 'Others', that is, an iconic, stereotypical 'ESL Student', or 'FOB' ('fresh off the boat') (Talmy 2008, p. 626).

Just like many non-dominant language students in Swedish schools, students at Tradewinds spoke a special variety of the dominant code which marked them as ESL to begin with. As pointed out by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) marked identities are often ideologically associated with marked language differing from a more recognizable and highly prestigious norm. In the same vein, Talmy argues, ESL students at Tradewinds were identified by their linguistic "deficiencies," how they "fail[ed] to measure up to an implied or explicit standard" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, p. 372).

According to Talmy (2008, 2009a) linguicism as reflected in the mainstream/ESL hierarchy was occasioned in everyday classroom life at Tradewinds, where a deficit identity of ESL students was opposed to a non-ESL mainstream identity as instantiated in the following cite from one of the ESL teachers (Talmy 2009a, p.243):

> Extract 1
> <I'm teaching you form. (0.4) I'm teaching you structure. (0.8) I'm teaching you topic sentence. > and supporting sentences. >.hh you guys are just sitting there.< (1.3) <don't act dumb> like ESL students.

7.3. Deficit ideologies

Talmy's ethnographic study in Hawaii confirms findings in similar educational contexts in Sweden and elsewhere that bilingualism is not always considered an asset and that the experiences and resources of non-dominant language students are not generally acknowledged and valued in schools (cf. Gruber 2007; Haglund 2005; Lahdenperä 1997; Otterup 2005). In many Swedish schools, a widespread deficit discourse appears to rule, in which linguicism in terms of negative attitudes towards non-standard varieties of Swedish typical of multilingual communities (Runfors 2003, 2007; Stroud 2003) forms an important part. A recurring message sent to minority students seems to be that they should leave their ethnicity behind, become "real" Swedes and learn "proper" Swedish as quickly as possible as displayed in the following extract from an ethnographic study in a multiethnic secondary school in suburban Stockholm carried out by Charlotte Haglund (2005, p. 96).

> Extract 2
> After a Religion class about myths and symbols some Turkish-speaking students turn to a bilingual teacher to ask about the translation of the Swedish word for *'myth'*
>
> Sarwat: What do you say? You know Kurdish and you know Arabic and Turkish too, don't you?
> Teacher: Yes, some of them, yes.

Sarwat: Good so then I'd like you to-
Teacher: (interrupting)-the only thing I would care about right now if I were you would be to learn better Swedish. Everything else should be completely irrelevant for you.

Similar data from a comparative ethnographic study of Turkish pupils in German (Extract 3) and Dutch schools (Extract 4)[3] (Sunier 2004) display the same kind of attitudes.

Extract 3
Their speaking of Turkish gets on my nerves: in my lessons they are not allowed to do so. They should adapt themselves more (Sunier 2004, p. 154).

Extract 4
We have pupils at this school from a variety of cultural backgrounds. They have their particularities, which we should acknowledge, but it is our policy that since this is a Dutch school, Dutch is the language with which *we* [my italics] communicate with each other. Only by learning Dutch can you be successful and participate in our society (Sunier 2004, p. 156).

These studies represent a critical interpretative approach in contemporary educational research in multilingual settings in which links between the microlevel of everyday verbal interaction between students and teachers and the macrolevel of traditional institutional order are revealed. As pointed out by Marilyn Martin-Jones (2010:171), this kind of research, originally developed by researchers in postcolonial contexts (Canagarajah 1995; Lin 1996), offers important contributions to our understanding of the role of educational policies and classroom practices in the reproduction of power asymmetries between groups and of the prevailing idealization of a linguistically and culturally homogeneous society.

Swedish and other European research confirms numerous accounts of the inequitable and discriminatory school situation of many non-dominant students in other contexts (Harklau 1994; Pacheco 2010; Valencia & Solorzáno 1997; Vollmer 2000), where minority language students are approached from a deficit perspective and regarded as lacking intellectual capacities and motivation to learn instead of being valued for their rich socio-cultural and linguistic experiences.

[3] The study also includes data from French and British schools.

7.4. Policy as an interpretive process

Research on the stigma of ESL (or any other second language instruction for non-dominant language students) and other manifestations of linguicism and deficit discourses reveals systematic mismatches between intended policies and everyday classroom practices. As pointed out by Creese and Leung (2003), such discrepancies show that policy is not a linear and simple top-down process or "a blueprint for straightforward interpretation and implementation" (ibid:16). Instead of telling people what to do, policies address problems that need to be solved locally and creatively in response to circumstances in particular context. Based on data from a year-long ethnographic study of three London secondary schools, Creese and Leung (2003) point to an unresolved tension between the official policy of inclusion and local educational practices and display how the discursive construction of ethno-linguistic diversity may diverge from a central policy at an individual as well as an institutional level of practice.

Referring to Ball (1997, p. 270), Creese and Leung (2003, p. 5) in their analysis denote schools and teachers as *first-order recipients* and implementers of policies and to students as *second-order recipients* who may be favored or disfavored by the same policies. Institutional and teacher values and attitudes thus work as a filter through which policies must pass before they are implemented and put into action within a particular ideological environment. Consequently, policies aimed at promoting cultural and linguistic diversity will not be easily endorsed by its recipients (first or second) as long as the prevailing discourse among teachers, institutions and the rest of the dominant society is based on a monolingual and mono-cultural norm.

8. Conclusions

In spite of the good intentions behind measures to provide for equal access to linguistic resources in Swedish schools, a number of challenges remain to be addressed before the disjunction between contemporary realities and the vision of a truly inclusive school valuing diversity and equity can be eliminated. From a hindsight perspective, failures in terms of implementation of language support programs in the Swedish context can be attributed to language policies not being sufficiently attuned to the sociolinguistics of language contact situations and to issues of power and identity in contexts characterized by the impact of rapid development and demographic dynamics (cf. Stroud 2003). Moreover, empirical findings from educational research in multilingual settings

have shown that far more attention should be given to explicating and processing policy meaning in situated practices. Since universal complicity cannot be assumed, policy meanings need to interact with teacher values and local practices before they can work productively in a given context (Creese and Leung 2003). Findings from ethnographic research in Swedish schools (Gruber 2007; Haglund 2005; Runfors 2003, 2007) show that heterogeneous linguistic and cultural experiences are often rejected and stigmatized. This lends support to Talmy's claim that linguicism needs to be addressed in a more systematic and sustained way in schools, educational research and teacher education. As pointed out by Pacheco (2010), in a study of marginalizing discourses surrounding Latina/o English learners in the US, dominant ideologies can be disrupted through teacher education programs, in which policies and practices which preclude students with certain ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds from achieving academic success are deliberately challenged.

As pointed out in the OECD review of migrant education in Sweden (Taguma, Kim, Brink & Telteman 2010), the training of all teachers and school leaders for diversity and the provision for equity in terms of access to language resources in Swedish schools should be a top priority for polices on migrant education in Sweden. Therefore, knowledge of the challenges that second language learners face in terms of general academic and subject-specific languages must form an integral part in teacher preparation programs for all teachers.

Finally we must look for creative and flexible means of meeting the multiplicity of educational needs of language resources in local contexts in an empowering and participatory way. Hence, instead of pretending that differences do not exist or falling back on universal remedies, we need to find localised answers for how to create time and space for acknowledging and building on the full linguistic potentials of non-dominant language students within the mainstream curriculum. Following Talmy (2009b, p. 135), recommendations for such an agenda might include

> (…) developing specialised curricula that utilize as a resource what these students bring to school: for example, that make use of their L2 interactional competence for the development of metalinguistic awareness and for the apprenticeship into academic literacies; that centrally address issues implicated by (…) linguistic prejudice as a frequently unexamined form of discrimination; in short curricula that are specifically designed with these students' diverse needs, interests, affiliations, and experiences in mind.

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"It's simply a gift" – multilingualism as an individual and societal resource

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Abstract

This paper focuses on eight multilingual young people from a multiethnic urban area of Gothenburg and discusses under what conditions multilingualism can be an individual as well as societal resource. A study with a poststructuralist approach which was carried out among the eight young people is presented. In the study the transcribed interviews were analyzed by means of *Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss 1967) and in the *formal theory* concepts like *ambivalence*, *investment* and *empowerment* were found to adequately describe the conditions for the development of *syncretic identities* in multilingual settings. The ambiguities of the post-modern society and the many choices it calls for, emphasized by the young peoples' multilingualism, can be frustrating for many but can also offer unique opportunities to individuals. Multilingual young people, like those in focus here, possess valuable cultural capital for the development of a society in which cultural and linguistic diversity is an important constituent.

Keywords: multilingualism, linguistic diversity, multiethnicity, identity formation, Grounded Theory

1. Introduction

In Sweden today a large number of people use more than one language on a daily basis. However, a monolingual norm still prevails to a great extent which results in multilingualism not being considered a resource either for Swedish society at large or for the individual citizen. And yet for the girl who characterised it as "simply a gift", multilingualism is an obvious asset.

This paper deals mainly with multilingual young people in upper secondary school. Reports on young people like these have often been negative, both in the official statistics and in the media. The Swedish Board of Education, for example, reports on various school results (e.g. Skolverket 2007, p. 112) where multilingual pupils are overrepresented among those who did not obtain a pass in their exams. In the media these young people are often described as marginalised, maladjusted and insufficiently educated, running the risk of ending up in social alienation and criminality. With this widespread image in mind it may be difficult to perceive how multilingual young people could constitute an important resource for the development of a democratic and modern society. This, however, is exactly what I claim they do.

The content of this paper is based on one of the two studies carried out within a dissertation project (Otterup 2005) in Swedish as a Second Language at the University of Gothenburg. In this study the life stories of eight interviewed multilingual young people have formed the basis of the analysis. These young people, with only one exception, have been largely quite successful, or even very successful, in their lives so far. They have ambitious professional plans and are looking towards the future with confidence. In this they differ from the prevalent image of multilingual young people from multiethnic urban areas in Sweden. This no doubt can be explained by how the young people have been chosen for participation in the study. It has been entirely voluntary and one can expect that active, industrious and ambitious young people are interested in taking part in a study of this kind. The aim of the study consequently is to show that multilingual young people under certain circumstances can be successful on an individual level and therefore also become an important resource for society at large.

2. A poststructuralist approach

The study has been carried out with a poststructuralist approach, which implies that focus is on language as a place for social construction, power and individual consciousness (Pavlenko 2002, p. 282). Essential for this perspective is the view

on language as symbolic capital and as a means for identity construction (Bourdieu 1991; Gal 1989), as well as the view on language acquisition as language socialisation (Ochs 1993; Wenger 1998) and the view on second language users as actors with composite, dynamic and changeable identities (Norton Pierce 1995; Pavlenko 2000). This theoretical framework is well suited for analysing how second language users' linguistic, social, cultural and ethnic identities are constructed and reconstructed in interaction in the process of acquiring and using a second language. The poststructuralist approach has therefore been chosen for this study.

In a poststructuralist perspective language consists of a set of discourses imbued with meaning. However all languages, discourses or linguistic varieties are not equally valued on the linguistic market. Some of them are considered more valuable than others according to Bourdieu's view on language (1991) as a sort of symbolic capital convertible into economic and social capital. The value of a certain linguistic variety or a linguistic practice is dependent on to what extent it can lead to a desirable education and jobs or a higher social position. Pavlenko (2002, p. 283) suggests that a model built on language as symbolic capital can better accommodate social and individual factors of importance for language acquisition. Unlike notions such as "instrumental motivation" (cf. Gardner & Lambert 1972), this model can also explain how socio-psychological and socio-economic factors affect language acquisition as well as how institutional practices legitimatise or stigmatise different linguistic varieties.

A poststructuralist approach also means looking upon language as a place where identities are constructed through the different discourses which dictate the conditions by which the identities will be manifested and at the same time ascribe the identities different values or positionings (Pavlenko 2002), by which individuals can be categorised as e.g. young people from the multiethnic suburb. Such positionings depend on e.g. age, gender, sexuality, class and other factors which affect the view on the individual (ibid., p. 284; cf. also Jonsson 2007). However positionings are not consistent and for ever defined since people are constantly involved in processes of collaboration or resistance, whereby their self identity is negotiated or constructed (cf. Haglund 2005). Many multilingual individuals can also experience a difference between the self-assumed identities and how they are being positioned by others, whereby multilingualism often is associated with identity conflicts. That is why some researchers consider all language use in multilingual contexts as "acts of identity" (cf. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1997).

In poststructuralist theory second language users are seen as agents with power over their own acquisition. This sort of agency is considered the driving force in language acquisition. Since an individual's own will only is one side of

the coin, however, the agency is also seen as negotiated and mutually constructed. This means that we as individuals can act according to our own wishes only if the surroundings allow us to do so (Pavlenko 2002, p. 293). Above all, the result of language acquisition depends on a mutually negotiated and coconstructed agency. Notions like agency and investment (cf. Norton 2000) are also seen as changeable and dynamic. The second language users' investments in the second language will therefore also change over time, which in certain circumstances and during certain periods of time can mean higher or lower investment with higher or lower dividend as a result (Pavlenko 2002). Identifying socio-economic and socio-political factors which hinder or further multilingualism and multiculturalism is seen by Pavlenko as an important task for research, thereby forming the basis for a language policy and an educational policy which can make possible more equal access to linguistic and educational resources. The aim of such a policy, according to Pavlenko, is not integration and language use based on the terms of the majority, but a society which allows the individual to position himself and make investments according to his own choice.

3. The interview study

With this theoretical framework as a background I will now report from an interview study which was carried out in 2003 with eight multilingual young people, five girls and three boys. I had met these eight boys and girls already in 1998 when I made a survey study with all 179 pupils in the multilingual and multiethnic school where all eight at that time were in the 6th grade. When I interviewed them five years later they were 17–18 years old and all but one were in the last form of upper secondary school ("gymnasium"). One had lagged behind and had just started the first year of upper secondary school.

In Table 1 below the interviewees are introduced with their code names. Here sex, mother tongues, educational programmes as well as professional plans at the time of interview are also shown.

In the interviews the eight young people told about their lives with a special focus on aspects of multilingualism and language use, how they looked upon themselves and their identities as well as expectations for the future. The interviews were recorded and afterwards also transcribed.

Table 1. *Students taking part in the interview study.*

Name	*Sex*	*Mother tongue*	*Educational programme*	*Professional plans*
Aleyna	F	Turkish	Social Sciences	Economist
Gloria	F	Spanish	Social Sciences	Journalist
Janira	F	Criolu	Social Sciences	Economist
Keiwan	M	Persian	Technical Sciences	Programmer
Maja	F	Bosnian	Informatics	Accountant
Muhammed	M	Arabic	Hotel/Restaurant	Chef
Munja	M	Bosnian	Technical Sciences	Industrial designer
Natalia	F	Spanish	Social Sciences	Travel agent

The method of analysis which has been used in this qualitative study is Grounded Theory, as introduced by Glaser & Strauss (1967). This method takes the empirical data as a starting point and aims at generating theories of two different kinds, *substantive* and *formal.* The difference between these is mostly about degree of generalisation; the formal theory having a higher degree of generalisation than the substantive one. The research question which was the starting point for the analysis was: *What significance does multilingualism have in the young peoples' lives?* In the time-consuming process of constant comparison, coding, sorting and conceptualising of the data, which the use of Grounded Theory entails, both a substantive and a formal theory have crystallised. In the substantive theory the identities of the multilingual young people proved to be the most essential category and also to constitute the core category (cf. Engblom 2004). In this paper, however, we will focus on the formal theory. The concepts which form the formal theory will be accounted for below. These concepts, according to my results, as well as explaining the concept of *syncretic identities* also spell out the conditions for the composite identities of the multilingual young people. The concepts concerned are *ambivalence, investment* and *empowerment*.

4. Ambivalence

Aleyna is the only one of the eight interviewees in this study who was born in Sweden. She started to use the Swedish language rather early in life and she also met with Swedish customs and the Swedish way of life as a very young girl. Yet she still keeps in close contact with Turkey and Turkish customs. Although she sees herself mainly as a Swedish girl she goes to Turkey every summer for a couple of months together with her family. They have kept their house in the village in central Turkey where her mother and father originally came from and

they have also bought a flat in a seaside resort. There Aleyna for some time every year leads a fairly Turkish life although the local people see her as being more Swedish than Turkish. She also has got herself a Turkish boyfriend whom she thinks she is going to marry. However, she cannot see herself leaving Sweden to live in Turkey permanently and so the only other option is for him to move to Sweden.

Aleyna considers herself a Muslim young woman although not a very religious one. She never goes to the mosque, never prays and she never fasts during Ramadan. She says that she in many ways has adopted more Swedish ways of living.

> (1) … so it's no real Turkish culture which we have at home. Ramadan and things like that we don't celebrate and we never go to the mosque.[1] (Aleyna)

On the other hand she has not gone so far as eating pork or celebrating Swedish Christmas.

Keiwan was born in Iran and came to Sweden when he was three years old. When asked about how he sees his ethnic identity he says that he is about 70 percent Swedish and 30 percent Iranian. In spite of that, he feels very strongly that his roots are in Iran. Swedish is his strongest language but without doubt he considers Persian his mother tongue. He feels at home in Sweden and this is where he belongs, he says, but in the last few years he has become more and more involved in Iranian politics. Together with other Iranian expatriates in Gothenburg he struggles in the ways he can for a free and democratic Iran, and if and when that goal has been achieved he is prepared to go back to his home country to help rebuild the nation.

> (2) … but most of all I want to get those people away from our country. Meanwhile I can educate myself so I can help rebuild the country. But Sweden will always be my second home country. (Keiwan)

To the eight interviewees life appears ambiguous. There are ambiguities and alternatives in most situations they meet with and they constantly have to deal with a complex and many-sided reality. That is the case for all young people in today's society, but for the eight young people taking part in this study this fact is reinforced by their multilingualism and the fact that they are at the crossroads between two (or more) languages, between the cultures of their parents and the new country, between youth cultures and adult cultures and between local and global cultures. Furthermore, right now they are on the threshold between

[1] Author's translations in all examples from the data.

childhood and adulthood, a phase of life where the inner world is also characterized by susceptibility and uncertainty.

In the interviews the young people often express *ambivalence* in their attitudes towards different situations. This is expressed by many uses of "on the one hand" and "on the other hand". In cultural theory and social psychology *ambivalence* has become an important theoretical concept which also has been ascribed many different meanings (cf. Eriksson, Eriksson Baaz & Törn 1999). In English research literature a difference is sometimes made between *ambiguity*, as a term for an ambiguous word, concept or object, and *ambivalence* in the sense of dual personality or uncertainty in a person. The concept of *ambiguity* can also be understood on a linguistic or cultural level while the concept of *ambivalence* is more used in psychology.

In situations where people must make a choice a common figure of thought is 'either – or', but many of the young people seem to think 'both – and'. Andersson (2003) tells how some of the interviewed girls of various ethnic backgrounds in her study in a similar way express what she calls "a confident ambivalence" (p. 235). Andersson understands that the girls in this way express that the only thing they can be really sure of is that nothing is for sure and that they for that reason have accepted that attitude and made it their own. Instead of dismissing what seems to be an absolute demand, e.g. wearing a head scarf for religious reasons, this demand is made into one of several other options, according to Andersson. The eight young people in my study are also open to many possible choices. Multilingualism makes it possible to develop many languages at the same time. Researchers have found that bilingualism has a positive influence on children's cognitive development (Bialystok 2001). Cummins (1976, 1978) claims that this can be explained by the fact that bilingual, or multilingual, children are stimulated by more languages and by experiences from more cultures ("enrichment by experience") than monolinguals. Furthermore Cummins (1976) suggests that the constant change of languages teaches the child to see many different perspectives of the same thing ("crossing") and that the child thereby develops flexible learning strategies.

For the young multilingual people in this study the option is not to choose one or the other language but to learn both. Several of the interviewees express strong solidarity with the multiethnic suburb in which they live and that they do not want to leave it. At the same time they also foresee the possibility that they will live in other parts of Gothenburg or even in other countries in the future. They all consider Sweden their home country, but at least two of them see a possibility that they will move back to their country of origin. They seem to have discovered that life is ambiguous and offers many possibilities and therefore their strategy has become not to dismiss any alternatives.

The psychologist Budner (1962) has defined ambiguous situations as new, complex or unsolvable. Budner also identified the ability to tolerate uncertainty or ambiguity as an individual variable of personality (tolerance for ambiguity). This variable, he claims, is about an individual's inclination to see ambiguous situations either as threatening and negative or as desirable and positive. An individual with a high degree of tolerance for ambiguity finds ambiguous situations interesting and challenging and accepts the complexity of the uncertainty, while a person with low tolerance for ambiguity experiences situations like these as stressful and tries to avoid what is uncertain and ambiguous. Tolerance for ambiguity has later in various studies turned out to be highly related to e.g. positive attitudes to risk taking (Lauriola & Levin 2001), creativity (Tegano 1990) as well as freedom from prejudice (Furnham 1995). In a similar way intolerance for ambiguity has been tied to a number of problems related to anxiety, like restlessness, obsessive behaviour and feelings of panic (Dugas, Gosselin & Ladouceur 2001). How the young people of this study meet and deal with new, complex and ambiguous situations might be related to their degree of tolerance for ambiguity. Most of them seem willing to accept the challenges that this involves while some feel more uncertain and threatened by ambiguous situations.

5. Investment

Gloria came to Sweden from Chile when she was only five months old. She has gone to Swedish preschool, primary school and is now in upper secondary school. Alongside with her studies in Swedish she has also all the time had mother tongue tuition in Spanish, two hours a week. Gloria says that she has always enjoyed school and school work. No subjects have been difficult although she may not have been equally interested in them all.

> (3) It wasn't that the natural sciences were difficult. It's just that I didn't like them. There's a difference between a subject being difficult and not being interested in it, you know. (Gloria)

Gloria's marks from primary school were so good that she could choose the program she wanted in upper secondary school and here she has also put a lot of time and energy into her studies. She says that she simply likes school and studying. She has definite plans for the future and is adamant about becoming a journalist.

(4) I'm going to study journalism. I have decided that now although I know it is difficult to be admitted. (Gloria)

Keiwan will also finish upper secondary school soon. After having spent almost twelve years in school he says that he is a bit fed up with studying. Still he is not prepared to give up since to him good marks, exams and degrees mean something special.

(5) You can say that I am fed up with school, exactly, but I have an AIM in my life and that's why I can't quit school now. (Keiwan)

Keiwan needs his education, preferably as a programmer, to have something to invest in a free and democratic republic of Iran for which cause he is now engaged.

For Mohammed on the other hand, who like Keiwan came to Sweden when he was three, school has not been so unproblematic. Already in the seventh form he started to lag behind and he lost interest in school work. He sensed that the teachers did not have patience with him and he often felt misunderstood and unjustly treated.

(6) There was me and another immigrant guy in the class and the teachers really favoured the Swedish pupils. We noticed that because towards us two they were ice cold. They made jokes with the Swedish pupils but we did'nt feel welcome there at all. (Mohammed)

At the time of the interviews Mohammed had reached upper secondary school but he was two years behind the other interviewees. He was tired of school and was not prepared to put much effort into his studies. He did not aim for an academic education and his only goal was to get through upper secondary school and then get a job which would give him a regular income.

Another concept of relevance for describing young people's identity construction is *investment.* It is a concept which has been introduced by Bonny Norton (2000) and which is intended to supplement the concept of *motivation*. Gardner & Lambert's (1972) theories of the importance of integrative and instrumental motivation for target language acquisition has had special impact in the field of second language acquisition. Norton (2000, p. 10) argues that motivation cannot satisfactorily describe the complex relations between power, identity and language acquisition which she has found to be crucial for second language learners. She has studied identity formation and second language acquisition in five migrant women in Canada. Her focus is on adult, female learners' language acquisition. It seems, however, that the concept of investment is just as relevant for the considerably younger, female as well as male,

interviewees of this study where I also use the concept in relation to both languages, Swedish as their second language and their own mother tongues.

Norton (2000, p. 5) maintains that theories about second language acquisition have been developed from the idea that language learners can choose under what conditions they can interact with members from the majority society and that the language learner's access to and contact with the target language is dependent on the learner's motivation. She also claims that researchers in second language acquisition have not satisfactorily studied how unequal power relations affect the learner's possibilities to practice the target language. It has often in an unproblematic way been assumed that learners can be defined as motivated or unmotivated, introvert or extrovert, inhibited or uninhibited, without considering that such affective factors often are socially constructed in unequal power relations. These factors can vary in time and place, Norton claims, and can also in a contradictory way exist simultaneously within the same individual.

The concept of investment can according to Norton (2000, p. 7) best be understood in relation to the economic metaphors used by Bourdieu, particularly in relation to what he calls cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). Bourdieu uses the term with reference to the type of knowledge and the way of thinking which characterizes different classes and groups in a society. Certain sorts of cultural capital have higher value than others, Bourdieu claims, since in every society there are social norms which value a certain type of knowledge and a certain way of thinking higher than others. When learners invest in a second language they do it with the idea that they shall get access to symbolic as well as material resources, which will make the value of their cultural capital increase. With symbolic resources Bourdieu means e.g. language and education and with material resources he refers to capital goods, property and money (Norton 2000, p. 7). Second language learners, in other words, expect or hope for good dividends on their investments.

Norton discusses, as earlier reported, the concept of investment in relation to second language acquisition. It is obvious from my study that the interviewed young people to a great extent have been prepared to invest in the second language, Swedish, first of all in order to obtain a much desired education but also in order to get access to symbolic as well as material resources to enjoy a higher standard of living. Gloria for example has made considerable investments in the Swedish language in order to qualify as a journalist and have a future in media. Maja has made the corresponding investment in order to study economics, become an accountant and start her own business. Munja has invested in Swedish to get the technical education he needs to become an industrial designer, and so on and so forth. Mohammed on the other hand has not been so certain of how much he has wanted or been able to invest. Most of

the time he seems to have found himself in situations where unequal power relations have been prevalent and his willingness to invest has therefore been limited. Since he experiences that he has not been fully accepted as a person and often enough has not been admitted into Swedish society, a more serious venture into the Swedish language to him seems like a somewhat insecure investment and would not render him a satisfactory dividend.

When it comes to investments in the mother tongues it is not so obvious for the interviewed young people in what way this could be a good investment. Proficiency in languages like e.g. Arabic, Bosnian, Criolu, Persian and Turkish is not much sought after and valued in Sweden. Languages like Spanish, spoken by Gloria and Natalia, is one of the world languages and has a much higher status. In Norton's and Bourdieu's terms an investment in a "minority language", possibly with the exception of Spanish, would not increase the value of an individual's cultural capital in Swedish society, a fact that the interviewees through experience are also well aware of. Yet remarkably many of them have made efforts to develop proficiency in their mother tongues. The value of knowledge in these languages must be considered in relation to the contacts which the families still have with the home country and its culture. For young people with much contact with the country of origin, and who possibly also visit it for a longer period every summer, proficiency in the mother tongue is a good investment which also strengthens their cultural capital in that country. And for Keiwan, whose hope it is to be able to return to Iran and take an active part of life there, proficiency in Persian is a necessary investment.

6. Empowerment

Of all eight interviewees in this study Gloria is the one who has set the most definite goals in life. She knows that she wants to become a journalist and she is convinced that she can reach that goal. She knows that it requires high marks from upper secondary school to be admitted to the media and communication programme at the university. She thinks her marks will be good enough to be admitted to the programme at the University of Gothenburg, but to be on the safe side she will send in her application to several universities in Sweden.

(7) So I've said to mum that I will apply and I WILL be admitted because I don't want to waste a whole year. (Gloria)

Because her mother tongue is Spanish she also plans to go to Spain for a year and take some media courses there before coming back to Sweden to finish her

studies here. Gloria sees many possibilities in her life and seemingly she will be able to make her own choices based on her own preferences.

Natalia, who came to Sweden from Chile together with her family when she was between two and three years old, also has a clear view on what she wants to do in the future. She has gone to some different schools in different sorts of areas, both in Gothenburg and in other parts of Sweden. She has enjoyed going to school most of the time and has never found school really difficult. At the time of the interview Natalia was in the last form of upper secondary school and she really enjoys her studies there.

> (8) Now I study tourism. I think it's perfect. It's exactly what I want to do. Everything feels great. (Natalia)

After taking her exams she wants to go to Australia to study tourism and eventually she wants to start her own travel agency. Considering Natalia's obvious determination there is no reason to believe that she will not achieve that goal.

The concept of *empowerment* is of great relevance for an analysis of the identity construction of the eight interviewees. Cummins (1996) uses the concept when he discusses the school's importance for empowering minority pupils in the multicultural society. The concept of empowerment is not easily defined but below I will try to describe how Cummins uses it.

Cummins (1996, p. 14) makes a distinction between coercive and collaborative power relations in society. Coercive power relations, he claims, are about a dominating individual, group or state exercising power to the detriment of others. Such relations are conducive to preserving unequal distribution of societal resources. This sort of power relations often evokes a discourse of "blaming the victim" (Ryan 1972). The fact that minority pupils often fail in school is consequently explained by inherent qualities in the group itself. Collaborative power relations, on the other hand, can make for empowerment instead of alienation. This can be understood from the assumption that power is not a fixed, predetermined entity. It is rather something that is generated in relations between people and groups of people. In other words this means that individuals involved in a relation can be empowered by collaborating and negotiating about power. This can happen if the individual's identity is acknowledged and he/she is also allowed to change his/her life or social situation. In this way power can be created in relations and can also be shared by participants. According to Cummins (1996) power relations like these can be considered additive rather than subtractive and he also states that they are produced in collaboration with others instead of being forced upon them. Within this theoretical framework empowerment can be defined as collaborative creation of power (p. 15).

Pupils whose experiences of school reflect collaborative power relations develop ability, confidence and motivation to succeed in school, Cummins claims. These pupils are in a competent way involved in their education since they have developed a confident understanding of their identities and since they know that their voices will be heard in the classroom. They sense that they can participate in the activities in the classroom and that they belong there. Cummins (1996) maintains that empowerment is created by negotiation of identities in the classroom. Identities, according to his view, are not static but constantly transformed by experiences made in interaction with others. Children often get their self perception strengthened by parents during adolescence but school also has an important role to play in this respect. Cummins refers to research which shows that pupils from minority groups are often considered inferior or deviating from the majority and therefore do not get their self-esteem confirmed in school (Cummins 1996, p. 16). He particularly stresses the role of the teachers in the interaction with the minority pupils and claims that the teacher in the interaction with pupils implicitly conveys a picture of a society in which the pupils either can feel involved in or excluded from. The way the teachers define their own roles in the classroom therefore is of great importance for the signals they send to the pupils about their possibilities in the future and how they can contribute to shaping society. Cummins claims that a real change of minority pupils' education only can come about if the power relations in school are changed from coercive to collaborative and become additive through collaboration instead of subtractive through force.

What has Cummins's theories about power relations in society and school got to do with the eight interviewees in my study? I have not analysed their situation in school and the sort of interaction they have been part of there so consequently I can not say anything about what kinds of power structure they have met with, nor about what sorts of negotiations of power relations they have been involved in. In some of the interviews with the multilingual pupils this has certainly been a theme, but above all it is through the pictures that they give of themselves and how they view the future that the role of education and school can be illustrated in this study. The strength, optimism and belief in the future which they express reflect to what extent school has succeeded in conveying possible positive choices of identities and thereby contributing to the empowerment of the eight young people. On the whole they have set their goals high. Seven of them are aiming for university while the eighth has no such plans. They know about the admission requirements to study at university and they seem realistically to judge their chances of being admitted.

Two of the girls are very clear about their plans for the future. Gloria, who wants to become a journalist, knows that she needs high marks to be admitted

to the media and communication courses at the university. She is also prepared to invest both linguistically and educationally to reach her goal. She is very confident and strongly believes in her possibilities and she also gives the impression, in the sense of Cummins (1996), to be genuinely empowered. The same goes for Natalia. She has been accepted to a university course in tourism in Australia which is a goal she has been prepared to work for and make certain sacrifices to reach. Both girls seem to be confident in the way they see themselves and they are also prepared to take control over their own lives and make their own decisions. The opposite of Gloria's and Natalia's confidence can be found in Mohammed. He expresses a low degree of self-esteem and looks to the future with much anxiety. For him it is difficult to see what opportunities society can offer. He has experienced how society has ascribed to him the identity of a migrant which has prevented him from fully enjoying the several possibilities offered by Swedish society. In the interview Mohammed expresses how his mother tongue, cultural background and earlier experiences have not been valued but rather disregarded or belittled during his schooling. This seems to have lead to disempowerment (Cummins 1996, p. 9) for Mohammed.

The other five interviewees seem not to have been deprived of their self-esteem to the same extent as Mohammed. They believe in their abilities to reach the goals they have set up. Even if they do not express this in the same obvious way as Gloria and Natalia do, they are prepared to fight to make their plans come true. The power structures which they have met in school and society as a whole seem not to have taken away their self-esteem.

7. Syncretic identities

All eight young people in this interview study have very composite and complex identities. This could be summed up in the concept of *syncretic identities.* The most typical syncretic identity and representative of the multilingual and multiethnic Swedish suburban areas I would say that Mohammed has. He likes the multiethnic suburb and feels at home there.

(9) It's more relaxed you know. In front of migrants you can do much more than in front of Swedes. Migrants do the same things so they understand. (Mohammed)

Mohammed also speaks many languages or at least has learnt a little of many languages, languages which he has met with and which his friends speak.

(10) Swedish, English, Arabic, Danish and Finnish a little. Persian I know quite well too. I understand almost everything but I stutter a little when I speak. (Mohammed)

Arabic is Mohammed's mother tongue but Swedish is his strongest language. When he came to Sweden with his mother and sister they ended up in the north of Sweden in a bilingual region where both Swedish and Finnish are spoken by the inhabitants. Consequently Mohammed picked up a little of both languages. His father lives in Denmark with his new family and when visiting them Mohammed has picked up a little Danish too. Persian he has learnt from his Iranian friends in the suburb. When Mohammed speaks about his ethnic identity he says that he feels both Swedish and Iraqi but mainly he describes his identity as generally being a migrant as opposed to being a Swede.

The other girls and boys in the study also have complex identities which they express in different ways. Maja for example, who never felt really at home in the multiethnic suburb and who spent her first years in Sweden in a homogenously Swedish housing area, explains that her identity can vary according to where she is and whom she is together with.

(11) Let me say like this, when I'm with friends then I feel more Swedish but when I am at home then I feel more Bosnian, because then I'm with my parents and then I speak Bosnian of course. (Maja)

Janira who came to Sweden from Cape Verde when she was just over a year old has another way of explaining her identity. She makes a distinction between language use and ways of living.

(12) Even if I wasn't BORN in Sweden, I was very young when I came here. I feel very Swedish. But I also feel that I'm a mixture between Swedish and Creole. If you think about traditions and ways of living I'm more Creole but languagewise I'm more Swedish. (Janira)

Munja who like Maja left Bosnia to escape the civil war seems to have formed a very different but still syncretic identity. He has spent all his life in Sweden in the multiethnic suburb in Gothenburg where he also feels at home and has friends from all parts of the world. Because of his family and the regular visits to Bosnia he has kept much of the Bosnian identity.

(13) I don't know. I'm proud of living here in Sweden. I think it's a very good country to live in. You can't ask for a better one. But I can never become a Swede. I still feel like a … Even if I like Sweden more and feel more at home here I can never be Swedish, you see, because I'm Bosnian. (Munja)

One of the distinctive features of post modernity (cf. Lyon 1998, p. 62) is globalisation, which in many ways has affected the conditions which govern the lives of the young people of my study. Streams of migrants, trade and invasions have since long given rise to new settlements and cultural encounters as well as development of new cultural forms. Today people, goods and capital are being transported and transport themselves in constant streams over the globe without parallel in history. This has in a short period of time lead to substantial changes in the conditions of life for large groups of people.

Researchers have also studied how new cultures and identities develop especially among young people in multicultural urban settings. Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy have been pioneers in this field. They studied ethnic relations among young people in the inner cities of Great Britain and they have noticed a fusion of different manifestations of culture in the form of language, music and social life (Gilroy 1987; Hall 1992). Gilroy (1987, p. 217) has coined the concept of *syncretic cultures* as a transgressing potential, something he found was characteristic for these young people's transethnic identity formation. With syncretic cultures Gilroy means the interplay between ethnic groups with a common culture formation process in close relation to the identity formation of the young people. I have taken over Gilroys concept of *syncretic* in order to describe the sort of identities which the boys and girls of my study are right in the process of forming and I will call them *syncretic identities* henceforth.

In Sweden Aleksandra Ålund (1997) has studied how young people of the multiethnic suburbs of Stockholm develop a transgressing and transcultural style of life. She claims that the young people transgress many ethnic and other border lines and that a distinct fusion of different ethnic cultures has developed among them resulting in a new awareness, mixed identities, transcultural life styles and modern social movements. Cultural variety is the distinguishing mark of modern society, Ålund claims (p. 187) with reference to Hall (1992). New ethnicities and cultures are born here and now and are created by young people who are prepared to transgress borders and "who both construct bridges and go in and out of each others' lives in all possible directions. New Swedish identities are formed here and cultures are created and cross-fertilized. […] A new sort of culturally mixed and transethnic awareness is connected to the rise of social movements which play an important role in creating a multicultural society for all" (Ålund 1997, p. 186).

Ove Sernhede (2002), who has studied young people in a suburb of Gothenburg, claims that the processes affecting young people's identities do not merely include their own culture and Swedish culture. Obviously their own roots constitute an important basis for them, as do the different aspects of the majority culture which they have met with, for example at school. Just as important, however, are the contacts they have with friends from different parts of the world in the suburb, as well as awareness of the fact that they live

in a suburb segregated from Swedish majority society. According to Sernhede their lives embrace all these cultural processes within a multicultural Swedish context.

I claim that the eight boys and girls of my study who, at least for some time, have lived in the same suburb, are all examples of young people who have formed, or are in the process of forming, syncretic identities. Their many-sided identities are put together in various and very complex ways and are also in a process of constant change. The identities are constantly renegotiated in interaction with others in mutual cultural exchanges. Experiencing ambivalence in their ambiguous lives is something they have to live with and such experiences also contribute to the forming of syncretic identities. The concepts which I have focused on and which have proved to be of importance for the young people's identity constructions, ambivalence, investment and empowerment, are also of importance for the extent to which they will be strong enough to choose their own ways in Swedish majority society, have freedom of action and get dividends on investments made.

8. Multilingualism and multiculturalism as resources for societal development

The reality which young people of today have to live in, in a postmodern society (Lyon 1998), is characterized by globalization, very fast processes of change, fragmentarization, ambivalence and ambiguity. This also means a society where there are no obvious choices based on tradition as was the case for earlier generations when traditional patterns of life and thinking gave structure and meaning to life. Through this weakening of the more traditional way of life, which Ziehe (1986) names *cultural redundancy*, life has become considerably more complex for the individual by the many choices young people have to make. Lindberg (2004) claims e.g. that "culture has become a smorgasbord from which all can sample" (p. 25). The young people's identity construction is also to a great extent an open and individual project in the sense that they are alone and very vulnerable in the many situations of choice in which they create their own worlds. Many of them feel lost when facing so much choice, which Janira expresses in the following way:

> (14) Well, it depends. I hope that I will make the right decision so I won't regret it and will have to start all over again. (Janira)

At the same time the great sampling opportunity must not only mean ambivalence and uncertainty for the individual. It can also mean possibilities of action. Most things are possible, which means that young people of today have the opportunity like never before to take life into their own hands, form their own identities and make their dreams come true. Keiwan, one of the boys in the study, sees many opportunities and regards most goals as possible to reach:

(15) … to be part of the Iranian government and have a free hand there. (Keiwan)

When I consider the interviewees of my study in this perspective, however, it is obvious that qualities like security and inner strength, i.e. empowerment, are called for if a young person is able to benefit from the possibilities which the smorgasbord offers. The ones who do not have this sort of strength or who are hindered by unequal power relations in society and therefore have not wanted or been able to make necessary investments, neither on the educational nor the linguistic market, may seek other affiliations and risk forming more marginal identities like "migrant", "blatte"[2] or even "criminal". It is this sort of identities that the media like to occupy themselves with. In my study Mohammed seems to be the one with the least negotiated agency and therefore he has not been motivated to make substantial investments. He describes his identity in the following manner:

(16) But I feel mostly like a migrant. (Mohammed)

With reference to the eight interviewees in this study it is obvious that there also are many opportunities for multilingual young people. The majority of them have been relatively successful at school. They look upon the future with confidence and have ambitious vocational aspirations, which also seem possible to fulfil. Gloria's plans for the future are also made possible by the proficiency in her mother tongue:

(17) And after that I am going to study journalism here for a couple of years, and then study for a year in Spain. (Gloria)

These eight interviewees are hardly representative for all multilingual young people. And yet their life stories show that growing up in close contact with many cultures, languages and manners of life can provide young people with tools and strategies of great importance for tackling many of the ambiguities

[2] A derogatory Swedish word for migrant.

which postmodern society offers. They also show that for young people who are successfully negotiating about agency, who have become empowered and are willing to make investments in order to increase their cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977), the amount of possible choices can turn out to be something positive. It has e.g. given possibilities for Gloria to become a journalist, for Maja to open her own firm of accountants, for Munja to devote himself to his dream job as an industrial designer, and for Keiwan to become a programmer and perhaps also to return to Iran in order to help building a new democratic society there.

The young people who have been focused on in this study have, through their backgrounds and their various different experiences, important cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977) for the development of a society in which cultural and linguistic diversity is valued and recognized as a precondition for the individual and social development of present and future generations. The extent to which the school system and society will be able and willing to value and make use of this capital may prove decisive not only for the future of the young people directly concerned but for the peaceful, democratic and sustainable development of society as a whole.

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Figurative word combinations in texts written by adolescents in multilingual school environments

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Abstract

The article reports preliminary results of a study of the use of figurative word combinations in texts produced by high school students in multilingual urban school environments in Sweden. The data consist of essays written by 175 students and have been collected within the research project "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings". The texts have been divided into five categories according to the students' linguistic background. It was found that the figurative word combinations in the data can be classified into three main categories according to their degree of conventionalization: (1) *conventionalized word combinations*, (2) *partially modified conventionalized word combinations* and (3) *novel word combinations*. The results indicate that conventionalized word combinations are the most frequently used type in the data, followed by partially modified and novel figurative word combinations, respectively. The results also suggest that L1 students use more conventionalized word combinations than L2 students, whereas modifications of conventionalized figurative expressions are more frequent in the L2 students' texts.

Keywords: figurative language, phraseology, conventionalization, youth language, Swedish

1. Introduction

This paper reports on a study with the overall aim to describe the use of figurative word combinations in essays written by adolescents in multilingual school environments in Sweden. The study is part of the larger research project "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings".[1]

The specific aim of this paper is to present some preliminary results of work in progress and give an outline for further research. The questions we are dealing with here are the following:

- Are figurative word combinations used in the analyzed essays?
- If so, what types of conventionalized figurative word combinations can be found in the data?
- Are there differences in the use of figurative word combinations in the data that can be linked to participants' linguistic background?

The study is mainly qualitative even if we also present some quantitative results to show some tendencies considering, on one hand, the use of different types of word combinations and, on the other hand, differences in the use of word combinations between participant groups with different linguistic background.

In the following, we are going to discuss relevant phraseological terms, present Swedish research on the use of figurative language in students' writing and on phraseology in multilingual students' language. Further, we will discuss our data with regard to categorization of participants according to linguistic background, size of participant groups and corpus, and the types of figurative word combinations that we are investigating. Thereafter we will present and discuss some preliminary results.

[1] Emma Sköldberg has carried out the research as part of her position financed by The Swedish Academy. For further development of the current study, see Prentice & Sköldberg (2010).

2. Research background

2.1. Figurative phrasal expressions

Phraseology is a field that in its beginnings had to overcome the problem of terminological confusion, since it deals with a relatively wide variety of phenomena and the criteria for classification initially were not agreed on among researchers. The main types of phrasal expressions are nowadays, generally speaking, defined in similar ways by most phraseologists (Burger 1998, p. 33). There still is, however, a certain degree of confusion when it comes to the terms that describe the properties of phraseological expressions (cf. Wray 2002, pp. 8–9; a definition of the relevant terms for the present study follows below). Furthermore there are quite a large number of typologies that categorize different types of phraseological units according to different criteria (cf. Burger 1998; Corpas Pastor 1996; Fleischer 1997; Gläser 1988). Which typology is used and how detailed it has to be depends – as Burger (1998, p. 33) points out – on the aim of the study in question. This pragmatic perspective on the typology of phrasal expressions entails that ad hoc decisions about the categorization of certain phrases have to be accepted as part of the classification process.

The focus in the present study is on *figurative word combinations*, i.e. word combinations that contain some kind of metaphor, metonymy or simile. A consequence of the property of *figurativeness* is that the word combinations are semantically not fully *compositional*, i.e. their conventionalized meaning does not arise from word by word interpretation of the constituents (e.g. Katz & Postal 1963, p. 275 quoted in Langlotz 2006, p. 4 and Moon 1998, pp. 8–9). The term *conventionalized* is here defined as the established way(s) to express certain content linguistically within a speech community. For our specific purposes we use a three way typology based on degree of conventionalization. This typology is presented in chapter 4.

As Burger (1998, p. 25) points out, the lexico-grammatical fixedness of phraseological expressions is a highly relative matter. There are, in fact, very few phraseological units that do not allow any lexical or other structural variation. For the broad majority of expressions and phrases there is a possibility to – with certain restrictions – substitute at least one of the constituents (ibid.). Burger distinguishes between *variation* and *modification* of phraseological expressions. Variation refers to the use of different variants of a phraseological expression, i.e. those cases where several forms of an expression are used and are more or less conventionalized (Burger 1998, p. 25), e.g. the expressions *shake in one's shoes*, *quake in one's shoes*, *shake in one's boots* or *quake in one's boots*, mentioned by Moon (1998, p. 161). Modification, according to Burger (1998, pp. 27–

28), refers to the conscious deviation from the conventionalized form of a phraseological expression in order to achieve stylistic effects. Unintentional deviations from standard use of phraseological expressions are treated by Burger as errors. However, he also emphasizes that it is difficult to demarcate variants from modifications and errors (1998, p. 28). In the present study we do not make a distinction between modifications and errors (see chapter 4.2 below). The reason is simply that those terms, in Burgers sense, are not applicable in our case, since we have no real way of knowing whether a deviation from standard language use is conscious or unconscious.

So far we have only discussed the matter of fixedness on a lexico-grammatical level. In comparison, semantic and pragmatic deviation from conventionalized use have generally been paid less attention to. It is, however, a relevant issue when discussing the matter of conventionalized language in general and conventionalized figurative word combinations specifically. Sköldberg (2004) mentions that there is no general consensus among researchers considering semantic variability in idioms. Lindfors Viklund (1991), e.g., claims that idioms are in principle semantically fixed units, whereas Koller (1977) and Clausén (1996) assume that the idiomatic meaning can vary to a certain degree according to context (Sköldberg 2004, p. 76). This can be exemplified by the expression *go up in smoke*, which can be used in various contexts; in BUILDING/PLACE *goes up in smoke* it means 'catch fire, burn down', in PLAN/ASPIRATION etc. *goes up in smoke* it means 'be destroyed' (Moon 1998, p. 189). Sköldberg found that the semantic variability in the 36 idioms she studied can be described as a continuum from little or no variability to strong variability (2004, p. 165). Our perspective in the current study is, thus, that the idiomatic or conventionalized meaning of figurative word combinations – like the meaning of other lexical items – can vary to a degree depending on context.

2.2. Use of figurative language in Swedish students' writing

Students' writing has been studied from a number of different perspectives (for a summary of previous Swedish studies see e.g. Norberg Brorsson 2007 and Nyström 2000 with references). The issue of figurative language in the texts has, to our knowledge, been paid less attention to. However, Hultman & Westman (1977) and Josephson, Melin & Oliv (1990) claim that figurative language in Swedish secondary and upper secondary school students' writing is relatively rare. They also suggest that the use of figurative expressions should be encouraged by teachers. This picture has been somewhat modified in later

studies, for example by Wennerholm (2003), who found relatively many examples of figurative expressions in his data. He claims that the use of these expressions by the students must be rather unconscious since the majority of the expressions are dead or lexicalized. It is, however, problematic to relate these claims to our results since there are many individual and situational factors to be considered, e.g. the students' linguistic background, text type or genre and the topic of the text.

2.3. Phraseology in multilingual students' language

Another relevant research area is phraseology in monolingual and multilingual students' language use. Ekberg (1997, 1998, 2004) has studied this in a Swedish multilingual urban setting. Her results show that both monolingual and multilingual students have active knowledge of phrasal expressions. There is, however, a difference in frequency of use; the monolingual students use more conventionalized expressions than the multilingual students. The multilingual students' language use shows more variation; their language use is less stereotypical, which can have a negative impact on idiomaticity.

Hyltenstam (1992) has studied phrasal expressions in bilingual students' language use with the aim to describe non-native features in both spoken and written language produced by near-native speakers of Swedish (1992, p. 351). He compares two groups of bilingual subjects, one with Finnish and one with Spanish as their mother tongue, with a group of Swedish native speakers. One relatively frequent type of non-native feature described by Hyltenstam is *close approximations* to a target form of a phrasal expression. An example from his data is *den fungerar nog inte på längden* 'it probably will not work lengthwise', which is described as a close approximation to the phrasal expression *i längden*, 'in the long run' (Hyltenstam 1992, p. 360). Hyltenstam found this type of deviation from standard use of phrasal expressions to be more frequent among the bilingual students than among the students in the monolingual control group. Another interesting phenomenon Hyltenstam observes in his data is *contamination* (1992, p. 361). An example from Hyltenstam's data is the phrase *man beräknar med att…* 'one reckons on that…' where elements from the phrasal expressions *räkna med något* 'to count on something' and *beräkna något* 'to calculate something', have been combined (ibid.). Interestingly, contamination is as frequent in the bilingual group as in the monolingual control group (Hyltenstam 1992, p. 361).

Große (2008) describes different kinds of semantic pragmatic deviations from standard language use of phraseological units. Her data include both written and spoken language from the same participants as in the present study.

Her study shows that sometimes semantic and pragmatic deviations appear in combination with lexico-grammatical modification or errors, which change the meaning of the expression in question. In other cases they arise from the fact that a phraseological expression is used in a context where it cannot be interpreted in its conventionalized meaning.

3. Data and methodology

In the following we describe our categorization of the participants according to linguistic background. Furthermore, we present the students' texts and the phenomenon under investigation, i.e. the figurative word combinations that are included in the data.

3.1. Participant groups

175 of the 222 participants from the larger research project have been included in the current study, that is all the students who have completed the national Swedish exam and for which we have access to the relevant background data. The schools the participants go to are located in multilingual areas in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. To be able to study differences in language use according to linguistic background we have categorized the participants into five groups. This categorization is based on the self-reported background data. Four factors have been taken into consideration for the current study, namely which languages participants report as their L1 and L2, if the participants have been raised monolingually or multilingually, their parents' country of birth and their Age of Onset (AoO) for the acquisition of Swedish. The five groups of participants can be described as follows:

1) SWE: participants with monolingual Swedish background
2) SWE+: participants with Swedish as L1 and one or both parents born outside Sweden
3) BIL: participants who were raised bilingually/multilingually (they mentioned Swedish and one or more other languages as L1)
4) AoO < 6: participants with Swedish as L2 and an age of onset for Swedish before school start (which in Sweden normally means up to age 6–7)
5) AoO > 6: participants with Swedish as L2 and an age of onset after school start (from age 6–7)

This categorization does not truly reflect the diversity of the participants' backgrounds but we find that the factors chosen are the most relevant ones for our purposes. Table 1 shows a summary of the distribution of the data over the five groups.

Table 1. *Size of participant groups and corpus.*

Group	No. of students	No. of words	Average no. of words per student
1. SWE	54	45,812	848
2. SWE+	28	25,218	901
3. BIL	10	8,090	809
4. AoO < 6	60	48,981	816
5. AoO > 6	23	18,856	820
Total	175	146,957	840

One problem is of course the differences in group size. But, as already mentioned, our aim is to describe different kinds of figurative word combinations that appear in the students' writing and to present tendencies – rather than hard quantitative data – when it comes to differences in the use of word combinations between students with different linguistic backgrounds.

3.2. The data

The texts analysed in the present study are essays that have been written as part of the national exam in Swedish and Swedish as a Second Language (Sw. *svenska/svenska som andraspråk B*) in the second year of upper secondary school during autumn term 2003 and spring term 2004. The essay section of the exam involves the writing of two separate texts, inspired by a sample of about 30 pages of different types of texts, like articles, poems, fiction, and to some degree also graphic material like comic strips and adverts. All the texts and pictures in the sample revolve around the same topic, which in the present case is *time* (for a more detailed description of the national exam see <www.skolverket.se>).

The essays written by the participants in the present study vary strongly in length (i.e. between 168 and 2103 words). As shown in Table 1 above, in total our data consists of a corpus of 146,957 words. The size of our data should be regarded as relatively limited, since the phenomenon under investigation in general is infrequent (cf. Granger 1998, p. 11). The corpus used in this study, however, contains all the data from the larger research project that matches the

criteria we have set up to be able to differentiate between groups of students with different linguistic background (cf. chapter 3.1).

3.3. Figurative word combinations in the data

As mentioned in chapter 2.1, the units that we have extracted from the data are word combinations with figurative content – that is phrasal word combinations that contain metaphors and similes. To limit the data sample we have not included lexical metaphors, i.e. single items like *källa* (cf. *source*), and phrasal verbs like *sticka ut* (cf. *stick out*).

In the analysis we have classified the extracted figurative word combinations into three main types based on their degree of conventionalization. The types are a) *conventionalized figurative word combinations,* b) *modified conventionalized figurative word combinations* and c) *novel figurative word combinations*. To establish if the extracted examples are conventionalized in form and meaning we have primarily consulted the phrasal dictionary *Svenskt språkbruk. Ordbok över konstruktioner och fraser* (2003; henceforth SSB), which is the most recent and complete dictionary of Swedish phrasal expressions. However one has to bear in mind that dictionaries are limited in volume and have to be seen as a sample of actual language use (Sköldberg 2001). Therefore additional reference data is needed. In the present study we have also compared the use of the word combinations found in the data with authentic texts included in Språkbanken, the Swedish Language Bank at the University of Gothenburg, a general corpus of written texts of more than 100 million words (<http://spraakbanken.gu.se>). In some cases, where the word combinations in question are conventionalized according to our own language intuition but are not listed in the dictionary and the Swedish Language Bank do not provide any distinct information, we have consulted Google (<www.google.se>). This can be exemplified with the word combination *hålla näsan över vattnet* 'keep the nose above water' with the meaning 'just barely manage to cope', that occurs in several of the texts. This construction is not listed in SSB and only occurs a few times in Språkbanken. In Språkbanken, there are, however, similar expressions that are used with the same meaning, for example *få näsan över vattnet* 'get the nose above water' and *hålla näsan över vattenytan* 'keep the nose above the (water) surface'. Furthermore, Google shows more than 1,000 occurrences of the string "näsan över vattnet" ('the nose above the water'). Even if it can be questioned to what degree the kind of web texts one can access through search engines like Google represent a standard language norm (e.g. Lorentzen 2008, p. 260), this relatively frequent use supports our intuition that *hålla näsan över vattnet* is a conventionalized word combination. One can, at the very least, say that it is one

of several word combinations that refer to the same idea of being in deep water as a metaphor for the struggle of existence. This example illustrates that we are dealing with a continuum between not conventionalized and conventionalized word combinations which sometimes makes categorization difficult.

4. The three types of word combinations

As mentioned above our initial analysis resulted in a three-way typology, i.e. three different types of figurative word combinations which can be seen as points on a continuum of degree of conventionalization. Those three types of figurative word combinations are described and exemplified in the following.

4.1. Conventionalized figurative word combinations

The first type contains *idioms* and *lexicalized similes*. Idioms are here defined as conventionalized, non-compositional word combinations with figurative meaning and relatively fixed form (see Langlotz 2006, p. 5 and Sköldberg 2004, pp. 21–29 with references). Lexicalized similes are conventionalized word combinations including *som* 'like'. They contain a comparison and are often used as intensifiers of a verb or an adjective (Burger 1998, p. 44). Those idioms and lexicalized similes are exemplified in (1) and (2) below:

(1) Alla dessa dokusåpor **står mig upp i halsen**!
All those documentary soaps **are up in my throat** (C34, SWE+).[2]
'I **am fed up with** all those documentary soaps.'

(2) … de [dokusåpadeltagarna] har också någon talang eller är skicklig inom vissa saker men det kommer inte fram till folket för det enda som visas är intriger efter intriger och lite fest **som grädden på moset**.
'they [participants in a documentary soap] also have some kind of talent or are handy with some things but that does not get through to the people because the only thing they show are intrigues after intrigues and a little partying **like icing on the cake** (lit. '**like cream on the mousse**')' (C06, SWE+).

[2] C34 is the code for the student who has provided the current example. The capital letters represent the school and the numbers provide information about the student's sex; numbers up to 25 are used for male student, numbers above 25 for female students.

Example (1) contains the idiom *något står någon upp i halsen* (cf. SSB 2003, p. 455). Example (2) contains the simile *som grädden på moset* (cf. SSB 2003, p. 433). Some other examples of conventionalized figurative expressions from the data are *klättra på väggarna* ('climb the walls', D46, SWE) and *av hela mitt hjärta* ('with all my heart', S37, SWE) (cf. SSB 2003, p. 1366, 489). This category also includes word combinations like *i första hand* 'in the first place', which are commonly described as dead metaphors. Surely, it can be discussed how figurative expressions like these still are. It is, however, very difficult to clearly determine the degree of figurativeness of a word combination. Our definition of figurative word combinations therefore purely focuses the existence of metaphor or metonymy.

4.2. Modified conventionalized figurative word combinations

The second category contains examples that deviate from the conventionalized use of a figurative expression. This category is somewhat more complicated since it contains three kinds of deviations:

(a) lexico-grammatical deviations,
(b) semantic-contextual deviations,
(c) deviations that include both lexico-grammatical and semantic-contextual aspects.

Type (a) is exemplified in (3):

(3) Att fundera över tid, dåtid, nutid och framtid kan som sagt göra en snurrig. Man **vet varken in eller ut**.

'To think about time, past, present and future can, as I mentioned earlier, make you dizzy. You **know neither in nor out**' (P28, SWE).

In example (3) the participant uses the expression *veta varken in eller ut*. The conventionalized form in this case is, according to SSB (2003, p. 1335), *veta varken ut eller in* meaning 'to not know what to do' (lit. "to know neither out nor in"). The following expression is an example of type (b), semantic-contextual deviation:

(4) Nu vet jag att ni läsare har **blivit varma i kläderna** av igenkännande, och av att ni i mig har funnit en likasinnad.

'Now I know that you as readers **got warm in your clothes** due to recognition and due to the fact that you in me have found a like-minded' (L02, SWE).

The conventionalized meaning of the Swedish figurative expression *bli varm i kläderna* is 'getting used to a new situation' (cf. SSB 2003, p. 607). In example (4) *blivit varma i kläderna av igenkännande* literally means "got warm in your clothes due to recognition". The meaning the student is aiming at is, as the context shows, 'to get a warm feeling from recognizing something (and having found someone who shares the same experiences as oneself)'. Thus the expression is used here in an atypical context and that causes a semantic modification.

In some cases, however, the use of the expression in question manifests both lexico-grammatical and semantic-contextual deviations (type c). This is exemplified below:

(5) Jag fruktar mina nära och käras död. Sorgen är en oändlig påminnelse om att något tragiskt hänt. Tiden då allting står stilla. Tiden då ens tankar vandrar iväg. **Tiden då inget läker ens sår**.

'I fear the death of my nearest and dearest. Sorrow is an endless reminder that something tragic has happened. The time when everything is standing still. The time when your thoughts drift away. **The time when nothing heals your wounds**' (K35, AoO < 6).

It is a reasonable assumption that the expression used *tiden då inget läker ens sår* (lit. 'the time when nothing heals your wounds') is a deviation from the conventionalized figurative expression *tiden läker alla sår* 'time heals all wounds' (cf. SSB 2003, p. 1197). Regarding the lexico-grammar, the form used by the participant contains several components of the conventionalized expression in question. In addition to that, the expression used is still based on the same metaphor – emotional wounds that heal (or do not heal), i.e. one learns to deal with the emotions in one way or another. The semantic deviation from conventionalized use is due to the emphasis on a different meaning of *time* than the one emphasized in the conventionalized use of the expression. The conventionalized expression refers to the abstract measurable magnitude *time* per se. In example (5) the participant refers instead to a certain period of time, *the time when* something happens or, in this case, does not happen (cf. the two primary meanings of *tid* 'time' in Svensk ordbok utgiven av Svenska Akademien 2009). Another aspect of the semantic deviation is the negation of the healing of the wounds.

4.3. Novel figurative word combinations

The third category contains novel metaphors and similes, i.e. figurative language that is not conventionalized. (6) and (7) below are two examples of what we call novel figurative word combinations here:

(6) Den andra tiden då, den som gick sakta? Återigen **aktiverar jag sökarljusen** och finner en gemensam nämnare; bristen på aktiviteter och aktiviteternas brist på intressegrad.

'What about the other time then, the one that passes slowly? Once again, **I activate the search lights** and find a common denominator; the lack of activities and the activities' lack of (degree of) interest' (L02, SWE).

(7) Texten "Eufori" blir man glatt av. Man kommer in i en slags skön och fridfull stämning. Helt ärligt så fattar jag inte ett enda skit av den texten, innebörden eller vad den vill säga. Det enda jag kan säga om den är att man blir **mjuk som en muffins** när man läser den.

'The text "Euphoria" makes you happy. You get into a kind of nice and peaceful mood. To be honest I don't understand a shit of this text, the meaning or what it is trying to say. The only thing I can say about it is that you become **soft like a muffin** when you read it' (B14, SWE).

In example (6) the student deliberates the fact that it sometimes feels like time passes very fast, whereas at other times seems to pass very slowly. The participant uses the phrase "I activate the search lights again" which, to judge from the context, means that he is looking for the answer to the questions he asks in the preceding sentence. In example (7) the participant uses a novel simile, which can be identified as such because of the typical construction "ADJ *som en* NP" ('ADJ *as a* NP'). It is not entirely obvious what the simile is supposed to mean but, according to context, it seems to describe a positive feeling of sympathy.

Like in the two other categories, there are certain problems with borderline cases on the continuum of conventionalization. In some cases it is a question of which elements to focus on in the analysis. To clarify some of the problems we have experienced with this particular category, we can mention the following example:

(8) Mycket av det hon presenterar i sin insändare är just det att hon vill känna att hon har under veckan varit så stressad så när fredagen kommer ska hon bara få pusta ut, vila och bara **vara ett med soffan.**

'A lot of what she is presenting in her letter to the editor is about the fact that she wants to feel that she has been so stressed during the week that, when Friday arrives, she is allowed to just take a breather, rest and **be one with the sofa**'(L03, SWE).

One could argue for a categorization of *vara ett med soffan* as a novel figurative expression, focusing on the idea of a person's physical unification with a sofa as a relatively obvious, yet not in this form conventionalized, metaphor for 'resting'. However, after consulting the reference data we choose instead to base our categorization on the expression *vara ett med något* 'to be one with something' which is a conventionalized phrasal expression with a variable constituent. One can *be one* with a large number of different things, even if *sofa* might not be the most typical type of constituent. In other words, *vara ett med soffan* is categorized as a conventionalized figurative word combination.

5. The use of the different types of word combinations in the data

We have summarized some of the preliminary results in Table 2 below. The quantitative analysis of the data shows some interesting tendencies.

Table 2. *Distribution of types of word combinations in the five participant groups (% rounded).*

Group	No. of students	No. of word combinations	No. of word combinations/ student	convention-alized word combinations	modified word com-binations	novel word com-binations
1. SWE	54	118	2.19	72 (61 %)	23 (19 %)	23 (19 %)
2. SWE+	28	65	2.32	32 (50 %)	21 (32 %)	12 (19 %)
3. BIL	10	24	2.40	8 (33 %)	3 (13 %)	13 (54 %)
4. AoO <6	60	99	1.65	34 (34 %)	44 (44 %)	21 (21 %)
5. AoO >6	23	61	2.65	21 (34 %)	19 (31 %)	21 (34 %)
Total:	175	365	2.09	165 (45 %)	109 (30 %)	91 (25 %)

As we can see in Table 2 the students do use figurative word combinations in their essays (cf. Josephson et al. 1990). There is, however, considerable individual variation in the participant groups when it comes to frequency of use of figurative word combinations. In some essays they are relatively frequent whereas they hardly occur at all in others.

There are some interesting differences in the use of figurative word combinations between the groups. One result shown in Table 2 is that Group 4 – participants with Swedish as their second language and an age of onset before school start – use fewer word combinations per participant than all the other groups. The surprisingly high number of word combinations per

participant in Group 5, where the participants have an even later age of onset, can be explained by the very frequent use of figurative language by one particular student in this group. This illustrates that the individual variation regarding the frequency of use of word combinations has a relative large effect on the figures as some of the groups are relatively small.

If we look at the distribution of the different types of word combinations we can see that the participants with Swedish as their first language in Group 1 and Group 2 use larger proportions of conventionalized word combinations than the participants in the other groups. These results confirm previous research by for example Ekberg (1997, 1998). Furthermore, modified word combinations are most frequent in Group 4 (AoO<6). However, deviations from the conventionalized use of the word combinations do not exclusively appear in the multilingual groups. Here we have to keep in mind though, that the type "modified expressions" can include both conscious and unconscious modifications of the phrases in question. When it comes to novel figurative word combinations they are most common in the writing of the bilingual participants and those with an age of onset after school start.

5.1. The use of conventionalized figurative word combinations

Among the conventionalized word combinations that are used in the data are many well known and relatively frequent idioms. A lot of them consist of a verb with some kind of complement. Several of these idioms have been investigated in Sköldberg (2004), for example *dra sitt strå till* stacken 'do one's share' (D36, SWE) and *rinna ut i sanden* 'come to nothing'(L39, SWE+).

Some of the conventionalized word combinations reoccur in several of the texts, e.g. *i första hand* 'first of all' (D28, SWE; B25, AoO > 6; P26, AoO > 6; L40 AoO < 6) and *kännas som en evighet* 'feel like an eternity' (L06, SWE; B32, SWE). Furthermore it is obvious that the students' writing is influenced by the sample texts to a certain degree. For example, several of the students use the phrase *hålla näsan över vattnet* 'keep your nose above the water' which is included in one of the sample texts (L27, SWE; L44, SWE; L45, SWE; B06, AoO < 6). The example *kännas som en evighet* illustrates also that several of the conventionalized word combinations used in the students' texts relate to the topic of time. In some cases they express that time passes quickly: *tiden rinner iväg* 'time is (just) running out' (S49, SWE+; B29, AoO > 6). Other word combinations are about time passing very slowly, hardly advancing: *tiden sniglar sig fram* 'time is snailing forward' (B32, SWE).

5.2. The use of modified conventionalized figurative word combinations

Hyltenstam's (1992) non-native features are relevant for the category of modified word combinations. There are several examples of so called close approximations in the data. Some reoccurring types found in our material arise due to (a) shift/reversal of constituents, (b) substitution of constituents or (c) addition or removal of constituents.

One example of close approximation of the first type (a) is the realisation *pengar är tid* 'money is time', which is used by several participants. The expression can be seen as a deviation from the conventionalized figurative expression *tid är pengar* 'time is money' with the conventionalized meaning 'if you save time you also save money', due to the shift between the two constituents *tid* and *pengar*.

Another type of close approximations, (b), arises due to a substitution of one lexical constituent of the expression in question. Often the substituted constituents are function words that do not contribute much semantically but are of greater importance for the idiomaticity of the expression (e.g. prepositions). One example from the data that deviates from conventionalized use in the choice of preposition is *haka upp sig i något* 'to hook yourself up in something' (C41, AoO < 6), that can be seen as a deviation from the conventionalized figurative expression *haka upp sig på ngt* 'to be irritated by something and get stuck as a result' (cf. SSB 2003, p. 454). The result of this lexical replacement is on the one hand the loss of idiomaticity and on the other hand a certain gain of figurativeness for a metaphor that can be described as quite dead in its conventionalized form (cf. Svanlund 2001).

The third type of close approximations, (c), arises through addition or loss of a constituent. As an example from the data we can mention the phrase *rulla på tummarna* 'roll with your thumbs' (C39, AoO < 6) where the preposition *på* has been added to the conventionalized form *rulla tummarna* 'roll your thumbs' (cf. SSB 2003, p. 1243). One example of loss of constituent is "det tror jag inte på fem öre" 'I don't believe that five "öre" (Swedish unit of currency)' (C06, BIL) where the conventionalized form is *inte för fem öre* 'not for five öre' (cf. SSB SSB 2003, p. 1421).

An example of contamination from the data is

(9) I G. Forsells teckning, cell i fängelset på långholmen, står en dyster ensam man i en trång lite cell. De höga väggarna i rummet **får håret på ryggraden att resa sig**.

'In the drawing by G. Forsell […] a wan man is standing on his own in a small prison cell. The high walls in the room **make the hair rise on your spine**' (S30, BIL).

This example can be described as a contamination of the conventionalized figurative word combinations *håret reser sig på någon* 'someone's hair rises' and *få rysningar/kalla kårar längs ryggraden* 'get cold shivers along your spine'. One interesting question in this context is how contaminations like this are interpreted by the reader. They are hardly seen as idiomatic and in some cases, like in example (9), there is a kind of comic effect involved. To what extent the intended meaning – assuming the deviation is intentional according to Burger's definition of modification – reaches the recipient, depends on his or her good will and knowledge of the conventionalized forms of the involved word combinations.

In Table 3 we have summarized the frequency of Hyltenstam's non-native features, i.e. close approximations and contaminations, in the texts for the different groups.

Table 3. *Frequency of non-native features per participant group.*

Group	No. of students	Total no. of modified word combinations	No. of close approximations	No. of contaminations
1. SWE	54	23	2	5
2. SWE+	28	21	2	1
3. BIL	10	3	–	2
4. AoO < 6	60	44	8	6
5. AoO > 6	23	19	1	7
Total:	175	109	13	21

Table 3 shows that the frequency of close approximations and contaminations in the material is low, which makes it hard to draw any conclusions. However, one important result that is shown here is that these features do occur in the texts written by students in Group 1, i.e. students with a monolingual Swedish background. This result points in the same direction as Hyltenstam's analysis (see chapter 2.3).

So far we have primarily discussed lexico-grammatical deviations. The participants in the current study also deviate from the conventionalized use of figurative word combinations in terms of semantics and context. These deviations are, however, less frequent than the lexico-grammatical deviations. In chapter 4.2 above we mentioned the less typical use of the expression *bli varm i kläderna* ('get warm in your clothes'). Another expression that is used in a deviating context is *fastna i minnet* 'to get stuck in someone's memory'. How this expression is used in the data is shown in example (10):

(10) Vad varje människa har gjort och har gemensamt sen gamla tider och generationer är att man tittar tillbaka i sitt liv. **Funderingar fastnar i minnet** och man vill, vare sig man har lidit och lyckats i livet övertyga andra men speciellt sig själv att man har gjort sitt bästa.

'What every person has done and has in common with others since old times and for generations is that you look back on your life. **Thoughts get stuck in your memory** and you want […] to convince […] yourself that you have done your best' (C10, AoO < 6).

Conventionally it is pictures or events that get stuck in someone's memory, which means that they make a strong impression on the person in question and he or she can easily recall them for a longer period of time. The context in example (10) suggests that the metaphoric meaning in the current case is that one is pondering or even obsessing over something (e.g. what one has done with one's life).

Furthermore there are several examples of simultaneously lexico-grammatical and semantic-contextual deviations in the current data. Several of the participants have used the concept that certain areas in the head play a crucial role when people are thinking; what is not thought of as actively but still is present in the mind, is (metaphorically speaking) located in the back of people heads. This concept is linguistically expressed in phrases like *ha något i bakhuvudet* 'have something in the back of the head' or *något finns/ligger i bakhuvudet* 'something exists/lies in the back of the head' (cf. SSB 2003, p. 80). Conventionally, those word combinations are used with reference to a concrete thought of something like plans for the future or something that worries the person in question. In the current data, however, we find examples like the following:

(11) Man längtar efter att sitta i en mysig stuga framför kakelungnen och dricka en kopp te och bara glömma **alla vardagliga problem som sitter i bakhuvudet**.

'One longs for sitting in a cosy cottage in front of the oven and drinking a cup of tea and just forgetting **all the everyday problems that are sitting in the back of one's head**' (S18, SWE).

(12) Men är inte hennes text överdriven till den grad att du skulle läst den med ironi i tankarna? Kanske är det just det som också är meningen, att vi ska ifrågasätta varför vi **läser den med ironi i bakhuvudet**.

'But isn't her text exaggerated to the degree that you would have e read it with irony in your thoughts? Maybe that is the point, that we are supposed to question why we **read it with irony in the back of the head**' (D33, SWE).

(13) (…) jag är en av de många som föredrar kompisarna framför plugget och även den som alltid börjar sista kvällen med alla inlämningar[...]. Och för att det inte ska fortsätta med att jag sitter hela natten lång och **skriver med stressen och pressen i bakhuvudet** så har jag kommit på ett avgörande sätt.

'I am one of many that prioritise their friends over their studies and always start the night before the assignments that have to be handed in. And so that I won't continue to sit all night and **write with stress and pressure in the back of the head**, I have come up with a crucial plan' (L28, AoO < 6).

In example (11) the expression is used in a relatively typical context but the lexical choice of the verb *sitta* 'sit' is not conventionalized. In example (12) and (13) the participants use *läsa* and *skriva med något i bakhuvudet*, which is a lexico-grammatical deviation from conventionalized use of the expression mentioned above. Further, the context in which the word combinations are used in (12) and (13), i.e. that one has *irony*, *stress* and *pressure* in the back of the head, is rather untypical.

5.3. The use of novel figurative word combinations

One interesting question when it comes to novel figurative word combinations in the present data is which concepts or pictures the metaphors are built on. If we look at examples (14)–(16) below, we see that those concepts vary considerably in character:

(14) … mitt bidrag (…) bara tar oss djupare ner i **träsket av oklarheter**

'my contribution just takes us deeper into **the marsh of obscurities**' (C05, SWE).

(15) Tiden efter AIK;s 1-0 mål har man blicken fäst på matchuret större delen av tiden samtidigt som man **tuggar nagelband likt Musse Pigg och Kalle Anka käkar majs på den berömda husvagnssemestern**

'After AIK:s 1-0 goal ones eyes are fixed on the match board most of the time, **biting one's cuticle like Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck eat sweet corn on their famous caravan vacation**' (S12, SWE).

(16) … problemen bara **staplar upp sig som en pyramid i Egypten.**

'…the problems are just **piling up like a pyramid in Egypt**' (D40, AoO > 6).

Example (14) is almost poetic and grammatically well-formed. Here we have *marsh*, i.e. nature as the underlying concept. In example (15) the metaphor builds on the world of cartoons, where, for example, eating is done in a certain way (i.e. often very intensely and quickly). Whereas Donald Duck and Mickey Mouse cartoons are pictures clearly situated in the Western world the simile in

example (16) builds on a concept from another culture, namely the pyramids in Egypt.

One rather obvious result considering the topic of the sample texts (see 3.2), is that 'time' or, more specifically, 'time passing' is a frequent concept. This can be exemplified with word combinations as

(17) … vi färdades på **ett helt hav av tid**, men vi satt fast i en alldeles för trång båt.
'we were travelling on **a whole ocean of time** but we were stuck in a boat that was way too small' (L02, SWE).

(18) För föraren som sitter i favoritracerbilen som just under det varvet tänker slå ett nytt varvrekord **flyger** sekunderna **iväg som mittsträcken på banan i trehundrakilometers hastighet.**
'For the driver in his favourite racing car [...] the seconds **fly away like the middle lines on the track with three hundred kilometre velocity**' (L08, BIL).

In some cases the idea or the feeling that the student wants to express is quite obvious, yet the picture underlying the figurative expression is not fully plausible, like in example (19) where the picture of someone twisting your spine with an iron bar lever is on the verge of a catachresis.

(19) Ibland vaknar jag på natten av att det **känns** det **som om nån vrider om ryggraden med ett järnspett.**
'Sometimes I wake up at night and it **feels like somebody is twisting my spine with an iron-bar lever**' (B14, SWE).

One thing that has to be kept in mind when talking about "novel" figurative word combinations in the present study is the potential for influences from other languages. This is an especially important factor when describing the use of figurative language in Groups 3, 4 and 5. But also the students with Swedish as their (only) L1 can of course show influences from other languages in their writing. What we have categorized as novel in the present data can in certain cases be translations, variations or modification of a conventionalized figurative expression from another language. "Novel" is thus to be understood as not conventionalized in Swedish. In general we have no way of really knowing which novel figurative word combinations are loans from other languages in the students' environment. In some cases though, as in example (20), there are clear indications:

(20) …som ett arabiskt ordspråk säger ”**Tiden är som ett svärd, ifall du inte kan använda den skär den dig**.”

‘…as an Arabic saying goes “**Time is like a sword, if you don’t know how to use it, it will cut you**”’ (C41, AoO < 6).

In other cases we can be reasonable certain that the expression is directly translated from English, like in example (21):

(21) Dockusåpamedlemmarna dricker sig redlöst fulla, **kallar varandra namn** utan gränser...

‘The participants in a documentary soap get blind drunk and **call each other names** without limits …’ (C36, SWE+).

While the English expression *call each other names* is perfectly idiomatic, in Swedish it would have been more natural to use phrases like *förolämpa varandra* ‘insult each other’ eller *kasta glåpord efter varandra* ‘jeer (scoff) at each other’.

6. Summary and further research

In this paper we have presented some preliminary results of a study of the use of figurative word combinations in texts written in multilingual school environments. Despite obvious limitations like the differences in group size and overall low frequency of the linguistic feature in question, we can see some interesting tendencies in the material. First of all, the participants use figurative word combinations in their writing. Thus, previous statements about the lack of figurative language in students’ writing are not confirmed in our study. Secondly, we have found three different types of figurative word combinations in the current data, namely *conventionalized figurative word combinations, modified conventionalized figurative word combinations* and *novel figurative word combinations*. Regarding the differences in use of figurative word combinations between students with different linguistic backgrounds, our study seems to confirm results of previous research by Ekberg (1997, 1998, 2004). For example, both the monolingual and the multilingual participants have knowledge of conventionalized figurative word combinations. However, the monolingual participants use more conventionalized figurative word combinations than the multilingual participants. We also have found that the multilingual students use more deviating and novel figurative word combinations which often has the effect that their texts are less idiomatic and at the same time linguistically less stereotypical than the monolingual student’s essays (cf. Ekberg 2004).

The preliminary findings presented in this report can be a basis for further research. Some of the research questions that could be investigated concern the correlation of participants' linguistic and cultural background and their use of certain types of metaphors. As mentioned in chapter 5.3, the participants use a variety of ideas and cultural concepts to build new figurative word combinations which suggests that this is an interesting issue considering the cultural and linguistic diversity of the participant group. Another interesting aspect is the assessment criteria that exist for students' writing at the upper secondary level and the question if the use of figurative language is encouraged and rewarded by Swedish teachers.

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Discourse particles in Swedish youth talk in multilingual settings in Malmö

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Abstract

The article describes the use of the discourse particles *duvet* ('you know'), *ju* ('as you know'), *ba(ra)* ('just'), *liksom* ('like'), and *typ* ('sort of') among adolescents in contemporary multilingual settings in Malmö. The data come from a corpus of spontaneous conversations from two groups of female participants, one with non-native speakers of Swedish and the other with native speakers. The aim is to uncover the pragmatics and semantics of the discourse particles and to describe, discuss, and explain similarities and differences in their use. The results show that the discourse particles are polyfunctional and polysemous. The participants in the two groups use discourse particles frequently. There are significant differences between the groups regarding the frequency and placement of *duvet*, *ju*, and *liksom*. This can be due to group solidarity but also to the conception of discourse particles vis-à-vis sentence adverbials, and to the degree of automatization of a specific syntactic structure.

Keywords: discourse particles, multilingual settings, adolescents, native and non-native Swedish, conversation

1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to describe the use and meaning of the Swedish discourse particles *duvet*, *ba(ra)*, *ju*, *liksom*, and *typ* in two peer groups of female upper teens with different linguistic backgrounds. They all live in the centre of the southern Swedish city of Malmö. This article mainly relies on my thesis (Svensson 2009) but includes a few results from another article (Svensson 2010). The work on the thesis has been carried out within the framework of a research project run in cooperation between the universities of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Lund, "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings", the aim of which is to describe and analyse Swedish on a multilingual ground, *SMG* (Lindberg et al. 2001).

The aim of the study is twofold. My first aim is to uncover the pragmatics and semantics of the discourse particles as they are used by the informants. My second aim is to describe, discuss and explain similarities and differences in the use of discourse particles between the two groups.

Duvet[1] has a translational approximate correspondent in English *you know*.[2] Just like English *you know* (Erman & Kotsinas, 1993) Swedish *duvet* has become pragmaticalized into a discourse particle (Svensson, 2009, pp. 106–134). The first part of the combination, the Swedish pronoun *du*, only refers to the 2nd person singular and thus does not have the same meaning as the corresponding English *you*; however, the discourse particle *duvet* can be used also when addressing more than one listener. The expression *bara* with its short form *ba* has its origin from an adverb *bara* 'just, only' and has an approximate English correspondent in the discourse particle *just.* The Swedish discourse particle *ju* has a long tradition as a particle in both written and oral Swedish but has no single English translational equivalent and, depending on the close context, is translated into English as *you know* or *you see, of course, as we (all) know, it is true, to be sure, for sure* or as the interjection *why*. The two discourse particles *liksom* and *typ* correspond to the English discourse particle *sort of*, but *liksom* can also have various other meanings such as English *like* (see e.g. Jucker & Smith, 1998).

The following excerpts from the corpus illustrate the use in young people's speech of the investigated discourse particles. Excerpt (i) is drawn from a group

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[1] I write the discourse particle *duvet* in one word in order to distinguish it from the nexus combination *du vet.*

[2] English *you know* can also be translated as the Swedish discourse particle *alltså*, which has its origin from the word *alltså*, meaning 'so then'. However, the Swedish discourse particles *duvet* and *alltså* have different meanings.

of non-native speakers of Swedish while excerpt (ii) is from a group of native speakers of Swedish.

Example 1. *Occurrences of the discourse particles* duvet, ba(ra), typ, ju *and* liksom

(i) Sabaah: jag satt # jag satt # jag kom ihåg jag sett honom prata med en tjej
'I was sitting # I was sitting # I remembered I seen him talking to a girl'

de var # **duvet** jag sett honom ee # skolavslutningen # så blev de
't'was # **youknow** I seen him ee # school breaking-up # so t'was'

sån i Sibbarp # sån tivoli.
'such in Sibbarp # such amusement park'

Gordana: ja
'yes'

Sabaah: så bakom mej **bara** # skulle jag bort # så va de Nina ee **ba**
'so behind me **just** # I intended to leave # so t'was Nina ee **just**'

<har du sett Milosj?> jag **ba** <aa> # hon leta efter honom **typ** en
'< have you seen Milosj?> I **just** <aa> # she was looking for him **sort of** an'

timme # hon har inte hittat honom
'hour # she hasn't found him'

(Recording L2, aC05-006)

(ii) Märta: mina föräldrar dricker **typ** tre kannor om dan.
'my parents drink **sort of** three pots a day'

Aurora: ja min pappa dricker **ju** på jobbet # när jag var med han i somras
'well my dad drinks **for sure** on his job # when I was with him last summer'

så var det **liksom** varenda gång kaffet var slut så gick han å hämta nytt
'so it was **like** every time the coffee was at an end then he left to fetch new'

(Recording L1, aE04B-005)

2. Previous research

The research on discourse particles started in the 1970s as a result of the increasing interest in spoken language and discourse analysis. Particles are frequent in casual talk and have been an object of widespread research during the last few decades. They are multifunctional and polysemous phenomena and can be studied by means of different approaches. There is no consensus regarding their definitions or the delimitations *vis-à-vis* other linguistic

categories. They are for instance called *pragmatic particles, pragmatic expressions, discourse markers*, and *discourse particles* (see Svensson 2009, p. 24).

The study of young people's talk is a topical field of research. From the beginning most of the international studies concerned talk in socially marginalized groups as opposed to mainstream society (see e.g. Labov, 1972). Through time the spoken language of middle-class youth also became a subject of research (see e.g. Eckert, 1988). In Sweden the first studies of youth talk concerned slang (Bergman, 1934). In 1985 Nordberg was the first to publish more comprehensive observations of Swedish young people's spoken language. With the immigration from all over the world into suburban areas of cities a new object of investigation arose. Kotsinas, with her 1988 article, was a pioneer in research on how youth language developed in multilingual areas. In recent years there has been an increase in research on varieties spoken by young people in multilingual urban surroundings all over the world (see Svensson 2009, p. 41).

3. Material and method

The recordings for this investigation were collected from three upper secondary schools in Malmö. In all, the entire Malmö corpus is made up of 98 hours of audiotaped and 7 hours of videotaped recordings from interviews, group discussions, lessons and self-recordings where the informants themselves had decided where and with whom to record. From this corpus I have drawn 5 hours and 57 minutes, in all 44,284 transcribed tokens, for quantitative and qualitative analyses of the use of discourse particles by two peer groups, L2 and L1,[3] of female upper teens. The two groups have different linguistic backgrounds. L2 consists of six informants who are all non-native speakers of Swedish. In a linguistic perception test (Hansson & Svensson, 2004; Bodén, 2007) they have been classified as speakers of SMG (Swedish on Multilingual Ground), a variety which in the vernacular of Malmö is called "Rosengård Swedish". The other group consists of six female informants who are all native speakers of Swedish, group L1. In the perception test they have been classified as not speaking the local SMG. The recordings analysed are from situations where the participants are talking in peer groups without the presence of adults and without any specific task to perform.

The recordings were transcribed in the chat format, *Codes for the Human*

[3] L1 = informants with Swedish as their first language, L2 = informants with Swedish as their second language.

Analysis of Transcripts, and analysed in CLAN, *Computerized Language Analysis,* from the computer program CHILDES, *Child Language Data Exchange System,* (MacWhinney, 2000; http://childes.psy.cmu.edu). The phonetic analyses were done in the computer program Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2005; Wood, 2005).

4. Theoretical framework

The discourse particles and their use are analysed from several theoretical perspectives, as well as from syntactic, phonetic, semantic, and pragmatic points of view. I apply methods developed within Conversation Analysis (see e.g. Steensig, 2001) in order to analyse conversational features such as turns, turn constructions, turn transition points and reparations. In order to analyse speech acts I use the methods of the discourse-analytical Exchange Structure Model, also called the Birmingham School (see e.g. Tsui, 1994). Functional Grammar (see e.g. Dik, 1997) is applied to analyse the functions of the discourse particles at different levels of the clause, and theories of grammaticalization (see e.g. Traugott & Heine, 1991) are used to examine the semantic development of the discourse particles. The analyses of the functions of the discourse particles as foreground and background informational units are influenced by theories of information structure (see e.g. Halliday, 1985). The investigation has a quantitative as well as a qualitative dimension.

5. Results

5.1 The overarching pattern of use of discourse particles

All the informants use the discourse particles comparatively frequently, although there are differences in frequency between individual particles. This is illustrated in figure 1.

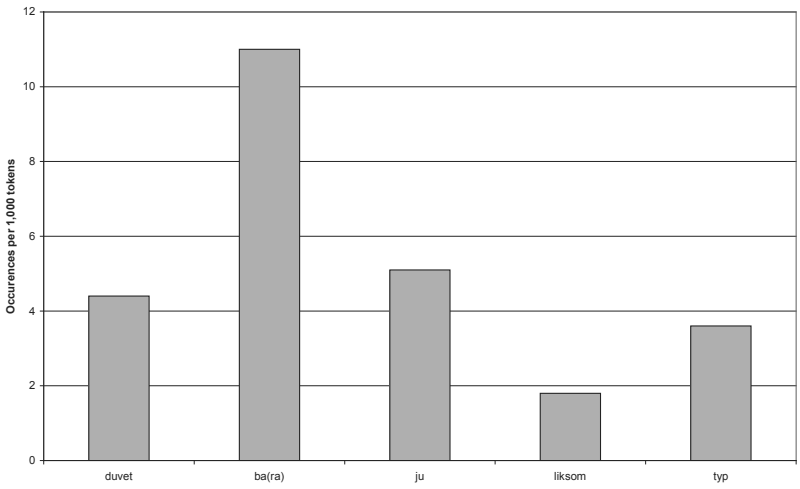

FIGURE 1. *Frequency of the discourse particles per 1,000 tokens.*

The most frequent discourse particle is *ba(ra)*, 9.8 occurrences per 1,000 tokens, and less frequent is *liksom*, 1.5 occurrences per 1,000 tokens. The discourse particles are all polyfunctional and sometimes also overlap in function. In spite of the overlap in functions, each of them seems to be specialized in some prominent functions. For instance, *ba(ra)* is more frequently used as a quotation marker, though *duvet* and *liksom* also have the same function a few times. *Ba(ra)* also has a prominent function as a focus marker while *duvet* often signals the limits of clauses and information units. *Ju* mainly stresses truth conditions, and *liksom* approximates the proposition, which is also the case for *typ*. The latter also has a prominent function as an exemplifier.

All the particles except for *ju* can be part of reporting speech acts. In these cases the speaker is telling short narratives from his or her everyday life and the discourse particles stress the focus, i.e. which parts to pay attention to, emphasize the drama in the course of events and clarify the emotions of the speaker. Example 2 illustrates *ba(ra*) as focus marker. It focuses on important events of the story, including those told as reported speech, and also underlines the feelings of the speaker. Bodil is telling her friend Märta about a classmate whom she had met on the bus and she seems to be both amused and somewhat disgusted by his behaviour. The Swedish discourse particle *ba(ra)* at times has this specific meaning of pointing out a remarkable event to which the speaker has a negative attitude (Eriksson, 1993, p. 94).

Example 2. Ba(ra) *as a focus marker*

Bodil: när jag åkte på bussen # NN [= egennamn] # han # asså så jävla dum
'when I was going by bus # NN [first name] # he # you know so fucking stupid'

i huvet # jag **bara** ser han # kommer på # ser han ut så här äää # helt väck
'in his head # I **just** see him # entering # looks he like this eee # quite lost'

asså han ser helt borta ut # jag **ba** <va fan har du gjort?>
'so then he looks quite dizzy # I **just** < what the hell have you done?>'

[= direkt anföring] han **ba** <ja NN [= personnamn] fyllde tjuge i går> [= direkt
'[=direct speech] he **just** <well NN [first name] was twenty yesterday [=direct'

anföring] # jag **ba** < ja just de> [= direkt anföring] # hade han vatt där å krökat
'speech] # I **just** <yeah exactly> [= direct speech] # had he been there boozing'

hade han åkt hem med postabilen # bussarna hade slutat gå # han åkte hem
'had he gone home by the post car # the buses had stopped running # he went home'

med postabilen [= ! småskrattar] [...] # ee hade **bara** legat å sovit hela tiden
'by the post car [= ! chuckling][…] # ee had **just** been lying sleeping all the time'

helt borta # asså han hade # blitt helt full # så hade han **bara** legat han så
'# totally lost # so then he had # been totally # so had **just** been lying so'

<öhö> [= direkt anföring] helt borta hela tiden **typ** sovit # resten av kvällen.
'<ehe> [=direct speech] quite lost all the time **sort of** sleeping # the rest of the night.'

Märta: mm
'mm'

Bodil: NN [= egennamn] hade legat på toan å kräkt # för att så fort han får
'NN [= first name] had been lying in the toilet vomiting # 'cause as soon he gets'

gratis sprit # så blir han helt galen å **bara** roffar åt sej allt.
'alcohol for free # then he gets quite mad and **just** grabs everything.'

Märta: mm
'mm'

(Recording L1, aE05-19)

Bodil thus uses *ba(ra)* to point out remarkable events: ***just** see him*, ***just** been lying sleeping all the time* and ***just** grabbing everything*. Her way of telling the story indicates that she finds her friend's behaviour somewhat reprehensible, and the use of the discourse particle *ba(ra)* strengthens the impression.

Duvet, *ju* and *liksom* index the relationship between the speaker and listener by implicating intimacy and concert, which is illustrated by examples 3 and 4 below. In example 3 Jing and Sabaah are sitting talking in the school canteen when Jing starts telling Sabaah about an event when her jumper was stained by coffee. In the course of a few seconds she uses *duvet* four times. This example also illustrates another function of *duvet*, namely as a marker of clause limits and information units.

Example 3. Duvet *as a marker of intimacy*

Jing: en gång vet du vad som hände # **duvet** jag hade sån #
'once d'you know what happened # **you know** I had such #'

duvet den den svarta tröjan som e lite så hängig.
'**you know** the black jumper that is a bit droopy.'

Sabaah: mm
'mm'

Jing: **duvet** jag skulle ta kaff+ min kaffekopp # så gick de förbi en annan #
'**you know** I was going to take coff+ my coffee cup # so passed another'

duvet så hela den där bzzz.
'**you know** so all that bzzz.'

Sabaah: NA:
'NO:'

Jing: full med kaffe # jättejobbigt.
'full with coffee # awfully bothering'

(Recording L2, aC05-005)

Jing is telling her story very rapidly and expressively, and by using *duvet* she addresses Sabaah who is involved in the storytelling as an active listener. Thus, when Jing demonstrates how the coffee was poured over her by using the onomatopoeic expression *bzzz*, Sabaah shows her involvement by sympathetically exclaiming *NO*.

In example 4, the informants Märta, Aurora, and Bodil are talking about a classmate who has tried to invite one of them to go with her to the cinema and they are now discussing their own friendship in contrast to the relations to the other girl.

Example 4. Ju *and* liksom *as signals of support and concordance*

Märta: ja # jag hade **ju** inte gått med henne.
'well # **for sure** I wouldn't have gone with her.'

Aurora: nä bara trist **liksom** <hej öh> [=direkt anföring].
'no just boring **like** <hallo eee> [= direct speech]'

Bodil: de hade vatt en helt annan sak om vi haft någonting å prata om #
'it would have been quite different if we had had something to talk about #'

de hade **liksom** vatt en helt annan sak å gå med+ asså med nån av er.
'it would have **like** been a quite different matter to go with + you know with some of you'

Aurora: de att hon pratar man **ju** inte # asså +.
'it's that with her one **you know** doesn't # you know+.'

Bodil: man pratar **ju liksom** inte alls med henne.
'one doesn't talk **like you know** at all with her.'

Aurora: de e verkligen **bara** sån där # asså riktigt ytligt snack så +.
'it is really **just** such # you know really superficial chat so+'

Bodil: ja
'yeah'

(Recording L1, aE04B-005)

In this example the girls use the discourse particles *ju* and *liksom* very frequently as a signal of appeal for support and concordance. They confirm their own friendship and assure each other that none of them wants to have anything to do with the other girl.

The analysis of the discourse particles in terms of Functional Grammar (Dik 1997) displays that each discourse particle is able to function simultaneously on a clause level and an interactional level. This causes problems if one tries to subsume the discourse particles under just one grammatical category label. For instance, discourse particles can function as focusing adverbials inside the clause at the same time as they express closeness on an interactional level. Besides the levels mentioned in Functional Grammar, the discourse particles also operate on a textual and an utterance level (Lindström, 2008, pp. 52–53). Table 1 below illustrates how one and the same discourse particle in example 5 can operate on various levels at the same time. The informants in group L2 are sitting looking at a video while making comments on the persons, the clothes and the music when Jing suddenly interrupts and starts telling about her own experiences.

Example 5. Duvet, ba *and* ju *on various levels in the clause*

Jing: **duvet** så chockad jag blev **ju**(**1**) av vad som hände nu **duvet**(**2**) #
'**you know** how shocked I was you know by what happened now **you know**'

asså jag **ba** <VA # de e Michael Jacksonlåten **ju**(**2**) #
'so then I **just** <WHAT # it is the Michael Jackson tune **that's true**'

okej> [=direkt anföring] # jag **ba**(**2**)< va fett en kines som gör de #
'okey> [=direct speech] # I **just** < how cool a Chinese who does it #'

öö okej> [=direkt anföring].
'ee okey> [direct speech].'

(Recording L2, aC05-01)

Table 1. *Discourse particles operating on various levels in Example 5*

Levels	Functions of the discourse particles	Occurrences
Text and utterance	Accentuate limits regarding	
	a) phrases and clauses	a) duvet(1), duvet(2), ba(1), ba(2)
	b) turns	b) duvet(1), duvet(2), ju(2)
Interactional – Illocutionary	Accentuate illocutions as	
	a) creating a feeling of intimacy	a) duvet(1), duvet(2), ju(1), ju(2)
	b) get acknowledgement	b) duvet(1), ju(1), ju(2)
	c) signal for attention	c) duvet(1), ba(1), ba(2)
	d) signal for getting response	d) duvet(2), ju(1), ju(2)
Interactional – Propositional	Accentuate	
	a) truth conditions	a) duvet(1), duvet(2), ju(1), ju(2)
	b) attitudes	b) duvet(1), duvet(2), ju(1), ju(2), ba(1), ba(2)
	c) focus	c) duvet(1), ba(1), ba(2)

The discourse particles are thus polyfunctional phenomena and operate on various levels simultaneously. They are also polysemous, and their polyfunctionality and polysemy can be explained in terms of grammaticalization (see e.g. Traugott & Heine, 1991). A process of grammaticalization implies that lexical elements get more prominent grammatical or interactional functions. The development towards grammatical items or interactional items such as discourse markers and discourse particles are two similar but not identical processes, and the latter is at times called *pragmaticalization* (see e.g. Erman & Kotsinas, 1993). Grammatical elements often get a more fixed position in the clause with a narrower scope, while interactional elements get more positional flexibility (Tabor & Traugott, 1998). The development of lexical elements into discourse particles is often a development of propositional components important for the truth condition of the clause, into interpersonal elements with only pragmatic functions or into textual components that are important for the cohesion of the text (see among others Aijmer, 2002, pp. 18–19). All the discourse particles mentioned above have originated as Swedish lexical words with specific meanings but over time they have all gone through a pragmaticalization process, in which they have more or less lost their semantic contents (Svensson, 2009, pp. 197–202). Even though their original meaning is bleached they can still bear a core meaning which is more or less prominent depending on the context. Table 1 shows how *duvet*, *ju*, and *ba(ra)* have varying semantic contents depending on the level on which they operate. For instance, on the text and utterance level they mark limits and have less inherent meaning

than on the propositional level, where they express truth conditions and attitudes.

5.2 Similarities between the two groups in the use of discourse particles

The informants in the L2 and L1 group use the discourse particles in much the same way. The particles mostly occur in reporting speech acts where they are used for structuring, focusing, evaluating, approximating, exemplifying, marking closeness and concert, and stressing reliability (Svensson, 2009, pp 231–233).

The use of discourse particles in both groups is one of the factors which contribute to the same global conversational style, *high-involvement style* (Tannen, 1981). The informants display features characteristic of this way of talking, e.g. rapid talk, preferences for personal subjects and frequent changes of turn and of conversational subjects. The mean duration of turns is 3–4 seconds and the informants change conversation topics once a minute on average (Svensson, 2009, p. 232). The discourse particles play an important role in this conversational style as they facilitate the interpretation of the rapid flow of talk, stress closeness and engagement and achieve expressivity. Expressivity is also mediated by the many occurrences of direct speech, where the discourse particle *ba(ra)* plays a salient role in both groups. Moreover, the frequent use of the discourse particle *ba(ra)* brings about an expressive effect in both groups by focusing on noteworthy events.

Both groups display the same conversational style regardless of their linguistic background. Thus, as a whole, the conversational style in the groups was not influenced by the informants' linguistic backgrounds as native or non-native speakers of Swedish.

5.3 Differences between the two groups in the use of discourse particles

Almost all the members of the two groups use all the discourse particles mentioned above. However, the distribution differs between the groups as regards both the number of discourse particles and their position.

The members of group L2, the group with non-native informants who have been classified as speakers of SMG, use *duvet* more frequently than the members of group L1, native speakers who have been classified as not being speakers of

SMG. In the latter group the members use *ju* and *liksom* more frequently. The distribution of the discourse particles is illustrated in figure 2.

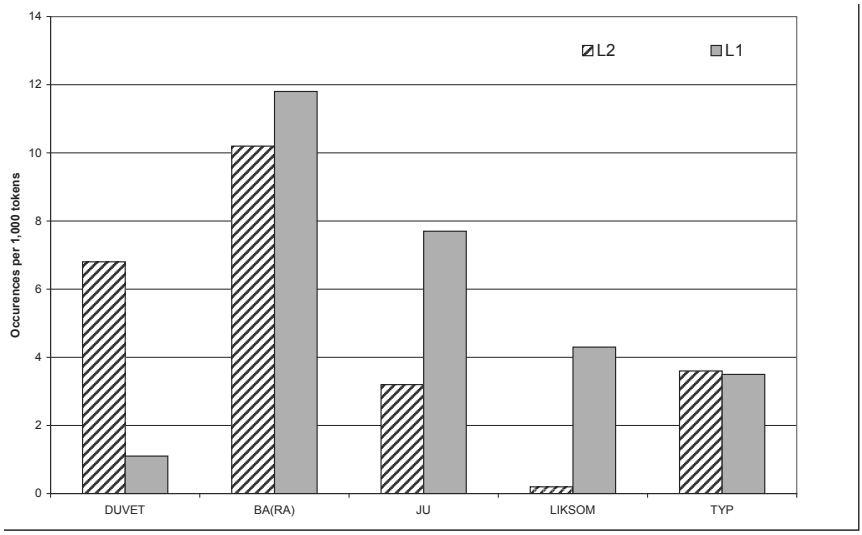

FIGURE 2. *Frequency of the discourse particles per 1,000 tokens used in groups L2 and L1.*

The discourse particle *duvet* occurs significantly more often in group L2 than in L1 ($t(10) = 4.30$ ($p < .05$)). *Ju* is a frequently used discourse particle in both groups but is used more often by the members of L1. The difference is significant ($t(10) = 2.00$ ($p < .05$)). Also *liksom* is used significantly more often in group L1 ($t(10) = 2.54$ ($p < .05$)). Regarding the use of the two other discourse particles, *ba(ra)* and *typ*, there are no significant differences. The differences between the SMG-speaking non-native informants and native informants not speaking SMG are similar to those found in a larger corpus (Svensson 2009, pp. 234–236).

The two Swedish discourse particles *duvet* and *ju* often have the same meaning and are often interchangeable in the same context. Therefore a good question is why one of the groups prefers *duvet* and the other *ju*. One reason could be that a frequent use of *duvet* signals a specific SMG variety, in this case Rosengård Swedish, as most of the group members are classified as speakers of this variety. When project members were collecting data in Malmö the informants were asked to characterize Rosengård Swedish, and some of them pointed out a frequent use of *duvet* as a specific feature. However, Svensson (2010) indicates that the use of *duvet* is related to group membership rather than to a specific variety. The difference regarding the use of discourse particles

can therefore be explained according to Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1980) which claims that all individuals have a tendency to accommodate their way of talking depending on the communicative situation and the communication partner. Thus, the use of the same discourse particles by the informants in each group may be the result of accommodation between the group members, reflecting their wish for identification and affinity (see e.g. Labov, 1972).

Svensson (2010) points out one more reason for a frequent use of *duvet*, namely that this discourse particle is often used when the informants are telling narratives to each other. The recordings from group L2 contain many more narratives than the ones from L1, which have a more dialogic character. This fact indicates that the differences between the groups regarding the use of *duvet* could also be due to the genre of the recordings.

Utterances and written sentences must be analysed differently as they often have dissimilar structures. The TCU, *Turn Construction Unit*, (Lindström, 2008, pp. 200–247) is a concept commonly used for analysing utterances which is illustrated in figure 3. An utterance starts with an initial interjection, some kind of call for the listener's attention, i.e. a specific *presegment* that precedes the *inner segment* which contains the factual contents. The utterances can then be finished by e.g. a boundary marker, a delivering of the turn to the next speaker or an appeal for support, which are positioned in the *postsegment*.

TCU		
Presegment	Inner segment	Postsegment
you know	how shocked I was you know by what happened	you know
well	I shouldn't have gone with her	should I
ee	had gone home by the post car	chuckle

FIGURE 3. *Examples of the turn construction unit.*

On average the informants in group L2 more often place the discourse particles in the outer segments than the informants in group L1. This is illustrated in figure 4.

Altogether the informants in L2 place almost half of the discourse particles, 44.4%, in the outer segments, while the informants in L1 place less than a quarter, 17.9%, in these segments. The difference between the groups is significant ($2(1) = 79.578$ ($p < .05$)). The choice of discourse particles explains some of the variation between the groups, since L2 frequently uses *duvet*, which often functions as limit marker, and L1 *liksom*, which is typically located in the inner segment.

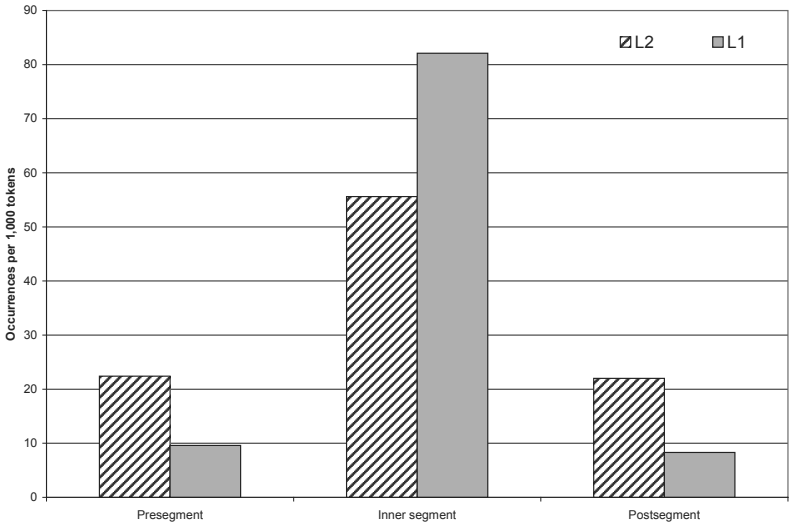

FIGURE 4. *The placement of discourse particles.*

But even in cases where the two groups use the same discourse particle, the informants in group L2 place it more frequently in the outer segments and L1 in the inner segment. This fact is especially distinct regarding *ju* which has 39.1% of the occurrences in the postsegment in L2 but only 15.8% in L1. A question then arises why the informants in L2 prefer to place *ju* in the postsegment and those in L1 in the position of the sentence adverbial in the inner segment. As in the case of difference in the choice of discourse particles, one answer could be that the informants adjust their talk to each other, i.e. an explanation along the lines of Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1980). The placement of the discourse particle could thus be seen as a sign of group solidarity.

The polyfunctionality of *ju* is also relevant. According to Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson (1999, vol. 4, p. 114), *ju* is a sentence adverb verifying the truth value of the proposition, but according to Lindström (2008, p. 80) *ju* is a discourse particle. As mentioned above, it can sometimes be difficult to draw a line between adverbs and discourse particles. Therefore it is conceivable that the informants in L2 intuitively interpret *ju* as a discourse particle and place it in the final segment, while the informants in L1 treat *ju* as a sentence adverb and thus place it in its unmarked position in the inner segment, directly affiliated to the nexus combination. If the informants in L1 interpret *ju* as a sentence adverbial the position in the postsegment is more marked to them than the position in the inner segment, and conversely, if the informants in L2 interpret ju as a discourse particle, a position in the final segment is as unmarked

as in the inner segment because discourse particles mostly are mobile within the whole utterance.

A third line of explanation could be that both groups perceive the adverbial function of *ju*, but the unmarked locating of the sentence adverbial in the inner segment is less automatized for the informants in L2 than the ones in L1. Placing *ju* in the final segment is not an error but more marked than placing it in the inner segment. The location of sentence adverbials in the inner segment is a syntactically conventionalized linguistic trait in Swedish. When analysing the language of the informants in group L2 I have found very few deviations from their target language, i.e. Swedish, regarding lexical phrases and word meanings. But at times they deviate in word order. This may indicate that the non-native informants in L2 have not completely automatized the Swedish word order rules, and thus the frequent placement of *ju* in the postsegment can be an indication that some of the non-native informants are still in the process of acquiring Swedish as a second language. The location of the discourse particle *ju* in the correct slot for the sentence adverbial consequently may require more efforts for the non-native informants than for the native ones, and therefore it is easier for the former to locate the discourse particle at the end of the utterance in rapid talk.

6. Conclusions

My analysis of the informal speech of two groups of teenage girls shows that the five Swedish discourse particles *duvet*, *ba(ra)*, *ju*, *liksom* and *typ* have many functions and partly overlap, though each of them seems to specialize in some functions. Swedish *duvet*, which has not been analysed before, displays a complex image as a polyfunctional and polysemous discourse particle.

Regarding the similarities and differences between the two informant groups, their language use seems to be more alike than different. They use the same conversational style but the distributions of the discourse particles differ significantly in some respects. The differences can be due to the group members' wish to display solidarity and closeness, whereby they accommodate their language use to each other, but the deviation may also be due to the context.

The location of the discourse particles in the turn construction unit partly differs between the groups. This can be explained by accommodation to the group, differences in conceptions of the categories adverbs vis-à-vis discourse particles, or a lower degree of automatization of the use of particles on the part of the bilingual informants.

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Transcription key

The transcription has an orthographic spelling
short pause
longer pause
+ interrupted utterance
xxx indiscernible talk (utterance, part of utterance)
<text> marking of direct speech
Capital letter: emphasis

Tracking language change. Anaphoric binding in multilingual urban settings in Sweden

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Abstract

This article presents the linguistic practice of anaphoric binding among young people in multilingual urban areas in Sweden's three largest cities. According to standard reference grammars for Swedish, binding follows a typical pattern: a reflexive (possessive) pronoun is used when the pronoun is coreferent with the subject of the same clause, the domain for binding; if not, a personal (possessive) pronoun is used. This empirical study shows that the typical pattern is used in 97% of the relevant instances. Deviation from the typical pattern is most often found among the personal possessive pronouns, which are generally over-used. This is most likely to occur in certain grammatical contexts and in elliptical answers. Possible reasons for this are discussed in terms of markedness and reinterpretations of the domain. L2 participants and young persons are more likely to deviate from the typical pattern than adults.

Keywords: multilingualism, binding, reflexive pronoun, youth language, language variation

1. Introduction

Linguistic change is usually something we notice after the fact. An ongoing change is difficult to separate from linguistic variation in general. One linguistic structure of Swedish that has long been known to be subject of variation is the choice between a reflexive and a personal pronoun as in (1).

(1) Hon gillar sin/hennes hund.
'She likes her (her own/some other girl's) dog.'

This linguistic structure, often referred to as anaphoric binding, is a much-discussed phenomenon in all Scandinavian languages. This is due to the fact that anaphoric binding in the Scandinavian languages is governed by a very complex set of rules. The rules are sometimes violated, resulting in variation in the distribution of the pronouns. For Swedish, the choice between a reflexive and a personal pronoun has been discussed in terms of language variation in grammars as far back as the 18th century (cf. Ljungberg 1756). Today, variation is common in newspaper texts and in everyday conversation. Is that still mere variation or is the anaphoric system in Swedish about to change? If so, how can we find out in the midst of the process?

The "Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings" project set out to investigate language use in multilingual urban settings in Sweden in the early 2000s. 222 adolescents in Sweden's largest cities Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö participated in one or more of the studies performed within the project (Ganuza 2008). The aim of the project was to investigate language variation in multilingual areas and its potential influence on the language of native speakers of Swedish. In that context, a study of anaphoric binding (see Tingsell 2007) can contribute in two ways. First, by exploring how second language (L2) speakers of Swedish handle a structure that is complex and lacking in most languages of the world. Second, by investigating what happens to a linguistic structure, that is, and has long been, subject to variation, when it is introduced into language contact situations.

In this study, I approach the field of anaphora in Swedish from a double perspective. First, I look into the structural patterns of the variation itself (see section 1 and 3 below) as it emerges in the oral and written production of the informants. Second, I present the material for this study along with some background information about the informants and their linguistic situation (see section 2). I then discuss the sociolinguistic and demographic patterns present in this study, patterns that might underlie a possible change of anaphoric binding in Swedish (see section 4).

2. Anaphoric patterns in Swedish

Anaphoric binding in the third person in Swedish is expressed by using different pronominal types; either a reflexive pronoun or a personal pronoun. Swedish has two reflexives: the reflexive *sig* corresponding to the English *him-/herself* and the typologically less common reflexive possessive pronoun *sin* (with its inflected forms *sitt* and *sina*), corresponding to the English *his/her/their*. The pronouns are illustrated in (2) and (3) respectively.

(2) Han$_i$ såg sig$_i$ i spegeln.
'He$_i$ saw himself$_i$ REFL(exive non-possessive prounoun) in the mirror.'

(3) Han$_i$ sålde sina$_i$ böcker.
'He$_i$ sold his$_i$ REFL POSS(essive pronoun) books.'

The distribution of reflexive and personal pronouns is governed by a set of rules that has generally been described as follows: A reflexive pronoun refers to an antecedent which must be the subject of the finite clause that contains the reflexive pronoun. The clause within which a reflexive pronoun must find its antecedent is often referred to as the *domain*. Other antecedents than the subject inside the domain are referred to by using a personal pronoun. Reflexive pronouns are not allowed in subject position, since they are supposed to refer to that very position (cf. the standard reference for Swedish grammar, *Svenska Akademiens grammatik*, SAG 2:331). This reference pattern, henceforth the *typical pattern,* for the distribution of reflexive pronouns is illustrated in (4)[1] and for personal pronouns in (5).

(4) Hon$_i$ skulle bjuda sina$_i$ killkusiner på middag.
'She$_i$ intended to invite her$_i$ REFL POSS male cousins for dinner.'

(5) Hon$_i$ har tagit hans$_j$ plånbok.
'She$_i$ has taken his$_i$ PERS(onal) POSS(essive) PRON(oun) wallet.'

There are some exceptions to the typical pattern described in the literature (cf. Beckman 1968 [1904]; Wellander 1959 [1939]; Thorell 1973; SAG 2: 331ff.). One of the most important exceptions involves reflexive and personal pronouns in infinitival clauses. In such clauses, a reflexive or a personal pronoun is coreferent with either the implicit subject of the infinitival verb (equalling PRO in (6) below) or with an argument of the embedding clause, as illustrated in (6).

[1] These and the following, except (6), (16) and (17), are authentic examples from the study.

(6) Anna$_i$ bad Maria$_j$ PRO lämna sitt$_{i/j}$/hennes$_{i/j}$ hus.
'Anna$_i$ asked Maria$_j$ to PRO leave her$_{i/j}$ REFL POSS PRON$_{(i/j)}$/ PERS POSS PRON$_{(i/j)}$ house'

However, in actual language performance, the use of reflexive and personal pronouns varies to a larger extent than the typical pattern and its exceptions imply. In example (7) from my data, for instance, a personal possessive pronoun refers to a subject within the same finite clause, contrary to what we would expect from the typical pattern.

(7) [---] hon$_i$ var med om lite konstigheter under hennes$_i$ lilla äventyr
'[---] she$_i$ experienced some strange things during her$_i$ PERS POSS little adventure.'

3. Research design and informants

Out of the 222 adolescents involved in the project, 97 took part in this study on anaphoric binding. The adolescents attended the second year of a theoretical programme in upper secondary school at the time of the investigation in 2003 and were approximately 16 years old. The schools are situated in more or less multilingual settings in Sweden's three largest cities Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö.

21 adults from the same cities formed a control group. The participants were chosen in order to represent a sample of the population relevant for investigating potential language change. The adults are native speakers at least 20 years older than the adolescents, hence representing one or two older generations. If their linguistic production differs systematically and significantly from that of the younger speakers, we might have tracked language change in the making.

The informants took part in four tests, designed to elicit anaphoric structures. In the first of these tests, each informant was presented with a comic strip, in which a man and his mistress are being spied on by the man's wife, disguised as a duck in a pond. First, the informants were asked to explain what happens in the strip, and after that, the interviewer asked each informant a set of questions, forcing the informant to make a choice between a reflexive and a personal pronoun. In the second and third tests, the informant listened to a recording of a short story, told in the first person, and was then asked to retell the story in the third person, first orally and then in writing. Since the choice between a reflexive and a personal form is only relevant in the third person, a story told in the first person does not give the informants any clues to what

form to use in their retelling of the story in the third person. The fourth test was a written grammaticality judgement and truth-value test, in which the informants were asked to fill in a missing word or comment on the correctness of a sentence in relation to a short text.

The informants were aware of the fact that they were being investigated for a linguistic study. However, they were never told in advance what linguistic structure I was conducting research on. Towards the end of the test period they filled out forms that focused on such structures to an extent that probably made it clear so some informants that these were the structures I investigated.

The oral narratives were recorded, transcribed and compiled in a corpus alongside the written narratives. The corpus contains 4,088 instances where the informants have to choose between a reflexive and a personal pronoun. Each of the pronouns used in the corpus was manually annotated with information about type of pronoun, what kind of syntactic unit contains the pronoun (e.g. a subject or an object, a principal or dependant clause and the degree of embeddedness) and what type of utterance contains it (e.g. an answer to someone's question) as well as information about the antecedent (e.g. its syntactic function, its alignment in comparison with the anaphoric expression and its animacy). The annotation made it possible to search not only for lexical units in the corpus, but also for contexts in which the reflexive and personal pronouns could potentially be realized, be they semantic, pragmatic or syntactic. That enabled me to account for contexts that, according to the typical pattern, should contain a certain type of pronoun and to what extent the typical pattern is used in certain contexts in the informants' linguistic production.

4. Variation in the use of pronouns

The results from the investigation of the corpus suggest that the typical pattern (see section 2 above) is very frequently used, in spite of the fact that it is generally considered quite complex. The typical pattern is used by the participants in this study in 97% of the anaphoric contexts, infinitival clauses excluded (see above). Hence, variation is found in 3% of the contexts. Theoretically, variation could be of four kinds: a personal pronoun could be used instead of a reflexive pronoun in a context that calls for the latter and vice versa: a reflexive pronoun could be used in a context that calls for a personal pronoun. The same holds for the possessive forms: a reflexive possessive pronoun could be used instead of a personal possessive pronoun in a context that calls for the latter and vice versa.

The anaphoric expressions that do not follow the typical pattern are not randomly distributed across the pronoun types. Instead, the variation follows some clear patterns. Even though there is a theoretical possibility for four kinds of variation, only three kinds of variation of the typical pattern are present in the corpus. No deviations in the typical pattern are found in the use of the reflexive non-possessive pronoun (*sig*), i.e. a reflexive non-possessive is never used where the typical pattern suggests a personal pronoun (*honom*, *henne*, *den*, *det*, *dem*). Reflexive possessive pronouns (*sin*, *sitt*, *sina*) are used in 2% of the contexts in which we expect the personal possessive pronouns (*hans, hennes, dess, deras*); see example (8), where a reflexive possessive pronoun occurs in a subject position.

(8) [---] hon$_i$ märker att sina$_i$ vantar är borta
'She$_i$ notices that her$_i$ REFL POSS mittens are missing'

Personal pronouns are used in 2% of the contexts in which we expect reflexive pronouns to occur; see example (9), in which a personal pronoun refers to the subject of the finite clause in which it occurs.

(9) han$_i$ försöker var då jaha där han$_i$ försöker ta sin flickvän närmare honom$_i$ (PERS)
'he$_i$ is trying to where right there he$_i$ is trying to pull his girlfriend closer to him$_i$ (PERS)'

The largest variation is found among the personal possessive pronouns, which are used instead of reflexive possessive pronouns in 12% of the instances that call for a reflexive possessive pronoun according to the typical pattern, see example (10), where a personal possessive pronoun has the subject of the finite clause as its antecedent.

(10) Det visade sig att hon$_i$ hade en plånbok i hennes$_i$ väska
'It turned out she$_i$ had a wallet in her$_i$ PERS POSS purse'

In table 1, the deviation from the typical pattern for the four different types of pronouns is summarized.

Three types of pronouns vary in this material. Each of the pronoun types varies in its own way and variation is, to a large extent, dependent on specific contexts, either syntactic or interactional.

Table 1. *Deviation from the typical pattern for different pronoun types (infinitival contexts excluded).*

Type of pronoun	Percentage	Over-use, frequency (Non-expected forms/context calling for expected form)
Reflexive non-possessive	0%	0/1,592
Reflexive possessive	2%	20/1,146
Personal non-possessive	2%	14/627
Personal possessive	12%	83/723

Variation in the use of reflexive pronouns, i.e. when a reflexive possessive pronoun appears in a context that, according to the typical pattern, calls for a personal possessive pronoun, is found in a wide range of syntactic contexts: in subjects of a subordinate or a principal clause (where reflexives are always ruled out according to the typical pattern, that offers constraints on reflexives appearing in or as a subject), in objects (as in (11) below, which violates the rule of subject antecedency, *sin* referring to the object *gubben*), in prepositional adjuncts and predicative complements (where, in these cases, something else than the subject of the same clause constitutes the antecedent). For a summary, see table 2 below.

(11) Hon$_i$ ger gubben$_j$ sin$_j$ plånbok och går hem.
'She$_i$ gives the old man$_j$ his$_j$ REFL POSS wallet and goes home.'

While reflexive possessive pronouns occur in many different contexts that call for a personal possessive pronoun, personal (non-possessive) pronouns replace reflexive pronouns in one context alone: prepositional phrases, as in (12).

(12) [---] hon$_i$ har blivit av med sina vantar och ser en man bakom henne$_i$
'[---] she$_i$ has lost her mittens and sees a man behind her$_i$ PERS PRON'

This substitution occurs frequently; in 42% of the prepositional phrases in which we would expect a reflexive pronoun according to the typical pattern, the reflexive pronoun is substituted for a personal pronoun.

Personal possessive pronouns are also used in contexts that are expected to contain a reflexive possessive pronoun in a limited set of syntactic contexts. Personal possessive pronouns are over-used in objects as well as in prepositional phrases (as in (13)).

(13) Han$_i$ skryter säkert om hans$_i$ fina bil eller nåt sånt.
'He$_i$ is probably boasting about his$_i$ PERS POSS nice car or something like that.'

Table 2 summarizes the syntactic contexts in which the various pronouns are replaced by non-expected forms.

Table 2. *Contexts for over-use of reflexive and personal pronouns (infinitival contexts excluded).*

	Type of over-used pronoun			
Syntactic context	Reflexive non-possessive pronouns	Reflexive possessive pronouns	Personal non-possessive pronouns	Personal possessive pronouns
Subject of main clause		1%		
Subject of embedding clause		4%		
Object		1%		5%
Predicative complement		1%		
Prepositional phrase		6%	42%	12%

Not only syntactic factors were taken into account when investigating variation in anaphoric binding. Some interactional structures were also accounted for. The substitution of reflexive possessive pronouns for personal possessive pronouns is even more frequent in one particular interactional context. When an informant elliptically answers a question put forth by the investigator, the informants tend to use personal possessive pronouns to a large extent. Apart from the personal possessive pronouns, the elliptic answers also sometimes contain a preposition, but they all have in common that the antecedent is left out of the answer. Instead, the antecedent is present in the preceding question, as in (14) (for further discussion on elliptical answers, see section 3.1. below).

(14) – Vem är han$_i$ rädd för?
'Who is he$_i$ afraid of?'
– Hans$_i$ fru.
'His$_i$ PERS POSS wife.'

So far, I have left the infinitival structures out of the discussion. Since the use of anaphoric expressions in infinitival clauses lacks a clear pattern (see section 1 above) they can not be accounted for in the same way as anaphoric expressions in finite clauses. This has to do with the lack of an (overt) antecedent in infinitival clauses and the fact that the typical pattern is depending on such a

subject being present within the clause. However, the lack of a typical pattern for the distribution of anaphoric expressions in infinitival clauses presents an opportunity to investigate what other rules, if any, are applied when informants choose between a reflexive and a personal form in infinitival clauses. Interestingly, the tendency to over-use personal pronouns in prepositional phrases that we saw in table 2 among the finite clauses is even more pronounced in the infinitival clauses. In infinitival clauses, the informants use personal possessive pronouns over reflexive possessive pronouns in prepositional phrases in 94% of the cases (15 out of 16 pronouns in prepositional phrases within infinitival clauses), as illustrated in (15) (the infinitival construction in bold).

(15) Gubben$_i$ hade bett honom$_j$ **att [PRO$_j$] ge vantarna till hans$_j$ kusin**.
The old man$_i$ had asked him$_j$ **to [PRO$_j$] give the mittens to his$_j$ PERS POSS cousin**.

The material for this study included written grammaticality tests (see section 2 above) that were designed to test the informants' competence, while the oral and written production primarily tests the informants' performance. The grammaticality tests confirm the results of the oral and written stories as to the significance of the prepositional phrase when choosing between a reflexive and a personal pronoun. Personal possessive pronouns are used instead of reflexive possessive pronouns in 10% of the grammaticality test material. If we isolate the sentences that involve the choice between a reflexive possessive pronoun and a personal possessive pronoun in prepositional phrases in the grammaticality test, deviation from the typical occurs in 24% of the possible instances.

5. Possible reasons for variation in the grammatical system

5.1. Linguistic factors influencing variation

The variation accounted for in section 3 most likely has many causes. One possibility is to discuss the results in relation to the notion of markedness (Holm 2000). The reflexive pronouns in general and the possessive reflexive pronouns in particular are rare cross-linguistically (and certainly in the language sample of this study, see section 4 below). This study shows that reflexive pronouns with marked status are more likely to be replaced by a form that is less marked, in this case the personal forms of the pronoun. This is especially relevant when the results from the study of the informants' background are taken into account (see section 4).

The over-use of personal pronouns in prepositional phrases in infinitival clauses as well as in finite clauses, as seen in table 2, is so large that it calls for an explanation of the status of prepositional phrases in this context. Josefsson & Håkansson (2003) suggest that there is a relation between prepositional phrases and comparative subordinate clauses: in order for children to acquire the latter, they first need to be able to handle the former. The transit from using the prepositional phrase to using comparative clauses would take place when the child notices the resemblance between a preposition followed by a noun phrase (NP), illustrated in (16), and a preposition followed by a verb, as in comparative clauses, illustrated in (17).

(16) Hon var lika förtjust i boken som i filmen.
'She was as happy about the book as about the film.'

(17) Hon var lika förtjust över att ha läst boken som över att ha sett filmen.
'She was as happy about having read the book as about having seen the film.'

If prepositions are considered important clues to subordinate structures, they may well be interpreted as signalling that a finite clause, a new domain, has been entered. In some cases, the preposition is not followed by such a subordinate clause, but rather by an NP, as in the prepositional phrases in the material of this study. Nevertheless, the preposition might still signal to some informants that a new domain is entered, even if that domain is not actually a finite clause. Then a personal pronoun may have the subject of the finite clause in which it appears as its antecedent, since it is outside the domain beginning with the preposition.

Restrictions on the domain may also be the motivation behind the over-use of personal possessive pronouns in elliptic answers. In examples such as (14) above, we can not be sure that the pronoun seeks its antecedent in the overt subject of the question put forth by the investigator. Another possibility is that the informants refer to an implicit subject that is present, so to speak, in their minds rather than in the previous conversation. Either way, the informants do not produce the antecedent themselves. In such cases, a change of speakers or, in terms borrowed from the field of conversation analysis, transition relevance places (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974) constitute a new domain. The typical pattern, which is normally defined syntactically, can hence be abandoned in favour of a pattern that defines the domain in terms of pragmatics or interaction.

5.2. Sociolinguistic factors and variation

In section 3, we have seen that structures within language itself may influence the system of anaphoric binding among the informants of this study. One

might ask to what extent that is true for all informants. Is variation found among all informants or do sociolinguistic factors play a part in this variation as well? Apart from gathering linguistic samples, the project also collected data about the participants' background.

The participants in this study answered an extensive set of questions about their linguistic background and demographic factors. Such factors include age, what language is preferred in conversations with different interlocutors, whether or not the school that the informant attends is more or less multilingual and what language the informant speaks as first language (L1) and second language (L2). These factors are not necessarily easily defined. (For a discussion, cf. Fraurud & Boyd 2006.) In my study, informants with Swedish as their first and only L1 are considered monolingual, even though all of them speak at least one other language as well. Informants with an L1 other than Swedish are considered multilingual, since all of them speak Swedish and sometimes other languages as well. In schools labelled "more multilingual", 50% or more of the students are multilingual.

When relating the use of anaphoric expressions to the background factors, two variables in the informants' background are found to be of significant importance. Adolescents with a multilingual background vary the typical pattern (see section 1 above) to a significantly larger extent than participants with a monolingual background. The first factor concerns the linguistic background of the adolescents (the adults were all L1-speakers of Swedish) and the second factor concerns age.

First, multilingual adolescents deviate from the typical pattern to a larger extent than monolingual adolescents. 29% of the multilingual adolescents deviate from the typical pattern in three or more instances in the corpus. The same is true for 2% of the monolingual adolescents.

Second, the adolescents vary the typical pattern to a significantly larger extent than the adults. While none of the adults make three or more deviations from the typical pattern, 18% of the adolescents do so.[2] The difference between the monolingual adolescents and the adults, however, is not significant.

Geographical factors also seem to be of importance. Informants in Stockholm, adolescents and adults alike, tend to vary the typical pattern to a larger extent than informants in Gothenburg and Malmö.

By and large, the monolingual adolescents vary the typical pattern to the same extent regardless of whether they attend a more or less multilingual school. The multilingual adolescents, on the other hand, vary the typical pattern to a larger extent if they attend a more multilingual school. Multilingual

[2] The difference between the groups is significant at the 5 per cent level. Significance has been tested using Fisher's exact test.

and monolingual adolescents alike tend to vary the typical pattern to a larger extent if they speak Swedish as well as other languages with their friends. These results, however, are not significant.

As seen above, one of the two most prominent results is that multilingual adolescents vary their use of anaphors more than do monolingual adolescents. Again, markedness may be relevant in explaining the results. Marked forms, particularly reflexive possessive pronouns, are the ones most often replaced. Unmarked forms are likely to show up in interlanguages (Gass & Selinker 2001:455), regardless of their presence in the native and target language. Since reflexive possessive pronouns are uncommon in other languages in the sample of this study, transfer might also be an explanation for the tendency to replace reflexive forms with personal forms of the pronouns.[3]

The other major result, the difference between the age groups, could be explained in at least two ways. One possibility is that, as they grow older, the younger informants will conform to the typical pattern and use anaphoric expressions in a way that more resembles the way the adults speak and write. This process is known as age grading (Chambers 1995:188). Another possibility is that the variation of native speakers present in this study, as well as attested in grammars as far back as the 18th century, might be fuelled by the variation that many multilingual adolescents contribute with.

Language change often starts in large cities and spreads to other urban areas leap by leap, rather than from a centre outwards[4] (Chambers & Trudgill 1998:166). This might be the case in this study as well, since Stockholm hosts the largest amount of variation. It is possible that the other two cities have been influenced by language use in Stockholm, but it is also possible that the processes in the three cities are parallel.

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[3] The informants in this study speak 23 different languages, Swedish included. These languages have been divided into six larger language groups. Two of these groups, the Slavic group and the Cantonese group (the latter consisting of only one speaker), have reflexive possessive pronouns that are similar to the Swedish reflexive possessives. There are 13 speakers of a Slavic language participating in this study. However, the Slavic-speaking group does not handle reflexives significantly different from other language groups. For a more extensive discussion of markedness and anaphoric binding, see Tingsell 2007.

[4] This pattern is present also with regard so some phonetic properties of the language of the same informants (c.f. Bodén 2007).

6. Variation and change

Language variation sometimes leads to language change. Language change is most often preceded by a period of language variation (Aitchison 2001). This study shows that the anaphoric system in Swedish as it is spoken among adolescents in Sweden's three largest cities is subject to quite a large amount of variation, but is it also subject to change?

Assuming that change is more likely to take place if a certain linguistic structure is affected by many factors, I adopted both a syntactic and a sociolinguistic approach to anaphoric binding in this study.

The syntactic and the sociolinguistic investigations point in the same direction. In 12% of the instances where a personal possessive pronoun is used, the typical pattern prescribes a reflexive possessive instead. This over-use of personal possessive pronouns is not randomly distributed across linguistic structures, but rather concentrated to a few specific grammatical and interactional contexts. Those facts alone might indicate that what looks like variation is in fact a new system developing. The new system might have been underway at least since the 18th century, when early Swedish grammars described variation within the anaphoric system. The old instability of a very complex linguistic structure seems to be fuelled by the language contact situation in suburban areas, where L2-speaker's vary the use of anaphoric expressions to a larger extent than L1-speakers do. The fact that young speakers are the ones most likely to use a new system also indicates that there may be linguistic change ahead. Drawing on this, a cautious conclusion might be that we are witnessing a change in progress. However, this change might not affect the entire system for reflexivity in Swedish, at least not immediately. At first, we might expect a change towards an "English" version of the anaphoric system, with personal possessive pronouns taking on the function of reflexive possessives. Prepositional phrases would be a good place to start looking for change.

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Sammanfattningar på svenska

Language variation and varieties in contemporary multilingual Stockholm: an explorative pilot study of young peoples' perceptions

Ellen Bijvoet och Kari Fraurud

För utforskandet av den språkliga variationen i dagens flerspråkiga Sverige krävs en kombination av perspektiv och angreppssätt. Denna artikel lyfter fram behovet av att komplettera studier av språklig *produktion* med ett systematiskt studium av – i vid mening – *perception*, inbegripande såväl attityder till skilda varieteter/grupper av talare som sociolingvistisk medvetenhet om språklig variation. Efter en genomgång av vilka olika slags varieteter av svenska som man kan tänkas möta i dagens flerspråkiga Sverige, diskuteras själva begreppet varietet och dess användbarhet i den aktuella kontexten. Utifrån en syn på varieteter som sociala konstruktioner (snarare än "ting") argumenteras för nyttan av att undersöka just dessa konstruktioner så som de avspeglas i lyssnares perceptioner av språklig variation, med en metodik inspirerad av det folklingvistiska forskningsparadigmet. Angreppssättet illustreras av en explorativ pilotstudie av lyssnarperceptioner bland unga stockholmare.

Adolescents' pronunciation in multilingual Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm

Petra Bodén

I föreliggande uppsats beskrivs ungdomars uttal i tre svenska flerspråkiga storstadsområden. En serie lyssningstest har utförts för att med ungdomars hjälp välja representativa talare att basera beskrivningen på. Resultaten från lyssningstesten bekräftar dessutom tidigare observationer om att det finns ungdomar med en utländskt klingande svenska som själva saknar utländsk bakgrund. Talet hos de 24 i lyssningstesten identifierade talarna av s.k. rosengårdssvenska, gårdstenska och rinkebysvenska analyseras därefter och jämförs. Jämförelserna

visar dels vilka uttalskännetecken ungdomarnas svenska har till skillnad från andra varieteter på samma ort, dels hur ungdomarnas tal på de tre orterna skiljer sig från varandra. Möjliga orsaker till de fonetiska likheter som också identifieras mellan talare i Malmö, Göteborg och Stockholm diskuteras slutligen.

Extended uses of *sån* ('such') among adolescents in multilingual Malmö, Sweden

Lena Ekberg

En frekvent användning av *sån* anses av ungdomar i Malmö vara ett karakteristiskt drag i den lokala varianten av multietniskt ungdomsspråk, rosengårdssvenska. I den här artikeln redovisas resultatet av en undersökning av användningen av *sån* i en mångspråkig miljö i Malmö. Till grund för undersökningen ligger talspråksdata från två grupper av kvinnliga gymnasister. Den ena gruppen bestod av fyra tvåspråkiga informanter, varav två hade bedömts tala rosengårdssvenska av jämnåriga, den andra av tre enspråkiga informanter, varav två hade bedömts tala något annat än rosengårdssvenska. Båda grupperna uppvisar utvidgade användningar av *sån*, jämfört med bruket i talad standardspråklig svenska. Mest påfallande är användningen av *sån* som indefinit determinerare, när pronomenet till synes ersätter den obestämda artikeln *en/ett*. Någon signifikant skillnad mellan de båda grupperna vad gäller frekvens och funktion hos *sån* kunde dock inte påvisas.

The native–non-native speaker distinction and the diversity of linguistic profiles of young people in multilingual urban contexts in Sweden

Kari Fraurud och Sally Boyd

Distinktionen infödda–icke-infödda (eng. *native–non-native*) talare har haft en central betydelse inom lingvistikens alla områden, men den ifrågasätts också gång efter annan. Med det här kapitlet vill vi bidra till diskussionen om distinktionens användbarhet genom att utforska ett större empiriskt material insamlat inom SUF-projektet. Data om språklig bakgrund och språkanvändning hos 222 informanter analyserades med hjälp av vad vi kallar *språkprofilering*. De språkprofiler som framkom visar på en stor diversitet bland informanterna när det gäller inföddhetskriterier – något som man också kan förvänta sig finna i andra, liknande kontexter. En slutsats är att tillämpningen av en binär infödd/icke-infödd-distinktion i sådana kontexter får som resultat att man antingen sammanför informanter i två väldigt heterogena grupper, eller, om en-

dast ”klara fall” tas med, att en stor del av språkanvändarna utesluts från undersökningen. Dessa observationer torde ha implikationer för studiet av språklig variation och förändring i flerspråkiga kontexter mer generellt.

Syntactic variation in the Swedish of adolescents in multilingual urban settings – a thesis summary

Natalia Ganuza

Artikeln är en sammanfattning av avhandlingen *Syntactic variation in the Swedish of adolescents in multilingual urban settings* som skrevs inom SUF-projektet. I avhandlingen undersöktes bland annat hur ofta ungdomar i några flerspråkiga storstadsområden varierade mellan att använda rak respektive omvänd ordföljd i språkliga kontexter som i standardsvenskan kräver omvänd ordföljd samt om och hur variationen påverkades av olika kontextuella, språkliga och demografiska variabler. Det har ibland hävdats att användningen av rak ordföljd (XSV) är typisk för den svenska som talas bland ungdomar i flerspråkiga storstadsområden. De övergripande resultaten visade dock att de flesta ungdomarna inte använde rak ordföljd i någon större utsträckning i de situationer som studerades. Rak ordföljd förekom övervägande i samtal kamrater emellan och användes främst av några ungdomar med en flerspråkig bakgrund. Det fanns inget direkt samband med att deltagarna hade svenska som andraspråk. För vissa ungdomar verkade användningen av rak ordföljd vara förknippad med en ledig, ungdomlig samtalsstil.

Computer based quantitative methods applied to first and second language student writing

Sofie Johansson Kokkinakis och Ulrika Magnusson

Kvantitativa mått har ofta använts i svensk elevtextforskning. Få studier har dock jämfört en- och flerspråkiga elevers texter. I denna undersökning jämförs ca 200 nationella prov i svenska skrivna av första- och andraspråkselever som bor i flerspråkiga storstadsmiljöer. Proven samlades in i SUF-projektet. Syftet är att undersöka huruvida lexikala kvantitativa och kvalitativa statistiska mått kan användas för att beskriva och jämföra olika aspekter av korpusen. Tre mått identifieras för detta syfte: *nominalkvot*, som mäter andel nominala respektive verbala fraser i en text; *ordvariationsindex*, som mäter andel olika ord i en text; *ordlängd*, grafordens genomsnittliga längd. Ett fjärde mått, *lexikal densitet*, som avser att mäta andel innehållsord, visade inte stora skillnader mellan texterna, till skillnad från studier av engelskspråkig text. De tre oberoende

variabler som undersöktes var språklig bakgrund och betyg, elevvariabler och kvantitativa mått samt korrelation mellan mått. De flerspråkiga eleverna hade lägre resultat på flera mått. En elevgrupp med startålder för andraspråksutveckling 4–7 år hade lägre resultat på vissa mått än flerspråkiga elever med lägre och högre startålder.

Multiethnic youth language in reviews of the novel *Ett öga rött*

Roger Källström

Khemiris debutroman *Ett öga rött* är nästan genomgående skriven på en något speciell variant av multietniskt ungdomsspråk. I flera av recensionerna av boken används beteckningar som *rinkebysvenska* för detta språk, och det starkt laddade ordet *blatte* är vanligt förekommande. Det visar sig att recensenterna använder sig av olika slags garderingar av dessa beteckningar och att *blatte* (liksom *svenne*) främst används som led i avledningar och sammansättningar. Påfallande är att alla recensenterna ger prov på multietniskt ungdomsspråk, och många stiliserar detta språkbruk i form av lån av ord och rena imitationer. Dessa stiliseringar är inga parodier, utan används i allmänhet för att ge exempel på huvudpersonens språkbruk och ge en glimt av hans karaktär, samtidigt som stilbrottet i nästan alla fall ger ett humoristiskt intryck. Man kan dock konstatera att stilbrottet är beroende av det faktum att multietniskt ungdomsspråk har lägre stilnivå och status än den sorts svenska som skrivs i recensioner och att detta i vissa fall kan uppfattas som att recensenterna skämtar på bekostnad av ungdomar med multietnisk bakgrund.

Fostering multilingualism in Swedish schools – intentions and realities

Inger Lindberg

I denna artikel diskuteras utbildningsinsatser med fokus på elever med annat modersmål än svenska i den svenska skolan. Här uppmärksammas särskilt klyftan mellan retorik och politik å ena sidan och det praktiska genomförandet å andra sidan. Trots förhållandevis progressiva och långtgående satsningar och övergripande ambitiösa mål där mångfald och flerspråkighet ses som en resurs, visar etnografiska studier att elever med andra modersmål i svenska skolpraktiker ofta betraktas utifrån ett bristperspektiv. Utvärderingar och kartläggningar visar dessutom att såväl modersmål som svenska som andraspråk är lågstatusämnen med stora implementeringsproblem. I ett försök att analysera orsakerna till detta glapp mellan intentioner och skolpraktik föreslås bl.a. begrepp

som *strategisk essentialism* och *linguicism* som möjliga teoretiska utgångspunkter. Att implementering av policy- och styrdokument måste ses som en tolkningsprocess snarare än som en linjär, toppstyrd process är en annan viktig utgångspunkt för denna analys. Det handlar alltså inte om att uppifrån diktera vad som ska göras. I stället måste frågor som på ett övergripande plan regleras i styrdokument och andra riktlinjer hanteras lokalt och kreativt i förhållande till omständigheter i den specifika kontexten. En policy grundad på kulturell och språklig mångfald som resurs kan således få svårt att nå genomslag så länge samhället och dess institutioner präglas av en enspråkig och monokulturell norm.

”It’s simply a gift” Multilingualism as an individual and societal resource

Tore Otterup

Denna artikel utgår från en studie med poststrukturalistisk ansats som genomfördes med åtta flerspråkiga ungdomar från ett multietniskt förortsområde i Göteborg och lyfter fram faktorer av betydelse för att flerspråkighet ska bli till en individuell såväl som till en samhällelig resurs. I studien har de transkriberade intervjuerna analyserats i enlighet med *Grundad Teori* (Glaser & Strauss 1967). I den *formella teorin* visade det sig att begrepp som *ambivalens, investering* och *empowerment* på ett adekvat sätt beskriver förutsättningarna för utvecklandet av *synkretiska identiteter* i flerspråkiga områden. Mångtydigheten i det postmoderna samhället och alla de val som detta kräver, vilket ytterligare förstärks av ungdomarnas flerspråkighet, kan vara frustrerande för många men kan samtidigt också erbjuda unika individuella möjligheter. Flerspråkiga ungdomar, som de som är i fokus här, har ett värdefullt kulturellt kapital att bidra med för framväxten av ett samhälle där kulturell och språklig mångfald utgör betydelsefulla inslag.

Figurative word combinations in texts written by adolescents in multilingual school environments

Julia Prentice och Emma Sköldberg

I artikeln redovisas de preliminära resultaten av en studie av figurativa ordförbindelser i texter skrivna av 175 gymnasielever som läser i flerspråkiga skolmiljöer. Materialet har samlats in inom ramen för SUF- projektet. Texterna har delats in i fem olika kategorier beroende på skribenternas språkliga bakgrund. Det visar sig att de figurativa ordförbindelserna i materialet kan delas

in i tre huvudtyper utifrån deras grad av konventionalisering. De tre typerna är: 1) konventionaliserade ordförbindelser, 2) delvis modifierade konventionaliserade ordförbindelser och 3) nybildade ordförbindelser. Resultaten tyder på att konventionaliserade ordförbindelser är den mest använda typen i materialet, följd av delvis modifierade uttryck. Den typ som används minst i texterna är nybildade figurativa ordförbindelser. Resultaten antyder också att förstaspråkseleverna använder fler konventionaliserade ordförbindelser än andraspråkseleverna. Modifieringar av figurativa konventionaliserade ordförbindelser är däremot mer frekventa i andraspråkselevernas texter.

Diskurspartiklar hos ungdomar i mångspråkiga miljöer i Malmö

Gudrun Svensson

Diskurspartiklar som *duvet*, *ba(ra)*, *ju*, *liksom* och *typ* förekommer frekvent i talspråket, särskilt hos ungdomar. I denna artikel beskrivs funktion och betydelse hos de ovan nämnda diskurspartiklarna i två grupper med kvinnliga gymnasister i Malmö. Diskurspartiklarna är såväl polyfunktionella som polysema och fungerar inom olika nivåer i det talade språket för att underlätta interaktionen mellan talare och lyssnare. De fungerar som lystringssignaler, turtagningsmarkörer, fokuserare och modifierare samt som tolkningsram för kommande utsagor. De används också för att markera gränser, skapa närhet och trovärdighet i samvaron mellan deltagarna samt som pausfyllnad. De båda grupperna består av enspråkiga respektive flerspråkiga informanter. Grupperna uppvisar en likartad samtalsstil men skiljer sig åt vad gäller användning av diskurspartiklarna. Skillnaderna kan förklaras dels av ungdomarnas önskan om identitetsskapande och samhörighet inom grupperna, dels av ungdomarnas språkliga bakgrund.

Tracking language change. Anaphoric binding in multilingual urban settings in Sweden

Sofia Tingsell

Den här artikeln presenterar en empirisk undersökning av hur anaforisk bindning realiseras i valet mellan reflexivt (*sig*, *sin*) och personligt pronomen (*honom/henne*, *hans/hennes*) hos ungdomar i flerspråkiga storstadsmiljöer i Sverige. Mönstret för anaforisk syftning beskrivs traditionellt så, att ett reflexivt (possessivt) pronomen syftar på subjektet i samma sats. För annan syftning används personligt (possessivt) pronomen. De 97 ungdomarna och de 21 vuxna, som utgör kontrollgrupp i den här studien, använder detta mönster för valet

mellan reflexivt och personligt pronomen i 97% av de fall det aktualiseras. Avvikelserna från mönstret består oftast i överanvändning av personligt possessivt pronomen på bekostnad av reflexivt possessivt pronomen. Överanvändningen är knuten till vissa grammatiska och interaktionella kontexter. Andraspråkstalarna avviker från mönstret oftare än förstaspråkstalarna, och de yngre talarna avviker generellt från mönstret oftare än äldre.