Silje Karoline Kleiva Krohn

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A Study of the Use of Anglicisms in Urban and Rural Youth Language as Depicted in the TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg*

NTNU
Kunnskap for ei betre verd

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the use of Anglicisms in urban and rural youth language in Norway as portrayed in the TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg*. Further, it examines whether the divide can reflect similar differences in real youth language in Norway today. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed, where a quantitative analysis provides an overview of the use of Anglicisms in the two TV-series, while qualitative focus group interviews gather relevant youth's reflections both on the language presented in the TV-series and on their own use of English in their everyday speech. The analysis of *Skam* and *Lovleg* reveals a greater presence of Anglicisms in the urban characters' vocabulary in *Skam*. The focus groups recognise a similar distinction in real life, where the urban group claims that they use English "all the time", while the rural group rather prefers their dialect. A possible explanation for this can be found in the relation between language and identity, where rural youth might consciously use their dialect to convey geographical belonging. Another explanation can be related to how modernity in the cities can be reflected in linguistic diversity, where rapid changes and shifting trends are present both in general and in language. Rapid changes and modernity can also explain the second significant finding of the study: while the number of intersentential CS is approximately the same in the two TV-series, there is a much higher number of intrasentential CS in *Skam*. As intrasentential CS includes Anglicisms which are regarded as less established in the Norwegian language, this finding can imply that new words and terms are more rapidly brought into urban youth language. Finally, the third significant finding is related to the semantic categorisation of the Anglicisms, where a majority of the Anglicisms are semantically related to the field of sex. This phenomenon can be explained by recourse to the concept semantic bleaching. Other findings within the semantic fields, for instance how no Anglicisms in *Lovleg* are related to social media, highlight the restricted scope of the study, where a larger or different set of material could reveal social media related Anglicisms also in *Lovleg*, but also that conclusions about real language cannot be based on findings from excerpts of fictional language.

Sammendrag

Denne masteroppgaven studerer forskjeller i bruken av anglisismer i ungdomsspråk i bygd og by slik det blir presentert i tv-seriene *Skam* og *Lovleg*. Videre undersøker den om forskjellene funnet i seriene kan reflektere en reell forskjell i ungdomsspråk i Norge i dag. Studien tar i bruk både kvantitativ og kvalitativ metode, der en kvantitativ analyse av transkripsjoner fra *Skam* og *Lovleg* skaffer en oversikt over bruken av anglisismer i hver serie, og kvalitative fokusgruppeintervjuer samler inn refleksjoner fra ungdom rundt både språket i seriene og sin egen bruk av engelsk i dagligtalen. Resultatene fra analysen avslører en betydelig større bruk av anglisismer blant de urbane karakterene i *Skam*. Informantene i fokusgruppene gjenkjenner en lignende forskjell i ekte ungdomsspråk, der ungdommene fra byen sier at de bruker engelsk «hele tiden», mens ungdommene fra bygda foretrekker å bruke dialekten sin. En mulig forklaring på mindre bruk av anglisismer i språket til karakterene i *Lovleg* kan være relasjonen mellom språk og identitet, der bygdeungdom kan bruke dialekten sin bevisst for å formidle identitet og geografisk tilhørighet. En annen forklaring kan være relatert til det moderne miljøet i byene, der trender både generelt og innen språk endrer seg raskt. Modernitet og mangfold i by og byspråk kan også forklare det andre store funnet i studien: mens det er omtrent like mye intersentential kodeveksling i *Skam* og *Lovleg*, så er forskjellen stor i kategorien intrasentential kodeveksling. Ettersom intrasentential kodeveksling viser til ord som ikke er etablert i den grad at de finnes i norske ordbøker, kan dette funnet tyde på at nye ord fra engelsk blir raskere og oftere tatt i bruk i byene enn i bygdene. Videre ble det også funnet signifikante forskjeller mellom de semantiske kategoriene, der storparten av anglisismene hører til det semantiske feltet sex. Overtallet av sexrelaterte anglisismer kan forklares i henhold til språkstrategien semantisk bleking. Andre funn, slik som mangelen på anglisismer i kategorien sosiale medier i *Lovleg*, understreker det avgrensede omfanget av studien, der et større materiale kunne avslørt anglisismer relatert til sosiale medier også i *Lovleg*, samt at man ikke kan trekke konklusjoner om ekte språk basert på funn i utdrag av fiksjonelt språk.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Youth language in Norway

It is a well-known fact that the English language has achieved a central position both globally and in Norway (Crystal, 2003, p. 4; Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 37). While the Norwegian language in general is found with various types of Anglicisms, youth language in particular is known for its distribution of English through loans, abbreviations, slang and code-switching (Hasund, 2006; Hårstad & Opsahl, 2013). Yet, I have on various occasions experienced that I have had to ask my friends of the meaning of various English words they use in their everyday speech. There was particularly one case which made me question the differences between a friend's and my own vocabulary:

> Jeg bare satt og vibet med mine tjommier
> [I just vibed with my chummies]

After a short explanation of what he meant by "vibing with his friends", it was also stated that this term is used "all the time" in Bergen. Coming from a rural area, I had not even heard the expression used in a Norwegian linguistic context before. Based on several similar experiences during the years, I asked myself whether this could be a result of our different place of origin, and whether there could be a divide in urban and rural youth's use of Anglicisms. While there is much theory on the topic of English in Norway, as well as research on Norwegian youth language in both rural and urban areas (Hasund, 2006; Johansson & Graedler, 2002; Svendsen, Ryan & Lexander, 2014), possible differences between rural and urban youth language with a focus on Anglicisms appear to be uncharted.

1.2 Youth language in TV-series

An important source to English influence, both culturally and linguistically, are media (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 93; Kuppens, 2010, p. 65). New medial habits such as streaming have led to an unlimited access to English-speaking material in Norway, where Norwegian media must increasingly compete with international media (Språkrådet, 2018, p. 33). Then again, one of the most influential and discussed TV-series from the last decade was in fact Norwegian. The series *Skam* [Shame] engaged teenagers from all over the world, and even aroused an interest for the Norwegian language in Denmark (Nordal, 2017). Certain 'new' words from *Skam* spread rapidly, but despite the fact that the TV-series is Norwegian, the words which received much attention were not: both 'hooke' and 'fuckboy' are borrowed from English. Another Norwegian TV-series which received much attention for its language is *Lovleg* [Legal]*.* However, *Lovleg* was cherished for the use of dialects and Norwegian Nynorsk (Hjetland & Grov, 2018), while the presence of Anglicisms has not been commented. The two TV-series are recognised for different linguistic features, and studying them might detect a divide between urban and rural youth language as perceived by the creators of *Skam* and *Lovleg*.

1.3   Research questions

This thesis investigates Norwegian youth language as it is portrayed in the two TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg* with a focus on the use of Anglicisms. Additionally, relevant youth's reflections are included in order to get a clearer idea of whether the language depicted in the TV-series can represent authentic youth language as their language is perceived by themselves. Based on the experience illustrated in 1.1 and the observation presented in 1.2, it is somehow expected that there will be a difference between the use of Anglicisms in the two TV-series. Two research questions have been formulated to examine the possible divide: What differences are there in uses of Anglicisms in Norwegian youth language in urban and rural areas as perceived by the creators of the TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg*? According to a cohort of interviewed Norwegian youth, can the depicted language and use of Anglicisms in the TV-series be seen to accurately reflect a realistic divide?

To provide an answer to these questions, two methods have been employed. First, transcripts of three episodes of both *Skam* and *Lovleg* have been analysed in order to identify all Anglicisms used and further categorise them according to what type of Anglicism they are. The categorisation was performed to detect possible differences and similarities on which types of Anglicisms is used in the two TV-series. The study has a comparative sociolinguistic approach, where the comparing of the material retrieved from the two series is essential. Second, two focus group interviews have been performed: one with rural teenagers, and one with urban teenagers. These interviews provided relevant teenagers' own thoughts on the way Anglicisms is used in the depicted language in the TV-series, as well as on their own use of Anglicisms in their everyday speech. The results of the analyses of the TV-series and the interviews are further discussed in light of relevant literature in order to provide possible explanations for the detected differences.

1.4   Thesis structure

A theoretical background for the thesis is provided in chapter 2. Section 2.1 presents theory on English as a global and influencing language, before possible consequences of English influence, both in general as well as in the Norwegian language, are outlined in section 2.2. Finally, relevant sociolinguistic perspectives on youth language is provided in section 2.3, with a focus on rural and urban youth language in Norway. Earlier research on use of Anglicisms in Norwegian youth language is also found in section 2.3. Chapter 3 presents the methods employed in the study, where an overview of the selected material is given in section 3.1, before the data collection and processing are described in section 3.2. Possible limitations of the study are thereafter addressed in section 3.3. The results of the study are organised into four sections in chapter 4. The three first sections present the data from the analysis of the TV-series where section 4.1 contains the findings from *Skam*, section 4.2 contains the findings from *Lovleg*, and section 4.3 presents the results of the comparative analysis of the two TV-series. Following, the results from the focus group interviews are provided in section 4.4. The results are further discussed in section 5, before chapter 6 provides a summary of the most significant findings of the study, as well as suggestions for further research.

2 Theory

2.1 English as a global language

The English language has a unique status as a global language and world Lingua Franca (Crystal, 2003, p. 4; Jenkins, 2015, p. 52). The spread of English has been explained in relation to Britain's empowered position in important historical events, where Britain is said to have been "in the right place at the right time" in order to lay "the cultural foundation for the eventual growth of English as a world language" (Crystal, 2003, pp. 77-78). The fact that Britain was economically powerful in a time where business and the emergence of media and communication technologies expanded on an international level was also crucial. Finally, the formation of the new superpower United States of America in the twentieth century ensured the position of English in the global market (Crystal, 2003, p. 10). Furthermore, the global status is not exclusively related to the number of countries where English is the native language: the status is achieved as the English language is given "a special place" also within other countries (Crystal, 2003, p. 4). According to Jenkins (2015, p. 11), there are approximately 360 million native speakers of English in the world, but the total number of people speaking English as a second language, foreign language, or Lingua Franca might be over 2 billion.

English is in Europe used as a common language in international communication (Wilton & De Houwer, 2011, p. 1). Primary schools in several European countries offer English as "first foreign language", and the amount of people learning English has increased rapidly during the last 20 years (Wilton & De Houwer, 2011, p. 9). As the English language functions as a Lingua Franca in Europe, it also has a huge impact on many of the European languages. The reasons for an increased impact from English on European languages are multiple and compound, where i.e. Wilton & De Houwer (2011, pp. 1-2) claim that "patterns of lexical borrowings" from English can be traced back to the powerful position Britain and the English language have in Europe, while MacKenzie (2012, p. 27) discusses the various kinds of borrowing in relation to increased proficiency in English.

2.2 English in Norway

2.2.1 The role and status of English in Norway

English has no official status in Norway today, thus Norway belongs in the Expanding Circle of Kachru's model (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 37). Yet, the language still has a "special place" within the community (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 26; Språkrådet, 2018, p. 63). For instance, English is taught already in first grade in Norwegian schools, where the subject is valued due to its importance for communicational purposes, as well as its contribution in developing intercultural competence and cultural understanding (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2019, p. 2). Further, various fields within Norwegian culture are known for being dominated by Anglicisms, e.g. football, fashion and media (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, pp. 85-122). It is reported by Språkrådet [The Norwegian Language Council] that Norwegian media are today competing with international media, where young people are increasingly exposed to English through new streaming channels such as

YouTube and Netflix (2018, p. 33). Sunde (2018) explains how the "ongoing internationalization processes and technological developments have continued the expansion of English in Norway and enabled a more direct contact with the English-speaking world" (p. 72). This special language contact situation results in various types of influences from the English language on the Norwegian language. This situation is however not distinctive for Norway, as several European countries experience a similar increased use of Anglicisms due to increased exposure to and higher proficiency in English (Crystal, 2003, p. 6; Mackenzie, 2012, p. 29; Pulcini, Furiassi & González, 2012, p. 3).

2.2.2 Consequences of English influence

A language contact situation often results in a change in one or both of the languages involved. The relationship between the languages is decisive for how the languages are affected, where the most powerful language is also the most influential one (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 41; Wilton & De Houwer, 2011, p. 1). The results of language contact can vary greatly, where two of the more extreme outcomes are domain loss and language death. Domain loss is a process where a language, for instance English, is increasingly used and preferred to the native language within certain domains (Haberland, 2005, p. 227). Linguistic death, however, involves a complete disappearance of the original language in favour of a more powerful language (Crystal, 2003, p. 20). Yet, these outcomes are as mentioned extreme, and language contact more usually affects languages on a lexical, grammatical, and/or structural level (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 20; Matras, 2009, p. 146). When English is the influencing language in a contact situation, the English influences are called Anglicisms (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 161). Gottlieb (2005) defines Anglicisms as "any individual or systematic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English" (p. 163). Nonetheless, Gottlieb (2005, p. 163) adds that the definition may be adjusted to a study's specific requirements, where Anglicisms for instance can refer exclusively to lexical influences.

Traces of a language contact situation are often found in borrowing (Pulcini et al., 2012, p. 13; Sunde, 2018, p. 73). While it is claimed that "any aspect of a language, however, including its structures, can be borrowed" (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 30), the term borrowing is oftenest associated with the transfer of single words (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, pp. 30-31; Larizgoitia, 2010, p. 15; Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 41). The process where a lexical item is transferred from a source language (SL) to a target language (TL) is labelled differently by scholars: while Pulcini et al. (2012, p. 6) use the term 'direct borrowing', Myers-Scotton (2002, p. 41) labels it 'lexical borrowing'. Pulcini et al. (2012, pp. 6-7) have provided a typology of lexical borrowings consisting of the three categories loan words, false loans, and hybrids. Loan words are words borrowed from the SL into the TL which further can be classified due to whether or not they are adapted to the TL. The adaption can be on a phonological, orthographical, and/or morphological level, as seen e.g. in the Norwegian word 'kult' which originates from the English word 'cool'. A false loan is a word borrowed from the SL into the TL, but the meaning of the word is changed. One example of this is how 'snacksy' in Norwegian refers to someone who is looking good, while the meaning of the original English 'snacks' is something you eat. Finally, a hybrid is a combination of a SL word and a TL word, such as 'trillebag' which is a compound of the Norwegian 'trille' [roll] and the English 'bag'. This typology is used further in this study to categorise lexical borrowings.

Another trace of language contact is calque, also known as loan translation or substitution, which Larizgoitia (2010) explains as "reproducing the meaning of an item in another language through imitation, employing the target language's signifiers or linguistic elements" (p. 15). The same phenomenon is by Pulcini et al. (2012, p. 6) labelled indirect borrowing. Larizgoitia (2010) presents a typology of calques consisting of seven categories, which is further relevant in this study. The first category is semantic calque where the meaning of "the internal form of an external model is imitated" (pp. 17-18). An example is found in the transfer of the metaphorical meaning of 'buy' in the English expression 'to buy an argument' to the equivalent Norwegian verb 'kjøpe'. The second category is lexical calque where the morphology and the meaning of the word is transferred (p. 22), e.g. the Norwegian 'påvirker' translated from English 'influencer'. Lexical-phraseological calque refers to the "translation of polymorphemic (compound or derived) words" (p. 25), as found in the Norwegian polymorphemic word 'nedlasting' translated from English 'downloading'. Further, lexical-syntactic calque refers to the use of lexical items which follow a certain syntactic pattern, and the transfer of this pattern to an equivalent lexical item in the TL (p. 28), as for instance if the English construction consisting of a 'wh-question + to' in 'who to ask' is translated to 'hvem å spørre' in Norwegian. Phrasal calque is the transfer of idiomatic expressions and figurative speech from the SL to the TL (p. 29), where an example is the expression 'ikke min kopp te' which is copied from the English expression 'not my cup of tea'. Next, morphosyntactic calque "involve morphosyntactic issues" (p. 30) within phrases and sentences, which can be found when English plural marking is used on Norwegian nouns as in 'klikks'. Finally, the discourse-level calque includes calques "on the level of connection, cohesion or modalization" (p. 31), e.g. if the use of the discourse marker 'like' in English transfers to the use of the Norwegian equivalent 'liksom'.

A third language contact phenomenon is code-switching (CS). CS is defined as the spontaneous switching of two languages or language varieties within the same conversation (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 4; Matras, 2009, p. 101; Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 44). To distinguish whether an English word should be classified as a lexical borrowing or CS can be difficult, and Gardner-Chloros (2009) writes that "one reason why this question has been raised so often is that single-word code-switches/loans [borrowings] are, in many situations, though not always, the commonest kind of CS" (p. 30). Lexical borrowing and CS are often explained as two phenomena on the same continuum, where the more accepted and established a foreign word is in a language, the more it qualifies as a lexical borrowing rather than a CS (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 32; Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 41). Furthermore, if the foreign word is found in the dictionary of the TL, its status as a lexical borrowing is "undisputed" (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 41). An Anglicism's presence in a dictionary is employed in this study to distinguish between lexical borrowing and CS.

CS can be categorised as either intrasentential or intersentential CS (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 3). Intrasentential CS is the switching of language within a sentence, where the alternation between two languages on a lexical, phrasal, or clausal level appear without violating the grammar of the languages involved. Intersentential CS is the switching of language which happens within "clausal boundaries" (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p.3).

2.2.3 Consequences of English influence on Norwegian
When Norwegian and English first came in contact during the Viking Age, they were influencing each other (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 53). As the English language achieved a more powerful position both economically and culturally, its impact on other

languages, including Norwegian, grew. Anglicisms are today frequently found in Norwegian, and then often as lexical borrowings (Johansson & Graedler, 2005, p. 185; Sunde, 2018, p. 71). A collection of English borrowings was presented already in 1945 with a total amount of 530 borrowings (Stene, 1945). A new collection, *Anglisismeordboka*, was published in 1997 containing more than 4000 borrowings (Johansson & Graedler, 1997). Today, 3,4% of the words in the official Norwegian dictionary are of English origin (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 83). While Anglicisms are generally present both in oral and written Norwegian, there are also certain domains which are more dominated by English than others, where both media and youth language is mentioned (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 101 & p. 122).

Due to the translation to Norwegian, calques "appear to be less frequent and more camouflaged" (Sunde & Kristoffersen, 2018, p. 276). Lexical calques are often created in an attempt to provide a Norwegian equivalent to English borrowings (Sunde & Kristoffersen, 2018, p. 275), and these are the more common type of calque. However, also phrasal calques are recently found to occur more often, where higher proficiency among young bilingual speakers is proposed as a possible reason for the increased acceptability of English phrase structures in Norwegian (Sunde & Kristoffersen, 2018, p. 299).

CS is a common phenomenon in Norway and is often found in spoken language (Johansson & Greadler, 2002, p.251) . As spoken language is rather spontaneous, there is an increased possibility and more room for deviation from prescriptive Norwegian than while writing. Nevertheless, there are written genres where CS is frequently used, such as online communication (Helgesen, 2019; Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 117; Skretting, 2014). This genre is closely related to spoken language and inspired by English pop-culture, where CS as well as slang, acronyms and abbreviations retrieved from English is regularly found. Similar to the use of lexical borrowings, CS is also commonly associated with youth language (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 120 & p. 258).

2.3 Sociolinguistics and youth language

Sociolinguistics is the study of social uses of language, and the field relies on observations of how languages and language varieties are used in their "natural settings" (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 398; Chambers, 2018, p. 1). Sociolinguists have mainly examined real language, where language varieties often are studied in relation to social factors such as age, gender, social class, and geographical belonging (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 398). Youth language was early of interest due to how the rapid changes in the teenagers' language could predict a future language development within the relevant society (Hårstad & Opsahl, 2013, p. 27). Nonetheless, rapid changes can also be temporary and the indicated developmental structures might disappear within short time. Such changes have still led to frustration among adults who fear for the purity of the language, and teenagers are often blamed for having a "bad" language (Hasund, 2006, p. 10).

There is a general association between the use of Anglicisms and belonging to youth culture, where e.g. loan words, slang and abbreviations are retrieved from English (Hasund, 2006, p. 47; Hårstad & Opsahl, 2013, p. 30). Young people's use of Anglicisms is often seen as a strategic play with language and identity, where they confirm each other's common background and strengthen the ties within the group (Hasund, 2006, p. 35; Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 269; Leppänen, 2007, p. 150). These phenomena are

also found in other European countries such as Finland, Sweden and Denmark (Hasund, 2006, p. 47; Leppänen, 2007, p. 151). As stated by Jørgensen (2010), "identities are constructed and negotiated in linguistic discourse", and different environments entail different uses of language (p. 4). The already mentioned connection between teenagers and use of Anglicisms is one example of building identity through language. Another one can be found through geographical belonging and the use of dialects (Hasund, 2006, p. 34). While identities are found to be compound and less dependent of origin in the late modern society, dialects may still be important for a person to convey their identity.

The 'urban' and 'rural' have traditionally been viewed as opposites where the city is characterised by diversity and innovation, and small towns are known for traditions and stability (Hårstad & Opsahl, 2013, p. 19). Nevertheless, there has been a change in the structure of today's society which somehow has made this difference less distinct. The globalisation process, developments in the society, and technological innovations have resulted in a more unified world community with a common culture and a common market (Hårstad & Opsahl, 2013, p. 25). Yet, there still is a certain difference between rural and urban areas in the degree of urbanity. The environment in urban areas is far more complex and diverse than in rural areas due to greater variation in industry, business, cultural offerings, and activities. With a more diverse composition of people as well, there is also a greater linguistic diversity in the cities. In comparative sociolinguistics, two sets of material are investigated in order to find patterns of variability and differences between the relevant language varieties (Tagliamonte, 2018, p. 128). In this study, the comparison is concerned with the use of Anglicisms in youth language in urban and rural areas as depicted in the TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg*.

2.3.1 Norwegian youth language

Research on youth language in Norway began to emerge in the late 1990s (Hårstad & Opsahl, 2012, p. 28). The fact that youth language is influenced by English has become evident, where the English impact is most overtly found at a lexical level through e.g. slang and loan words (Hasund, 2006, p. 53). Norwegian teenagers' use of Anglicisms has also been discussed in media, where for instance the two news articles *Norsklish inntar ungdomsspråket* [Norsklish becomes a part of the youth language] (Langset, 2014) and *Ungdom lager sitt eget språk i sosiale medier* [Teenagers create their own language in social media] (Skretting, 2014) discuss language trends such as abbreviations and acronyms inspired by English and how use of Anglicisms often is associated with use of social media (Langset, 2014; Skretting, 2014).

Surprisingly, material of spoken youth language exposes that Anglicisms are less common than often assumed (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 259). The assumptions of a greater use of Anglicisms can originate from the recognisability of English elements, but also because studies on youth language often are performed in urban environments dominated by Anglo-American influences both culturally and linguistically (Hasund, 2006, p. 53). Although youth language in rural areas also has been studied, there have been other linguistic features in focus such as standardisation and disappearance of specific dialectal features (Clausen, 2014; Eriksen, 2004; Hasund, 2006, p. 110). While urban youth develop a way of speech which is more distant from the standard varieties found in the cities, rural youth develop a more standardised speech where dialectal features are replaced with standardised options (Hasund, 2006, p. 110).

The survey *Ta tempen på språket* [Check the temperature on the language!] was conducted in Norway in 2014 with more than 4500 participants. The aim was to find out which languages and dialects the Norwegian youth knew, and when they used the various languages and dialects (Svendsen et al., 2014, p. 3). The participants consisted of children and youth from 2nd grade to 13th grade from all over the country. The youth's relation to English was also investigated, where the results revealed that 70% of the participants used English in their everyday language, and 66% further stated that they were positive to the use of Anglicisms (p. 16). The use of English was said to mostly occur in conversations with friends and in online chatting. In fact, the most trending words in 2014 were highly influenced by chatting conventions, where a fair share of them were acronyms from English, such as LOL (laugh out loud) and YOLO (you only live once) (p. 14). As many as 66% of the participants were positive to the use of English in their everyday speech. On the contrary, only 8% found English to be 'bad', and feared that it would lead to a loss of dialects and central Norwegian words. While the answers in the survey are divided both due to age and gender, no distinction is made between use of Anglicisms and geographical belonging.

2.3.2 Earlier research on Anglicisms in Norwegian youth language

Several studies on Norwegian youth's use of Anglicisms have been performed, and then often on how Anglicisms are used within specific contexts. For instance, Helgesen (2019) studied Norwegian teenagers' use of Anglicisms in written computer-mediated communication, and Andersen (2007) wrote about use of Anglicisms within the discourse of role-play. Students in upper secondary school discovered how they often replace Norwegian words with English words, and the research project *Norsk holder basically på å dø ut* [Norwegian is basically dying out] investigates amongst other things the relation between English skills and the use of English media (Haugum, Jensen & Grønningsæther, 2018). While Bjørkedal's (2019) thesis investigates how fans have translated slang used by the characters in *Skam* into English, the use of Anglicisms in the TV-series is not really in focus. Consequently, it appears that the presence of Anglicisms in Norwegian-language TV-series is yet to be investigated.

2.3.3 Research gap

Previous research on urban and rural youth language appears to have different linguistic features in focus, where for instance use of Anglicisms in rural areas seems to be neglected. Further, there is little research on Anglicisms in Norwegian TV-series. As mentioned in section 1.3, English-language media are found to be an important source to English influence and language learning (Kuppens, 2010, p. 65). However, the fact that Norwegian media also introduce English words to Norwegian is not discussed. While possible language influences from the relevant TV-series will not be studied per se, the presence of English in youth series is still of great interest for the current thesis as one can chart what kinds of items exert such influence, in rural as well as urban depictions of youth language. It is therefore found to be fruitful to investigate Anglicisms in the depicted language in the Norwegian TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg*, and further discuss why a possible divide between urban and rural youth language is found, and whether similar differences can be observed in real language as well.

3 Method

The aim of this study is to investigate whether there is a difference in the use of Anglicisms in rural and urban youth language as depicted in the TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg*, and whether the depicted use of Anglicisms in the TV-series can reflect a similar divide in youth language in Norway today. It is a comparative sociolinguistic study where two sets of material are compared (Tagliamonte, 2018, p. 128). Both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed. While the quantitative method can reveal patterns in the use of Anglicisms in the depicted language in the TV-series, the qualitative method supplies data which can be used to gauge the perceived degree of realism of the language in the series as found in the quantitative analysis.

3.1 Material

3.1.1 *Skam* and *Lovleg*

The first part of the material is collected from two Norwegian TV-series for teenagers, both published by the Norwegian Broadcasting Company (NRK). There are small differences between the main characters in the two TV-series: they belong to the same sociocultural class, they are the same age, and while both genders are represented in both series, most of the conversations takes place among girls. The greatest difference between the characters seem to be their location where *Skam* takes place in the urban city of Oslo, while *Lovleg* is set in the rural small town Sandane. As location is the most overt difference between the two groups of teenagers, it was found to be fruitful to use the chosen series for investigating a possible divide between youth language in rural and urban areas.

Skam is a youth fiction TV-series written and produced by Julie Andem. The teenage drama is set on an upper secondary school in Oslo, where the characters experience everyday teenage issues related to love, friendship, mental health, and shame. The format of the series was innovative with the publishing of short clips in 'real-time' and screenshots of fictious messages and Instagram-posts on the website skam.nrkp3.no (Duggan & Dahl, 2019, p. 8; Magnus, 2016, p. 34). The clips were collected and presented both on TV and on NRK's streaming channel in coherent episodes of 30 minutes every Friday.

Lovleg is another youth fiction TV-series written by Kjersti Wøien Håland and produced by Hege Hauff Hvattum. The series was presented in the same format as *Skam* with short clips, screenshots of messages, Instagram-posts and snapchats uploaded on the website Lovleg.p3.no. The main character Gunnhild moved from her hometown to attend upper secondary school, as many teenagers in rural areas have to do. Gunnhild moved to Sandane, a small town in western Norway with less than 3000 inhabitants, where she lives with three other teenagers in a dorm. The everyday life of the characters is filled with love, friendship, loneliness, and the struggle of how to fit in.

3.1.2 Focus group interviews

When collecting data from media, it is important to consider the issue that one is observing performed rather than real language (Queen, 2018, p. 219). Both *Skam* and *Lovleg* are fictional TV-series based on a script, and the authenticity of the depicted language must be evaluated when the aim is to be able to draw conclusions about the realism of the linguistic choices made. While sociolinguistics traditionally is known for investigating real language (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 398), there has also been a growing number of studies on fictional language in media (Stamou, 2018, p. 80). Research on fictional language has among other things attempted to find "inconsistencies in comparison with non-mediated language" (Stamou, 2018, p. 80), a practice referred to as "reflection fallacy".

Skam attempts to present a realistic picture of Norwegian youth and their everyday lives (Magnus, 2016, p. 33). The real-time clips and the characters' presence on Instagram are among the methods used to blur the lines between fiction and reality (Duggan & Dahl, 2018, p. 8; Faldalen, 2016; Magnus, 2016, p. 34). While Andem wrote the script according to her perception of Norwegian youth language, the young actors provided input and edited the language in terms of how they perceived the youth language to be. Resultantly, the language in *Skam* is claimed to be rather close to authentic youth language (Aune, Berglund, Aardal & Elnan, 2016; Nordal, 2017). *Lovleg* has also received attention for the language, and the series was given an award for its use of Norwegian *Nynorsk* in 2019 (Hjetland & Grov, 2018; Noregs Mållag, 2019). Nonetheless, the scriptwriter Kjersti Wøien Håland emphasises that there have been no attempts on forcing *Nynorsk* on people, and she further adds that the depicted language attempts to create an authentic representation of the way teenagers speak in Sandane, where use of dialects is found in both oral and written communication (Hjetland & Grov, 2018).

Based on the focus on realistic representation of the youth, it is reasonable to believe that the language in the chosen TV-series is rather close to youth language in Norway today. However, this study investigates urban and rural youth language as presented in *Skam* and *Lovleg*, and it is important to emphasise that the fictional language in the TV-series is not claimed to be identical with non-fictional dialogue, and any detected difference can only be indicative for a similar divide in real language. To bring more insights on whether a similar divide might be present in real language as well, and then also strengthen or weaken the claims of near realism in the depicted language, relevant teenagers' perspectives on the language depicted in the TV-series and how representative it can be in relation to how they perceive their own language to be are gathered. Two focus group interviews have been conducted, and both focus groups consist of five teenagers attending upper secondary school. The first group represents youth from a rural area, where the informants are from two small towns: Norddal and Eidsdal. The second group consists of youth from an urban area: the city Trondheim.

3.2   Data collection

3.2.1 Collecting and analysing data from *Skam* and *Lovleg*

In the process of converting the language in the TV-series into data, three coherent episodes of each TV-series were transcribed orthographically (Queen, 2018, p. 213). To ensure equal length of the two transcripts, which is of importance to be able to compare the share of Anglicisms in the total wordcount, both transcripts were limited to 4000 words.

Resultantly, transcripts from two episodes of *Skam* and three episodes of *Lovleg* were used. The first episodes from season two of both series were chosen as the topics and contexts around the language are roughly the same in these episodes: namely the attraction to someone. The first part of the analysis was concerned with identifying and categorising the Anglicisms found in the transcripts. The categorisation process revealed methodological issues related to the definitions of the various categories. As stated by Graedler (2012) "quantitative studies should operate with unambiguous criteria for identifying the unit of investigation" (p. 96). Before the categorisation could be performed, a clarification of the relevant definitions and categories was necessary.

3.2.1.1 Defining the categories

The first clarification dealt with the definition of Anglicisms. While Gottlieb's (2005, p. 163) definition provided in section 2.2.2 states that all traces of influence from English are Anglicisms, the scope of this study precludes the possibility of including all traces on grammatical, structural, and lexical levels. Consequently, I have chosen to focus on English on a lexical level, and Anglicisms will therefore refer to use of English on a lexical level in this study.

Distinct definitions for the various types of Anglicisms were necessary to perform the further categorisation. As mentioned in section 2.2.2, one and the same phenomenon often has several labels. Whereas direct borrowing and lexical borrowing refer to one type of linguistic transfer, indirect borrowing and calque refer to another. To avoid a possible confusion around the term borrowing in direct and indirect borrowing, this study will instead mix the terminologies lexical borrowing and calque used by the researchers Myers-Scotton (2002) and Larizgoitia (2010).

The analysis also required a clear distinction between lexical borrowing and single-word CS. Two solutions were evaluated, where the first solution identified all single word/compound Anglicisms as lexical borrowings. This solution was not optimal, as in addition to longer phrases and sentences in English, certain single words can also be claimed to belong in the category of CS due to their unexpected occurrence in the target language (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 31; Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 41). As a result, the second and chosen solution was based on the theory of a continuum mentioned in section 2.2.2, where foreign words are regarded as CS before they gradually become established lexical borrowings in a language (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 41). To evaluate an Anglicism's establishment in the Norwegian language, a Norwegian dictionary was employed where the distinguishing between lexical borrowing and CS depended on dictionary presence. Initially, only one dictionary was consulted: *Bokmålsordboka* [*Bokmål* Dictionary][1]. This dictionary corresponds with standard written Norwegian, and the inclusion of foreign words often occurs after a process of providing Norwegian equivalents or creating a Norwegian version of the word through adaption to relevant linguistic features (Språkrådet, 2015, pp. 15-16). Thus, many English words which are frequently used in Norwegian spoken language might be excluded as they are not regarded as standard Norwegian.

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[1] *Bokmålsordboka* is developed by the University in Bergen and the Norwegian Language Council and can be reached at https://ordbok.uib.no. This dictionary is not given a set English name and is therefore referred to as *Bokmålsordboka*.

Sociolinguistic research, thus also this study, is interested in descriptive language. Hence, a second dictionary which attempts to reflect descriptive Norwegian was consulted as well: *Det Norske Akademis Ordbok* [Norwegian Academy Dictionary][2]. This solution made it possible to apply a formal impartial method with unambiguous criteria in the categorisation process, but also to include high-frequency Anglicisms in the category of lexical borrowings. The definitions of the overarching categories are provided below in Table 1.

Table 1: Overarching categories of Anglicisms

Category	Definitions
Lexical borrowing	Words borrowed from English to Norwegian which are present in either of the Norwegian dictionaries *Bokmålsordboka* or *Norwegian Academy Dictionary*.
Calque	Semantic meanings and linguistic forms which have been transferred from English and translated into Norwegian.
Code-switching	The switching of English and Norwegian words, expressions and sentences. An English word is regarded as a code-switching when it is neither found in *Bokmålsordboka* nor the *Norwegian Academy Dictionary*.

Each category was further subcategorised to examine possible differences in their internal patterns. Beginning with the group of lexical borrowings in Table 2 below, the categorisation has been borrowed from Pulcini et al.'s (2012) typology presented in section 2.2.2, where lexical borrowings are subcategorised as loan words, false loans, or hybrids. However, as no false loans were found in the material, this category is not further included.

Table 2: Subcategories of lexical borrowing

Loan words	Words borrowed from English into Norwegian.
Hybrids	A compound consisting of a Norwegian word and an English word.

The loan words are further assorted in Table 3 below based on whether they are adapted to the Norwegian language. The adaption is present on a phonological and/or a morphological level (Pulcini et al., 2012, pp. 6-7). While adaption also can be revealed through the orthography of a word, this is not a relevant criterion in this analysis as the data is retrieved from spoken language. A non-adapted loan appears with no sign of adaption to the Norwegian language. This includes both words which do not appear with adaption in the given texts (e.g. date) and words which are likely to be non-adaptable (e.g. all right).

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[2] *Det Norske Akademis Ordbok* is developed by the Cultural Department in Norway in cooperation with several Norwegian foundations and can be reached at https://naob.no. As this dictionary has a set English name, it is referred to as the *Norwegian Academy Dictionary*.

Table 3: Adaption of loan words

Adapted	Loan words which are adapted to Norwegian on a phonological and/or morphological level.
Non-adapted	Loan words which in the given text are non-adapted and words which are non-adaptable.

As presented in section 2.2.2, Larizgoitia's (2010) typology of calques consists of seven various types. Only three of these are found in the material, and the definitions of relevant types lexical, lexical phraseological, and phrasal calque are provided below in Table 4.

Table 4: Subcategories of calques

Lexical	Words directly translated from English.
Lexical phraseological	Polymorphemic words directly translated from English.
Phrasal	Expressions from English translated into Norwegian.

The category of CS has two subcategories: intrasentential CS and intersentential CS. The definitions by Bullock & Toribio (2009, p. 2) presented in section 2.2.2 are provided in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Subcategories of code-switching

Intrasentential	Code-switching which appear within a sentence, which can consist of one or more words in English.
Intersentential	Code-switching which appear through full sentences in English in a conversation.

The final set of categories used in the analysis is based on which semantic field the majority of the Anglicisms belong in due to their meaning and the context in which they appear. The topic of a conversation can be decisive for the use of Anglicisms, as certain domains are more dominated by English than others (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 85). This categorisation is therefore useful in order to reveal whether there are topics in the series which generate a greater use of English, and if there are different dominating semantic fields in *Skam* and *Lovleg*. The analysis revealed four semantic fields dominated by Anglicisms, and these are listed below in Table 6 with the relevant criteria for inclusion.

Table 6: Semantic fields of the Anglicisms

Sex	The semantic meaning of the Anglicism or the context of its use is related to sex.
Identity	Anglicisms used by the characters to refer to the identity of themselves or others.
Love and friendship	Anglicisms related to love and friendship.
Social media	Anglicisms related to social media.

3.2.1.2 Presentation of the data

The number of Anglicisms is first calculated and presented both as total number of the 4000 words transcribed, and as percental share of the total wordcount. Next, the numbers within each of the categories and the subcategories are presented in tables, where also the frequency of each Anglicism is included. The findings from the quantitative analysis of the transcripts are then compared to reveal possible differences and similarities between the type of Anglicisms used in *Skam* and *Lovleg*. The results are presented and summarised in simple descriptive statistics to provide an overview of the data and to reveal trends and patterns in the material, where graphs are used to compare the two series (Laerd Statistics, 2018). The quantitative aspect is of importance in the comparison of the two transcripts as the presented numbers make it possible to investigate the relationship between the two sets of material (Tagliamonte, 2007, p. 205).

3.2.2 The focus group interviews

The advantages of performing interviews in focus groups are multiple. The use of focus groups "provide a way of collecting data relatively quickly from a large number of research participants" (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 180). Furthermore, being interviewed in a group can make the informants feel more comfortable during the interview, and it can also be an advantage that the informants in the current study already knew each other. As the situation allows the informants to discuss freely about the topic, unexpected elaborations and 'golden moments' which the researcher could not have predicted in advance can arise. In order to open up for such discussion and elaborations, I as an interviewer had to be aware of my role in the interview. In focus group interviews, the interviewer is often referred to as a mediator which should facilitate for and encourage the informants to speak freely about the topic, as well as asking relevant questions (Wilkinson, 2004, pp. 177-178). In order to ensure relevant topics of discussion, an interview-guide was formulated in advance (Tjora, 2012, p. 129). Additionally, the informants were presented to clips from both TV-series to be able to discuss the depicted youth language.

To ascertain a minimal loss of information, the interviews were recorded (Tjora, 2012, p. 137; Wilkinson, 2004, p. 179). Recording the interviews also allowed me as an interviewer to centre my attention on the informants and to follow up their replies properly. It is important to be aware of the ethical issues around the use of recording. To ensure that the data collection was arranged in line with ethical directions, the study was registered to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). Despite the fact that this study only presents anonymised data, the project must still be reported due to the processing of personal data, which in this case is the recording of people's voice (NSD, 2019). With NSD's approval of the consent schema (appendix 1), the interview guide (appendix 2) and the project in general, the interviews could be completed properly. Each interview lasted approximately 25 minutes and was thereafter orthographically transcribed and analysed. In order to ensure the anonymity of the informants, the teenagers are given fictional names which are listed below. To separate the statements from the two groups, the informants from Trondheim have names starting with the letter T, while the rural informants from Norddal and Eidsdal have names starting with N.

Rural informants: Nelly (17), Nina (18), Nadia (16), Noah (16), and Nils (17)

Urban informants: Turid (17), Trine (17), Tina (18), Tor (18), and Truls (17)

A content analysis was used in order to provide a 'systematic and comprehensive' overview of the data from the interviews (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 182). The analysis was based on the informants' utterances and recurrent topics of discussion in the two interviews, as well as the topics' relation to data from the quantitative analysis. Four different categories were compiled: (1) Reflections on the language presented in *Skam* and *Lovleg,* (2) Reflections on the informants' own use of English, (3) Assumptions regarding the opposite group's use of English, and (4) Views on possible reasons for the spread of English.

3.3   Limitations of the method

The study is mainly limited through the restricted set of data applied and the small nature of the thesis. The material is collected from two TV-series, where only two locations are represented. Thus, the results cannot be used to generalise across fictional dialogue, and the differences found between the youth language in *Skam* and *Lovleg* cannot be claimed to represent youth language in other Norwegian TV-series. The same applies to the use of only two focus groups, where the answers from the informants cannot be claimed to represent all urban or rural youth's reflections. The current study is rather a modest contribution to the growing body of research on youth language in Norway and language in media, as well as an encouragement to further investigation of possible differences between rural and urban youth language.

In order to ensure the reliability of the study, I have endeavoured to explain the employed methods for the study in detail (Tjora, 2012, p. 203). Hence, the discussion and explanation of the categorisation applied in the processing of the data are included, as well as a detailed description of the implementation of focus group interviews. In order to strengthen the reliability, possible sources of error should be mentioned (Tjora, 2012, p. 205). As the transcriptions and the analysis of both the TV-series and the interviews are performed by a human, there is a possibility of human influences on the results. My interpretation can unconsciously affect the categorisation of the Anglicisms and the analysis of the interviews. To minimise the possible intervention of subjective perceptions, the use of distinct criteria in the analysis process was important. Lastly, it should be mentioned that my personal connection to rural areas could also have an impact on the study (Tjora, 2012, p. 204). While I have aimed at objectivity, my origin may affect my stand in relation to the material.

4 Results

Starting with *Skam* in section 4.1, the overall number of Anglicisms in the transcript as well as within each category and subcategory are presented. Section 4.2 follows the same pattern in the presentation of the data from *Lovleg,* before the results from *Skam* and *Lovleg* are compared in section 4.3. Finally, the results from the analysis of the focus group interviews are presented in 4.4.

4.1 Anglicisms in *Skam*

A total of 117 Anglicisms were found in the 4000-word long transcript of *Skam,* thus Anglicisms constitute 2.95 % of the total wordcount. Each Anglicism has been categorised as lexical borrowing, calque, or CS. As presented in Table 7, the category of lexical borrowing is the largest group with 93 occurrences. There are further 3 calques and 21 CS.

Table 7: Categories of Anglicisms in *Skam*

Category	Number
Lexical borrowing	93
Calque	3
Code-switching	21

Among the lexical borrowings, there are a total of 87 loan words and 6 hybrids as shown in Table 8 below. The frequency of each borrowing is provided in parenthesis.

Table 8: Subcategories of lexical borrowings in *Skam*

Category	Number	Borrowings with frequency
Loan word	Tokens[3]: 87 Types: 34	Okei (17), sex(en) (10), keen(e) (6), hooke (9), hooking (3), screenshot (3), date (3), shit (2), image (2), stress (2), sexistiske (2), wow (2), fuckboy (2), gay (2), sorry (2), telefonen (2), research, please, logo, digg, nice, chatter, droppe, matchet, sjekk, kondom, flashback, kult, gaydaren, random, bullshit, hot, all right, snap.
Hybrid	Tokens:6 Types: 6	Sexdelen, teddyjakke, penetratorsgutta, dritkult, dritobsessed, basketleir

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[3] The number of types refers to the different types of Anglicisms found, while the number of tokens presents the total amount of loan words where the frequency of each type is included (Wetzel, 2018).

In Table 9, each loan word is subcategorised based on their adaption to Norwegian. Among the total of 34 loan words, 16 are adapted and 18 are non-adapted. The non-adapted loan words include both loans which can appear with adaption in other contexts but are not adapted in the given text (e.g. date - daten) and loans which are non-adaptable (e.g. shit).

Table 9: Adaption of loan words in *Skam*

Adaption	Number	Loan words
Adapted	16	Sexen, keene, hooke, hooking, stress, sexistiske, sorry, telefonen, logo, chatter, droppe, matchet, sjekk, kondom, kult, gaydaren
Non-adapted	18	Okei, screenshot, date, shit, image, wow, fuckboy, gay, research, please, digg, nice, flashback, random, bullshit, hot, all right, snap

Among the 3 calques found in *Skam,* 1 is phrasal and 2 are lexical phraseological as shown in Table 10. The phrasal 'holder det ekte' probably originates from the English expression 'keeping it real'. The lexical phraseological 'endte opp' is likely to be translated from English 'ended up', and similarly 'henge med' seems to originate from the English 'hang (out) with'.

Table 10: Subcategories of calques in *Skam*

	Number	Calque	Probable origin
Phrasal	1	Holder det ekte	Keeping it real
Lexical phraseological	2	Endte opp Henge med	Ended up Hang (out) with

Within the group of CS, there are 16 occurrences of intrasentential CS and only 5 occurrences of intersentential CS as presented in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Subcategories of CS in *Skam*

Type of CS	Number	Code-switches
Intrasentential	16	Penetratorvors (3), strong and independent (3), blow job (2), guy on guy BJ-action, BJ-action, tits, dickpicks, pussy, last offer, slutty, amazing
Intersentential	5	Go for it, you know I love you, another trick, its Britney bitch, that's what friends are for

The intrasentential CS is found both as single-word and phrasal switching. The single-word items here are classified as intrasentential CS rather than lexical borrowings due to the lack of dictionary presence. In (1) below, Eva (E) uses the English adjective 'amazing' to describe her last night with her ex-boyfriend (Andem, 2016a, 18:36-18:43). As 'amazing' is neither found in *Bokmålsordboka* nor in the *Norwegian Academy Dictionary*, it is classified as intrasentential CS. A phrasal intrasentential CS is seen in (2) where Nora (N) tells about a situation in her dorm (Andem, 2016a, 7:23-7:29):

(1)   E: Fy faen, det er den beste sexen jeg noensinne har hatt, det var liksom helt **amazing**.
[It is the best sex I have ever had, it was like totally **amazing**.]

(2)   N: Jeg hadde ikke sjans til å spise hjemme det var for mye **guy on guy BJ-action**.
[I couldn't eat at home it was too much **guy on guy BJ-action**.]

Intersentential CS is also found on various occasions. In (3) it is illustrated how Nora (N) code-switches during a discussion about 'russetida'[4] (Andem, 2016a, 3:29-3:35). In (4), Vilde's (V) contribution in a conversation with Nora (N) and the other girls consists of an intersentential CS (Andem, 2016b, 7:40-7:47):

(3)   N: OK, herregud dritkult. **Go for it.** Men da æ'kke jeg med på bussen lengre.
[OK, awesome. **Go for it**. But then I am not on the bus anymore.]

(4)   N: Jeg kan ikke, liksom.
[I can't, like.]
        V: **That's what friends are for!**
[That's what friends are for!]
        N: Men jeg kan ikke, sorry.
[But I can't, sorry.]

Lastly, the Anglicisms are categorised based on their belonging to one of the dominant semantic fields in Table 12. The frequency of a word within the specific field is also included in parenthesis. Words related to sex create the largest group with 38 Anglicisms. Further, there are 13 Anglicisms related to identity, 5 within the field of love and friendship, and 5 belong to the field of social media.

Table 12: Semantic fields of the Anglicisms in *Skam*

Field	Number	Anglicisms
Sex	38	Sex (10), hooke (9), hooking (3), keen (2), blow job (2), gay (2), penetrator-gutta, guy on guy BJ-action, BJ-action, tits, dickpicks, amazing, hot, slutty, pussy, kondom
Identity	13	Strong and independent (3), image (2), gay (2), fuckboy (2), penetrators-gutta, holder det ekte, slutty, dritobsessed
Love and friendship	5	Keen, date, that's what friends are for, you know I love you, henge
Social media	5	Chatter, screenshot, another trick, matchet, snap

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[4] Russetida is a time where graduate students on upper secondary school celebrate the end of 13 years in school.

4.2 Anglicisms in *Lovleg*

The overall number of Anglicisms in *Lovleg* is 76 of the total 4000 words. Thus, the number of Anglicisms makes up 1.9% of the total wordcount. As presented in Table 13, 61 of the Anglicisms in *Lovleg* are lexical borrowings, 4 are calques, and 11 are CS.

Table 13: Categories of Anglicisms in *Lovleg*

Category	Number
Lexical borrowing	61
Calque	4
Code-switching	11

The lexical borrowings are subcategorised below in Table 14, where there are 58 loan words and 3 hybrids.

Table 14: Subcategories of lexical borrowings in *Lovleg*

Category	Number	Borrowings with frequency
Loan word	Tokens: 58 Types: 23	Okei (16), sorry (6), kul(t) (4), døll (3), hooka (3), labels (3), fuck (2), date (2), yes (2), kjipt (2), passordet (2), sex (2), stress, fuckings, fucka, bro, business, backa, please, crazy, wow, teit, zipliner
Hybrid	Tokens: 3 Types: 1	Frika ut (3)

The group of loan words consists of both adapted and non-adapted loans as shown below in Table 15, where 12 loan words are adapted, and 11 loan words are non-adapted or non-adaptable.

Table 15: Adaption of the loan words in *Lovleg*

Naturalisation	Number	Loan words
Adapted	12	Sorry, kul/kult, døll, hooka, kjipt, passordet, stress, fuckings, fucka, backa, teit, zipliner
Non-adapted	11	Okei, labels, fuck, date, yes, sex, bro, business, please, crazy, wow

Among the four calques presented below in Table 16, 2 are lexical phraseological and 2 are lexical. The lexical phraseological calque 'ende opp med' is probably translated from the English expression 'end up with'. The two lexical calques 'henge' and the lexical phraseological 'henge med' are probably derived from one of the varieties of the English expression 'hang with', 'hang out with' or simply 'hang'.

Table 16: Subcategories of calques in _Lovleg_

	Number	Calque	Probable origin
Lexical phraseological	2	Ende opp med Henge med	End up with Hang (out) with
Lexical	2	Henge (2)	Hang

There are both intrasentential and intersentential CS in _Lovleg,_ where the group of intrasentential CS consists of 5 CS, while the group of intersentential CS is slightly larger with a number of 6 occurrences as seen in Table 17 below.

Table 17: Subcategories of CS in _Lovleg_

Type of CS	Number	Code-switches
Intrasentential	5	Horny, oh my god, you know, casually casually, weird
Intersentential	6	Horny horny horny, you have a guest, yes thank you, yes I got you, trust me I know, horny.

The group of intrasentential CS consists of both single-word and phrasal CS. A phrasal intrasentential CS is presented in (5) where Luna (L) tries to convince Gunnhild (G) to stay inside (Håland, 2019c, 06:00-06:06). A single-word CS is shown in (6) when Gunnhild (G) rejects her inconvenient nickname (Håland, 2019c, 12:19). Example (6) also shows an intersentential CS when a boy (X) shouts 'horny' to get in touch with Gunnhild, which despite consisting of only one word is intersentential as the switching does not appear within a sentence, but within its own clausal boundaries:

(5)   L: Eller, så kan vi berre vere her i stede for å kle på seg **you know.**
                  [Or, we can just stay here instead of getting dressed **you know.**]

(6)   X: **Horny!**
          G: Ikkje kall meg **horny**.
                  [Don't call me **horny.**]

Example (7) shows two instances of intersentential CS when Billie (B) offers Luna (L) a beer (Håland, 2019c, 12:11-12:16):

(7)   B: Skal du ha ein øl?
                  [Do you want a beer?]
          L: **Yes, thank you.**
          B: **Yes, I got you!**

In the semantic categorisation of the Anglicisms in Table 18, the largest group with 9 associated Anglicisms is the field of identity. Further, 7 Anglicisms belong to the field of love and friendship, 6 are related to sex, but none are found within the field of social media.

Table 18: Semantic fields of the Anglicisms in *Lovleg*

Field	Number	Anglicisms
Sex	6	Sex (2), hooka (3), stress
Identity	9	Døll (3), horny (2), crazy, kul, teite, bro
Love and friendship	7	Henge (med) (3), date (2), yes I got you, backa
Social media	0	

4.3 Comparison

The overall number of Anglicisms as well as the number within each category and subcategory are compared to investigate differences and similarities in the use of Anglicisms in the depicted youth language in *Skam* and *Lovleg*.

4.3.1 Number of Anglicisms

The most distinct difference between *Skam* and *Lovleg* is found in the overall number of Anglicisms: there are a distinctively more Anglicisms present in *Skam* as illustrated in Figure 1. Based on the observations presented in section 1.1 and 1.2 in the introduction, the greater use of Anglicisms in *Skam* was somehow expected.
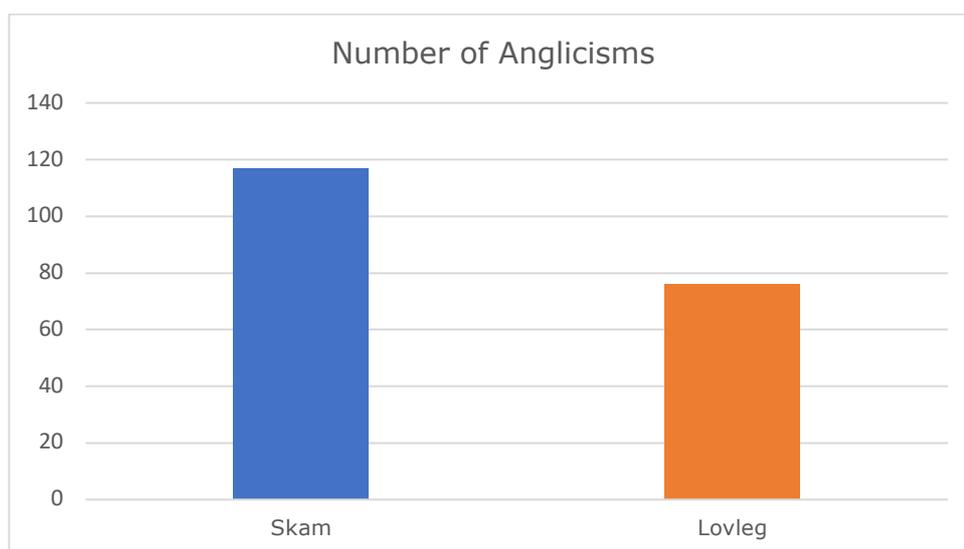
Figure 1: Number of Anglicisms in *Skam* and *Lovleg*

4.3.2 Categories and subcategories

As seen in Figure 2 below, there are both overt differences as well as similarities between the overarching categories of the Anglicisms. The similarities are found in the relation between the categories. In both *Skam* and *Lovleg*, the group of lexical borrowings is the largest, followed by the group of CS, and the smallest category are the calques. The most apparent differences are found in the number of lexical borrowings and CS. Interestingly, there is only a small difference in the number of calques.
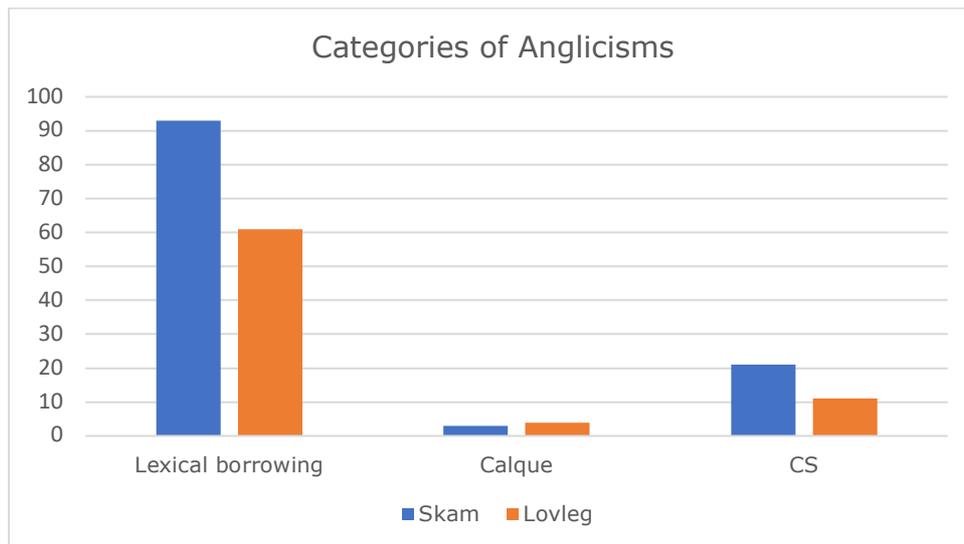
Figure 2: Categories of Anglicisms

The internal patterns of each category have been examined in order to reveal possible variations in the types of Anglicisms present in the depicted languages. Starting with the group of lexical borrowings, the majority are loan words both in *Skam* and *Lovleg,* and the relation between loan words and hybrids in the two TV-series is illustrated in Figure 3.
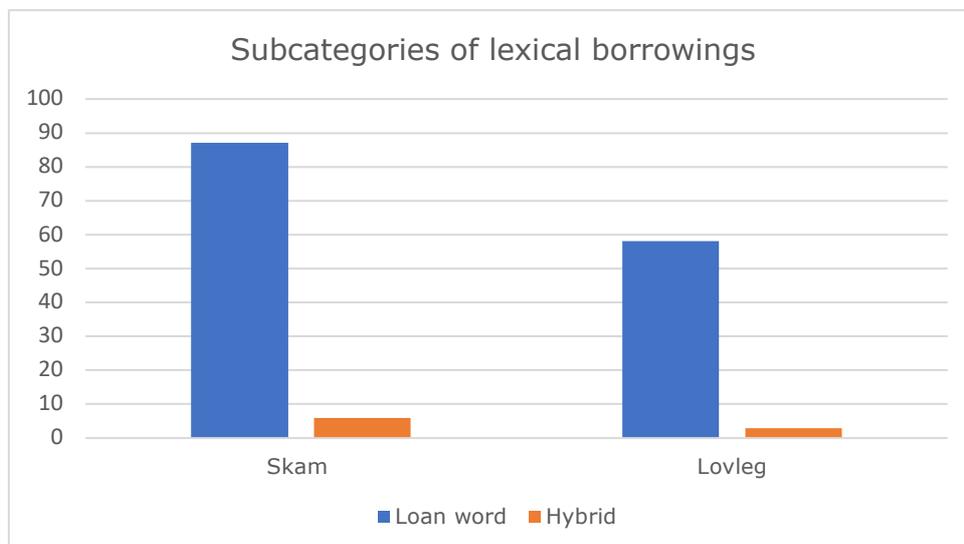
Figure 3: Subcategories of lexical borrowings

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The greater part of the loan words in *Skam* is non-adapted as illustrated below in Figure 4. In *Lovleg*, the group of adapted loan words is the largest. Even though it was expected that the number of both adapted and non-adapted loan words would be higher in *Skam*, it was not foreseen that the group of non-adapted loans would be the largest of the two.

Adaption of loan words

	Adapted	Non-adapted
Skam	16	18
Lovleg	12	11
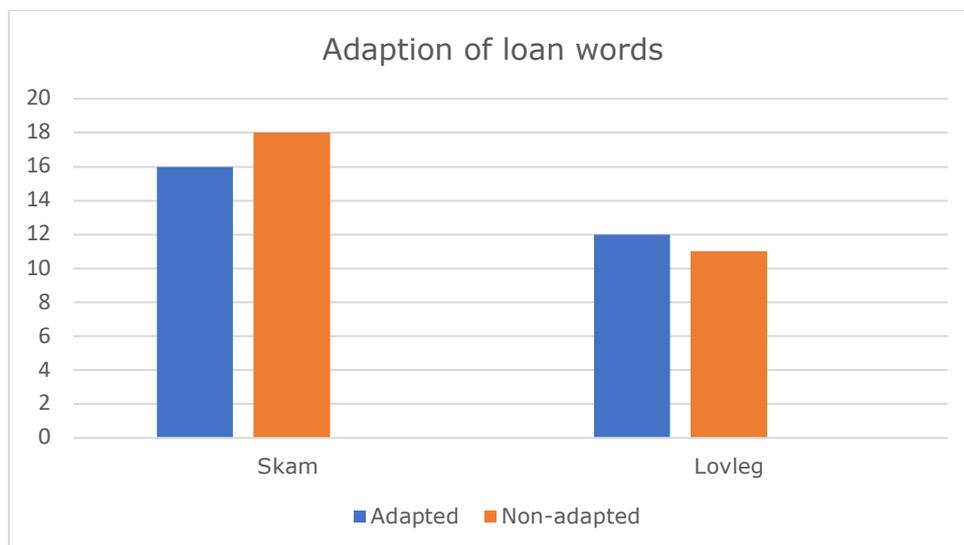
Figure 4: Adaption of loan words

The group of calques stands out in relation to the other categories with a distinctively lower number of occurrences. As presented in Figure 5, there are only 3 calques in *Skam* and 4 in *Lovleg*. Due to the low numbers, the results cannot be seen as reliable, and it is difficult to draw conclusions based on the few instances in the material.

Subcategories of calques

	Lexical	Lexical phrasal	Phrasal	Semantic
Skam		1	1	1
Lovleg	2	2		
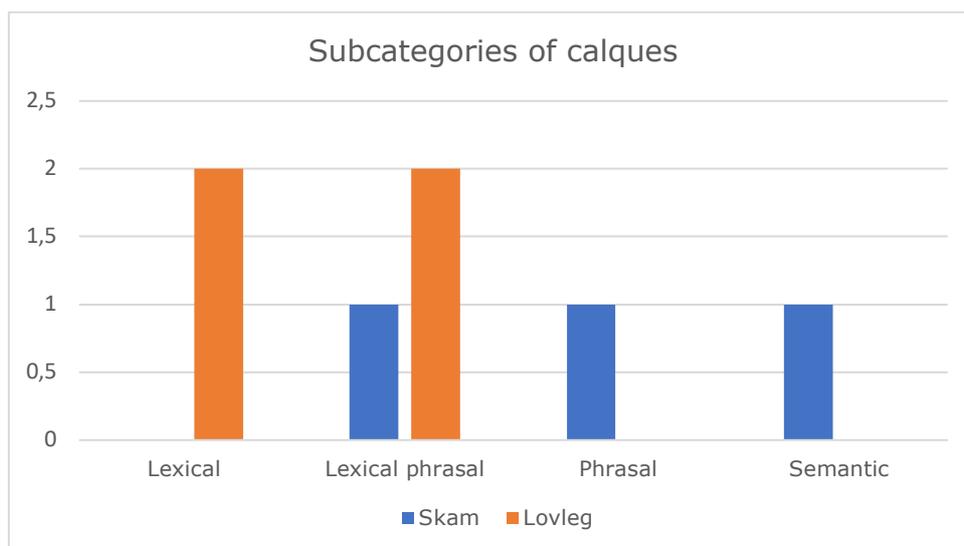
Figure 5: Subcategories of calques

In addition to the number of Anglicisms, a significant difference between the series is found within the CS category. As shown below in Figure 6, there are considerably more intrasentential CS in *Skam.* The number of intersentential CS does however not correspondingly differ, as there is one more intersentential CS in *Lovleg* than in *Skam.*
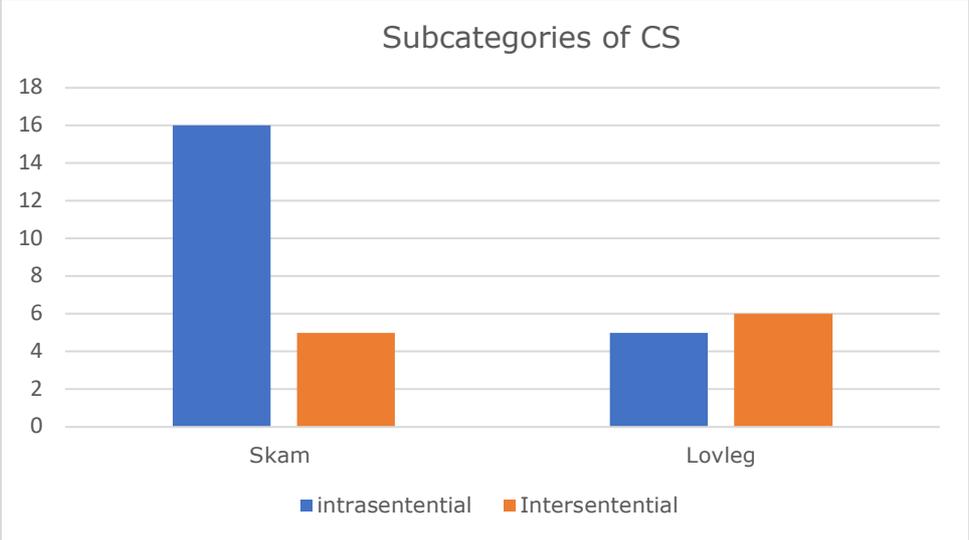
Figure 6: Subcategories of CS

Finally, the semantic categorisation of the Anglicisms is also compared, where major differences between *Skam* and *Lovleg* are found within the fields of sex and social media as seen in Figure 7. By contrast, the categories of friendship and identity are more similar to each other, yet with an unexpected higher number of Anglicisms related to friendship in *Lovleg* than in *Skam*.
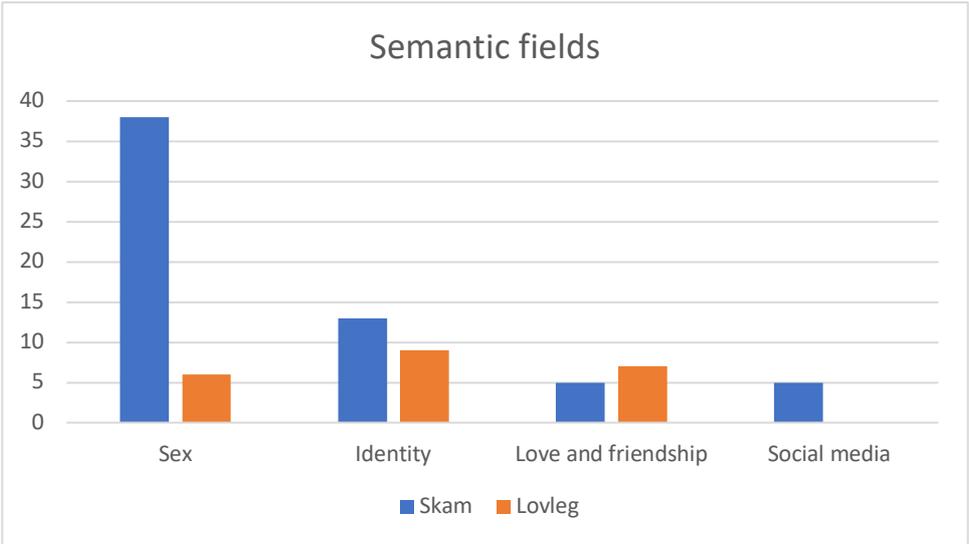
Figure 7: Semantic fields

The semantic field which contains most Anglicisms in total is sex. Nonetheless, Anglicisms within the same semantic field are not necessarily used similarly in *Skam* and *Lovleg*. While there are many expressions which could be more closely examined, there is not enough space to go into detail on each Anglicism due to the scope of this thesis. Therefore, I choose to present two interesting examples where an investigation of the chosen loan words reveals significant differences in how they appear in *Skam* and *Lovleg.* The first example is the loan word 'keen', which is used either to describe the attraction to someone or the desire to do something. In *Skam*, 'keen' is used in both ways as seen in (8) where Vilde (V) talks about her crush (Andem, 2016a, 14:19-14:25), and in (9) where Eskild (Es) asks whether the girls want to dance (Andem, 2016a, 22:20-22:23):

(8)　　V:　　Det er'ke jeg som har sagt at han er **keen** på meg, det var det Eva som sa.
　　　　　　　[It wasn't me who said that he is **keen** on me, it was Eva who said that.]

(9)　　Es:　　Er dere **keene** på å danse?
　　　　　　　[Are you **keen** on dancing?]

The loan word is in (9) adapted with Norwegian inflection (i.e. keen<u>e</u>). While 'keen' occurs 5 times in *Skam,* the word is not present in the data from *Lovleg.* Here, the Norwegian equivalents are used in similar conversations, where 'likar' in (10) is used by Gunnhild to explain her attraction to Luna (Håland, 2019a, 8:36-8:40), and ´lyst til' in (11) is used when Gunnhild asks if Luna wants to kiss her (Håland, 2019c, 14:06):

(10)　　G:　　Eg trur kanskje eg **likar** Luna.
　　　　　　　[I think I maybe **like** Luna.]

(11)　　G:　　Har du ikkje **lyst til** å kysse meg?
　　　　　　　[Don't you **want to** kiss me?]

Next, the loan word 'hooke' is also examined in terms of frequency and its relation to the use of the Norwegian equivalent 'kline'. While 'hooke' is mentioned 9 times in *Skam,* it is only mentioned 3 times in *Lovleg*. In (12), Eva (E) and Noora (N) discuss how Eva and her ex-boyfriend talk about who they 'hook' with (Andem, 2016b, 2:34-2:51):

(12)　　N:　　Nei, det bare virker som at det er liksom det praten går i med dere da, at dere bare snakker om hvem han **hooker** med
　　　　　　　[It just seems like that is what you talk about, that you only talk about who he **hooks** with.]
　　　　　E:　　Det er jo ikke det eneste vi snakker om, vi snakker jo også om hvem jeg **hooker** med og sånt.
　　　　　　　[That's not the only thing we talk about, we also talk about who I **hook** with and such.]

Here, 'hooke' is used rather than the Norwegian equivalent, and it is adapted with a Norwegian inflection of the verb (i.e. hook<u>er</u>). 'Hooke' appears as a high-frequent and well-established word in the teenagers' vocabulary and, in difference from 'keen', it is present in both TV-series. Nonetheless, the frequency is lower in *Lovleg,* where the Norwegian equivalent 'kline' is more often used. As opposed to *Skam*, conversations in *Lovleg* also appear with an alternation between the two as shown in (13) where Sara (S) and Gunnhild (G) discuss Gunnhild's love life (Håland, 2019a, 9:12-9:22):

(13) S: Så, dokke har **hooka** på fest, men når dokke er edru, så er det ...
          [So, you have **hooked** at parties, but when you are sober, it is …]
      G: Ho er høfleg og grei og sånn, men ho er på ein måte litt fråverande.
          [She is like polite and nice, but she is kind of distant.]
      S: Dokke **klinar** jo typ heile tida.
          [You **hook** like all the time.]

Resultantly, differences are not only detected in and between the various categories, as one can also find dissimilarities in the distribution of each specific Anglicism.

4.4   The focus group interviews

As mentioned in section 3.2.2, the focus group interviews are conducted to provide relevant youth's perspectives on the language in the two TV-series, and to indicate whether the differences in the fictional language could reflect a similar divide in real life. The informants' answers and discussions are divided into four topics: reflections on the language presented in *Skam* and *Lovleg,* reflections on the informants' own use of English, assumptions regarding the opposite group's use of English, and views on possible reasons for the spread of English.

4.4.1 Reflections on the language presented in *Skam* and *Lovleg*

The urban teenagers have all seen *Skam* before, but only heard of *Lovleg*. The urban group discuss how the language presented in *Skam* is similar to their own language, where the presence of Anglicisms is so usual that they probably would not notice it in the series if they did not know what the study was about.

Truls (17):   Det var mye mer i skam da, sånn som tits, screenshot, bj-action ...
              [There was a lot more in skam, like tits, screenshot, bj-action …]

Trine (17):   Oj, det tenkt æ ikke over en gang æ, at de sa sann screenshot liksom.
              [I didn't even notice that, that they said screenshot like].

While all five of the rural informants have heard about *Skam*, only two of them have seen the series. *Lovleg* is more unfamiliar, where three of the informants have heard about it, but none of them have seen it. When introduced to clips from both series, the rural teenagers find the language in *Lovleg* to be rather close to how they speak themselves.

When asked whether the language in *Skam* could be as representative, they reply no. They explain that the language in *Skam* contains many Anglicisms which would not be considered by them on a serious level and conclude that if they for instance say 'hooke' it is with an ironic approach. 'Sorry', on the other hand, is more often used and almost not even recognised as English by the rural teenagers.

Nina (18): Sorry he no blitt meir norsk omtrent, tenke ikkje over at det er engelsk en gang.
[Sorry has become more like Norwegian, do not even think that it is English.]

Nils (17): Det bruka ej no ein del, sorry, men ikkje noke anna som ej kjem på sånn umiddelbart.
[I use that, sorry, but not anything else that I can think of like immediately.]

4.4.2 Reflections on the informants' own use of English

When asked about their own use of Anglicisms, the urban teenagers state that it is not something they notice, as 'everyone does it' and 'it just comes natural to them', before they render expressions they often use, such as 'random' and 'lit'. The informants discuss how they often prefer English words in situations where the level of seriousness is lower. One girl explains how she uses the word 'sorry' instead of the Norwegian 'unnskyld' when the situation is less serious. She also finds it is easier to say 'tits' rather than the Norwegian 'pupper' as she finds English to be more casual, while using the Norwegian equivalent makes the sentence more serious.

Tina (18): Ja, og så føle æ på en måte at det er lettere å si tits enn pupper, fordi på engelsk er det litt mer uformelt på en måte, på norsk blir det seriøst på en måte.
[Yes, and I feel that it is somehow easier to say tits than *pupper*, because English is a bit more casual, in Norwegian it gets so serious in a way.]

The urban informants also discuss why Anglicisms are so common among them. One of the factors mentioned is the quick spread of new words due to how they have larger and several various social circles than what they imagine rural teenagers to have.

Trude (17): Og så er vi mange flere liksom, som plukker opp ting, og da sprer det sæ fortere.
[And we are like a lot more, like picking up stuff, and then it spreads faster.]

The teenagers from the small villages answer differently. One girl (18) says that she uses a lot of English, yet she emphasises that it is mostly restricted to irony and rarely used in a serious manner.

Nina (18):   Ej veit ikkje ej ej e i alle fall sann som he blanda inn mykje engelsk og sånn, men ej gjer det på ein måte ironisk.
[I don't know, I at least is one who mixes in a lot of English and such, but I do it ironically.]

One of the boys however claims that he does not use other English words than 'sorry'. The rural group agrees on a minor use of English, where they also limit the areas of use to irony and humour, or when in lack of a fitting Norwegian word. Both groups agree on a greater use of Anglicisms among friends, and less around parents and adults.

4.4.3 Assumptions regarding the opposite group's use of English

The teenagers compare themselves with the other group, where one group's assumptions correspond well with the other group's reflections on own use of Anglicisms. The spread of English is discussed in both groups, where the term 'slower' is used to explain lack of spread in rural areas while 'earlier' is used about urban areas. When the urban teenagers describe the teenagers in rural areas as 'slower' in catching trends, they follow up with explanations for why it might be so. Rather than claiming that the teenagers are slow and less modern, they refer to possible factors in the surrounding environment.

Tor (18):   Ja, og så er det på en måte færre folk, eller færre ungdommer, så da blir det ikke like lett for et ord å bli vanlig.
[Yes, and they are fewer people, or fewer teenagers, and then a word does not become regular that easily].

Certain Anglicisms stir up a discussion in the groups. One example which is mentioned in both interviews is the use of 'keen'. While the urban teenagers find it perfectly normal to use 'keen' both to ask if someone wants to join an activity and to explain the attraction to a person, the rural teenagers call this word a 'byord' [city-word] which they would not use at all.

Nelly (17):   Nei det [keen] bruka ej heller ikkje, men det trur ej, det e enda meir litt sånn by… et byord føle ej.
[No, I don't use that either, but I think it's more like a city… a city-word, I feel.]

The rural group further discusses how they do not really notice that urban teenagers use much English. The switching happens unnoticed even though they would not do a similar switching themselves.

4.4.4 Views on possible reasons for the spread of English

Both groups agree on the fact that TV-series can affect their language. One of the urban informants, Trine (17), says that she rarely thinks about the influence from TV-series unless she is made aware of it.

Tina (18):   Det er jo der vi ser masse av engelsken i tillegg da.
           [That is where we see a lot of the English also.]

Trine (17):   Så kommer jo derifra, men æ tenke ikke over det før folk spør eller snakke om det liksom.
           [So, that is where it comes from, but I don't think about it before people ask or talk about.]

While the teenagers first and foremost discuss the influence from English-speaking TV-series, they also reflect on a possible linguistic influence from Norwegian-speaking TV-series. In the statement presented below, Nelly (17) explains how she had not even heard of 'hooke' before she saw *Skam*.

Nelly (17):   Ja, det trur ej. For ej, ej veit ikkje, ej hadde ikkje hørt om hooke før ej såg på skam.
           [Yes, I think so, because I, I don't know, I had never heard about 'hooke' before I saw skam.]

Both groups further argue that there is a greater exposure to English in the cities due to English-language commercials and more foreign people and tourists. Finally, social media is mentioned as an important source to English influence by both groups, where the urban group claims that they 'miss out' on new expressions and concepts if they do not pay attention, and the rural group finds social media both to be influencing in itself and in the way it allows contact with people from other places and countries.

5 Discussion

The comparative analysis revealed both similarities and differences between the use of Anglicisms in *Skam* and *Lovleg.* The presence of Anglicisms in the depicted language is not surprising in itself, as it is established that teenagers often use Anglicisms in their everyday speech (Hasund, 2006; Johansson & Graedler, 2002; Leppänen, 2007). The following discussion rather offers possible explanations to why the exposed differences between the TV-series might appear.

5.1   The larger number of Anglicisms in *Skam*

The first significant finding is the great difference in the number of Anglicisms. Comparing the percental share of Anglicisms in the two transcripts, 2.9% in the transcript of *Skam* and 1.9% in the transcript of *Lovleg*, the numbers reveal a considerable difference in the presence of Anglicisms. Based on the observations presented in the introduction, it was somehow expected that there would be detected a larger number of Anglicisms in *Skam*, and the question is why the urban characters use more Anglicisms than the rural characters. While youth language is perceived as creative and playful with a greater use of e.g. slang, cursing and switching of languages, one must be careful not to confuse how youth language really is with how it is perceived to be (Hasund, 2006, p. 19). The language in both series might aim at depicting the language as authentic as possible, but the fact that some stereotyping may be involved must be acknowledged. However, based on the answers provided by relevant youth in the focus group interviews, it is possible to believe that the language depicted in the series is rather similar to how they perceive youth language to be. Thus, the teenagers contribute to strengthen the idea of a possible divide in the use of Anglicisms in urban and rural youth language also in real life.

The potentially less use of Anglicisms in rural areas can be discussed in light of the youth's belonging to small towns. *Lovleg* has been cherished in media for its use of dialects and *Nynorsk* (Hjetland & Grov, 2018), and this is also valued by the rural informants in the interview. The rural teenagers emphasised how their dialect is important to them, not only to signal where they come from, but also to state that they are proud of coming from a small town. A strong tie to one's origin might influence teenagers to use their dialect rather than Anglicisms on several occasions. Hence, the focus is not necessarily deselecting English per se, but rather a conscious choice of speaking their dialect. As much as English can be used strategically to signal belonging to youth culture (Hasund, 2006, p. 35; Leppänen, 2007, p. 150), dialects can be used to signal belonging to a certain district.

Yet, it is worth mentioning that language use can be highly individual, where the linguistic features chosen and valued by one person are not necessarily used among others within the same group. In the interview with the rural teenagers, one of the informants said that she uses a great deal of English, while another informant claimed that 'sorry' is maybe the only English word he borrows. This individuality can also be interpreted from the results in the survey *Ta tempen på språket!*, where 70% of the participants use English in their everyday language, while there are also 30% which have claimed not to (Svendsen et al., 2014, p. 16). Even though you belong to the youth category, this does not automatically

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mean that Anglicisms is a part of your vocabulary. Furthermore, even though you come from a rural area, this does not automatically mean that you prefer your dialect to standard varieties or Anglicisms.

Another possible explanation for the higher number of Anglicisms in *Skam* can be found in the teenagers' environment. Urban areas are characterised by modernity, innovation and diversity, both in the society as well as in the language (Hårstad & Opsahl, 2013, p. 19). In the interviews, both the urban and the rural informants discussed a possible greater exposure of English in the cities due to more technology, commercials in the city centre, and more foreign people. There is a greater availability of activities and communities a teenager can take part in in the cities, and with a greater offer of environments where youth can be with peers, they also speak more often with friends and adjust their language thereafter (Jørgensen, 2010, p. 4). Both in the survey *Ta tempen på språket!* (Svendsen et al., 2014, p. 16) and in the focus group interviews, the participants answered that they mainly use English among friends and not while speaking with older generations. In lack of a similar broad offer of activities where rural youth meet peers, it is possible to believe that teenagers in rural areas spend more time with parents and grandparents. Resultantly, their everyday language might be more influenced by conversations with older generations where certain Anglicisms are either not understood or approved of. While this is not evident in the collected material, it is also reasonable to believe that factors such as higher exposure to English and urban linguistic diversity might cause a greater use of Anglicisms also across generations in the cities. In that case, there might be a greater use of English also within the family environment in urban areas than in rural areas, which again could lead to greater difference between rural and urban youth's use of Anglicisms.

As one of the urban informants said, there are more people in the cities, which again can cause a more rapid spread of new terms and trends within the language. Urban teenagers do not only have larger social circles, they also have several various circles where they might meet various friends from school, football, and other spare time activities during a day. In rural areas, however, there is a greater chance that you meet the same people both at school and at football practice. The different patterns of the communities include a different kind of contact situation. While youth is said to be innovative with a language characterised by rapid changes, this can also mirror the modernity which urban spaces are known for. Thus, one can question whether language innovation is more closely linked to urban youth than to rural youth.

However, urban developmental structures are found to no longer be restricted by geographical borders (Hårstad & Opsahl, 2013, p. 22). The society is rapidly changing, where especially internet and media have led to a renewed language contact situation (Hårstad & Opsahl, 2013, p. 25; Sunde, 2018, p. 72). Studies have shown an increased standardisation of dialects in small villages (Hasund, 2006, p. 110), and it is imaginable that also other linguistic trends from the cities might emerge in rural areas as well. Can there be a rising trend with an increased use of Anglicisms as well as standard "city-like" language in rural areas? Is it possible that the detected differences in the use of Anglicisms in urban and rural areas might even out with time?

5.2 Differences within and between the categories

With a shift in focus from numeral differences to differences within and between the categories, also similarities are found between the TV-series. Related to the general numeral difference, there are also overt numeral differences within each category. Yet, the relations between the categories are more similar: the category of lexical borrowings is the largest group both in *Skam* and *Lovleg*, followed by the group of CS, while the smallest group are the calques. The majority of the lexical borrowings in both *Skam* and *Lovleg* are loan words, while there are similarly few instances of hybrids in both series. The fact that lexical borrowing is the largest group can be explained by their general establishment in Norwegian, where loan words are commonly found in our everyday language and surroundings (Johansson & Graedler, 2002, p. 26). While the group of non-adapted loan words in *Skam* were slightly larger than the adapted loan words, this could be explained as this category contains both non-adaptable loan words, e.g. 'shit' and 'all-right', and loan words that are non-adapted in the given text, e.g. 'date'. That some loan words actually appear with English morphological features can be a result of language economy, where the English version might be preferred as it is easier and requires less effort from the speaker. This can for instance explain why 'labels' is used in *Lovleg* rather than the Norwegian equivalent 'merkelappar'. Further, the low number of calques can have various explanations. While there might be less influence from English in the form of calques, the lack of occurrences in the material can also be explained due to the difficulties around discovering them (Sunde & Kristoffersen, 2018, p. 276).

The most interesting category is that of CS, as this is where the two TV-series differ the most in the type of Anglicisms used. A great numeral difference is found in the group of intrasentential CS, where *Skam* has 16 instances while *Lovleg* has only 5. A similar numeral difference is on the other hand not found in the group of intersentential CS. The question is thus: why are there more intrasentential CS in the urban characters' vocabulary? This can be related to one of the explanations for the greater use of Anglicisms in *Skam* as discussed in section 5.1, where the modern and diverse environments in the cities might cause a greater diversity and more innovative use of language. The definition of intrasentential CS includes single words from English which are not defined as established in the Norwegian language due to their lack of dictionary presence. The high number of new contributions to the language could indicate a language development where single-word CS might be increasingly used in Norwegian or reveal which new loan words will become a part of the Norwegian language. However, this need not be the case as rapid changes in language might also be temporary. The temporal actuality of certain English words is discussed by the urban focus group, where one of the informants explained that the Anglicisms she uses today is not the same she used last year. They further discussed the terms which are trending now, and those which are 'out-of-date'. Consequently, the difference within the intrasentential CS might reflect the language development in urban areas where new trends within the language, just as new trends within other areas, both spread and disappear fast.

Surprisingly, there are small numeral differences within the subcategory of intersentential CS with 6 in *Lovleg* and 5 in *Skam*. One would expect that in relation to the lower number of Anglicisms in *Lovleg*, it would also be fewer intersentential CS here than in *Skam*. Despite the fact that this is counterintuitive, the presence of intersentential CS can reflect the playfulness in youth's language, which might be just as present among rural youth as among urban youth.

5.3 Differences between the semantic fields

The final part of the analysis was based on the Anglicisms' semantic meaning, where several of the Anglicisms were found with a relation to four fields; sex, identity, love and friendship, and social media. In *Skam*, the majority of the Anglicisms was found to belong in the field of sex. Despite the lower number of Anglicisms within this field in *Lovleg*, the field of sex still is the overall largest group. The phenomenon can be explained as semantic bleaching, a strategy used to reduce the intensity of a word. Sex is a topic which is important to teenagers, yet it can be uncomfortable to talk about. One of the urban informants said that she finds it easier to say specific words in English, where e.g. English 'tits' is preferred to Norwegian 'pupper'. The process of semantic bleaching is not restricted to the field of sex, there could also be other situations where one feels the need to lower the level of seriousness, for instance within conversations about friendship or love. Semantic bleaching can be helpful in expressing emotions both towards friends, and towards someone you are in love with. Furthermore, the urban informant mentioned a similar approach in the alternation of the words 'sorry' and 'unnskyld', where the English is found to be less serious and preferred in many situations. In difference from the other categories, there are in fact more Anglicisms related to friendship found in *Lovleg* than in *Skam*. While this is an unexpected finding, it is not an overwhelmingly large difference with seven associated Anglicisms in *Lovleg* and five in *Skam*. Thus, to find an explanation for such a small difference can be difficult as many possible factors may affect this number. While it might just be a coincidence, it can also be related to higher frequency of the various Anglicisms within this category. In fact, when looking at the type of the friendship related Anglicisms, there are only four different types in *Lovleg* when frequency is excluded, and five in *Skam*.

Technology, TV and social media often introduce new English words which Norwegian lacks proper equivalents for. Surprisingly, none of the Anglicisms in the material from *Lovleg* are related to technology or social media. The characters in *Skam* do however refer to Snapchat, Facebook and Tinder at several occasions. Whereas some of the urban informants assumed there could be less technology in rural areas, or at least that it is less used and has a smaller influencing role, it is not the case that rural teenagers do not use social media. That rural teenagers use social media is evident as the characters in *Lovleg* communicate through Snapchat and Facebook, and upload pictures on Instagram. The rural focus group also mentioned how they use social media to connect with people both across the country and across the world. Thus, it must be remembered that even though the relevant terms have not emerged in the transcripts of *Lovleg*, they still might come up at another point in the series. The finding can therefore be explained by the restricted set of data for this exact study, where a larger set of data possibly could reveal references to social media also in *Lovleg*. Furthermore, this finding also emphasises that even though certain aspects of the depicted language can reflect how language is used in real life, it is still not possible to draw conclusions about how real language really is based on findings from fictional language.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary

This study set out to investigate possible differences in the use of Anglicisms in rural and urban youth language as depicted in the TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg.* Further, interviews with urban and rural teenagers were performed to find out whether the divide between the series can be indicative for a similar divide in real language as well. By analysing transcripts of 4000 words from both *Skam* and *Lovleg*, all Anglicisms on a lexical level were identified and categorised to reveal possible differences in the type of Anglicisms used. The analysis revealed a higher number of Anglicisms in *Skam* than in *Lovleg*, a difference which the urban and the rural focus group could recognise also in real life. The divide is explained both with reference to the relation between identity and language, but also as a possible result of greater diversity both generally and linguistically in urban areas.

Another interesting finding was detected within the category of CS. While the numeral difference between instances of intersentential CS in the two TV-series was small, the number of intrasentential CS was much higher in *Skam* than in *Lovleg*. A possible explanation can be found in the modern and innovative structure of cities, where new trends, also within language, spread fast. Such trends were also referred to in the interviews, and while the urban group listed Anglicisms which were trending right now, the rural youth however called some of these words 'city-words'.

Finally, the last significant finding was observed in the semantic fields of the Anglicisms, where the overall largest category was the field of sex. The high number of sex related Anglicisms can be explained in relation to the strategy of semantic bleaching, where youth might prefer English rather than Norwegian to lower the level of seriousness in a conversation. Further, the total lack of Anglicisms related to social media in *Lovleg* was also surprising. Yet, this is possibly a result of the restricted scope of this study, where a larger set of material might reveal references to social media also in *Lovleg*.

In conclusion, there are significant differences both in the amount and type of Anglicisms used in the depicted youth language in *Skam* and *Lovleg*. As the detected divide is recognised by a cohort of relevant youth, the expectance of a more or less similar divide in urban and rural teenagers' use of Anglicisms in real life is strengthened.

6.2 Suggestions for further research

This thesis investigates the use of Anglicisms in two TV-series which both belong in the genre youth fiction drama. Thus, there is a great potential in doing similar research within other genres of Norwegian TV-series as well. It would for instance be interesting to investigate what linguistic choices are made in media directed to smaller children, and to what extent Anglicisms are present in the Norwegian offering of TV-series for kids. There is also an avenue for moving outside the world of fiction, and study differences in urban and rural youth language also in non-fiction contexts. With a result indicating that there is a possible divide in the use of Anglicisms among rural and urban youth in Norway, it would be interesting to see whether this is realistic in the real world.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent schema

Appendix 2: Interview guide

Appendix 3: Relevance for future teacher aim

Appendix 1: Consent schema

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

″A study of differences in uses of Anglicisms in Norwegian teen language in rural vs urban areas, based on transcriptions from the TV-shows SKAM and Lovleg″?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å studere ungdomsspråk i Norge i dag. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Formålet med prosjektet er å avdekke mulige forskjeller i det ungdomsspråket som blir portrettert i de to ungdomsseriene Skam og Lovleg når det kommer til engelsk påvirkning. På bakgrunn av funnene fra disse to seriene, skal det videre utforskers om de eventuelt avdekkede forskjellene er realistiske, og om det kan være en forskjell på hvor påvirket ungdomsspråket er i bygd vs. by i Norge i dag. Oppgaven strekker seg over 15000 ord, og er mastergradsprosjekt*.*

Problemstillingen for oppgaven er todelt og formulert på oppgavens målspråk, engelsk:

What differences are there in uses of Anglicisms in Norwegian youth language in urban and rural areas as perceived by the creators of the TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg*? According to a cohort of interviewed Norwegian youth, can the depicted language and use of Anglicisms in the TV-series be seen to accurately reflect the divide?

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

NTNU institutt for språk og litteratur er ansvarlig for prosjektet*.*

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Du blir spurt om å delta på bakgrunn av at du er ungdom i videregående skole alder med bakgrunn fra bygda.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Om du velger å delta innebærer det at du deltar på et fokusgruppeintervju sammen med fire andre ungdommer på din alder som også er fra en bygd. Dette intervjuet vil ta omtrent 30-45 minutter, og intervjuet inneholder spørsmål som er knyttet til ungdomsspråk, både det som blir presentert i to ungdomsserier, men også din egen dagligtale. Intervjuet blir tatt opp på lydopptak.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

- De som har tilgang til dataene er masterstudent Silje Karoline Kleiva Krohn, samt veileder Annjo Klungervik Greenall.

- Navnet ditt vil erstattes med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Lydopptaket blir lagret på egen server, beskyttet av passord.

Du som deltaker vil ikke kunne bli gjenkjent i publikasjonen, da ingen navn vil bli nevnt.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 15. mai 2020. Da slettes lydopptakene fra intervjuet. Din samtykkesignatur vil bli oppbevart på fysisk papir og vil bli tatt vare på av ansvarlig. Disse vil bli destruert etter endt prosjekt.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,

- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,

- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,

- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og

- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra NTNU har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- *NTNU institutt for språk og litteratur* ved *Annjo Klungervik Greenall (annjo.k.greenall@ntnu.no, tlf.: 73596790).*

- *Masterstudent ved NTNU Silje Karoline Kleiva Krohn (skkrohn@stud.ntnu.no, tlf.: 40452494)*

- *Vårt personvernombud: Thomas Helgesen (thomas.helgesen@ntnu.no, tlf.: 93079038)*

- *NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller telefon: 55 58 21 17.*

Med vennlig hilsen

Annjo Klungervik Greenall   Silje Karoline Kleiva Krohn

Prosjektansvarlig og veileder   Masterstudent

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet '*A study of differences in uses of Anglicisms in Norwegian teen language in rural vs urban areas, based on transcriptions from the TV-shows SKAM and Lovleg'*, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

☐   å delta i *fokusgruppeintervju*

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, 15. mai 2020.

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 2: Interview guide

Intervjuguide til fokusgruppeintervju i studien: A study of the use of Anglicisms in rural and urban youth language as depicted in the TV-series *Skam* and *Lovleg*.

1. Hva er deres umiddelbare tanker om språket til ungdommene i seriene?

2. Tenker dere over at noen av ordene er engelske?

3. Kan dere identifisere dere med måten de snakker på med tanke på bruken av engelske uttrykk i dagligtalen?

4. Bruker dere ordene 'Sorry' og 'Hooke'? Er det eventuelt andre engelske ord dere bruker? Hvorfor/ hvorfor ikke?

5. Føler du at du bruker mer/mindre engelsk når du snakker med venner i forhold til hjemme hos familien?

6. Tror du at veksling mellom engelsk og norsk er mer brukt av ungdom i by enn av ungdom i bygd? I så fall hvorfor?

7. Føler du at språket ditt blir påvirket av norske ungdomsserier? Har du for eksempel brukt ordene 'Fuckboy' eller 'Hooke'?

Appendix 3: Relevance for the teaching profession

During the process of writing this thesis, there have been several aspects which I found to be relevant for my future career as a teacher. First, the project has taught me more about the value of implementing media and TV-series in the classroom, as English-language media can be a great tool for L2-learning. The core elements of the English subject curriculum states that language learning occurs through encountering various types of English texts, where texts also include various types of media (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2019, p. 3). Furthermore, it can be relevant for the students to discuss the relation between language learning and their own medial habits, and a competence aim after 10th grade says that the student should be able to explore and redistribute content from English speaking cultural forms of expression from various media connected to own interests (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2019, p. 8).

Second, several topics in this thesis are also relevant for discussions in the classroom, such as English as a global language. One of the competence aims in the curriculum states that students after 11th grade should be able to describe the spread of English (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2019, p. 11). Further, also the status of English in Norway is acknowledged in the curriculum, where one of the competence aims after 10th grade states that the students should be able to describe and reflect on the status of English in Norway (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2019, p. 8).

Third, the focus on youth language is relevant on various levels. By pointing out how languages develop and how languages are perceived by others can emphasize that there is no such thing as speaking "correct" language, which again can be used to lower the bar for oral participation in the classroom. The topic 'youth language' can also be a great outset for activities involving oral participation, where for instance group discussions can evolve around explaining and investigating their own language and e.g. use of Anglicisms. As there are no correct answer, and the topic is highly familiar and relevant for them as they speak about their own use of language, this can facilitate situations where they manage to speak freely with each other in English.

Finally, the writing process has taught me the value of process-writing and the importance of thorough feedback. Guidance from my supervisor have brought new insights on how to provide good and effective feedback during the process of writing a paper, and it has further been rewarding to cooperate with peers regarding both proofreading and giving feedback on each other's papers.