

## Conclusion

# Globalization and language in the Nordic countries: conditions and consequences

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### 1. Comparing empirical findings with the “mountain peak model”

In the introduction to this volume, we presented a “mountain peak model” of Nordic purism based on evidence showing that language scholars and lay people are very much in agreement as to where we find the more purist languages and communities in the Nordic area.

The peak of openness to foreign influence is to be found in “the middle”, i.e. in Denmark and Sweden, with gradually diminishing openness as we move towards the periphery, be it either westwards across Norway and The Faroes to Iceland or eastwards across Swedish-speaking Finland to Finnish-speaking Finland. In this conclusion to the volume, we will summarize the empirical findings presented in the volume, findings for use and attitudes alike, and compare them with the mountain peak model. That way, we may be able to estimate the nature of the cross-national ideological uniformity on which the model is based. Is the commonly shared representation of purism differences nothing but an ideological fact, or is there a reality to the mountain peak picture?

Furthermore, we will follow up on the introduction’s presentation of the “Nordic laboratory” as a well-chosen place to study the relative importance in language change of language-internal structural factors on the one hand and language-external socio-historical factors on the other hand. However, a complicating fact of our laboratory setting needs to be mentioned before we proceed. It is a fact that the *centre vs. periphery* distinction of the mountain peak model does not only correspond to a *similarity vs. difference* distinction in terms of the linguistic relationships to English, but also to a *dominance vs. subordination* distinction in terms of the historical relationships between the Nordic communities. In other words, if we find linguistic purism to be more characteristic of the peripheral communities than of the central ones we may be hard put to it to tell whether this is caused by linguistic or socio-historical realities.

A way out of this impasse is offered by Norway and Swedish-speaking Finland. While the other communities can be characterized either as both linguistically English-like, primarily in terms of morphological complexity, and historically dominating (Denmark and Sweden) or as both linguistically English-unlike and historically subordinated (Iceland, The Faroes, Finnish-speaking Finland), Norway is different in that the country combines a more English-like language with a long history of subordination. This combination also holds true of Swedish-speaking Finland, which nowadays is the weaker part in comparison with Finnish-speaking Finland, although this relationship was the other way round for many centuries. Therefore, if we find that Norway and Swedish-speaking Finland belong with the “central” communities (Denmark and Sweden) as far as linguistic purism is concerned we have an indication that language similarity outweighs socio-historical forces. If this is the case, the top of our mountain model will consist of four communities and look more like a plateau than a peak. Conversely, if we find that Norway and Swedish-speaking Finland belong with the “peripheral” communities (Iceland, The Faroes and Finnish-speaking Finland), while only Denmark and Sweden make up the plateau, we have an indication that socio-historical relationships outweigh linguistic factors. Finally, a peak shape (as in Figures 1a and 1b) would indicate a combinatory effect from both linguistic and socio-historical factors on Nordic purism.

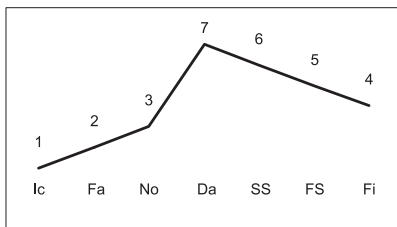


Figure 1a. *Estimation of differences in purism: ranking by Nordic linguists of 7 communities from “most purist” (1) to “most liberal” (7)*

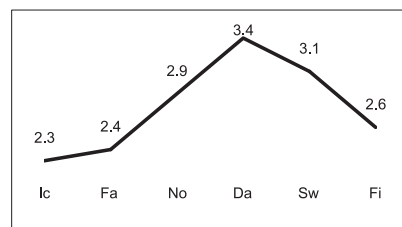


Figure 1b. *Estimation of differences in purism: ranking by lay people in 7 Nordic communities of 6 languages (figures are means on a 5-points scale)*

## 2. The Nordic profile of “openness to imports” at the level of language use

### 2.1. Written language: the level of words

The A and C curves concerning “lexical openness” support a decisive role for linguistic factors. Quite contrary to common expectations, Norwegian turns out to be the more open one among the three Scandinavian languages as measured in approach A. The strong parallelism between the results obtained in the two very different approaches A and C makes it reasonable to claim some authenticity for the plateau (rather than peak) version of the mountain model at the level of words.

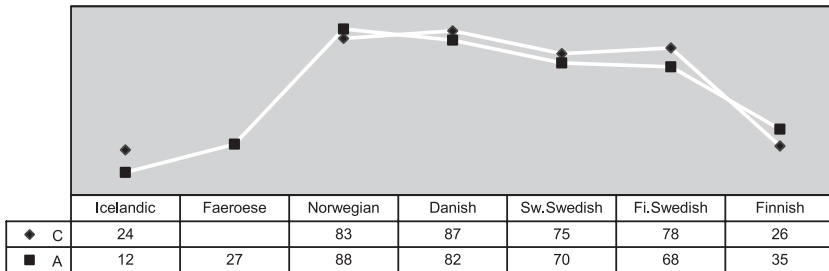


Figure 2. *The Nordic profile of lexical openness in written language*  
 C: Percentages based on the frequency of imports vs. replacement words in 40 pairs from four semantic areas (not studied for Faroese)  
 A: Frequencies of import words per 10,000 running words in editorial newspaper texts from the year 2000

### 2.2. Written language: the levels of orthography and morphology

In written morphology, the percentages of non-adaptation are uniformly very low, whereas the profile of orthographic openness makes up a good fit with our mountain peak model. The explanation for the relatively large amount of non-adapted orthographic forms in Faroese may be found in the fact that Faroese language policy has been less concerned with the English influence and more focused on replacing Danish imports (as pointed out by Graedler and Kvaran, this issue).

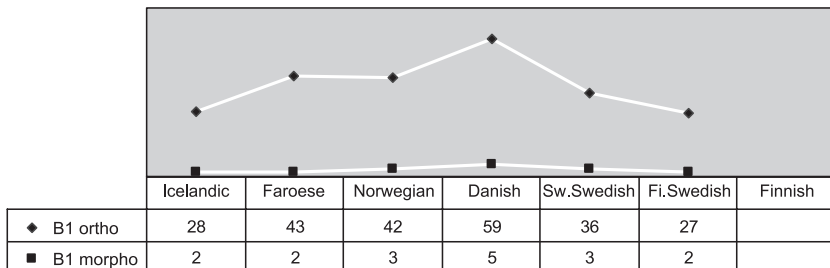


Figure 3. *The Nordic profile of orthographic and morphologic openness in editorial newspaper texts from the year 2000 (not studied for Finnish). Percentages of non-adapted forms*

### 2.3. Spoken language: the levels of phonology and morphology

Regarding the strong Icelandic openness in speech morphology that appears from Figure 4, it should be noticed that this is largely due to one variable and hardly representative of Icelandic speech morphology as such (see discussion in the results section in Svavarsdóttir et al. in this issue). If we disregard the result for Icelandic morphology, spoken language shows a profile that by and large accords well with the mountain peak model.

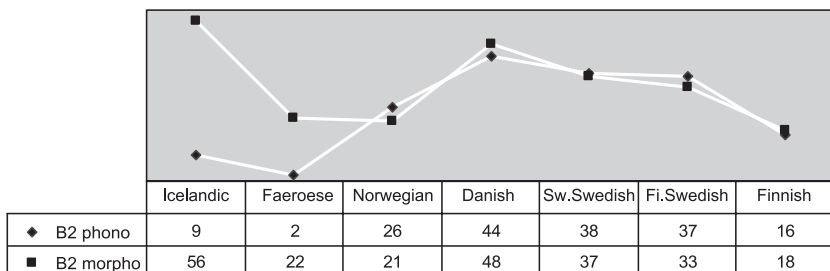


Figure 4. *The Nordic profile of phonological and morphological openness in spoken language. Percentages of non-adapted forms*

### 2.4. Summing up Nordic openness at the level of language use

In Figure 5, the languages have been ranked relative to each other on six parameters with 100 units. Placements on the A parameter for word frequency indicate the amount of imports per 10,000 running words. Placements on the remaining five parameters indicate the percentage of non-adapted words or forms (the exact figures for each language on each of the

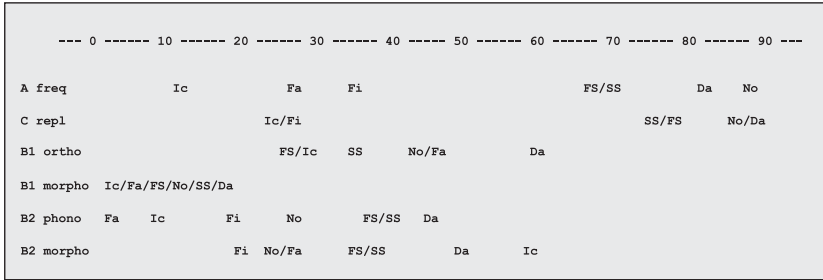


Figure 5. *Nordic languages ranked on six parameters according to their relative openness to imports; the right-most end is the “more open” end*  
*Ic = Icelandic, Fa = Faroese, No = Norwegian, Da = Danish, SS = Sweden-Swedish, FS = Finland-Swedish, Fi=Finnish.*  
*[Fa was not measured on C repl, Fi was not measured on B1 ortho and B1 morpho]*

parameters can be seen in the data matrices in Figures 2–4). The relative openness of the languages varies somewhat across the parameters. Thus, the results point to the importance of studying purism at different linguistic levels separately (Thomas 1991).

If we nevertheless want to draw a more general picture, we may assign rank numbers to the languages (in the following way, taking A as our example: Ic = 1; Fa = 2; Fi = 3; FS = 4.5; SS = 4.5; Da = 6; No = 7), sum up the rank numbers for each language on all parameters and divide by the number of parameters on which the language has been measured. The resulting means (in parentheses) establish the following rank order, starting with the more open languages: Danish (5.7) – Norwegian (4.5) – Swedish (4.1) – Finland-Swedish (3.8) – Faroese (2.7) – Finnish (2.1) – Icelandic (1.9). This gives the profile shown in Figure 6. (The Icelandic mean is 2.8

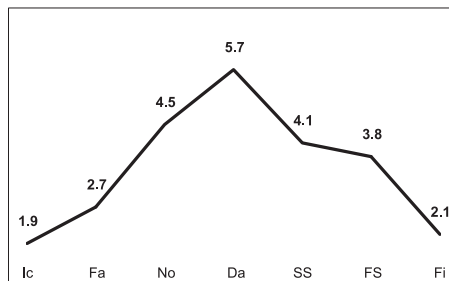


Figure 6. *The Nordic profile of overall openness to import words and forms at the level of language use*

if its B2 morpho result is taken into account). The surprise in this picture is that Norwegian comes out as an overall “more open” language than Swedish.

### 3. The Nordic profile of “openness to English” at the level of language attitudes

Now, what does the profile look like when we collect *evaluative data* in order to study how our Nordic communities relate to the English influence?

#### 3.1. *Consciously offered attitudes*

Figure 7 shows the profile for consciously offered (i) answers to “abstract” questions about the English influence, and (ii) expressed preference for “concrete” words.

Significance testing of the differences involved shows that the two profiles embody four and five rank order positions, respectively (> significant / non-significant):

- (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
- (a) abstract purism: Da > SS > Fi/FS/No > Fa / Ic  
 (b) concrete purism: Da > SS > Fa/No/FS > Fi > Ic

The only difference between the two profiles consists in a change of positions as number (3) and (4) for the Faroese and Finnish communities. The Danish and Swedish communities are the two more open ones, the Ice-

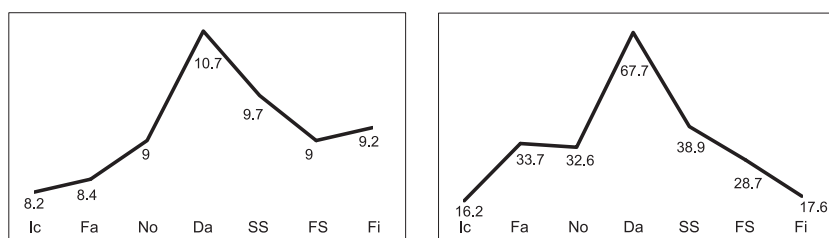


Figure 7. *The Nordic profile of consciously offered “openness vs. purism” in terms of: (i) answers to “abstract” questions; (ii) expressed preference for “concrete” words*  
*Figures in (i) are means on a “general English-positivity” scale that represents answers to four questions about the English influence (cf. Table 7 in Kristiansen, this issue; scale inverted here). Figures in (ii) are calculated mean percentages of respondents who, presented with three pairs of words, preferred the English word to the national synonym (cf. Table 9 in Kristiansen, this issue).*

landic, Faroese and Finnish communities are the more purist ones, the Norwegian and Finland-Swedish communities are in-between.

### 3.2. *Subconsciously offered attitudes*

The results from the MIN project's matched guise experiment show a completely different profile for *subconsciously* offered attitudes. The profile in Figure 8 is based on the differences that result from subtracting total mean scores for evaluations of the "pure" national guises from total mean scores for evaluations of the "English-colored" guises (cf. Table 11b in Kristiansen, this issue). The strongest downgrading of the "English-colored" guise relative to the "pure" national guise was found with the Danes, followed by the Finns and the Swedes, while the Norwegians and the Swedish-speaking Finns were the least negative towards English-coloring of their languages.

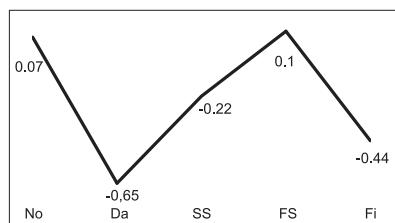


Figure 8. *The Nordic profile of subconsciously offered attitudes towards English-coloring of the national language (such data did not obtain in Iceland and the Faroe Islands)*

## 4. Nordic purism in use and attitudes: summary and discussion

Finally, let us consider what our results tell about the forces behind "openness vs. purism" in the Nordic languages and communities.

In spite of Norwegian unexpectedly beating Swedish, the overall picture of relative openness toward imports at the level of use turned out to correspond fairly well with the mountain peak model (see Figure 6). Hence, sticking to the reasoning presented in Section 1, we may claim that the overall picture indicates that both structural forces (linguistic similarity vs. difference with regard to English) and ideological forces (rooted in socio-historical relationships of domination vs. subordination) contribute to creating the Nordic differences in openness towards imports.

It should be stressed, though, that the various parameters (linguistic levels) make different contributions to this overall picture. The profile of lexical purism (parameters A and C, Figure 2) has a high plateau comprising all four Scandinavian languages: Norwegian and Finland-Swedish group with the other English-like languages (i.e. Danish and Sweden-Swedish), not with the other communities that used to be dominated by Denmark and Sweden (i.e. Iceland, The Faroese, and Finland). In our model, this pattern indicates that the explanation for differences in lexical purism is to be found in language similarity rather than in socio-historical forces. The B2 profiles for phonological and morphological purism in spoken language, on the other hand, as well as the B1 profile for orthography, display a more peak-like shape (Figures 4 and 3) and hence point to the importance of socio-historical relationships.

At the level of ideology, the profile of *consciously* offered attitudes (cf. Figure 7) makes up a good match for the overall profile of use (cf. Figure 6). Both profiles invite us to conclude that differences in openness towards imports are produced by both linguistic forces (similarity vs. difference with regard to English) and socio-historical forces (domination vs. subordination) in combination.

If we now return to the estimated differences of purism that we presented in the beginning for both learned (Figure 1a) and lay people (Figure 1b), we see that their representations appear as close to perfect reflections of reality as far as the purism profiles for use and conscious attitudes are concerned. That is an amazing finding. It seems quite an enigma to us why and how this congruency between reality and representations come into being across seven speech communities. How do people “know”? Unless we want to accept some kind of intuitive and mysterious knowledge, there is only one possible explanation as far as we can see. The congruency can only appear if two requirements are fulfilled. On the one hand, the different official language policies (whatever the relative importance of language-structural and socio-historical forces in their genesis) must materialize in the respective communities as differences in the use of language (yielding the profile in Figure 6). On the other hand, these differences must be correctly perceived and represented in expert discourse (yielding the profile in Figure 1a), and the expert discourse must be publicly present and available in a way that allow community members in general to reproduce it when asked all kinds of questions about language use and language attitudes (yielding Figures 1b and 7).

Even more intriguingly perhaps, the nice match between use and *conscious* attitudes is not confirmed by the *subconsciously* offered attitudes, which produce the perfect opposite profile as far as the Scandinavian-speaking communities are concerned: the Norwegian and Finland-Swedish



communities are the more open ones, the Danish and Sweden-Swedish communities the more negative ones (cf. Figure 8). In the case of Norwegian, it is tempting to see a connection between the high level of “lexical openness” (cf. Figure 2) and the subconsciously positive reaction to English-colored speech, as this coloring was predominantly lexical in nature. The Danish subconscious data in particular introduce “contradictions” into the picture that we are at pains to make sense of, and thus represent a challenge for further work.

In general, a deeper understanding of the relative importance of linguistic and socio-historical factors in the spread of, and resistance to, English as the language of globalization will have to draw, of course, on otherwise concrete and detailed studies (e.g. degree of inter-Nordic communication, national changes in industrial structure, and national changes in the genres of journalism) than the kind of comparisons we have made here in terms of a Nordic purism profile.

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## Reference

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