Phraseology in a cross-linguistic perspective: borrowing of parallel developments?

Gisle Andersen
Seminar: Idiomaticity in English and Norwegian: Corpus-based approaches
University of Oslo, 1 September 2017
Outline of presentation

• Topic: phraseological borrowing
  - EX: *meet & greet; big business; When in Rome ...; What the fuck?!

• Introduction and theoretical background
  - Language contact and the study of borrowing
  - The pragmatic turn in studies of borrowing
  - Phraseology and cross-linguistic corpus studies

• Material and methods
  - Corpora of English and Norwegian
  - Methodological issues

• Case studies
  - 8 phraseological units

• Summary and concluding remarks
Phraseology in a cross-linguistic perspective

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND
Language contact

• “two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons” (Weinreich 1953: 1)

• “Language contact is generally defined as the use of different languages at once in the same geographical area” (Hennecke: 2014)

• Weinreich's (1953) *Languages in contact*; the structural analysis of the linguistic systems of Swiss bilingual speakers

• Haugen’s (1953) detailed study of Norwegian spoken by immigrants to the United States
Globalisation and the role of English

• “The enormous interest code-switching and related practices have found in linguistics over the last three decades is at least part … due to the demise of the monolingual national ideologies which have become less and less realistic in the age of globalization, transnationalism, and migration.” Auer & Eastman (2010: 84)

• Remote language contact; e.g. use of English in contexts connected with international business, travel, mass media, technology
  - situations referred to as “remote” (Meyerhoff & Niedzelski 2003), “weak” (Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts 2014) and “non-contiguous” (Sayers 2014) contact scenarios; cf. Peterson (2017)
Anglicism research

• Growing interest in research on borrowing from English:

• Anglicism dictionaries
  - Carstensen and Busse 1993-1996; Graedler and Johansson 1997; Görlach 2001

• Monographs

• Collective volumes
  - Fischer and Pułaczewska 2008; Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodriguez Gonzalez 2012;
    Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015

• Special issues of journals

• Research network
  - Global Anglicism Database Network (GLAD): www.gladnetwork.org
The pragmatic turn in studies of borrowing


• implies a reorientation of its *locus* from the borrowed lexemes *per se*, to how the use of *borrowed items* is constrained by cultural, social or cognitive factors,

• congruous with a more general shift towards *usage-based* as opposed to structuralist *approaches to language contact*.

- (Backus 2014; Zenner and Van de Mieroop in this special issue; see further Rodríguez González 1996; Gómez Capuz 1997; Khoutyz 2009; Terkourafi 2009; González Cruz and Rodríguez Medina 2011; Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011; Fiedler 2014; Winter-Froemel and Onysko 2012; Kavgić 2013; Andersen 2014; Onysko 2016)
The pragmatic turn (ctd.)

• a growing body of research that considers motivating factors of borrowing, the reasons for lexical selection - e.g. *Kids* vs. *Kinder* (GE); *kidsa* vs. *barna* (NO)

• such as the emblematic nature of individual forms and their potential for expressing notions like ‘coolness’, urbanism, youth, globalisation, etc. – reflecting common associations with particular user groups

• as well as the presumed or observed pragmatic effects of selecting a borrowed item in place of its domestic alternatives.

• borrowing may also be related to the more general social prestige of the source language culture, mental processing, precision, creativity, markedness or the like.
Borrowing of discourse-pragmatic items

• Pragmatic borrowing also concerns the incorporation of pragmatic and discourse features of a source language (SL) into a recipient language (RL) (Andersen 2014) - E.g. Prince (1988); Treffers-Daller (2007/2010); Andersen 2010, 2014).
• Items which do not contribute to the propositional content of utterances, but act as constraints on the interpretation process due to their subjective, textual, and interpersonal pragmatic functions.
• Pragmatically borrowed items carry signals about speaker attitude, the speech act performed, discourse structure, information state, politeness, etc.
Phraseological borrowing

• Phraseology, “the study of the structure, meaning and use of word combinations” (Cowie 1994: 3168)
• “Detailed empirical work beyond the lexical level is necessary to understand how pragmatic functions are transferred cross-linguistically.” (Fiedler 2017)
• The phrasicon of a language (Granger 2009), i.e. the inventory of communicative formulae, catchphrases, slogans and other multi-word items, seems to be an especially suitable framework for the study of pragmatic borrowing, because these items are a product of the life of a speech community par excellence (Fiedler 2017)
Rationale and motivation

• Phrasal borrowing generally **understudied**
• Believed to be **underrepresented** in Anglicism dictionaries like Görlach (2001)
• “fraselån” very **sketchy treatment** in (otherwise excellent) Johansson & Graedler (2002: 22)
  - *back in business, no comment, kill sb’s darlings*
• Phraseology accounts for a large part of a the lexicon and is **commonly borrowed** (Fiedler 2017)
Criteria for inclusion

• “Typologies abound in the literature” (Granger & Paquot 2008: 35)

• *phraseology* (Cognitive Grammar; Gries 2008): symbolic units: a pairing (conventionalised association) of a form and a meaning/function, which:
  - *polylexemic* structure / word combinations / multiword units
  - *idiomatic* units, i.e. meaning cannot be derived from its parts (non-transparent), lexicalised/ready-made units
  - syntactically and semantically *stable*
  - *frequent* enough to have entrenched the user’s linguistic system
# Phrasemes (Granger & Paquot 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical collocations</td>
<td>preferred syntagmatic relations betw lexemes</td>
<td><em>heavy rain</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idioms</td>
<td>constructed around a verbal nucleus</td>
<td><em>to spill the beans</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irreversible bi/trinominals</td>
<td>fixed 2-3 word form sequences + <em>and/or</em></td>
<td><em>bed and breakfast</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similes</td>
<td>stereotyped comparisons</td>
<td><em>fit as a fiddle</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compounds</td>
<td>two(+ independent lexemes</td>
<td><em>goldfish, black hole</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical collocations</td>
<td>comb. of lexical &amp; grammatical word</td>
<td><em>depend on, cope with</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrasal verbs</td>
<td>verb + particle comb’s.</td>
<td><em>blow up, crop up</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex prepositions</td>
<td>grammaticalised comb’s.</td>
<td><em>with respect to, apart from</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex conjunctions</td>
<td>grammatical sequences</td>
<td><em>so that, as soon as</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phrasemes (Granger & Paquot) ctd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linking adverbials</td>
<td>various phrases w. adverbial function</td>
<td>last but not least, in other words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textual sentence stems</td>
<td>routinised fragments w textual function</td>
<td>another thing is, it will be shown that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech act formulae</td>
<td>routine formulae w discourse-pragm funct</td>
<td>good morning, take care, how do you do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudinal formulae*</td>
<td>signal speaker attitude</td>
<td>in fact, to be honest,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commonplaces</td>
<td>non-metaphorical sentences, truisms/tautologies</td>
<td>Enough is enough; YOLO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proverbs</td>
<td>express general ideas non-literally</td>
<td>When in Rome … The early bird …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slogans</td>
<td>directive phrases used repeatedly in politics/ advertising</td>
<td>Make love, not war; Coke is it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Phraseological borrowing (Fiedler 2017)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>Corpus example (NNC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Direct** phrase-logical borrowing / unadapted | *meet and greet*  
*big business*  | To av vinnerne får også møte skuespillerne ansikt til ansikt i en "meet and greet".                                                                 |
| **Hybrid** (partial substitution)                  | å sette en (‘to set a’)  
*deadline*  
å *ha noe/være i pipeline* | Vi har ofte måttet sette deadline for tidlig.  
På Oslo Børs ligger det nå åtte selskaper i pipeline for børsnotering.                                   |
| **Indirect** (translation loan)                    | *x er ikke rakettvitenskap* ‘x is not rocket science’  
å *adressere et problem* ‘to address a problem’ | Å bli mobilspiller er heller ikke rakettvitenskap.  
Vi håper vi kan adressere de samme problemene i Norge som vi har gjort i Sverige |
### Forms observed thus far (ENG→NOR)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borrowed phrase</th>
<th>English etymon</th>
<th>Category (Granger &amp; Paquot)</th>
<th>Category (Fiedler)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for X's sake</td>
<td>for X's sake</td>
<td>attitudinal formula</td>
<td>hybrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holy X</td>
<td>holy X</td>
<td>attitudinal formula</td>
<td>hybrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what the X</td>
<td>what the X</td>
<td>attitudinal formula</td>
<td>hybrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get over it</td>
<td>get over it</td>
<td>attitudinal formula</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no risk, no fun</td>
<td>no risk no fun</td>
<td>commonplace</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gratis lunsj</td>
<td>free lunch</td>
<td>compound</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glasstaket</td>
<td>the glass ceiling</td>
<td>compound</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blind date</td>
<td>blind date</td>
<td>compound</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X to go</td>
<td>X to go</td>
<td>grammatical collocation</td>
<td>hybrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for en kaffe</td>
<td>for a coffee</td>
<td>grammatical collocation</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elefanten i rommet</td>
<td>the elephant in the room</td>
<td>idiom</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>på slutten av dagen</td>
<td>at the end of the day</td>
<td>idiom</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i et nøtteskall</td>
<td>in a nutshell</td>
<td>idiom</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikke min kopp te</td>
<td>not my cup of tea</td>
<td>idiom</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plukke kirsebær</td>
<td>cherrypicking</td>
<td>idiom</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å være i samme båt</td>
<td>to be in the same boat</td>
<td>idiom</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut av det blå</td>
<td>out of the blue</td>
<td>idiom</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å gå den ekstra milen</td>
<td>to go the extra mile</td>
<td>idiom</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å gjøre verden til et bedre sted</td>
<td>make the world a better place</td>
<td>idiom</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knask eller knep</td>
<td>trick or treat</td>
<td>irreversible</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meet and greet</td>
<td>meet and greet</td>
<td>irreversible</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Forms observed thus far (ENG→NOR) (ctd.)

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<tr>
<th>Borrowed phrase</th>
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<th>Category (Granger &amp; Paquot)</th>
<th>Category (Fiedler)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>å sette en deadline</td>
<td>to set a deadline</td>
<td>lexical collocation</td>
<td>hybrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å ha noe i pipeline</td>
<td>to have something in the pipeline</td>
<td>lexical collocation</td>
<td>hybrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å adressere et problem</td>
<td>to adress a problem</td>
<td>lexical collocation</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tidlig fugl</td>
<td>early bird</td>
<td>lexical collocation</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å gjøre en forskjell</td>
<td>to make a difference</td>
<td>lexical collocation</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>føl deg fri til å</td>
<td>feel free to</td>
<td>lexical collocation</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nice try</td>
<td>nice try</td>
<td>lexical collocation</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fair enough</td>
<td>fair enough</td>
<td>lexical collocation</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what so ever</td>
<td>whatsoever</td>
<td>linking adverbiaial</td>
<td>adapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by the way</td>
<td>by the way</td>
<td>linking adverbiaial</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shit happens</td>
<td>shit happens</td>
<td>proverb</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the sky is the limit</td>
<td>the sky is the limit</td>
<td>slogan</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingen kommentar</td>
<td>no comment</td>
<td>speech act formula</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have a nice day</td>
<td>have a nice day</td>
<td>speech act formula</td>
<td>unadapted borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tingen er at</td>
<td>the thing is that</td>
<td>textual sentence stems</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>når det kommer til</td>
<td>when it comes to</td>
<td>textual sentence stems</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phraseology in a cross-linguistic perspective

MATERIAL AND METHODS
Cross-linguistic corpus method

**English**
- Old Bailey Corpus (1674-1913); (OBC); spoken, law proceedings
- Corpus of Historical American English (1810-2009); written (COHA)

**Norwegian**
- Bokhylla (1690-2013) Text Archive of The National Library (NA) and its n-gram viewer
- Nynorskkorpuset (1870-present) National dictionary project Norsk ordbok (NO)
- Norsk aviskorpus (1998-present) Norwegian Newspaper Corpus (NAK)

• + OED Online used for reference
Methodological points

• Considering meanings and usage patterns in source language (SL) and target language (TL)
• On the assumption that formally/structurally similar patterns may represent products of language contact (borrowing)
• Timeline and frequency profiles reflect possible trajectories
• Pairing of form and meaning/function well established in SL before emergent in TL → consistent and recurrent use in TL
  - non-quotational, not code switching
Methodological points (ctd.)

• Non-trivial task; **Issues to be considered in each case**

1. **Source language** = ? (indirect borrowing)
   
   Necessarily English?
   
   - Occasionally more than one possible sources; e.g. *Jeg vet.* ‘I know’ (Sw/En)
   - Could also be individual parallel developments

2. **Meanings/functions transferred**
   
   - all, some, (none?) (cf. Andersen 2014 on functional adaptation)
   - all at once or functional expansion?

3. **Phrasal integrity/fixededness**
   
   - borrowed as fixed phrase, or semi-fixed
Collostructions as phraseological borrowings

• To what extent are discourse-pragmatic items borrowed as individual words, fixed phrases or semi-fixed patterns (collostructions)?
• Collostructions: “particular slots in a grammatical structure (which) prefer, or are restricted to, a particular set or semantic class of lexical items” (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003: 211)
Textual phraseme: *by the way*

[1] En gedigen fest der man bare informerer om at *by the way* så kommer det nye biblioteket i Bjørvika til å koste 2,7 milliarder, ikke 1,2 milliarder. (NNC/AP/2013-12-11)  
*informing that by the way the new library will cost 2.7MNOK*

[2] **By the way**, blei det no pulings?? (NNC/DB/2000-10-10)  
*By the way, was there any fucking?*

[3] Der oppe ligger **by the way** Loojon'en, sier han og peker på en merkelig innretning. (NNC/BT/2005-10-26)  
*Up there lies, by the way, the Loojon, he says*

• Sentence adverbial/discourse marker signal of *topical progression*, marking (partial) topical shift/digression
• Competing with domestic variants *forresten, for øvrig*
Attitudinal formula: *get over it*


*But it is no use complaining. You can’t turn things around, so get over it, and write a new and better hit instead …*


*God is dead. Man lives. Get over it.*

- Attitudinal phraseme, DM function
- an emphatic expression of H’s failure to recognise the inevitability of the facts stated in the previous proposition and their relatively low degree of relevance; S’s rejection of H’s negative attitude towards these facts.
Expletives as borrowed collostructions

• For {heaven’s/fuck’s …} sake!
• Holy {shit/crap/fuck …}!
• What the {fuck/heck …}!

• Borrowed individually as fixed phrases, or wholesale as collostructions?
Emphasis marker: *for X’s sake*

- Corpus-based list of collocates shows that potential borrowings belonging to this pattern have a high MI score (strong collocations)
- RL inventory: *for {fuck’s/pete’s/god’s/old time’s} sake*

[6] tajik er ikke stortingsrepresentant for ap *for fucks sake* --- hvor lenge har avisene sommervikarer forresten (NTwC)

*Tajic is not a member of parliament for the Labour party, for fuck’s sake*


*Then let’s go for that one, for old time’s sake*

- Inventory of variant forms seems more or less *coextensive* with SL set of variants
- → pattern *for X’s sake* borrowed as collostruction
- possible that borrowed variants are boosted by (mapped onto) existing domestic pattern *for faen*
Surprise-marking interjection: *holy X*

[8] Men da jeg så den, sa jeg bare "*holy shit!* ". (NNC/FV/2012-02-26)

   *But when I saw it, I just said “holy shit!”*

[9] **holy calory** sjekk ut den nye epiosden (sic.) her (NTwC)

   *holy calory check out the new episode here*

[10] **holy celebrity** hva er den greia som ligger i kjøleskapet (NTwC)

   *holy celebrity what is that thing lying in the fridge*

- RL inventory:
  
  *holy {smoke/crap/shit/fuck/christ/guacamole/mascara/macaroni/makrame/celebrity/calory/camoly}*

- the pattern *holy X* seems to be **productive** beyond the original SL inventory, taking on new collocational variants *post hoc*

- EN/NO-based new collocates (*celebrity vs. makrame*)

- → pattern *holy X* borrowed as **extensible** collocation

- no underlying expletive domestic pattern
Surprise-marking interjection: *what the X?*

[11] fikk ikke jobben men *what the hey* det var moro (NTwC)

didn’t get the job but *what the hey* it was fun (anyway)

[12] *what the pokk*.. det må være bullcrap (NTwC)

*what the pokk, that must be bullcrap*

[13] *what the faen* --- har enda ikke sett noen her inne med bio (NTwC)

*what the faen --- have not yet seen anyone in here with bio*

- RL inventory: *what the* {f…/fuck/*faen*/heck/hell/hey/pokk}
- As with previous category, *what the X*, borrowed as collostruction, extensible
- Pattern productive beyond SL inventory
- New collocates with new NO-based forms e.g. *faen*
- Underlying RL pattern *hva faen?*
Phraseology in a cross-linguistic perspective

CASE STUDIES: PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS
Cross-linguistic corpus study of 8 PUs

• 2 direct borrowings:
  • fair enough; shit happens
• 2 loan translations:
  • å gå den ekstra milen; å gjøre en forskjell
• 2 discourse markers (textual phrasemes):
  • når det kommer til; tingen er at
• 2 (assumed) non-Anglicisms: (exist as such in GER)
  • tidlig fugl; på slutten av dagen
Case: *fair enough*

- **OED:** *fair* P3. Phrases used parenthetically as interjections.
  b. *fair enough*: *that's reasonable; I accept that.*

- [14] But that seems to make it a clearer call." *Fair enough,*" said Madam Delia, submitting. "I ain't denyin’ … (COHA 1873-NF-OldportDays)

- [15] Det at SV helst ikkje vil bruka pengar på Forsvaret er **fair enough** det, men her blei me altså vitne til at Rolf Reikvam & Co heller ville bruka enorme summar på å kjøpa ikkje-amerikanske fly som ikkje ein gong stettar alle dei krava Forsvaret stiller (NynKorp 2008 SoA)
Timeline and frequency: *fair enough*

- **OED first:** 1817; **NOR first:** 1967

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Stable rel.frq. in ENG/COHA** post-1920
- **Sharply on the increase in NOR/NB** post-2005
Case: shit happens

• OED: shit P26. orig. U.S. shit happens: bad things often happen unavoidably. Also (esp. as a rejoinder) expressing a resigned attitude to any state of affairs or course of events: these things happen, such is life.

• [16] something happens, somebody don't come through. You know, shit happens. But this time. This time it's gonna be different. (COHA 1994 FIC Play: TalkingBones)

Timeline and frequency: *shit happens*

- **OED first:** 1983; **NOR first:** 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dataset</th>
<th>Timeline</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OBC</td>
<td>1674-1913</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COHA</td>
<td>1810-2009</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COCA</td>
<td>1990-2015</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NB Bokhylla</td>
<td>1690-2013</td>
<td>1402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nynorskkorpuset</td>
<td>1870-present</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norsk aviskorpus</td>
<td>1998-present</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SHIT HAPPENS**

- **ALL:** 20
- **1810:** 0
- **1820:** 0
- **1830:** 0
- **1840:** 0
- **1850:** 0
- **1860:** 0
- **1870:** 0
- **1880:** 0
- **1890:** 0
- **1900:** 0
- **1910:** 0
- **1920:** 0
- **1930:** 0
- **1940:** 0
- **1950:** 0
- **1960:** 0
- **1970:** 0
- **1980:** 0
- **1990:** 0
- **2000:** 8

**Graph:**

- X-axis: Year (1980-2013)
- Y-axis: Frequency
- Line graph showing the frequency of *shit happens* over time.
Case: å gå den ekstra milen

• ENG: *to go the extra mile*
• OED: *mile* P2. b. *to go* (also *walk, travel*) *the extra* (also *second*) *mile*: to spend more time or effort in an activity than is strictly necessary, as a sign of goodwill; to be especially assiduous in pursuit of an objective.

• [18] "Nevertheless, he continued, he is willing "*to go the extra mile*" and approve the huge sum, hoping it will not be wasted. (COHA 1969 NEWS NYT-Reg)
• [19] Nå får presidenten økt oppslutning for sin linje, etter at USA under møtet i Geneve gikk «*den ekstra milen*» for fredens sak» (NB 1991 Arbeiderbladet 1991.01.11)
### Timeline & frequency: å gå den ekstra milen

- **OED first**: 1907; **NOR first**: 1991

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Start Year</th>
<th>End Year</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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</table>

#### Graph:
- The graph shows the frequency of å gå den ekstra milen from 1980 to 2013.
- The frequency increases significantly from 1980 to 2013.

#### Table:
- The table lists the frequency of å gå den ekstra milen in different corpora.
- The frequency varies across the different corpora, with OBC showing the lowest frequency and Nynorskkorpuset showing the highest frequency.
Case: å gjøre en forskjell

• ENG: to make a difference
• OED: difference P2. to make a difference
  a. With between (also †of). To draw a distinction between two or more things; to treat two or more things differently to one another. Also: to constitute a difference between two or more things.;
  b. (a) Usually in negative and interrogative constructions, and frequently with non-referential it as subject: to have a significant effect on a person or situation; to matter.
  (b) Of a person: to have a positive, beneficial effect on a person, thing, or situation; to change something for the better.
Case: å gjøre en forskjell

• [20] I believe that individuals can make a difference, and anyone that doubts that ought to know Joe O'Sullivan. (COHA 1980 MAG NewYorker)

Case: å gjøre en forskjell

• Anglicism status taken for granted by prescriptivist critics; e.g. [https://khrono.no/debatt/gjore-en-forskjell](https://khrono.no/debatt/gjore-en-forskjell):
  - “For der engelskmenn snakker om å gjøre en forskjell - make a difference - der snakker vi på norsk om å bety noe eller spille en rolle.”

• Commonly used by high-ranking politicians and officials

• Some critics would also have it that the correct phrase to use is “å utgjøre en forskjell”.
Timeline and frequency: å gjøre en forskjell

• OED first: 1917; NOR first: 1988
• All OED senses/uses observed in NOR.
• Sense b. (b) (beneficial significance) clearly most recent in both languages

* Det vi alle driver med, er viktig.
* Du kan gjøre en forskjell, for faget og for de andre som jobber i det.
# Timeline and frequency: å gjøre en forskjell

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![Graph showing frequency of å gjøre en forskjell over time](image_url)
Case: når det kommer til

- ENG: *when it comes to*
- OED: *come* 6. *intr.* c. *when it comes to ——*: (used to introduce or qualify a statement) *so far as (a matter or subject) is concerned.*

- [22] Well, he's a dangerous rival, in some ways, "said Ricker. "*When it comes to* slush and a whitewash brush, I don't think you're a match for him. (COHA 1891 FIC QualityMercy)

- [23] … skårar Sveio jamt over midt på tre. *Når det kjem til* økonomisk styring or prioritering, derimot, står det verre til. (NB Vestavind 15.09.2011)
Timeline and frequency: *når det kommer til*

- OED first: 1889; NOR first: 19xx

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<th>End Year</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
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**Graph showing frequency of *når det kommer til* over time.**
when it comes to

- steady increase post 1950 in COHA; limited manual analysis yet, but growth seems attributable to the new discourse-marking function:
Case: *tingen er at*

- ENG: *the thing is that*
- OED *thing 7. colloq.* With the. b. The special, important, or notable point; esp. that which is specially required; (more generally) that which is to be considered, the truth or the facts of the matter (esp. in *the thing is (that)* …, used to draw attention to a following statement; …
- [24] I could not give you one instance; **the only thing is that** he has told me on frequent occasions to say he was not (OBC 1870 934237)
- [25] Meningen heri er ikke, at nogle skulde foregive, at Sneelinien paa et Sted skulde tage sin Begyndelse i en Afstand ad 9000de og andre grave paa same Sted hertil dertil 12000de Fod; men **Tingen er, at** paa et Sted begynder denne Linie i en Høide af 9000de og derimod paa et anded Sted først i en Afstand af 12000de Fod; (NB 1787 Fleischer, Esaias Forsøg til en natur-historie. 2 1 : *Forsøg til en Natur-Historie over Luften og de i og med Luften forefaldende og forbundne Tildragelser.* København: Gyldendal)
Timeline and frequency: *tingen er at*

- **OED first:** 1748; **NOR first:** 1747

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<td><strong>THE THING IS THAT</strong></td>
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Graph showing frequency over time.
Case: *tingen er at*

- Very different frequency profile from the rest of items above
- Emerged by mid-18\textsuperscript{th} century in both languages
  - No major influence from English at the time (Stene 1945, Graedler 1998)
- Not a borrowing from English
- Peak around 1910; latent structure (cf. ENG *like*)
- Possibly recently boosted by ENG usage? (Gottlieb 2012)
Case: *tidlig fugl*

- ENG: *early bird*
- OED: *early bird; colloq.* A person who habitually gets up from sleep or rest early in the morning; an early riser.
- [26] "No, "he answered, "generally he's an *early bird* -- airley to bed and airley to rise (COHA 1851 FIC MobyDickWhale)
- Generally not found in NOR (literal, evolution), but:
- [27] En *tidlig fugl* ¶ Rodney Rothman syntes 40 år var for lenge å vente på den nye "senioralderen". Han pensjonerte seg … (NAK DB 2005-06-26)
Timeline and frequency: *tidlig fugl*

- **OED first: 1851; NOR first and only: 2005**

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**Early Bird**: 142

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Case: på slutten av dagen

- ENG: at the end of the day
- OED: end II 7. d. In hackneyed (sic.) phr. at the end of the day, eventually; when all's said and done.

[28] Usually, there are some set of circumstances to push you one way or another. So we had a very detailed assessment. # But at the end of the day, the quantitative side can only tell you so much. (COHA 1999 NEWS Denver)

- Generally not found in NOR (literal), but:

[29] Men livet begynner ved 40. Jeg har kommet til et punkt hvor jeg vil leve mitt liv som den jeg er. På slutten av dagen kan jeg si til meg selv at jeg sto opp for det jeg tror på og for det som er verdifullt for meg, forteller hun (NNC VG 1999-10-10)
Timeline and frequency: *på slutten av dagen*

- **OED first:** 1974; **NOR first and only:** 1999

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<td>AT THE END OF THE DAY</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>161</td>
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ENG at the end of the day

• remarkable increase in COHA post-1980
• difficult to judge literal from non-literal uses
• clearly, increase must be attributed to the conventionalised metaphorical sense, cf. COHA after 2000:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>2003 MAG</td>
<td>the afternoon; that extra glass of wine at the end of the day, a second helping of anything, I needed a permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>2004 FIC</td>
<td>envisioned her children and their friends coming home at the end of the day to the smell of homemade cookies and tall glasses of milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>2004 FIC</td>
<td>animals who could take human form, but at the end of the day, they were animals and not humans. Their animal half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>2004 FIC</td>
<td>Then she would put them in her purse at the end of the day and take them home and line them up on her kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>2004 FIC</td>
<td>favorite gathering place for young and old alike at the end of the day. He swept the flashlight across the hard packed earth...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>2004 FIC</td>
<td>’re screwed. 23. Rico sat down at the end of the day and wrote in his journal: &quot; Today I washed a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>2004 FIC</td>
<td>calculations, Mrs. Munson! -- so that at the end of the day, at the final reckoning, each policy- holder shall have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>2004 FIC</td>
<td>shame. # DORR # Indeed. But at the end of the day, your position prevailed, and the men have decided that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>2004 MAG</td>
<td>a U.S. military spokesman in Kabul: &quot; At the end of the day, we expect Pakistani action there. &quot; -- By Tim</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>2004 MAG</td>
<td>the greatest actor of his generation. &quot; At the end of the day, being an actor is just not that difficult, dude</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>2004 MAG</td>
<td>her life isn't to please people. At the end of the day, Lauryn is not happy with herself. She's not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>2004 MAG</td>
<td>correction on some unsuspecting family's wash. At the end of the day, my search for the perfect Mars scope would continue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>2005 FIC</td>
<td>feel like a dog let out to exercise at the end of the day. &quot; The stillness of the forest is always a surprise</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>2005 FIC</td>
<td>, corners are best. Passing by, at the end of the day, I stopped, closing my eyes, and listened for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>2005 FIC</td>
<td>eyes flat. Then he said, &quot; At the end of the day, you're exactly like them. &quot; “ Sticks and</td>
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Phraseology in a cross-linguistic perspective

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS
### Summary of corpus findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Equivalent form and function mapping in ENG and NOR?</th>
<th>Borrowing? (English-induced)</th>
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<td><em>fair enough</em></td>
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<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>shit happens</em></td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å gjøre en forskjell</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>partly</td>
</tr>
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<td>n.a.</td>
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Concluding remarks

• Corpus frequency profiles (frequency by decade) are indicative of status as borrowing
• PUs borrowed into TL are usually preceded by significant frequency increase in SL (hence ‘catch phrases’)
• But: frequency increase is not a sufficient criterion for borrowing (cf. at the end of the day)
• Nor is it a prerequisite for a form’s success in the TL (cf. å gå den ekstra milen, no particular RL increase)
Concluding remarks (ctd.)

• Furthermore, the diachronic-contrastive corpus method enables us to reject preconceived ideas about a form’s alleged origin (the “Anglicism fallacy”)

• cf. *tingen er at*

• and reveals striking differences in time span from emergence in SL to point of transfer to TL

• cf. *fair enough*: 150 years

• vs. *shit happens*: 8 years
Concluding remarks (ctd.)

Phraseological borrowings are either

- **borrowed as fixed phrases**
  - *get over it!*
  - *whatsoever → what so ever*

- **as wholesale collostructions**, where envelope of variation in RL is fully coextensive with that of SL
  - or possibly a subset: *for X’s case*

- **or as extensible collostructions**, where envelope of variation is wider than that of the SL
  - resulting in pseudo-Anglicisms: *holy X* and *what the X*
Concluding remarks (ctd.)

- **Discourse context** as well as **social context** are crucial to determine the status and functions of borrowings; a **pragmatic perspective** needed.
- Need to inspect **functional stability** or functional **adaptation** through qualitative studies of discourse-pragmatic items in both SL and RL.
And so, finally …

• Many reasons for choosing a word/phrase; e.g. *fair enough/greit nok (det)* both stored in memory as representations of same concept

• ‘salient’ = the most
  - accessible (easily retrievable)
  - stylistically fitting
  - attitudinally fitting (evoking appropriate semantic prosody, connotations)
  - conceptually fitting (near-synonyms; e.g. *research* vs. *forskning*)
  - fun to use

• This is why we need studies of pragmatic borrowing within the usage-based approach to language contact

• A wide range of phenomena to explore, in all different languages

• More systematic and comprehensive studies needed
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