



# S KAM – The Language Terminator (Språkterminatoren)? Norwegian, English and Global Success

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## Abstract

*Language has both a social and a cultural significance for a community of speakers. It inevitably undergoes constant changes in order to adapt to the requirements of a particular discursive practice (spoken or written communication, face-to-face or online communication, specialized language, etc.). In addition to this, language is externally influenced by the borrowing of loanwords. Focusing on anglicisms in Norwegian, this paper analyses the use of borrowings and of code-switching in the informal speech of teenagers as it is depicted in the Norwegian teen drama web series 'Skam'. The gradual acknowledgment of English as an international language paved the way in Norway for the acceptance of this foreign language in various domains, especially in the academia, as a tool for increasing exposure and for internationalization practices. Due to the constant exposure to English both in the academic environment and in informal settings, younger generations in Norway tend to engage more often in language mixing and regard this international language as an essential part of their daily lives. The findings of this paper concluded that in addition*

## Rezumat

*Limba are atât o importanță socială, cât și una culturală pentru o comunitate de vorbitori. Aceasta trece inevitabil prin schimbări constante pentru a se adapta cerințelor anumitor practici discursive (comunicare vorbită sau scrisă, față în față sau online, limbaj specializat etc.). Pe lângă acestea, limba este influențată din exterior de împrumutul de cuvinte. Concentrându-se pe anglicismele utilizate în limba norvegiană, această lucrare analizează utilizarea cuvintelor împrumutate și a practicii de code-switching în limbajul informal al adolescenților așa cum acestea apar în serialul norvegian pentru adolescenți Skam. Recunoașterea treptată a limbii engleze ca limbă internațională a pregătit calea în Norvegia pentru acceptarea acestei limbi străine în diferite domenii, în special în mediul academic, ca instrument pentru diseminare și pentru practicile de internaționalizare. Datorită expunerii constante la limba engleză atât în mediul academic, cât și în medii informale, generațiile mai tinere din Norvegia tind, tot mai des, să utilizeze ambele limbi și consideră limba engleză ca o parte esențială a vieții lor de zi cu zi. Rezultatele acestei lucrări au concluzionat că, pe lângă utilizarea anglicismelor, au fost identificate două tipuri de code-switching – între propoziții sau în interiorul unei propoziții) în episoadele 9 și 10, sezonul 4, din „Skam”. În această linie de gândire, utilizarea*

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to the use of anglicisms, two types of code-switching – inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching) – were identified in episodes 9 and 10, season 4, of ‘Skam’. In this line of thought, the use of anglicisms in ‘Skam’ and the code-switching performed are iconic for today’s teenagers, as it testifies for the dominance of the western culture in their daily lives, and explains, at least partly, the wide success of this drama series.

anglicismelor în „Skam” și a practicii de code-switching sunt emblematice pentru adolescenții de astăzi, fiindcă atestă dominanța culturii occidentale în viața lor de zi cu zi și explică, cel puțin parțial, succesul acestui serial.

**Keywords:** English; Norwegian; anglicisms; adolescent language; borrowing; code-switching; Skam

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## Introduction

English as a global language<sup>1</sup> represents the primary source of language borrowings into Norwegian<sup>2</sup>. The influence of borrowings has further increased through globalization, technological developments and the advent of information and communication technologies. In this respect, in various domains such as commerce, education, technology, research, fashion that are connected to a constant consumption of global culture (mass media, music, television, etc.), language borrowings have gradually expanded in Norway (see for reference [sprakradet.no](http://sprakradet.no)). The first research that provided an extended work on English loanwords into Norwegian was written by Aasta Stene in 1945<sup>3</sup> (Lea, 2009:14). Other works on the same topic, but more focused on the language of newspapers were written by O. Bratlien 1967, S. Johannessen 1963, B. T. Rafnung 1965 and A. Spangen 1965.<sup>4</sup> Other domains in which the influence of English on Norwegian was investigated from a lexical, phonological and morphological perspective were ads, movies,

<sup>1</sup> Crystal David, *English as a Global Language*. Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Sunde A. M., & Kristoffersen, M. “Effects of English L2 on Norwegian L1”, *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 41(3), (2018): 275; Stig Johansson, and Anne-Line Graedler, *Rocka, hipt og snacksy: om engelsk i norsk språk og samfunn* (Kristiansand: Høyskoleforl, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Lea, A.H., *Lånord i norsk talespråk*, Masteroppgave (UiO, 2009):14. Retrieved from <https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/26827>, July 25, 2020

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem* 2009: 14

navigation, music (I. A. Devenish, 1990), fashion (I. Valberg, 1990), the educational field (A. Hellevik, 1963) and oil industry (E. Flydal, 1983) as quoted by Lea.<sup>5</sup>

The gradual emergence of English into the Norwegian language has led to various lively debates in Norway in the past two decades. These discussions revolved around the status of English as an international language in Norway, and the fear that Norwegian would be replaced and die out<sup>6</sup>. In addition, a recent research conducted on 4500 respondents (students of different ages) indicated that 70% of them use English when they engage in spoken or written communication on social media and when they communicate with peers and friends<sup>7</sup>. In order to cover a gap in knowledge, various research studies have been conducted to investigate the use of anglicisms in Norwegian informal speech.<sup>8</sup> This paper follows within broader lines the same direction, but aims to analyse elements of borrowings and of code-switching in adolescents' informal speech within two episodes of the Norwegian teen drama web series 'Skam'.

### **Changes occur in language as an outcome of borrowings and code-switching**

Language is a dynamic cultural phenomenon that, in order to survive, needs to adapt and keep pace with the new demands of the modern society. This implies that the need for incorporating English terms into a Norwegian's linguistic practice stems out of a need to use words for which there is lexical shortage in the recipient language. On the one hand, language

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem* 2009: 15.

<sup>6</sup> See for reference [sprakradet.no](http://sprakradet.no).

<sup>7</sup> The Research Council of Norway [Norges forskningsråd]. *Ta tempen på språket!* – Rapport fra Forskningskampanjen 2014. (2014). Retrieved from [https://www.miljolare.no/innsendt/oppslag/1336/5502d9f97a260/rapport\\_fd2014.pdf](https://www.miljolare.no/innsendt/oppslag/1336/5502d9f97a260/rapport_fd2014.pdf), September 5, 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Drange, E.M. "Anglicism in the informal speech of Norwegian and Chilean adolescents", in *Youngspeak in a Multilingual Perspective*, ed. Anna-Brita Stenström and Annette Myre Jørgensen (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009), 161-175.;

Andersen, G. "Pseudo-borrowings as cases of pragmatic borrowing: Focus on Anglicisms in Norwegian", in *Pseudo-English. Studies on False Anglicisms in Europe*, ed. Cristiano Furiassi and Henrik Gottlieb (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 123-144; Sunde, A. M. and M. Kristoffersen, 2018.

borrowings can be triggered by personal convenience as the loanword would be more suitable in a certain linguistic context as a carrier of identity. On the other hand, code-switching, a concept that refers to the alternation, in written or spoken form, of two languages, a shift “between two or more languages simultaneously or interchangeably within one conversation”<sup>9</sup>, demonstrates language proficiency and a better understanding of how various language systems function.

Because language can be used with different purposes in mind, this paper employs these two distinct concepts of borrowing and code-switching to describe the discursive practices that take place in the TV series ‘Skam’, episodes 9 and 10. One reason for this choice is that the distinction between the two terms is difficult to point out and measure because of the “broad and nuanced spectres of the linguistic influence exerted by a source language on a recipient language”<sup>10</sup>. In a similar vein, Grimstad<sup>11</sup> views the distinction between the two concepts not in opposition, but on a continuum line, in complementarity.

On the one hand, borrowing is commonly understood as a diachronic process that implies a linguistic transfer from a source language (SL) towards a recipient language (RL). In this respect, borrowings undergo a process of integration in the RL. According to Pulcini et al.<sup>12</sup>, borrowings can be direct (i.e., loanwords are imported in the RL as they are, without any modification e.g., *pizza*, *selfie*). They can also undergo a process of hybridization being given a spelling or an utterance that sits more naturally with Norwegian language: e.g., *grapefrukt* ‘grapefruit’) or indirect (i.e., calques – word for word translations: e.g., *hjemside* ‘home page’, *håndbrekk* ‘handbreak’).

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<sup>9</sup> Grosjean, F., *Life with two languages. An introduction to bilingualism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982): 145.

<sup>10</sup> Sunde, A. M. “A typology of English borrowings in Norwegian.” *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 17(2), (2018):106.

<sup>11</sup> Grimstad B. “The code-switching/borrowing debate: Evidence from English-Origin verbs in American Norwegian”, *Lingue e Linguaggio* 16(1) (2017): 17.

<sup>12</sup> Pulcini, V., Furiassi, C. and González, F.R., “The lexical influence of English on European languages: From words to phraseology.”, in *The Anglicization of European Lexism*, ed. Furiassi, Cristiano, Virginia Pulcini and Félix Rodríguez González (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), 1–24.

Andersen<sup>13</sup> indicates some examples of anglicisms that are usually borrowed in Norwegian: interjections (e.g., *duh?*), discourse markers (e.g., *well*), expletives (e.g., *fuckin*g), tags (e.g., *no?*) and vocatives (e.g., *man*). Advocating for a better understanding of the pragmatic aspects of borrowings, Andersen<sup>14</sup> lays emphasis on the symbolic values, the prestige towards the source language or the connotations of the borrowed lexeme. Aiming to provide a comprehensible frame in this research paper, we indicate the contextual implications of the borrowings found in ‘Skam’.

On the other hand, code-switching has been a topic of interest in many academic environments as, in the context of globalization, communication is marked by multilingualism and multiculturalism. This phenomenon can be identified in various areas: e.g., in the formal educational setting when a teacher teaches a foreign language but makes use of learners’ mother tongue, in novels, in social media, in daily conversation, etc. Code-switching is not a “random mixing of words”<sup>15</sup> as it requires interlocutors to have knowledge of both languages and of the community norms applied in that particular context<sup>16</sup>.

Code-switching is a concept usually associated with a bilingual environment and with the need to master proficiently both languages used in communication. But in today’s globalized world, second/foreign language learning does require from learners such prerequisites that represent unrealistic demands (to become a ‘near native’). First and foremost, the native – non-native distinction is softened as to acknowledge multilingualism. This has generated an important shift towards the emergence of a new paradigm in language research, i.e., one in which the distinct lines between bilingualism and second language acquisition (L2) are blurred and L2 users become unquestionably bilinguals<sup>17</sup>. A bilingual

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<sup>13</sup> Andersen, 2015: 124.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.: 126-127.

<sup>15</sup> Karras, J., “Greek-English code-switching”, *Calgary Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 17 (1995):60.

<sup>16</sup> Wardaugh, R., *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992):108.

<sup>17</sup> Lynch, A., “Bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition” in *Second and Foreign Language Education, Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, ed. N. Van Deusen-Scholl & S. May, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2015): 11.

speaker can master differently two languages and does not have to acquire “both languages from birth or early life”<sup>18</sup>. This new perspective asserts that code-switching has become a feature of both bilinguals and non-bilinguals.

In terms of types of code-switching several directions are indicated:

- inter-sentential code-switching (insertion of a phrase or a clause between sentences);
- intra-sentential code-switching (insertion of words, phrases or clauses in the middle of a sentence);
- tag-switching (exclamations, tags, discourse markers, adverbials, terms of address, etc.)<sup>19</sup>.

Thus, depending on their position, code-switching can be visible in two separate sentences that are part of the same instance of communication, within the sentence itself or within a word itself. The inclusion of tag-switching both within the more complex concept of code-switching and its language borrowing counterpart (e.g. *no?*, *right?*) comes to support the above-mentioned idea regarding the difficulty of delimiting in some cases between spontaneous mixes or integrated loanwords.

Several reasons for code-switching can be identified with regard to the different functions they perform:

- habitual experience, to emphasize a point, to attract attention<sup>20</sup>;
- to express group membership<sup>21</sup>;
- to establish continuity with the previous speaker<sup>22</sup>;
- to achieve particular discursive aims, to fill linguistic gaps, to express ethnic identity<sup>23</sup>.

This research paper investigates all of these communicative functions of code-switching with the purpose to connect them to the code-switching

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<sup>18</sup> Abutalebi, J. and & Weekes B., ‘Editorial: The cognitive neurology of bilingualism in the age of globalization’, *Behavioral Neurology* (2014):1

<sup>19</sup> Poplack, S., ‘Sometimes I’ll start a sentence in Spanish Y termino en Espagnol: towards a typology of code-switching’, *Linguistics*, Vol. 18, (1980): 581-618.

<sup>20</sup> Malik, L., ‘*Sociolinguistics: A Study of Code-switching*’ (New Delhi: Anmol, 1994).

<sup>21</sup> Poplack, 1980.

<sup>22</sup> Hoffman, C., *An introduction to bilingualism* (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group: Oxon, New York, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> Bullock, B.E. and Toribio, A.J., *Linguistic Code-switching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

performed by actors within two episodes of the Norwegian teen drama web series ‘Skam’.

According to Fishman<sup>24</sup> (1972) and Holmes & Wilson (2017) language choice is determined by the context of communication that is comprised of:

- the place of interaction (home environment, workplace, school environment, etc.);
- the participants and the relationship established between them (parent, friend, employer, etc.);
- the topic of discourse (leisure time, family discussions, solving a homework, applying for a promotion, etc.).

This paper considers Fishman's<sup>25</sup> and Holmes & Wilson's<sup>26</sup> context of communication by acknowledging that code-switching and borrowing within ‘Skam’ is to a great extent influenced by the particular setting, types of interaction between actors and the topics of discussion. Moreover, it is relevant to emphasize that ‘Skam’ focuses on how relationships are created between characters and the linguistic repertoire they use when interacting in different situations. The characteristics of face-to-face communication are also present: back-channelling, repairs, repetitions, short phrases or no language connectors. We indicate below the context of communication for ‘Skam’:

- the setting of interaction: informal settings (actors’ homes), formal settings (public spaces, etc.), online on social media;
- the participants and their relationship: friends, acquaintances;
- the topic of discourse: relationships, sexual abuse, mental illness, homosexuality or religion.

In this line of thought, the use of teenage slang and English (borrowings and code-switching) in ‘Skam’ is iconic for today’s teenagers, as it testifies for the dominance of the Western culture in their daily lives, and explains, at least partly, the wide success of this drama series.

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<sup>24</sup> Fishman, J., “The Relationship between Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics in the Study of Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When”, in *Sociolinguistics*, ed. John Pride & Janet Holmes, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Education, 1972) 15-32.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*: 1972

<sup>26</sup> Holmes, J. and Wilson, N., *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 5th edition (London/New York: Routledge, 2017).

## English – a medium of learning and communication in Norway

The curricular reforms in Norway dating back to 1997 and 2006<sup>27</sup> regulate that all learners enrolled in the compulsory educational system must study English as learning this language “is considered as a vital and life-long skill in Norway”<sup>28</sup>. In recent years, there has been a tendency at university level to introduce English as a medium of instruction<sup>29</sup>, both as an internationalization and a quality assurance measure. Beginning with 2009, all study programmes at tertiary education were required to take measures in order to make institutions more attractive and competitive, both at national and international level. For instance, even if most higher education programmes in Norway are taught in Norwegian, approximately 250 Master’s programmes and 250 Bachelor’s programmes use English as academic Lingua Franca<sup>30</sup>.

Thus, English has gradually gained its well established place in the academic arena as most research is disseminated in English nowadays. In a globalized world characterized by increased mobility, competence in English constitutes a solid prerequisite for effectively engaging in multilingual and multicultural contexts which represent “a pervasive feature of our modern workplaces”<sup>31</sup>. It is beneficial for youth to learn to speak a global language and these solid language skills will undoubtedly provide them with many opportunities in their educational and career paths. Because language and culture are interlinked in the foreign language classroom, the English subject curriculum in Norway contributes to the development of

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<sup>27</sup> Språk åpner dører, Strategi for styrking av fremmedspråk i grunnopplæringen 2005-2009 (Norge: Utdanings og forskningsdepartementet, 2007).

<sup>28</sup> Vattøy, Kim-Daniel, “Learning English in Norway”, *Language ISSUES: The ESOL JOURNAL*, 28(2), (2017): 51-53.

<sup>29</sup> Ljosland, R., “English as an Academic Lingua Franca: Language policies and multilingual practices in a Norwegian university”, *Journal of Pragmatics*, Volume 43, Issue 4, (2011): 991-1004.

<sup>30</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/education/study-in-europe/country-profiles/norway\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/education/study-in-europe/country-profiles/norway_en), accessed September 2, 2020.

<sup>31</sup> Nardon, L., *Working in a Multicultural World. A Guide to Developing Intercultural Competence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017): 4.

learners' "communicative competence and their intercultural competence"<sup>32</sup> which have become essential in the multicultural and multilingual educational setting of Norway. The influence of English in Norway is also noticeable in areas such as TV, social media, commercials, sports and technology.

As concerns younger generations and their discourse, it is worth mentioning that the use of anglicisms tends to be perceived as an identity marker and is not grounded in any lexical shortage within a specific field. That is, teenagers tend to borrow words (calques, discourse markers, etc.) as a "creative language practice"<sup>33</sup>, even if these borrowings are not necessary. Because "adolescents are the linguistic movers and shakers [...] and a prime source of information about linguistic change"<sup>34</sup>, they contribute gradually to the inclusion of these borrowings in the recipient language firstly in spoken and then in written form. Anglicisms and slang are likely to be associated with informal language contexts because in formal situations "adolescents tend to use a more standard variety of their language"<sup>35</sup>.

Further on, the paper focuses on the more specific context provided by the Norwegian TV series SKAM, and analyses how anglicisms as borrowings and as code-switching influence the teenage discourse in informal settings.

### **'SKAM' – Contemporary language use and authenticity of interaction**

'Skam' is a Norwegian online television series, released in 2015 and broadcasted until 2017 that has gained worldwide recognition even if the programme never issued official subtitles since its target audience was in Norway. From a linguistic and sociolinguistic point of view, the novelty of 'Skam' resides in the teenagers' use of contemporary language in authentic informal interaction. Slang has an important role in the makeup of the show

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<sup>32</sup> Pop, R. and Radut, R.D. "Language Policies in Norway and the Development of the Multilingual Competence", *Studia UBB Philologia* 64 (2/2019): 204.

<sup>33</sup> Drange, 2009:162.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*.

and “is part of how the characters construct their personalities”<sup>36</sup>. In this TV series, slang is usually taken from English and it appears in code-switching instances. Occasionally, depending on the context and the interlocutors, the teenagers use ‘kebabnorsk’, which is an urban multi-ethnolect common around Oslo that incorporates words from languages of non-Western immigrants (Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, Urdu, etc.) to Norway<sup>37</sup>. Thus, the characters of this TV series interact in an informal environment and as such, they tend to use informal language.

This show targeted first of all teenagers from Norway and the issues and situations that they can face. Its main ingredient is authenticity and topics that are of interest to teenagers such as sexuality, friendships, establishing relationships, expressing feelings, the multicultural Norway. The characters (mostly non-professional actors) playing in this series demonstrate in their linguistic behaviour knowledge of other languages. The anglicisms and the code-switching they use is understood and accepted by all interlocutors. As far as Sunde & Kristoffersen<sup>38</sup> are concerned, the success of a linguistic innovation depends on this common acceptance and understanding. Teenagers are eager consumers of social media and of the entertainment industry. Most of the media that is not presented in Norwegian is broadcasted in English. Therefore, the influence of English “is reflected in the language of teenagers and young adults in Norway”<sup>39</sup>. In ‘Skam’, teenagers use English in code-switching situations, they borrow words from English for stylistic purposes, use an English term but with a pronunciation in Norwegian, they make use of word-for-word translations (calque) or of a hybridization process that “involves the combination of an Anglicism and a domestic word into a compound<sup>40</sup>. Their use of English is

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<sup>36</sup> Bjørkedal, I. H., *What happened to “ass”? A study of the fan subbing of Norwegian slang into English in the TV-show Skam and its effects on characterization*. Master’s Thesis in English (Trondheim: NTNU, 2018).

<sup>37</sup> <https://forskning.no/barn-og-ungdom-kultur-sprak/hva-er-kebabnorsk-i-dag/286860>, accessed September 4, 2020.

<sup>38</sup> Sunde, A. M. and Kristoffersen, M., “Effects of English L2 on Norwegian L1”, *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 41(3) (2018): 305.

<sup>39</sup> Bjørkedal, 2018:41

<sup>40</sup> Andersen, 2015: 124

not uncommon as “this is what teenagers in Norway do in real life as well”<sup>41</sup>. Above all, it seems likely that younger generations in Norway no longer consider English as a foreign language, but rather as an essential part of their daily lives, even of their identity.

### Research design

The present study addresses the following research questions:

- *What types of code-switching from English were used by teenagers in the TV series ‘Skam’, season 4, episodes 9 and 10?*
- *What types of borrowings from English were used by teenagers in the TV series ‘Skam’, season 4, episodes 9 and 10?*

When analysing the content of the two episodes, the qualitative research method was employed because the focus was placed on the digital content provided by the informal social interaction between the characters. The data obtained (examples of code-switching and of borrowings) was analysed and coded according to the framework presented for the code-switching (inter-sentential code-switching, intra-sentential code-switching, tag switching, intra-word switching and establishing continuity with the previous speaker) and for borrowings (direct and indirect borrowings).

Equally important is to mention some of the limitations that are linked to the research questions indicated above. The content analysis targeted only two episodes from ‘Skam’, namely episodes 9 and 10 from the fourth season, the last two episodes of the TV series, as they wrapped up the entire plot. Hence the findings cannot be related to the whole series, and thus generalizations were avoided. The aim of the research was not to cover the entire TV series, but rather to offer a glimpse into the informal discourse of Norwegian teenagers. In addition, the researchers who conducted the observation and the coding were not native speakers of Norwegian, but they have competence in this language. Still, the language they have studied in an academic environment was Bokmål, i.e., one of the official written standards for the Norwegian language. ‘Skam’ contains many instances of slang, code-switching and borrowings that might pose difficulties to researchers especially when the pronunciation of some lexical items

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<sup>41</sup> Bjørkedal, 2018:41

undergoes major changes. Furthermore, the TV series 'Skam' does not have official subtitles which can make the coding of borrowings and code-switching encountered in characters' utterances difficult to grasp by a non-native speaker (although some of the fans of the series have made translations of their own).

### **Analysis of data gathered**

The analysis of the two episodes revealed the following types of code-switching:

1) **Inter-sentential code-switching** (uttering a sentence in Norwegian and afterwards another in English)

- a) Det prøvde vi [We have tried this]. *Love on Top*.
- b) Sjokk! [Shock]. *She's alive!*
- c) Er det vanlige kjøttboller? [Are they common meatballs?]  
-Nei. [No]. *In a pretty hot sauce.*
- d) Eskild! *Hands off*. Min mann. [Eskild! Hands off. He is my man.]
- e) Nei. [No] *Love me!*
- f) *She's alive!*
- g) *Wow. Big man.*
- h) *See you there!*
- i) *Hey, girl.*

2) **Intra-sentential code-switching** (the use of words in English within a sentence)

- a) "*Love on Top*", som Beyoncé sier. [As Beyonce says]. What would Jesus and Mohammed do?
- b) *Sorry*, jeg glemte tiden. [Sorry, I forgot about the time]
- c) Og *please*, ikke bli sur. [And please, don't get upset]
- d) Nora, *please* ring meg. [Nora, please call me]
- e) *Please*, gi oss litt motstand. Litt, litt! [give us some resistance. A little, a little!]
- f) *Yeah, yeah*. Er det ikke noen andre kjekkaser i den gjengen, da? [Aren't there any other handsome men in that gang, then?]
- g) *Wow*, skal vi prøve? [shall we try?]

- h) Det er jo *let the love flow*. [It is about letting love flow]
- i) Litt *over the top* på slutten der. [It was over the top in the end]
- j) Det er *high five*, ass! [It's high five, then]
- k) Nå snakker vi om Sana og cute Muslim boy [Now we talk about Sana and the cute Muslim boy]
- l) Du kan ikke gi meg et lite *hint*? [Can you give me a hint]
- m) Det er jævlig *disgusting*. [It is truly disgusting]
- n) Herregud, Sana! *Add ham*, da! [God, Sana! Add him, then]
- o) Nå tar vi det helt *chill*. [Now let's chill]
- p) Hun virker litt sånn *badass* egentlig. [She seems to be quite a badass actually]
- q) For hun har en skikkelig *soft side*. [Because she has a really soft side]
- r) Jeg har bare prøvd *juice cleanse*. [I have tried juice cleanse]
- s) Hør nå: *Halla*, dette er kanskje litt far out. [Listen. Hello, maybe it is a little far out]
- t) Enda bedre *game*, jeg skal stå sånn, og så skal du stå der i ti sekunder [An even better game, I will stay like this and you will stay there for ten seconds]
- u) [...] den bilen til William er så *cheesy* [William's car is so cheesy]
- v) Jeg tror ikke han er *keen* på noe mer. [I don't think that he is keen on something more]
- x) Å, *shit* ... *Sorry*, ass ... [Oh, shit. Sorry, by the way]
- y) *Halla*, *boys*. [Hello, boys]

A prerequisite for engaging in both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching represents a certain level of proficiency in both languages that are mixed, i.e., English and Norwegian. When two different languages are utilised, even if in this case the language distance between English and Norwegian is not considerably high, structural errors are likely to arise. Therefore, the speaker needs to have a solid knowledge of words and concepts in the donor language in order to use correctly the syntax and to perform a morphological integration of words in one's own language. In the case of the examples presented above (2.n and 2.v), there is no morphological integration of the words, i.e., the verbs are not conjugated and keep their

English form also in Norwegian. But the word “halla” (2.y and 2.s) is a slang that is derived from the word ‘hallo’. In this case the word “halla” has been integrated phonologically and was assigned a Norwegian pronunciation.

A frequent type of intra-sentential code-switching is represented by words that are used to express greetings (2.s and 2.y) interjections (2.f and 2.g), apologies (2.b and 2.x), expletives (2.x) and orders (2.c, 2.d and 2.e). All these formulae contribute “to the managing of social interaction”<sup>42</sup> and of “phatic communication”<sup>43</sup> among teenagers in ‘Skam’. In addition, they maintain their original pronunciation in the source language and thus their impact in the conversation is deepened. The word “ass” (2.j) encountered 7 times in episode nr. 9 and 4 times in episode nr. 10 from ‘Skam’ is not a direct borrowing from English. It is in fact a shortened version of the Norwegian word “altså” meaning “therefore, thus, accordingly, then, so”. It is used by teenagers in order to set an emphasis on the message they utter and its role is similar to that of a discourse marker. The words in English that are indicated in the examples above have maintained their original meaning in the donor language. They are diverse in terms of the word classes they represent (nouns, adjectives or verbs) but no morphological derivation was performed. The two episodes from ‘Skam’ that have been analysed did not reveal any code-switching with regard to tag-questions. Furthermore, code-switching was performed in order to establish continuity with the previous speaker. One such example is indicated below:

- a) -*Sorry, jeg glemte tiden.* [Sorry, I forgot about the time]
- b) -*No stress.*

The second interlocutor chooses to continue speaking in English even if Norwegian is the language in which the dialogue was previously uttered. In this example anglicisms are used in order to fulfil an interpersonal function<sup>44</sup>.

As regards anglicisms and the distinction between them and code-switching, the main difference resides in the fact that they represent lexical

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<sup>42</sup> Franceschi, V., *Exploring Plurilingualism in Fan Fiction: ELF Users as Creative Writers* (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017):174.

<sup>43</sup> Drange, 2009:171

<sup>44</sup> Halliday, M. A. K., *Language as social semiotic. The social interpretation of language and meaning* (London: Edward Arnold, 1978)

borrowings because only one grammar is at play<sup>45</sup> in contrast to code-switching where two languages are interacting (the source language and the recipient language). Anglicisms undergo a process of integration that generates both phonetic and morphologic changes<sup>46</sup>. We indicate below some examples of anglicisms found in the episodes of 'Skam' approached in this paper.

- a) Nå ble jeg inspirert til å *researche*. Kanskje det jeg skal gjøre i kveld. [I have been inspired to research now. Maybe I'll do this in the evening.]
- b) Fredag er bedre. Vi kan *chiller'n* hele kvelden. [It is better on Friday. We can chill the whole evening.]
- c) Jeg tror vi har blitt *ditcha*. [I think we have been ditched]
- d) Jeg har *googlet* litt, og det er vanlig å gi gaver. [I have googled a bit and it is common to give presents]
- e) Jenter er flinke til å *bitche*. [Girls are good at bitching]
- f) Tenk om hun har invitert meg bare for å *føkke* med meg! [Imagine that she invited me only to fuck with me]
- g) Du har jo vært sammen med Eva. Jeg *crusher* litt på henne. [You have been with Eva. I have a little crush on her]

Pronunciation patterns from English have not been kept and anglicisms were given both a spelling that resembles Norwegian orthography and a morphological integration (a, e, f, g). Violation of grammar rules is accepted as these anglicisms occur in an informal communicative setting.

The analysis of the two episodes illustrated that in addition to the use of anglicisms, two types of code-switching (inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching) were identified in both episodes of 'Skam'. The instances of intra-sentential code-switching exceeded the number of inter-sentential code-switching in the two episodes that have been analysed.

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<sup>45</sup> Poplack, S. and Cacoullos, R. T., "Data before models", *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 19(5), (2016): 2

<sup>46</sup> Drange, 2009:161.

## Conclusions

This paper provided an analysis of anglicisms and of code-switching instances in two episodes of the TV series 'Skam'. A substantial number of intra-sentential code-switching, inter-sentential code-switching and of anglicisms have been found given the fact that communication mainly took place in an informal setting and that it was delivered by teenagers. The reasons for making use of words in English, as indicated in this paper, can be manifold. Increased exposure to English is likely to speed up the pace and the patterns of borrowings<sup>47</sup>. English has become an international language that is used in many fields of activity, especially within the entertainment industry. As people become more proficient in English, the amount of anglicisms and of code-switching is likely to increase<sup>48</sup>. In this line of thought, anglicisms as borrowings and code-switching performed in 'Skam' are iconic for today's teenagers, as they highlight the dominance of the western culture in their lives, and explain, at least partly, the popularity of this TV series. Equally important to consider is that adolescent language is usually characterized by a degree of informality, and the considerable amount of anglicisms and of code-switching found in 'Skam' can be connected to the communicative informal contexts in which these teenagers found themselves. Because language is a socio-cultural phenomenon, it is bound to undergo changes. Therefore, further research is needed in order to understand the impact of English (present in social media, the entertainment industry, academic environment, etc.) on teenagers' language practices.

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<sup>47</sup> Sunde, 2018: 72

<sup>48</sup> MacKenzie Ian, "Fair play to them: Proficiency in English and types of borrowing", in *The Anglicization of European Lexism*, ed. Furiassi, Cristiano, Virginia Pulcini and Félix Rodríguez González (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), 27-42.

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