

NHH



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

Gisle Andersen

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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
 - Pfitzner 1978; Graedler 1998; Plümer 2000; Prčić 2005/2011; Onysko 2007
- Collective volumes
 - Fischer and Pułaczewska 2008; Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodriguez Gonzalez 2012; Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015
- Special issues of journals
 - Andersen, Furiassi & Mišić Ilić, *Journal of Pragmatics* (2017)
 - Peterson, *Journal of Pragmatics* (forthcoming 2019)
- Research network
 - Global Anglicism Database Network (GLAD): www.gladnetwork.org



The pragmatic turn in studies of borrowing

- Andersen, Gisle, Cristiano Furiassi & Biljana Mišić Ilić. 2017. The pragmatic turn in studies of linguistic borrowing: Introduction to special issue on Pragmatic Borrowing for *Journal of Pragmatics*.
- 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 Mierop 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)
- *phraseologism* (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)

Lexical collocations	preferred syntagmatic relations betw lexemes	<i>heavy rain</i>
Idioms	constructed around a verbal nucleus	<i>to spill the beans</i>
Irreversible bi/trinominals	fixed 2-3 word form sequences + <i>and/or</i>	<i>bed and breakfast</i>
Similes	stereotyped comparisons	<i>fit as a fiddle</i>
Compounds	two(+) independent lexemes	<i>goldfish, black hole</i>
Grammatical collocations	comb. of lexical & grammatical word	<i>depend on, cope with</i>
Phrasal verbs	verb + particle comb's.	<i>blow up, crop up</i>
Complex prepositions	grammaticalised prep+noun+prep comb's	<i>with respect to, apart from</i>
Complex conjunctions	grammatical sequences	<i>so that, as soon as</i>



Phrasemes (Granger & Paquot) ctd.

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



Phraseological borrowing (Fiedler 2017)

Category	Phrases	Corpus example (NNC)
Direct phrase-logical borrowing / unadapted	<i>meet and greet</i> <i>big business</i>	To av vinnerne får også møte skuespillerne ansikt til ansikt i en " meet and greet ".
Hybrid (partial substitution)	<i>å sette en ("to set a") deadline</i> <i>å ha noe/være i pipeline</i>	Vi har ofte måttet sette deadline for tidlig. På Oslo Børs ligger det nå åtte selskaper i pipeline for børsnotering.
Indirect (translation loan)	<i>x er ikke rakettvitenskap</i> 'x is not rocket science' <i>å adressere et problem</i> '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)

Borrowed phrase	English etymon	Category (Granger & Paquot)	Category (Fiedler)
for X's sake	for X's sake	attitudinal formula	hybrid
holy X	holy X	attitudinal formula	hybrid
what the X	what the X	attitudinal formula	hybrid
get over it	get over it	attitudinal formula	unadapted borrowing
no risk, no fun	no risk no fun	commonplace	unadapted borrowing
gratis lunsj	free lunch	compound	loan translation
glasstaket	the glass ceiling	compound	loan translation
blind date	blind date	compound	unadapted borrowing
X to go	X to go	grammatical collocation	hybrid
for en kaffe	for a coffee	grammatical collocation	loan translation
elefanten i rommet	the elephant in the room	idiom	loan translation
på slutten av dagen	at the end of the day	idiom	loan translation
i et nøtteskall	in a nutshell	idiom	loan translation
ikke min kopp te	not my cup of tea	idiom	loan translation
plukke kirsebær	cherrypicking	idiom	loan translation
å være i samme båt	to be in the same boat	idiom	loan translation
ut av det blå	out of the blue	idiom	loan translation
å gå den ekstra milen	to go the extra mile	idiom	loan translation
å gjøre verden til et bedre sted	make the world a better place	idiom	loan translation
knask eller knep	trick or treat	irreversible	loan translation
meet and greet	meet and greet	irreversible	unadapted borrowing



Forms observed thus far (ENG→NOR) (ctd.)

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



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**)
- Corpus of Contemporary American English (1990-2015) (**COCA**)

Norwegian

- **Bokhylla** (1690-2013) Text Archive of The National Library (**NA**) and its n-gram viewer
- **Nynorskorpuset** (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/fixedness**

- 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*

[4] Men det nytter ikke å klage. - Man får ikke snudd utviklingen, så «**get over it**», og skriv en ny og bedre hit i stedet, sier Ina Wroldsen. (NNC/AP/2015-03-26)

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

[5] Gud er død. Mennesket lever. **Get over it!** (NNC/BT/2007-10-15)

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 collocations

- For {heaven's/fuck's ...} sake!
 - Holy {shit/crap/fuck ... }!
 - What the {fuck/heck ...}!
-
- Borrowed individually as fixed phrases, or wholesale as collocations?



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

[7] Da går vi for den, **for old time's sake**. (NNC/NL/2014-07-18)

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 collocation
- 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** collostruction
- 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 collocation, 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 summer på å kjøpa ikkje-amerikanske fly som ikkje ein gong stettar alle dei krava Forsvaret stiller (NynKorp 2008 SoA)

Steinkjer-Avisa

02.04.1993

Side: 12

...de første to månedene i år. Banksjef Audun Høisæther synes nedleggelsen forsåvidt er **fair enough**, men han synes det er betenkelig at hele Nord-Trøndelag fylke blir uten K-kassefilial. De ansatte...



Laagendalsposten

13.07.2015

Side: 5

...annet kaliber enn det Saken er bare den at det er ingen som tør å satse økonomisk. **Fair enough!** Men seiv for den søvnige innlandsbyen vi da påtår oss å være, går det jo an å la...



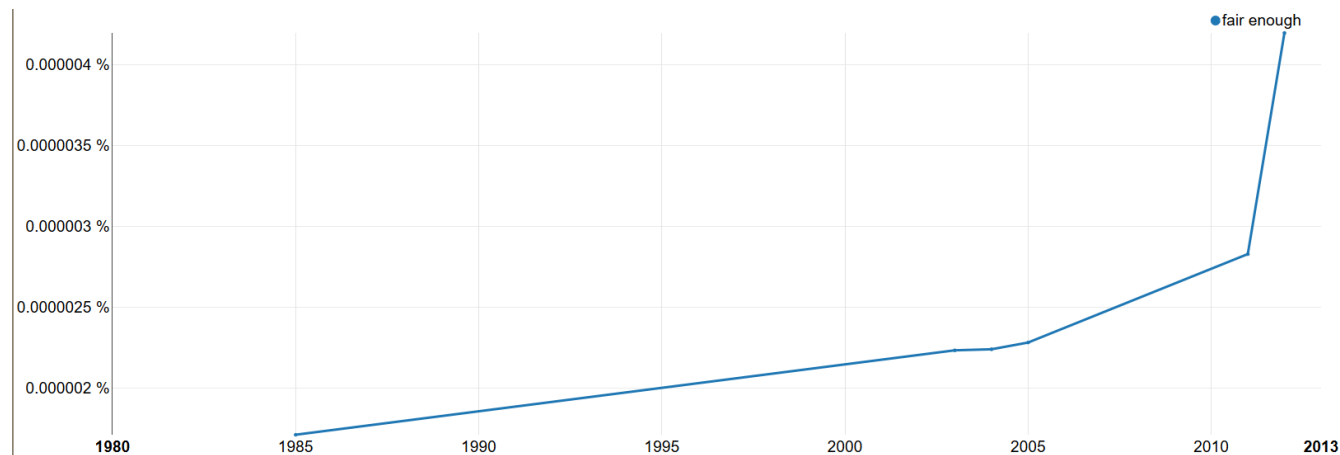


Timeline and frequency: *fair enough*

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

OBC 1674-1913	COHA 1810-2009	COCA 1990-2015	NB Bokhylla 1690-2013	Nynorskorpuset 1870-present	Norsk aviskorpus 1998-present
0	81	251	54	4	141

CONTEXT	ALL <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1810 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1820 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1830 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1840 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1850 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1860 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1870 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1880 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1890 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1900 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1910 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1920 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1930 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1940 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1950 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1960 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1970 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1980 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1990 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	2000 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FAIR ENOUGH	488			4	2	4	5	10	9	15	21	20	48	36	41	36	42	51	33	45	66



- 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)
- [17] – Sånn kan det også være å seile, sa jeg til slutt. **Shit happens**. (NB 1991 Kvam, Ragnar. *Oppbrudd: beretningen om en lang sjøreise med Northern Quest*.)

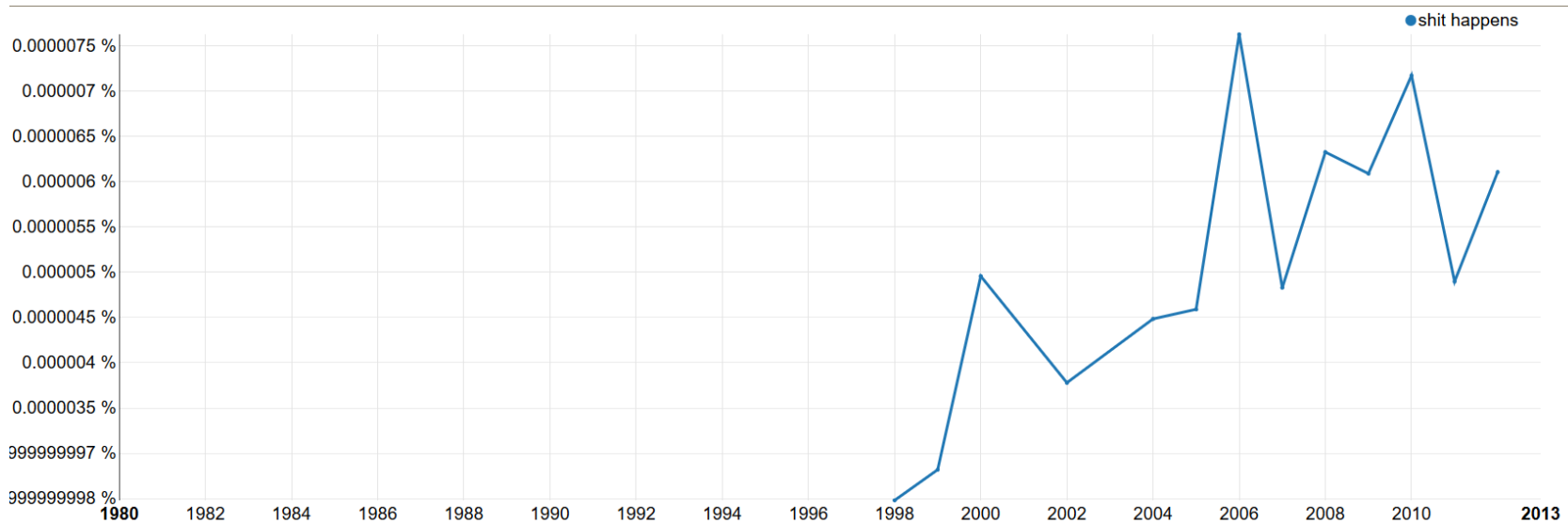


Timeline and frequency: *shit happens*

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

OBC 1674-1913	COHA 1810-2009	COCA 1990-2015	NB Bokhylla 1690-2013	Nynorskorpuset 1870-present	Norsk aviskorpus 1998-present
0	20	64	1402	0	520

CONTEXT	ALL	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
SHIT HAPPENS	20																			8	12





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)

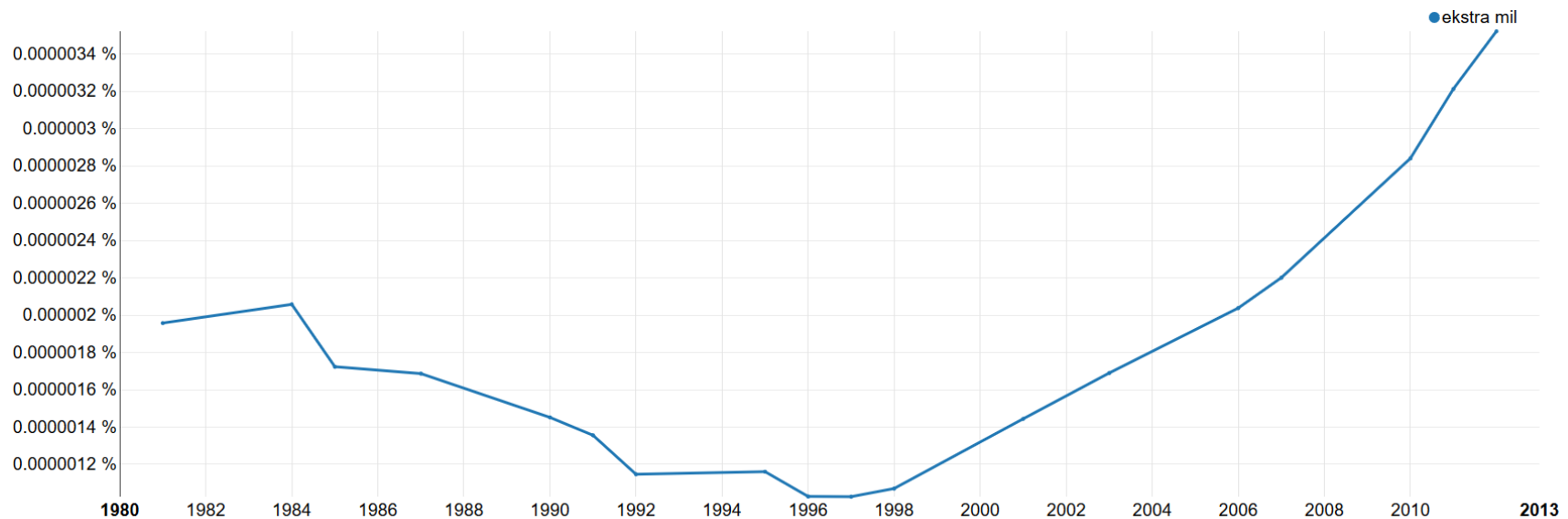


Timeline & frequency: å gå den ekstra milen

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

OBC 1674-1913	COHA 1810-2009	COCA 1990-2015	NB Bokhylla 1690-2013	Nynorskorpuset 1870-present	Norsk aviskorpus 1998-present
0	30	328	23	0	14

CONTEXT	ALL	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
EXTRA MILE	30									1							1	7	3	7	11





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)
- [21] Jeg tror ikke at jeg alene kan **gjøre en forskjell**. Men mitt engasjement bidrar I hvertfall til noe positivt. (NB Nordlandsposten 12.02.1994)



Case: *å gjøre en forskjell*

- Anglicism status taken for granted by prescriptivist critics; e.g. <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”.

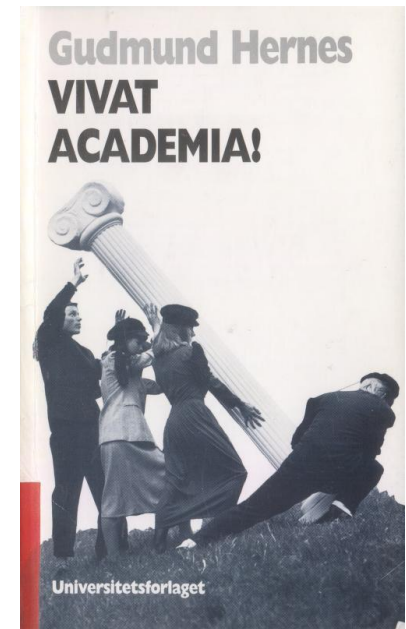




Timeline and frequency: *å gjøre en forskjell*

- 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.

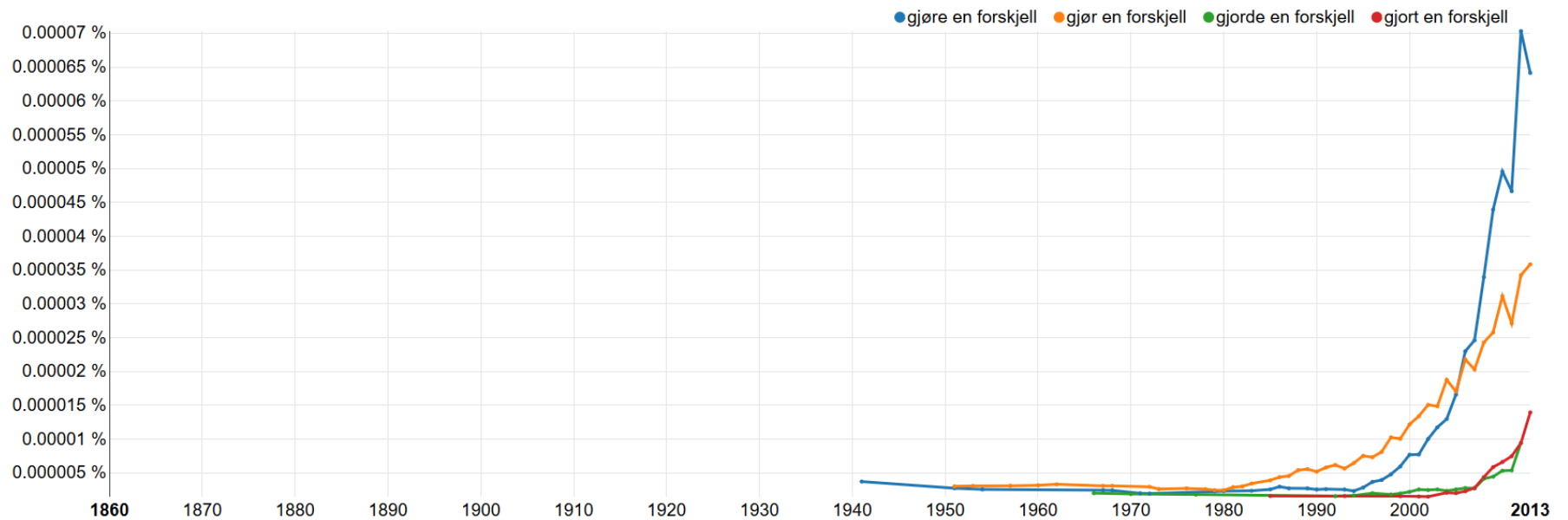




Timeline and frequency: å gjøre en forskjell

OBC 1674-1913	COHA 1810-2009	COCA 1990-2015	NB Bokhylla 1690-2013	Nynorskorpuset 1870-present	Norsk aviskorpus 1998-present
0	1106	6696	2541	18	1635

CONTEXT	ALL	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MAKE A DIFFERENCE	649		2	6	1	3	12	11	17	16	25	22	22	20	16	29	26	32	70	144	175
MADE A DIFFERENCE	208		1	1		4	4	1	11	10	4	7	9	8	11	13	10	22	25	30	37
MAKES A DIFFERENCE	193			3	2	5	5	8	8	8	9	10	11	13	6	9	18	14	10	28	26
MAKING A DIFFERENCE	56		2	3	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	1							5	5	27
TOTAL	1106	0	5	13	5	14	24	21	37	35	41	40	42	41	33	51	54	68	110	207	265





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)

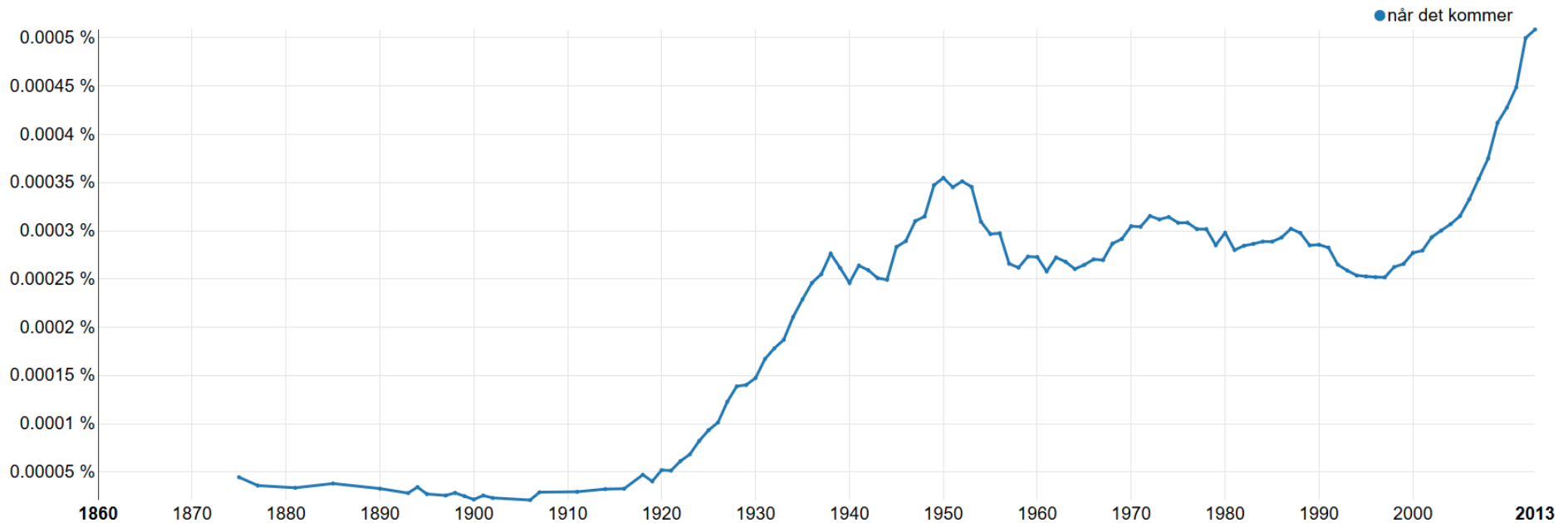


Timeline and frequency: *når det kommer til*

- OED first: **1889**; NOR first: **19xx**

OBC 1674-1913	COHA 1810-2009	COCA 1990-2015	NB Bokhylla 1690-2013	Nynorskorpuset 1870-present	Norsk aviskorpus 1998-present
0	2897	14428	98657		11417

CONTEXT	ALL <input type="checkbox"/>	1810 <input type="checkbox"/>	1820 <input type="checkbox"/>	1830 <input type="checkbox"/>	1840 <input type="checkbox"/>	1850 <input type="checkbox"/>	1860 <input type="checkbox"/>	1870 <input type="checkbox"/>	1880 <input type="checkbox"/>	1890 <input type="checkbox"/>	1900 <input type="checkbox"/>	1910 <input type="checkbox"/>	1920 <input type="checkbox"/>	1930 <input type="checkbox"/>	1940 <input type="checkbox"/>	1950 <input type="checkbox"/>	1960 <input type="checkbox"/>	1970 <input type="checkbox"/>	1980 <input type="checkbox"/>	1990 <input type="checkbox"/>	2000 <input type="checkbox"/>
WHEN IT COMES TO	2897	1	4	18	11	20	30	43	67	93	156	174	190	115	104	129	155	190	255	494	648





ENG *when it comes to*

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

CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT

1	1990 FIC	fools! (FIREBIRD dances more wildly. When it comes to the cyborg dragon it touches them lightly. RIMSKY and DIMSKY come to
2	1990 FIC	countries, and I'm not much better when it comes to Europe. MOLLY I don't know the difference between good art and
4	1990 FIC	scatter the fleeing.May He show no mercy when it comes to extermination.May His revenge be relentless and exacting.May He darken the skies with smoke
5	1990 FIC	knows exactly what to do with itself except when it comes to me, his old buddy Karin. # I stopped paying attention to
6	1991 FIC	looks like she can do anything. But when it comes to the real business of the world-she doesn't know a damned thing.
7	1991 MAG	in it. " // Like many people when it comes to their weight, Gwynn doesn't want to talk about his. "
8	1991 MAG	// Commissioner David Stern has long believed that when it comes to television, less is more. When there's a glut of televised
9	1991 MAG	" Hong feels the same way, except when it comes to baseball. // He has adored the game since childhood. There are
10	1991 MAG	Defense Secretary appears to have a double standard when it comes to Pentagon policy on military families. Dick Cheney opposes a proposed law that
11	1991 MAG	everything from groceries to autos have been sluggish when it comes to seeking better deals on credit-card costs. # Now they're getting smarter
12	1991 MAG	guys who get their comeuppance 69 # TELEVISION When it comes to sitcoms, you got ta have a gimmick # 70 # ESSAY Barbara
13	1992 FIC	analytical thinkers. It gives them an edge when it comes to making financial investments. " " I'll keep that in mind the
14	1992 FIC	this -- and I agreed. Now, when it comes to the point of actually doing something, you make everything impossible. This
15	1992 FIC	must think that she is a complete illiterate when it comes to reading men. Still, she knows that he did love her.
16	1992 MAG	345738 When it comes to achieving in school, Za'kettha Blaylock knows that even dreaming of success can
17	1992 MAG	to plan -- a big " if " when it comes to new technology -- broadcast history will be made in a meeting room on



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 andet 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)

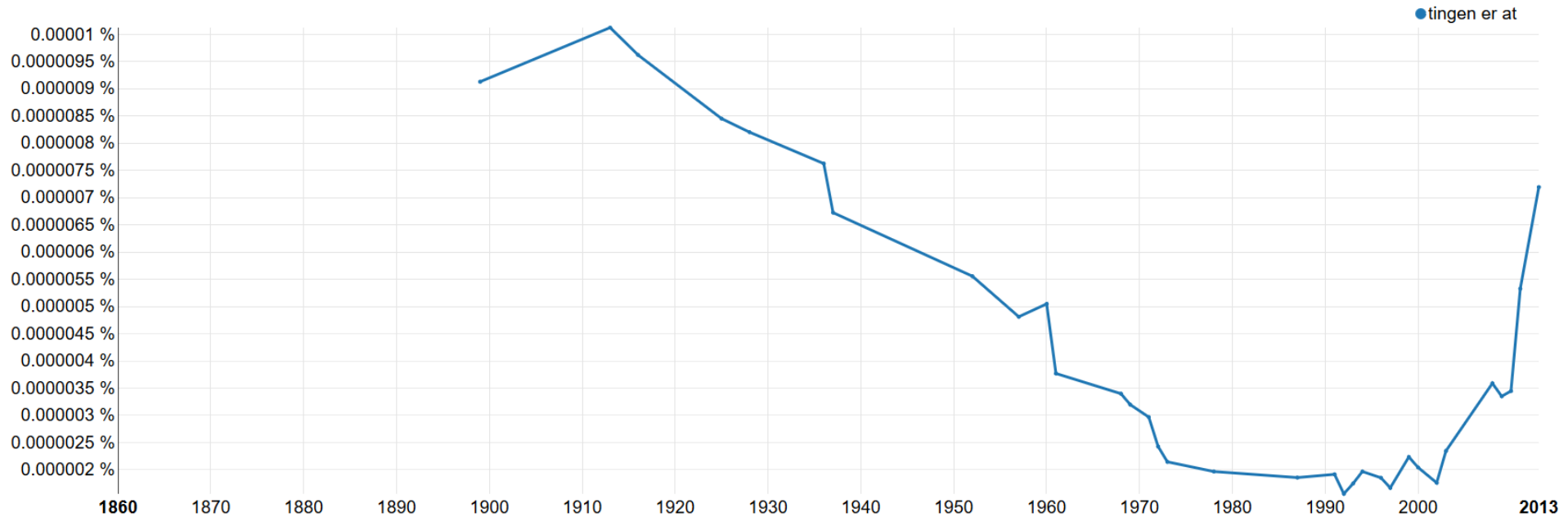


Timeline and frequency: *tingen er at*

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

OBC 1674-1913	COHA 1810-2009	COCA 1990-2015	NB Bokhylla 1690-2013	Nynorskorpuset 1870-present	Norsk aviskorpus 1998-present
1	30	222	2677	1	38

CONTEXT	ALL	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
THE THING IS THAT	30								1	1	1	1	4	2	2	4	1	8	1	3	1





Case: *tingen er at*

- Very different frequency profile from the rest of items above
- Emerged by mid-18th 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)

dets Organisation ikke gjorde en offentlig Understøttelse nødvendig til dets Vedligeholdelse. **Tingen er, at** Theatret maa underholde hele det saakaldte Hof: Capel, som ved alle offentlige Veiligheder, saasom kongl. Bryllupper,



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**

OBC 1674-1913	COHA 1810-2009	COCA 1990-2015	NB Bokhylla 1690-2013	Nynorskorpuset 1870-present	Norsk aviskorpus 1998-present
0	142	164	0	0	1

CONTEXT	ALL	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
EARLY BIRD	142				2	2	3	9	4	6	8	29	6	2	6	5	29		8	11	12



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**

OBC 1674-1913	COHA 1810-2009	COCA 1990-2015	NB Bokhylla 1690-2013	Nynorskorpuset 1870-present	Norsk aviskorpus 1998-present
0	521	3984	0	0	1

CONTEXT	ALL <input type="checkbox"/>	1810 <input type="checkbox"/>	1820 <input type="checkbox"/>	1830 <input type="checkbox"/>	1840 <input type="checkbox"/>	1850 <input type="checkbox"/>	1860 <input type="checkbox"/>	1870 <input type="checkbox"/>	1880 <input type="checkbox"/>	1890 <input type="checkbox"/>	1900 <input type="checkbox"/>	1910 <input type="checkbox"/>	1920 <input type="checkbox"/>	1930 <input type="checkbox"/>	1940 <input type="checkbox"/>	1950 <input type="checkbox"/>	1960 <input type="checkbox"/>	1970 <input type="checkbox"/>	1980 <input type="checkbox"/>	1990 <input type="checkbox"/>	2000 <input type="checkbox"/>
AT THE END OF THE DAY	521			1	3	3	2	5	5	7	19	16	22	21	24	39	32	29	40	92	161



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:

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



Phraseology in a cross-linguistic perspective

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS



Summary of corpus findings

Case	Equivalent form and function mapping in ENG and NOR?	Borrowing? (English-induced)
<i>fair enough</i>	yes	yes
<i>shit happens</i>	yes	yes
<i>å gå den ekstra milen</i>	yes	yes
<i>å gjøre en forskjell</i>	yes	partly
<i>når det kommer til</i>	yes	yes
<i>tingen er at</i>	yes	no
<i>tidlig fugl</i>	no	n.a.
<i>på slutten av dagen</i>	no	n.a.



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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