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phraseology
GRAMMAR
nativization



Globe

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Ungermann Goldshtein, Aage Hill-Madsen, Marie Møller
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Multi-word echoes of English: Visible vs. invisible Anglicisms in Danish

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Abstract: The focus of this article is the developments in contemporary Danish of direct vis-à-vis indirect borrowing strategies regarding English expressions. In order to distinguish direct borrowings of such items from codeswitches, the author presents a number of approaches found in the existing literature and suggests an operational definition of codeswitching. Eight scenarios involving the adoption and/or translation of English multi-word or polymorphemic expressions are presented, and the trajectories over three decades of forty-four Danish Anglicisms representing all scenarios are investigated. The basis for this empirical research is the gigantic Danish text archive Infomedia, and the results show the relative success of ‘invisible’ multi-word and polymorphemic expressions: Anglicisms using all-Danish material but calquing their English etymons and thus representing Anglo-American concepts in Danish disguise.

Keywords: English, Danish, Anglicisms, codeswitching, language contact, phraseology, multi-word units, calques.

1. English elements abroad: Distinguishing borrowing from codeswitching

This study investigates a number of ‘visible’ as well as ‘invisible’ echoes of English in Danish – English multi-word expressions either adopted (e.g. *make my day*) or translated (*få enderne til at mødes*, from ‘make ends meet’) by Danish speakers.

In order to stay focused on (multi-word) borrowing and avoid being side-tracked by instances of codeswitching – interesting as that venture may be – we need to separate the two phenomena. In today’s world, where societies like Denmark are becoming increasingly ‘globalized’ (a euphemism for ‘Anglified’), English serves as an all-encompassing relay, filtering intercultural exchange globally. This means that individuals, institutions and companies worldwide use English – or fragments of English – in their communication. This bilingual state of affairs is two-pronged: Speech communities integrate English ‘borrowings’ (that are never returned, of course) in their domestic language, and ‘real’ English is used in certain communicative and societal domains, either as a lingua franca or alternating with the domestic language, i.e. as codeswitches.

This phenomenon of codeswitching is by no means new, and the mixing (*Mischung*) of languages among bilinguals was already described by the German linguist Hermann Paul in 1880:

Die meiste Veranlassung zur Mischung ist gegeben, wo es Individuen gibt, die doppelsprachig sind, mehrere Sprachen neben einander sprechen oder mindestens eine andere neben ihrer Muttersprache verstehen. Ein gewisses Minimum von Verständnis einer fremden Sprache ist unter allen Umständen erforderlich. (Paul 1880: § 275)¹

Paul’s view is reflected in a recent definition put forward by Irish translation scholar Marion Winters:

I understand code switches as a superordinate category comprising words, proper names, phrases and quotations, all of which are in a foreign language but are nevertheless intended to be understood by the reader as if the reader were ‘bilingual’ even in the most

¹ In my translation: “Mixing is mostly found in persons who are bilingual, speak several languages or at least understand one foreign language. At any rate, a certain minimum of foreign-language comprehension is necessary.”

limited sense. (Winters 2004: 249)

Although, as mentioned by Winters and nicely illustrated in a major German study², single words from a ‘foreign’, non-matrix (L2) language may pop up in L1 (the domestic language), codeswitches typically consist of stretches of words in L2 alternating with, or embedded in, discourse in L1. This may have to do with the fact that “the cognitive and processing costs of [switching both lexicons and grammars] for a lone other-language item are appreciably greater than those incurred by simply allowing the already activated grammar to continue operating, handling native and etymologically foreign forms the same way.” (Poplack & Dion 2012: 309).

As noted by Swiss-based linguist Ian MacKenzie, “the growth in the number of Europeans who are bilingual with English will necessarily result in crosslinguistic interaction and the increased Anglicization of discourse in Europe.” (MacKenzie 2012: 30).

And indeed, in recent decades, the Danish speech community has started moving from being an EFL³ country to obtaining ESL status; practically all Danes now speak (some) English as their second language, used by default when communicating with foreigners (Gottlieb 2020a: 160 ff). In informal discourse aimed at and/or produced by young Danes, codeswitching between Danish and English is becoming common, rendering it increasingly difficult to distinguish between Anglicisms and codeswitching when investigating utterances by and for Danes (Gottlieb 2020a: 423).

In a comparative study of the use of three English phrases in Norwegian, Swedish and Danish, the author, Gisle Andersen, suggests that categorizing such items as either “borrowed phrasemes or instances of multiword code switching” should depend on “the regularity and degree of entrenchment of these phrases in the language of native speakers” (Andersen 2020a: 7).

Expressing the same awareness of a quantitative rather than qualitative difference between borrowing and codeswitching, a Danish linguist has suggested considering codeswitching and loanwords as belonging in a continuum rather than representing two disparate phenomena:

There is no absolute boundary between the extraneous elements in code-switching and loan-words (direct loans). Loan-words can be said to be the institutionalization of code-switching, and there is no objective way to determine at what point a foreign element has become an institutionalized part of the recipient language. (Larsen 1994: 22)

Based in France, Penelope Gardner-Chloros (1987: 102) has offered a no-nonsense analysis of the gradual nature of codeswitching that deserves to be cited *in extenso*:

All in all, it would appear that the distinction between code-switching and loans is of a ‘more-or-less’ and not an absolute nature:

1. loans are *more* likely to be brief (one word or phrase) than code-switches, though the majority of code-switches are also lexical;
 2. loans are *more* likely to be linguistically integrated into the receiving language than code-switches;
 3. loans are *more* likely to be filling a semantic gap in the language than code-switches.
- Whilst all these criteria may be of some help in carrying out an analysis, the most important criterion would seem to be a psychological one: is the imported element in some sense *felt* to be part of the surrounding language by the speaker and those listening

² Citing *Der Spiegel*, Alexander Onysko (2007: 274) shows that single-word quotes may qualify as codeswitches: “Der Lebeamann Lord Louis Mountbatten, der hier als letzter Vizekönig regierte und 1947 für das Empire *Farewell* sagte ...”.

³ This abbreviation, plus a dozen others, is explained in the List of abbreviations before the Reference section.

to him, or is it *felt* to be part of a different system? If it is an innovation on the speaker's part, it is a code-switch. If it is frequently used in that speech community – whether or not in free variation with a native element – then it is at least on its way to becoming a loan. In short, a loan is a code-switch with a full-time job.

Acknowledging the lack of an absolute distinction between codeswitches and direct borrowings, it still makes sense to operate with these two concepts (Gottlieb 2021). As shown in Gottlieb 2020a and Gottlieb et al. 2018, when focusing on English-Danish language contact, the watershed runs between (1) embedded *ad hoc* ‘innovative’ all-English discourse in an otherwise Danish utterance (codeswitching), and (2) English-derived stock phrases, e.g. *you name it*, inserted in Danish discourse, classified as Anglicisms.⁴

Codeswitching (CS) may be defined as “oscillation between elements of two or more languages in discourse produced by and meant for plurilinguals” (Gottlieb 2020a: 85-86). When you codeswitch, you communicate in (at least) two languages; when you borrow, you merely use -isms (Anglicisms, for instance) that you consider part of your own language. Conversely, when you codeswitch, you use elements from other languages according to their ‘native’ (heritage) norms; ‘foreign’ (non-matrix) elements are never adapted.

As innovation and spontaneity are key features of codeswitching, elements repeatedly found in CS today may be entrenched as Anglicisms tomorrow. Thus, only from a synchronic point of view does it make sense to distinguish between codeswitching and direct borrowing. As the Anglophone glacier keeps feeding the surrounding ocean with icebergs of English, these will later lose their shape and become assimilated as (icy) water.

In their article titled “Loan translations versus code-switching”, Ad Backus and Margreet Dorleijn (2009: 78) have phrased this shift in a less metaphorical way:

Every synchronic utterance has diachronic effects, i.e. it contributes to the development of the language involved. The result of insertional CS, especially if the same foreign word is repeatedly used in discourse by many different people, may be that the foreign word in question becomes a *normal word* in the recipient language discourse: it becomes a loan word. [italics added for emphasis]⁵

True as this statement is, the ‘normality’ pointed out here is a slippery concept; a word normally used by one group of speakers of a recipient language (RL) may sound abnormal to other RL speakers – one person’s loanword may still be seen as a non-RL expression by others.

However, when using the terms ‘community’ and ‘code’, and interpreting them at a subcultural level, the following attempt by Alexander Onysko (2019: 39) at distinguishing between CS and borrowing successfully avoids the vagueness of the concept of normality:

[B]orrowings represent accepted lexical items and grammatical structures across a community of speakers sharing the same code (L[anguage]a) whereas codeswitching involves the use of language units from another code (Lb) that are not part of the habitual

⁴ Viewed diachronically, what began as individual instances of Anglophone material found in non-Anglophone discourse may later – due to phonological and/or formal integration and/or increased usage – qualify as Anglicisms, and thus become relevant for scrutiny in studies like this.

⁵ The two authors operate with the distinction between “Alternational CS: the alternation of material in two languages in bilingual discourse” and “Insertional CS: the use of material from one language, the Embedded Language (EL), in bilingual discourse. In this type, the foreign material is embedded in clauses that are clearly recognizable as in the Matrix Language (ML)” (Backus & Dorleijn 2009: 76-77).

forms of expression in La.

Moving now from the ‘borrowing-codeswitching’ distinction to looking at the usage of all types of English in RL communities, the following typology of RL discourse involving recognizable features of English can be established:

All-English discourse:

- English used as a lingua franca (often involving non-native speakers only)
- English used as a result of domain loss⁶ (typically written communication)

Codeswitching (involving *ad hoc* usage of English elements)

- ‘Random’ zigzagging in and out of English⁷
- Intrasentential switches into English
- Extrasentential use of English, including untranslated quotations

Anglified RL usage (direct Anglicisms)

- Prefabricated multi-word chunks from English (stock phrases, interjections, etc.)
- Direct single-word borrowings embedded or integrated in the RL

As stated earlier, these categories are not one hundred percent mutually exclusive, nor are they immune to changed language attitudes and practices in a given speech community or subculture. Still, from a synchronic point of view, the following illustration of the steps from (1) Anglified usage including Anglicisms over (2) codeswitching to (3) all-English discourse should make sense. The color-coding marks the four levels of ‘Englishness’ in the utterances – with red illustrating English without any RL elements.

In Table 1, only utterance (a) is authentic; the other constructions are made up for the occasion, but at least utterances b, c, d, and e might be encountered in the Danish speech community – in its capacity as a bilingual society in the making:

⁶ Domain loss is here defined as the use of solely English in a given domain. Other scholars prefer to see domain loss as the loss of L1 *terminology* only (cf. Hultgren 2016).

⁷ This type of codeswitching is commonly found in diglossic societies, when speakers mix acrolect content words with basilect function words (see Myers-Scotton 1993, Stell 2012 and Gottlieb 2020b for the English impact on Afrikaans).

Table 1: The cline from embedded Anglicisms via codeswitching to all-English discourse

Utterance	Type
(a) “For mit eget vedkommende tænkte jeg: <i>Mission accomplished</i> .” ⁸ (Danish Afghanistan veteran in the daily <i>Information</i> , June 26, 2021)	Anglicism: borrowed stock phrase
(b) Jeg følte at vores mission ⁹ var <i>accomplished</i> . (c) Jeg følte at vores <i>mission</i> ¹⁰ var <i>accomplished</i>	Anglicism: borrowed adjective only Anglicism: stock phrase decomposed
(d) Jeg følte at <i>our mission was accomplished</i>	Intrasentential codeswitching
(e) Jeg følte at vi havde <i>accomplished our mission</i>	Intrasentential codeswitching
(f) Jeg følte: <i>We had accomplished our mission</i> ¹¹	Extrasentential codeswitching
(g) <i>I felt that we had accomplished our mission</i>	All-English discourse

2. Inconspicuous vs. visible multi-word Anglicisms in Danish

Having in the previous chapter established a distinction between codeswitching and borrowing, we will now focus on the main topic of this study: English-based multi-word units – including polymorphemic calques – in modern Danish usage. Using the codeswitching vs. borrowing distinction, this study will not deal with English phrasemes as found in brand names, slogans, etc. – no matter how frequently such ‘undigested’ tokens of codeswitching may occur in contemporary Danish oral and written communication.

The presence of multi-word Anglicisms in a language is a sign of a rather advanced stage of English impact:

The borrowing of phraseological types, as opposed to simple and compound loanwords, which historically represent the most common types, testifies to a more intimate contact with the English language, including the spoken register through the mass and social media. (Pulcini 2020: 129)

These multi-word types form part of the complex notion of Anglicism, defined as “any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a speech community in which English is not the home language.” (Gottlieb 2020a: 32).

This comprehensive definition includes English-based influence at all levels, from orthography to pragmatics,¹² and covers direct as well as indirect borrowings from English. Direct borrowings comprise all types of (more or less visible) *imports* from English, while indirect borrowings encompass English-*impacted* RL features, including semantic borrowings and loan translations (also known as calques) – types constituting “a covert form of cross-linguistic influence” (Meriläinen et al.

⁸ In my translation: “Personally, I thought: Mission accomplished.”

⁹ This noun, originally borrowed from French, is here pronounced in standard Danish fashion, with stress on the final syllable. The sentence in English translation: “I felt that our mission was accomplished.”

¹⁰ In this utterance, *mission* is pronounced as in English.

¹¹ In English: “I felt: We had accomplished our mission.”

¹² Pragmatic aspects of borrowing from English have gained increased academic attention in recent years, cf. Andersen 2017 & 2022a, Andersen et al. 2017, Peterson & Beers-Fägersten 2018, Núñez Nogueroles 2019, and Zenner et al. 2018.

2016).¹³

Contrary to commonly held views, the earliest Danish Anglicisms were not just direct single-word lexemes (often linked to English culture and society), words like *golf* and *parliament*. Also several multi-word units were introduced in Danish before 1900, as either direct borrowings (e.g. *all right*, used in a letter to Hans Christian Andersen in 1855¹⁴) or indirect borrowings (like *i fuldt sving*, from ‘in full swing’, attested in Danish since 1886).¹⁵

As pointed out by several Danish scholars (Larsen 1984; Sørensen 1995; Gottlieb 2020a: Chapter 4), translations from English have often paved the way for Anglicisms later to become entrenched in the RL – in our case, Danish. In the 19th century, an era preceding film and other modern mass media, many Danish newspapers included front-page episodes of (translated) pulp fiction, resulting in the introduction of direct Anglicisms – words like *veranda*, *terrier* and *brandy* – as well as indirect and ‘invisible’ borrowings, typically multi-word units.

A 19th century example of an English phraseme translated into Danish and soon becoming common in Danish parlance is *i en nøddeskal*, from ‘in(to) a nutshell’. This calque was found in the Danish newspaper “Fædrelandet” of February 13, 1850 – 72 years prior to the earliest attestation of the similar calque in Norwegian sources (Andersen 2019). In an installment of the Danish translation of Chapter 25 of “David Copperfield Junior’s Life and Adventures” – where direct borrowings as *Gentleman* and *Mr.* reveal the text’s origin – it says “Denne sætning, der ligesom sammenpressede det almindelige Spørgsmål i en Nøddeskal, vandt almindeligt bifald ...” [This sentence, which in a way compressed the usual question into a nutshell, was widely applauded]¹⁶

Also verbal idioms were often calqued, an early example being ‘cry over spilt milk’ disguised as *græde over spildt mælk*, as attested in an installment of another English (uncredited) story published in the local Danish paper *Middelfart Avis* of December 3, 1867 – still using German-style *Frakturschrift*:

Kapitain Ritson begyndte:
 „Stille, Kvartermester. Det er ikke Tiden nu at
 græde over spildt Mælk. Jeg ønsker ikke at faare Deres
 Følelser, for De er en retskaffen Mand, kjøndt De somme
 Tider har drevet det vel vidt med Groogaaen. Sea er en

In the last line, we witness a direct Anglicism, now obsolete in Danish, *Groggen* (from English ‘grog’) in the sentence following “Det er ikke Tiden nu at græde over spildt Mælk.” [Now is not the time to cry over spilt milk.]

An 1888 issue of a Danish magazine presented the perhaps earliest published anti-Anglicism statement, in which the author lamented the success of the Anglicism *sport* (first attested in Danish 1866) – a term seen as a threat to established Danish synonyms (Gottlieb 2020a: 251). As German was then the most dominant donor language in Denmark, several Anglicisms were introduced in Danish via German, which in turn had adopted many Anglicisms from French. Starting in 1899, Hermann Dunger, a German linguist, warned against the *Engländererei* in the German language, criticizing – among other things – the use of multi-word units like *political gossip* and *Matter-of-fact-man* by German authors (Dunger 1909: 41). Such direct borrowings were also introduced in Danish,

¹³ For comprehensive typologies of Anglicisms, see Gómez Capuz 1997, Sunde 2018, and Gottlieb 2020: Chapter 2.

¹⁴ “Gid De maa være fri for Bylder og Cholera, og hele Deres Reise igjennem maa kunne sige: all right.” [May you avoid abscesses and cholera, and throughout your journey be able to say: all right.]

¹⁵ Earliest Danish attestations of these and thousands of other Anglicisms are listed in the Global Anglicism Database (GLAD): <https://glad.ivdnt.org/lexit2/?db=publicglad&lang=en>.

¹⁶ The original phrasing in this English novel deviates somewhat from the Danish translation (back-translated verbatim above): “This sentiment, as compressing the general question into a nutshell, gave the utmost satisfaction, ...”.

e.g. *common sense* (1853), *toastmaster* (1853), *gentlemanlike* (1856), and *sleeping partner* (1874).

Calques (aka loan translations), however, constituted a more frequent multi-word type of Anglicism in Danish: By 1945 – a year often said to be signalling the acceleration of the influence of English in European speech communities – more than four hundred English-based loan translations were attested in Danish, the earliest ones including *den offentlige mening* (1797, from ‘public opinion’), *kræmmernation* (1834, from ‘nation of shopkeepers’), and *på krigsstien* (1845, from ‘on the warpath’).

Returning to German, several studies have looked at the English influence on phraseology, and as stated by Sabine Fiedler, referring to both calques and direct multi-word borrowings, “[s]ome phraseological Anglicisms seem to have started a life of their own in the German language and people apply them according to their communicative needs.” (Fiedler 2012: 257; see also Fiedler 2014 and 2017.)

Also speakers of Slavonic and Romance languages have coined large numbers of calques based on English models, as documented in several scholarly works, including a monograph by Alicja Witalisz (2015; Polish) and articles by Martí Solano (2012; French), Oncins-Martínez (2021; Spanish), and Klégr & Bozděchová (2022; Czech). A cross-linguistic overview on the inventory of direct multi-word Anglicisms and calques in the then embryonic GLAD database was offered by Virginia Pulcini (2020), with the most productive English elements in the creation of (Italian) multi-word units listed in Pulcini 2023: 74.

A comparative study looked at the fate of English-based calques in German and Spanish (Rodríguez González & Knospe 2019), but hardly any studies have focused on usage as documented in the relative success of directly borrowed multi-word Anglicisms vis-à-vis English-based calques in a given RL.¹⁷

Based on corpus data, this article seeks to fill that gap by suggesting a way to systematically chart how the various manifestations of English multi-word units fare in contemporary written discourse.

3. Purpose and methodology of this study

This empirical study aims at measuring how successful direct English multi-word borrowings are in comparison with English-based calques – many of which, as we have seen, were coined already in the 19th century. Are calques – invisible and inconspicuous to the average speaker¹⁸ – still going strong in modern (written) Danish? Or are – in line with the Danes’ increased familiarity with English – direct, visible borrowings enjoying more widespread use in recent years?

The answer to this question may partly depend on how the recipient speech community evaluates visible traits from the donor (or dominant) language, English in this case. If any prestige is attached to the wholesale import of donor-language words and expressions, calquing may be reserved for those expressions that are easily translated into the RL. A study on Dutch influence on Frisian has shown that ‘predictable’ lexemes, i.e. compositional words and phrases with semantically transparent elements, lend themselves well to part-by-part translation, resulting in calques. In contrast, non-compositional entities tend to be adopted in the RL untranslated, as direct borrowings (Hoekstra &

¹⁷ Oncins-Martínez 2021 (192) presents one such corpus-based comparison: In Spain, the English compound *brainstorming* is more frequent than the calques *tormenta de ideas* and *lluvia de ideas*, while in American Spanish the latter calque is dominant.

¹⁸ Of course, this begs the question whether a given Danish construction is in fact an English-based calque and not an independent development – or a calque based on German or French, for example. A method for testing the alleged English origin of such constructions (found in Norwegian) is demonstrated in a number of articles by Gisle Andersen (2019, 2020a, 2020b, 2021, 2022b). Due to the large number of items investigated in this Danish study, Andersen’s diachronic-contrastive corpus method was not used, yet there are no indications of a non-English provenance of the calques randomly selected for this study.

van der Kuip 2017). Regarding the English-Danish contact situation, this might mean that expressions like ‘eye-opener’ and ‘not in my backyard’ are more likely candidates for loan translation than are more opaque (and, admittedly, rare) English constructions like the exclamation ‘ups-a-daisy’ and the noun ‘shooting brake’ – the former converted into *upsedasse* and the latter adopted wholesale as *shooting brake*.

To determine the quantitative developments of selected English-based compounds and phrasemes – whether imports or calques – the gigantic Danish text archive *Infomedia* will serve as the primary source, while authoritative Danish dictionaries will be used for determining the dating of these Anglicisms. Realizing that many such items, whether directly or indirectly based on English, are rare in sheer numbers, searches will not look at frequencies for single years, as such figures may not show the overall trajectories of the items under scrutiny. Instead, two periods, 1990-2009 and 2010-2019 were selected for comparison. In that way, although finer details may be overlooked, general trends should be more visible, and figures ought to be more valid.

As mentioned above, the English-based multi-word (and polymorphemic) units in modern Danish may represent either *visible* or *invisible* Anglification (Gottlieb 2020a). While visible (and often mental) influence is often linked to direct borrowings such as *fatshaming*, invisible influence may have the same societal impact hidden behind indirect borrowings as *tak for din tid*, a direct echo of the Anglo-American mindset represented by the expression ‘thanks for your time’.

In addition to multi-word calques, even monomorphemic words may represent indirect influence from English, in the shape of semantic borrowing. Thus, in many languages, the English semantic expansion of the word ‘mouse’ (now including the IT sense ‘hand-held device for moving the cursor’) has been echoed, as already documented in the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms*, DEA (Görlach 2001). Also in Danish, the ‘rodent’ sense has been supplemented by the IT sense; *mus* has taken over the additional electronic properties of ‘mouse’.

With words and expressions composed of several morphemes, the indirect English influence seldom changes the semantics of existing lexemes; it typically takes the form of calquing, i.e. the coinage in the recipient speech community of loan translations of the elements constituting the English donor item, also known as the etymon.

In order to learn whether calquing – as a relatively invisible type of borrowing – or direct borrowing may have the upper hand in contemporary Danish, this study will focus not only on the fate of English-based *multi-word units* in Danish; it will also include *polymorphemic lexical items*. In addition, we will investigate the success of such complex Anglicisms against all-Danish synonyms, whenever these exist.

This means that a total of eight scenarios will be investigated:¹⁹

- 1) Direct multi-word borrowings without synonymous calques (*grand old man*)
- 2) Direct multi-word borrowings with synonymous calques (*Take it easy!* vs. *Tag det roligt!*)
- 3) Multi-word calques without established synonyms (*så meget for* + NP²⁰, from ‘so much for’ + NP)
- 4) Multi-word calques with established synonyms (*skudt og dræbt*, from ‘shot and killed’, vs. *skuddræbt* or *skudt*)
- 5) Direct polymorphemic borrowings without synonymous calques (*art director*)
- 6) Direct polymorphemic borrowings with synonymous calques (*fringe benefit* vs. *frynsegode*)
- 7) Polymorphemic calques without established synonyms (*køkkenrulle*, from ‘kitchen roll’).

¹⁹ I have used a simple and operational typology here; for a more comprehensive taxonomy of loan translations, see Witalisz 2015: 87-92.

²⁰ This and all other abbreviations are explained in the List of abbreviations before the References.

- 8) Polymorphemic calques with established synonyms (*øjenåbnende*, from ‘eye-opening’, vs. *øjnefaldende*).

Whereas scenarios 1-4 involve ‘udtryk’ (expressions) in Danish, scenarios 5-8 simply deal with ‘ord’ (words). As a rule, Danish compound nouns are (supposed to be) spelled in one word: Solid spelling is the norm, as opposed to English (*Retskrivningsordbogen* 2012). However, several English-based compounds found in written Danish are often spelled in two or more words, as in English. Hence, the searches in this study include authorized as well as unauthorized spellings of the Anglicisms investigated. This means that, for instance, statistics for words like *hightech* will include figures for the variants *high tech* and *high-tech*.

4. Selecting items to be studied

When investigating the fate of the eight possible Anglicism scenarios under scrutiny here, care has to be taken to avoid bias in the selection of items deserving close examination (Gottlieb 2012 & 2020a: 169 ff.). To this end, I have randomly picked Anglicisms for each scenario listed above from the Danish contribution to the online GLAD database (open access since spring 2023 at <https://lexit.inl.nl/lexit2/?db=glad&lang=en>).²¹ By August 17, 2023, the Danish contribution consisted of 15,305 Anglicisms, many of which are simple, monomorphemic words irrelevant in this context, whether adopted (as *veggie*), adapted (as *entitet*; from ‘entity’), or semantically calqued (as *vindue* used metaphorically, cf. ‘window of opportunity’). However, no less than 4,616 of these Danish Anglicisms were listed as loan translations, thus representing a significant share, 30.2 percent, of the total.²²

The word-class distribution of the 2,887 loan translations listed in the Danish GLAD contribution is shown in Table 2, together with the figures for all types of Anglicisms:

Table 2: Word-class distribution of Danish loan translations from English vs. all GLAD Anglicisms

Word class (POS)	Danish loan translations		All Danish Anglicisms	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Adjectives	405	8.8%	1,935	12.6%
Adverbs	121	2.6%	284	1.9%
Interjections	99	2.1%	393	2.6%
Nouns	2,699	58.5%	10,565	69.0%
Verbs	1,219	26.4%	1,986	13.0%
Other	73	1.6%	142	0.9%
Total	4,616	100.0%	15,305	100%

Although still dominant, nouns hold a smaller share of loan translations than of Anglicisms in general: Table 2 highlights the fact that more than a quarter of the Danish loan translations are verbs, while the share held by verbs is only half that size for Anglicisms in general.

In the comprehensive “Dictionary of Anglicisms in Danish” (DAD), 80.4% of the 6,180 entries are nouns, against 9.5% verbs and 8.9% adjectives (Sørensen 1997: 4). In contrast, as seen in Table 2, only 69 percent of the entries in the Danish GLAD contribution are nouns, against 13 percent verbs and a similar percentage of adjectives. Based on the fact that the DAD includes the same categories

²¹ Apart from frequency checks yet to be made, all items in the Danish GLAD contribution comply with the criteria for inclusion mentioned in Gottlieb et al. 2018 and Gottlieb 2021.

²² In Polish, a language dissimilar to Danish, an almost similar figure seems to apply: Having compiled 547 Polish loan translations from English, Alicja Witalisz (2015: 96) compares this figure to the approximately 2,000 Anglicisms listed in a Polish dictionary of Anglicisms (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2010). As for German, nearly one third of the entries in the *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch* (Carstensen, Busse & Schmude 1993-96) are *Lehnprägungen*, i.e. calques and semantic loans (Munske 2020: 15-16).

of Anglicisms as those represented in the GLAD database, it is fair to say that regarding Anglicisms, recent Danish represents more grammatical diversity than Danish spoken a couple of decades ago – in line with the analysis in Heidemann Andersen 2019: 47-51.

4.1. Loan translations: Scenarios 3, 4, 7, and 8

Due to the size of the Danish database, only a small percentage of all relevant items, *in casu* loan translations, could be included for close investigation in this study. To obtain a manageable, yet representative selection of entries, items representing one percent of each of the relevant Anglicism types were selected. This random selection process was conducted in May 2020, when the number of listed loan translations amounted to almost 2,200 items. The process of picking items from the alphabetical listing at intervals of 100 entries thus yielded 22 items – all of which qualifying by definition as calques, cf. scenarios 3, 4, 7 or 8 listed in Chapter 3 above. In this way, starting with number 50 in alphabetical order and ending with number 2,150, a microcosmos of twenty-two loan translations was established, cf. Table 3:²³

Table 3: Items randomly selected representing scenarios 3, 4, 7 and 8

Loan translation item	English etymon	Scenario number
{aldrig/ikke} se sig tilbage	never look back	3 (Multi-word calque, no DK synonym)
atten måneder ²⁴	eighteen months	4 (Multi-word calque with DK synonym)
det har ikke været det samme	it hasn't been the same	4 (Multi-word calque with DK synonym)
e-brev	e-letter	8 (Polymorphemic calque with DK synonym)
den dybe stat	the deep state	3 (Multi-word calque, no DK synonym)
fastforwardknap	fast-forward button	8 (Polymorphemic calque with DK synonym)
gadebarn	street kid	7 (Polymorphemic calque, no DK synonym)
grøn revolution	green revolution	4 (Multi-word calque with DK synonym)
hawaiiiskjorte	Hawaii shirt	7 (Polymorphemic calque, no DK synonym)
holde {krudtet/sit krudt} tørt	keep your powder dry	3 (Multi-word calque, no DK synonym)
hvis ikke for +NP	if not for +NP	4 (Multi-word calque with DK synonym)
ikke min ting	not my thing	4 (Multi-word calque with DK synonym)
jobbeskrivelse	job description	8 (Polymorphemic calque with DK synonym)
kommunikationssatellit	communications satellite	7 (Polymorphemic calque, no DK synonym)
lederskab	leadership	8 (Polymorphemic calque with DK synonym)
ned ad mindernes boulevard	down memory lane	3 (Multi-word calque, no DK synonym)
nultolerance	zero tolerance	8 (Polymorphemic calque with DK synonym)
presset på tid	pressed for time	4 (Multi-word calque with DK synonym)
slipstrøm	slipstream	7 (Polymorphemic calque, no DK synonym)
teddybjørn	teddybear	8 (Polymorphemic calque with DK synonym)
vægtvogter	weight watcher	7 (Polymorphemic calque, no DK synonym)
åbent ægteskab	open marriage	3 (Multi-word calque, no DK synonym)

Before investigating the trajectories of these 22 Anglicisms, along with the fates of the all-Danish synonyms of the scenario-4 and scenario-8 items, let us have a look at relevant details for each scenario:

²³ As no scenario-3 items were found in the randomized process described above, which yielded ten scenario-7 items, six scenario-4 items, and six scenario-8 items, the first five scenario-7 items were replaced by scenario-3 items found at equidistant intervals in the list of nearly 2,200 loan translations.

²⁴ This item, although rare in Danish usage, is included here as an English calque, as it is now mainly used in the 'English' sense, namely 'roughly one and a half years' – synonymous with the Danish expression *halvandet års tid*.

Table 4: Multi-word calques without established Danish synonyms (Scenario 3)

Danish item	POS	Dating ²⁵	English etymon
{aldrig/ikke} se sig tilbage	verb	1990	never look back
den dybe stat	noun	1999	the deep state
holde {krudtet/sit krudt} tørt	verb	1894	keep your powder dry
ned ad mindernes boulevard	adverb	1992	down memory lane
åbent ægteskab	noun	1972	open marriage

Three word classes are represented in this small selection, which includes one expression dating back to the late 19th century.

Moving now on to multi-word calques in competition with existing Danish synonyms, we come across a disambiguation problem, as shown in Table 5:²⁶

Table 5: Multi-word calques with established Danish synonyms (Scenario 4)

Danish item	POS	Dating	English etymon	Danish synonym	Back-translation
atten måneder	noun	1983	eighteen months	halvandet år	one and a half years
grøn revolution	noun	1991	green revolution	den grønne omstilling	the green transition
ikke min ting	adjective	2004	not my thing	ikke noget for mig	not something for me
presset på tid	adjective	1994	pressed for time	under tidspres	under time pressure
{smide/kaste} håndklædet i ringen	verb	1948	throw the towel in the ring	opgive ævred	give up
{tjekke/checke} op på	verb	1993	check up on	se nærmere på	have a closer look at

Now moving from multi-word to polymorphemic items, all selected Scenario 7 and Scenario 8 items turn out to be nouns – hardly surprising:

Table 6: Polymorphemic calques without established Danish synonyms (Scenario 7)

Danish item	POS	Dating	English etymon
gadebarn	noun	1976	street kid
hawaiiskjorte	noun	1960	Hawaiian shirt
kommunikationssatellit	noun	1961	communications satellite
slipstrøm	noun	1934	slipstream
vægtvogter	noun	1970	weight watcher

Table 7: Polymorphemic calques with established Danish synonyms (Scenario 8)

Danish item	POS	Dating	English etymon	Danish synonym	Back-translation
e-brev	noun	1994	e-letter	elektronisk brev	electronic letter
fastforwardknap	noun	1987	fast-forward button	knap til fremadspoling	button for winding forward
jobbeskrivelse	noun	1974	job description	stillingsbeskrivelse	description of position
lederskab	noun	1946	leadership	ledelse	management
nultolerance	noun	1996	zero tolerance	ingen pardon	no pardon
teddybjørn	noun	1917	teddybear	bamse	cuddly toy

²⁵ In all tables, the term ‘dating’ refers to earliest known attestation in Danish printed sources.

²⁶ Due to the syntactic complexity of some calques and the related difficulties in sorting out false positives in corpus searches, two calques had to be replaced by two other calques picked randomly from the end of the alphabet. The fact that both of these (in red in Table 5) happened to be verb phrases resulted in a nice balance between the three dominant parts of speech.

4.2. Direct borrowings: Scenarios 1, 2, 5 and 6

We now turn to direct borrowings, found in scenarios 1, 2, 5 and 6. For easy comparison with the randomly selected examples of calques (cf. Tables 4-7), five Anglicisms for scenarios 1 and 5, plus six Anglicisms for scenarios 2 and 6, were selected. Of the more than 4,000 Anglicisms listed as unadapted borrowings (as of May 2020), five Scenario-1 multi-word items were picked randomly, at equidistant intervals. These items, typically used in informal Danish discourse, are shown in Table 8:

Table 8: Direct multi-word borrowings without Danish calques (Scenario 1)

Danish direct borrowing	POS	Dating
Case closed!	interjection	1992
face the music	verb phrase	2002
I dare you!	interjection	1998
the real thing	noun	1989
you name it	noun	1984

Moving on to scenario-2 items, these direct multi-word borrowings sharing their English etymon with Danish calques turn out to be quite rare; only eighteen such pairs were found. Using the method described earlier, six of these were selected for further investigation, cf. Table 9:

Table 9: Direct multi-word borrowings with Danish calques (Scenario 2)

Danish direct borrowing	POS	Dating	Danish calque	Dating
another day {in/at} the office	noun	2000	endnu en dag på kontoret	1995
do-it-yourself	adjective	1957	gør-det-selv-	1955
God's own country	noun	1990	Guds eget land	1945
It ain't over till the fat lady sings	interjection	1996	ikke før den fede dame har sunget	1993
not in my back yard	adverb	1992	ikke i min baghave	1991
Take it easy!	interjection	1990	Tag det roligt!	1908

It is worth noting that all six randomly chosen Scenario-2 direct borrowings were attested later in Danish than were their synonymous calques, highlighted in blue.

Remaining now are scenarios 5 and 6. Starting with the former scenario, the five items to be examined were randomly selected (among several hundred entries) in the same way as the Scenario-1 items. This yielded the Anglicisms, all nouns, displayed in Table 10:

Table 10: Direct polymorphemic borrowings without Danish calques (Scenario 5)

Danish direct borrowing	POS	Dating
case-study	noun	1965
executive summary	noun	1992
human beatboxing	noun	2006
raveparty	noun	1991
young adult	noun	2004

Finally, the six Scenario-6 Anglicisms, constituting with their Danish equivalents, i.e. calques, a relatively limited number of Anglicisms, had to be selected manually from the entire Danish A-Z list – as was the case of the Scenario-2 items. Table 11 shows this last group of items, all randomly selected, except for the pair *peer-reviewed* vs. *fagfællebedømt*, a rare example of a conscious effort by the Danish Language Council to promote a ‘replacement word’ (*fagfælle* means ‘co-expert’ or ‘peer’ and *bedømt* means ‘reviewed’ or ‘evaluated’):

Table 11: Direct polymorphemic borrowings with Danish calques (Scenario 6)

Danish direct borrowing	POS	Dating	Danish calque	Dating
afterparty	noun	1993	efterfest	1994
dickpic	noun	2013	pikbillede	2014
gamification	noun	2011	spilificering	2011
lame duck	noun	1996	lam and	1983
peer-reviewed	adjective	1997	fagfællebedømt	2007
rush hour	noun	1929	myldretid	1937

The datings highlighted in blue show that – as opposed to the Scenario-2 findings, where multi-word calques preceded direct borrowings – only one of the six Scenario-6 ‘single-word’ calques, *lam and*, was attested earlier than its synonymous direct borrowing.

English compounds (like *afterparty*) thus may be more easily adopted by Danes than multi-word constructions (e.g. *another day {in/at} the office*), with calques paving the way for later adoption of the original English expressions (see also Hansen 1999 and Bergh & Ohlander 2012).

5. Findings

The sizes of *bona fide* text corpora, as for instance the American *COCA* (Davies) and the Danish *TiDK* (Asmussen 2019/2021) corpora, are typically made public, thus allowing for judgments of absolute frequencies of the items searched for. However, the size of the main source of this study, *Infomedia* – a gigantic news text archive which keeps growing exponentially – is no longer publicized. We do know, however, that in 2013 *Infomedia* announced that it contained more than 50 million articles, typically news stories. With an estimated average of some 400 words per article, the number of running words may then have amounted to 20 billion (Gottlieb 2020a, 216), meaning that by 2021 *Infomedia* may have contained at least 30 billion running words, but no exact figures are available. This lack of data would not matter if this diachronic study only investigated the relative numerical success of direct English borrowings vis-à-vis calques. However, four of the eight scenarios present borrowings and calques with no synonyms in Danish. Thus, in order to determine the potential success of such ‘uncontested’ items, a method for assessing the (approximate) numerical growth from the first to the second period investigated (1990-2009 and 2010-2019, respectively) should be found. To this end, in each of the two periods I searched for the isolated frequencies of the words in a simple Danish sentence representing five parts of speech: *kvinder lever længere her i Danmark* [women live longer here in Denmark]:

Table 12: Assessing the growth of the Infomedia text archive²⁷

Expression	Frequency in KorpusDK ²⁸ (58 million words)	Infomedia period 1: 01.01.1990-31.12.2009	Infomedia period 2: 01.01.2010-31.12.2019	Infomedia growth
kvinder (noun) ²⁹	32,844 (566 ppm)	1,366,693	3,097,542	126.6%
lever (verb)	24,547 (423 ppm)	1,517,406	3,352,046	121.0%
længere (adjective)	76,017 (1,310 ppm)	5,009,780	12,039,699	140.3%
her i (preposition)	13,590 (234 ppm)	571,175	1,433,224	150.9%
Danmark (proper noun)	57,628 (994 ppm)	3,337,746	8,086,531	142.3%
Average growth rate period 1 > 2: 136.2%				

As shown in Table 12, the average growth in size between the two periods investigated is 136 percent. In addition, the standard deviation turns out to be reassuringly small (10.9%), as all five elements in the sentence show a growth of between 121 and 151 percent. In other words, rejecting the null hypothesis of ‘no change’ from period 1 to period 2 in the frequencies of the Anglicisms investigated would mean that changes should deviate markedly from the average of a 136% growth from period 1 to 2.

In the following tables, this growth rate of 136% will be used to compensate for the lack of available data on the size of *Infomedia* and will serve as a way to normalize the number of hits found in the two periods investigated. Thus, in Table 13 and the following tables, positive growth rates exceeding the span (from 121.0% to 150.9%) in Table 12 with more than the standard deviation of 10.9%, i.e. rates from 167 percent and up, will be highlighted in **red**, whereas negative growth rates and rates below 89.1% of the interval, i.e. rates below 108 percent, will be highlighted in **green**.

²⁷ *Infomedia* was not designed as a proper language corpus. This means that the number of hits in this and the following tables does not refer to individual instances of the search node, *in casu* a given multi-word or polymorphemic unit; only the number of (newspaper, journal or blog) articles containing the search node is given. However, this is of no concern here, as we compare the number of hits found in two periods within this text archive. What does matter is the lack of oral communication represented – a drawback shared with most *bona fide* language corpora.

²⁸ This open-access Danish text corpus includes mostly written sources and covers the period 1982-2002.

²⁹ All searches are lemmatized. This means that the search for the plural indefinite form ‘kvinder’ returns all hits for all eight forms of the lemma ‘kvinde’, including the definite singular (‘kvinden’) and plural (‘kvinderne’) forms, plus the genitive forms ‘kvindes’, ‘kvindens’, ‘kvinders’, and ‘kvindernes’.

Table 13: Direct multi-word borrowings without Danish calques (Scenario 1)

Danish direct borrowing	Dating ³⁰	Infomedia ³¹ 1.1.1990-31.12.2009 (number of hits)	Infomedia 1.1.2010-31.12.2019 (number of hits)	Period 1 > 2 change
Case closed!	1992 I	57	137	140.4%
fear of missing out ³² {FOMO/fomo}	2007 I 2007 I	1 0	881 103	88,000% ↑
I kid you not ³³	2001 I	7	67	857.1%
the shit out of ³⁴	1998 I	2	3	50.0%
you name it	1984 N	2,330	4,352	86.8%

As we will see later on, results are mixed: The two most recent items display impressive growth, while two other (predominantly oral) items fail to keep up (*you name it*) or stay very infrequent (*the shit out of*) in this archive of written sources.³⁵

Turning now to the competition between direct and indirect English borrowings, the most typical result is the growth of both competitors, shown as two red percentages in the ‘change’ column of Table 14. Apart from the *trial and error* pair, where the direct borrowing is all-dominant, the calques are doing well, with a ‘semantic market share’ of between 45 and 95 percent, the average being 61.9%, against a modest 38.1% share of direct borrowings.

³⁰ In this and the following tables, the sources for dating, i.e. first attestations, of Anglicisms are abbreviated as follows: *Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur* (A); *KorpusDK* (K); *NoiD*, an online dictionary of Danish post-1955 neologisms (N); *Infomedia* (I); *Retskrivningsordbogen*, the official Danish spelling dictionary (R); *ODS*, the comprehensive Danish pre-1955 dictionary (O); *DDO*, the Danish corpus-based post-1955 dictionary (D); Sørensen 1997: “A Dictionary of Anglicisms in Danish” (S).

³¹ In order to exclude English-language sources, news agencies were deselected as sources when searching *Infomedia*. All searches were made in the ‘Præcis sådan’ (‘exact wording’) mode.

³² Due to polysemy, a factor also mentioned as a potential source of error in a similar Dutch study (Zenner et al. 2012), corpus searches of several of the randomly selected expressions yielded tokens that turned out to refer to proper nouns, e.g. film or song titles. In this case, the selected Scenario-1 string *face the music* was found to be homographic with several song titles, so the next ‘eligible’ Scenario-1 entry was selected from the alphabetical GLAD Database list.

³³ Ditto: The Scenario-1 item *I dare you* is also the title of a song and a film.

³⁴ Also occurrences of the item *the real thing* turned out to refer to a song. Instead, the next relevant GLAD Scenario-1 entry was chosen: *the shit out of* – which yielded 24 hits in period 1, 22 of which were English quotations or instances of codeswitching. Likewise, in period 2, only 3 out of 93 hits qualified as Anglicisms.

³⁵ Future studies using sources of a more oral nature, including social media messages, may show different results for vernacular expressions like the ones investigated here.

Table 14: Direct multi-word borrowings with Danish calques (Scenario 2)

Competing expressions	Dating	Infomedia 1 1990-2009	Infomedia 2 2010-2019		Period 1 > 2 change (number of hits)
		Number of hits	Number of hits	Share of calque(s)	
another day {in/at} the office <i>endnu en dag på kontoret</i>	2000 I <i>1995 I</i>	152 520	147 1,275	89.7%	- 3.3% 145.2%
do-it-yourself; <i>gør-det-selv-</i>	1957 S <i>1955 N</i>	560 21,109	1,961 41,590	95.5%	250.2% 97.0%
graphic novel; ³⁶ <i>grafisk roman</i>	2005 I <i>1987 I</i>	325 349	1,629 1,340	45.3%	401.2% 284.0%
(It ain't over) till the fat lady sings; { <i>før/når</i> } <i>den fede dame har sunget</i>	1996 I <i>1993 I</i>	45 198	139 572	80.5%	208.9% 188.9%
not in my {back yard/backyard}; <i>ikke i min {baghave/baggård}</i>	1992 I <i>1991 I</i>	261 189 baghave 10 baggård	409 471 baghave 53 baggård	56.2%	56.7% 108.0% 430.0%
<i>trial and error</i> ; ³⁷ forsøg-og-fejl(-metoden) forsøg-fejl(-metoden)	<i>1938 N</i> 1974 N 1962 N	228 7	721 33	4.4%	216.2% 371.4%
Average share: calques Average share: direct borrowings				61.9% 38.1%	

In Table 14 (as in Tables 16, 18, and 20) the earliest attested item in a given set of competitors is highlighted in blue. Five out of the six calques preceded the direct borrowings in Danish usage – four of them still dominant in the 2010-2019 period, yielding an average share for calques of almost 62 percent. The only exception here is *trial and error*, which preceded the Danish calque by decades and still reigns supreme. The conclusion seems to be that when a calque introduces a new concept, chances are that it will remain successful even when later challenged by the arrival of its etymon in the shape of a direct loan with the same denotation.³⁸

Looking once more at ‘uncontested’ items, Table 15 shows a direct correlation between the dating of a calque and its growth from period 1 to period 2, with the 19th century expression *holde krudtet tørt* displaying only insignificant growth and the 1970s calque, *åbent ægteskab*, only modestly ‘overperforming’ – against the three successful Danish calques coined in the 1990s:

³⁶ Due to proper-name homography (cf. previous notes), *God's own country* was replaced by *graphic novel*.

³⁷ Also acting as a well-known Danish song title, *take it easy* was replaced by the next Scenario-2 item, *trial and error*.

³⁸ Admittedly, when – as with several of these pairs – first attestations are separated by only a few years, sweeping statements as to which type of Anglicism introduced the English concept should be avoided.

Table 15: Multi-word calques without Danish established synonyms (Scenario 3)

Danish calque	Dating	English etymon	Bakspejlet 1983-2021 ³⁹	Infomedia 1990-2009	Infomedia 2010-2019	Change
{ikke/aldrig} set sig tilbage	1990 I	never looked back	167 (0.15 ppm)	266	5,876	2,109.0%
den dybe stat	1999 I	the deep state	3 (0.00 ppm)	31	316	919.4%
holde {krudtet/sit krudt} tørt	1894 O	keep your powder dry	119 (0.10 ppm)	517	1,315	154.4%
{ad/på} mindernes boulevard	1992 I	down memory lane	71 (0.06 ppm)	167	547	227.5%
åbent ægteskab	1972 N	open marriage	69 (0.06 ppm)	293	823	180.9%

Table 16: Multi-word calques with Danish synonyms (Scenario 4)

Competing expressions	Dating ⁴⁰	English etymon	Infom. 1990-2009	Infomedia 2010-2019		Change
			Hits	Hits	Calques	
atten måneder {of a deadline, etc.}; halvandet år [one and a half years]	1983 I 1845 O	eighteen months	331 130,230	267 284,748	0.1%	- 19.3% 118.7%
grøn revolution {= climate-friendly r.}; grøn omstilling [the green transition]	1991 I 1992 K	green revolution	1,202 342	1,866 112,107	1.6%	55.2% 32,679.8%
(er) ikke min ting; ikke noget for mig [not for me]	2004 I 1900 A	(is) not my thing	2 3,053	47 7,805	0.6%	2,250.0% 155.7%
presset på {tid/tiden}; under tidspres [under time pressure]	1994 I 1983 K	pressed for time	326 2,156	3,117 4,490	41.0%	856.1% 108.3%
{smide/kaste} håndklædet i ringen opgive ævred	1948 O 1700 O	throw the towel in the ring	11,056 2,836	28,229 4,742	85.6%	155.3% 67.2%
{tjekke/checke} op på se nærmere på [have a closer look at]	1993 I 1872 A	check up on	1,290 47,149	9,037 139,874	6.1%	600.5% 196.7%
Average share: calques Average share: Danish synonyms					22.5% 77.5%	

As indicated in Table 16, the concept of a ‘green revolution’ is much discussed in Danish media, with the extremely successful Danish synonymous neologism *grøn omstilling* (typically found as *den grønne omstilling*, i.e. ‘the green revolution’) nearly monopolizing this semantic niche after 2010.⁴¹

³⁹ This corpus of written contemporary Danish (Asmussen 2019/2021), with 1.15 billion running words, was consulted to illustrate the relatively low frequencies of many of the expressions presented in this study. Thus, even a well-known calque like *holde krudtet tørt* occurs in (written) Danish only once every ten million words.

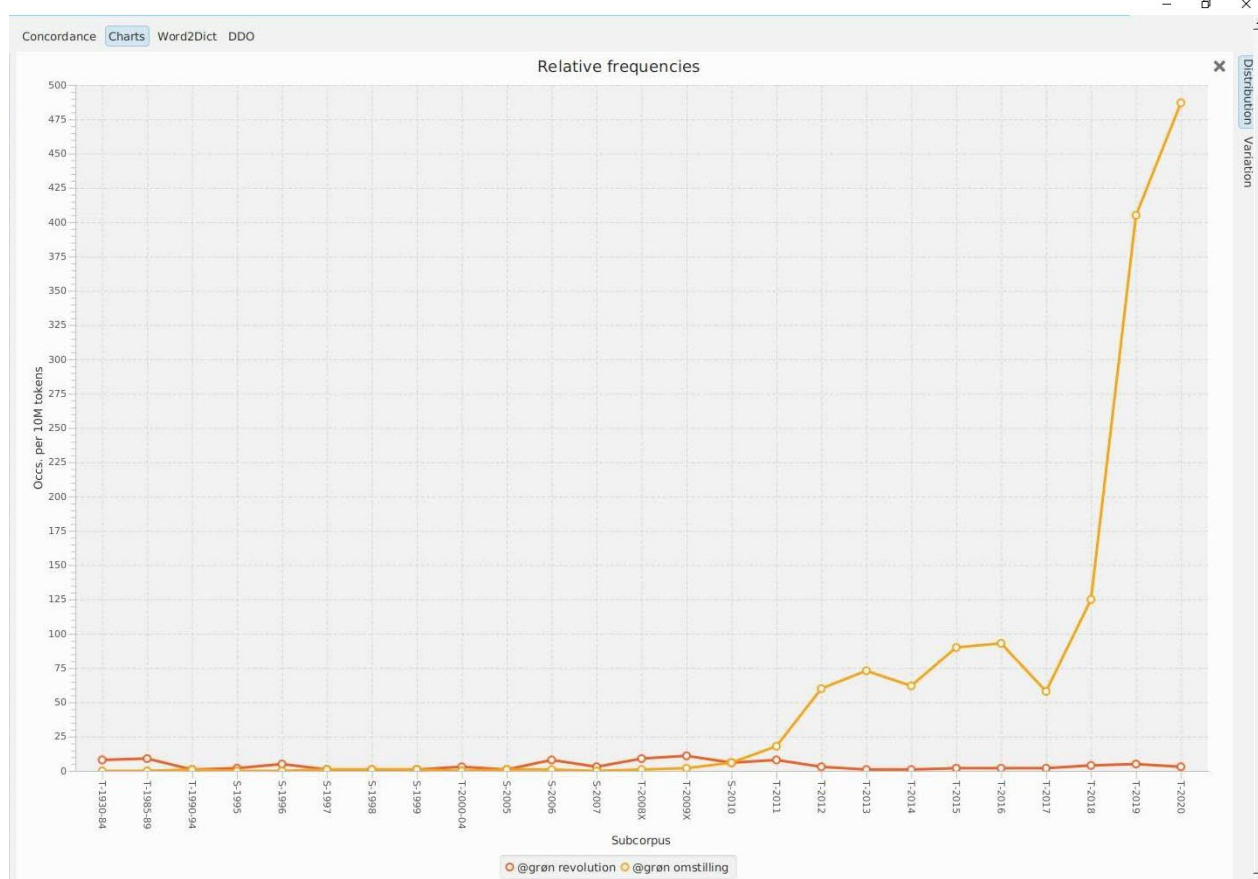
⁴⁰ Highlighted in blue, several of the established Danish synonyms in this table may date much further back than indicated. Due to the scarcity of pre-19th century sources, expressions like ‘halvandet år’ are presented as more recent than they probably are.

⁴¹ The ‘environmental’, English-inspired sense of *grøn* may represent the most frequent Anglicism in 21st-century written

Figure 1 shows this success, catapulting *grøn omstilling* from less than 1 ppm to almost 50 ppm in 2020 – far outnumbering the calque *grøn revolution*.

All other Danish synonyms were firmly established when the English calques were first used, and although some of these newcomers, especially *presset på tid/tiden*, enjoy (relative) success, the average share of the calques remains a modest 22.5 percent. It is worth noting that the oldest calque, *smide/kaste håndklædet i ringen*, is the only calque having obtained near-monopoly in its semantic field.

Figure 1: The developments of ‘grøn revolution’ and ‘grøn omstilling’ in the Danish Bakspejlet corpus



Yet, as was obvious from the figures in Table 16, the trajectory of ‘grøn omstilling’ is not typical of the developments of established synonyms over the decades studied; results point in all directions, so to speak.

Danish, with *okay* as a candidate for the most common oral Anglicism.

Table 17: Direct polymorphemic borrowings without Danish calques (Scenario 5)

Direct borrowing	Dating	Infomedia 1990-2009	Infomedia 2010-2019	Change
casestudy ⁴²	1965 N	75	143	90.7%
executive summary	1992 I	25	71	184.0%
human beatboxing	2006 I	21	34	61.9%
{rave party/rave-party/raveparty}	1991 N	170	128	- 24.7%
young adult [literary genre]	2004 I	5	775	15,400.0%

As could be expected, the category of Anglicisms displayed in Table 17, often naming new concepts or inventions, is susceptible to shifting fashions, and three of these five nouns have in fact lost ground between periods 1 and 2. Conversely, the neologism *young adult* was catapulted from obscurity to common usage. All in all, a sort of equilibrium is found between the frequency of these borrowings in the two periods investigated.

Table 18: Direct polymorphemic borrowings with Danish calques (Scenario 6)

Competing expressions	Dating	Infomedia 1990-2009	Infomedia 2010-2019		Change
		Hits	Hits	Calques	
afterparty {after party/after-party}; {efterfest/efter-fest}	1993 N	1,693	3,976		134.8%
	1993 I	738	524		- 29.0%
	1994 I	484	1,785	28.4%	268.8%
{dick pic/dick-pic/dickpic}; pikbillede	2013 I	0	130		↑
	2014 I	0	35	21.2%	↑
gamification; spilificering	2011 I	0	431		↑
	2011 I	0	9	2.0%	↑
(en) lame duck; (en) lam and	1996 I	59	114		93.2%
	1983 S	69	40	26.0%	- 42.0%
peer-reviewed fagfællebedømt	1997 I	161	1,092		578.3%
	2007 I	9	291	21.0%	3,133.3%
(er) rush hour; myldretid	1977 S	8	18		125.0%
	1937 O	11,852	21,580	99.9%	82.1%
Average share: direct borrowings				66.9%	
Average share: calques				33.1%	

Unlike the situation regarding multi-word borrowings (Scenario 2, presented in Table 14), most of which were coined after the introduction of the Danish calques, no clear pattern applies to Scenario 6. One calque, *myldretid*, was coined early on and is still totally dominant, but most other calques were coined shortly before or after the introduction of the direct borrowing. A feature common to four of the six calques is that they occupy around a quarter of their respective semantic fields, with an average share of 33.1 percent.

⁴² To avoid including titles, etc., only the standard spelling, *casestudy*, was searched for. Affected by English, unauthorized spellings (here 'case study' and 'case-study') are quite common in Danish. As stated earlier, they are included whenever practical, cf. *raveparty*.

Table 19: Polymorphemic calques without established Danish synonyms (Scenario 7)

Danish calque	Dating	English etymon	Infomedia 1990-2009	Infomedia 2010-2019	Change
gadebarn	1976 N	street kid	4,791	7,868	64.2%
{hawaiiskjorte/hawaii-skjorte}	1960	Hawaiian shirt	786	1,537	95.5%
kommunikationssatellit	1961 N	communications satellite	560	836	49.3%
slipstrøm	1934 O	slipstream	4,728	15,930	236.9%
vægtvogter	1970 N	weight watcher	122	186	52.5%

This random selection of Anglicisms as sole occupants of their respective semantic niches once again proves that, at least individually, Anglicisms hardly constitute a flood of regrettable neologisms. All but one of these five compound nouns have lost terrain over the thirty years investigated. The only exception is the oldest item, *slipstrøm*, now often used in its metaphorical sense (inspired by English, no doubt).

Figure 2 shows the minimal relative frequencies of these Anglicisms in the Danish *Bakspejlet* diachronic corpus (Asmussen 2019/2021); none of the items obtains a frequency of more than 0.5 ppm in any year between 1984 and 2020.

Figure 2: English-based compound nouns: known by all Danes, but still rare

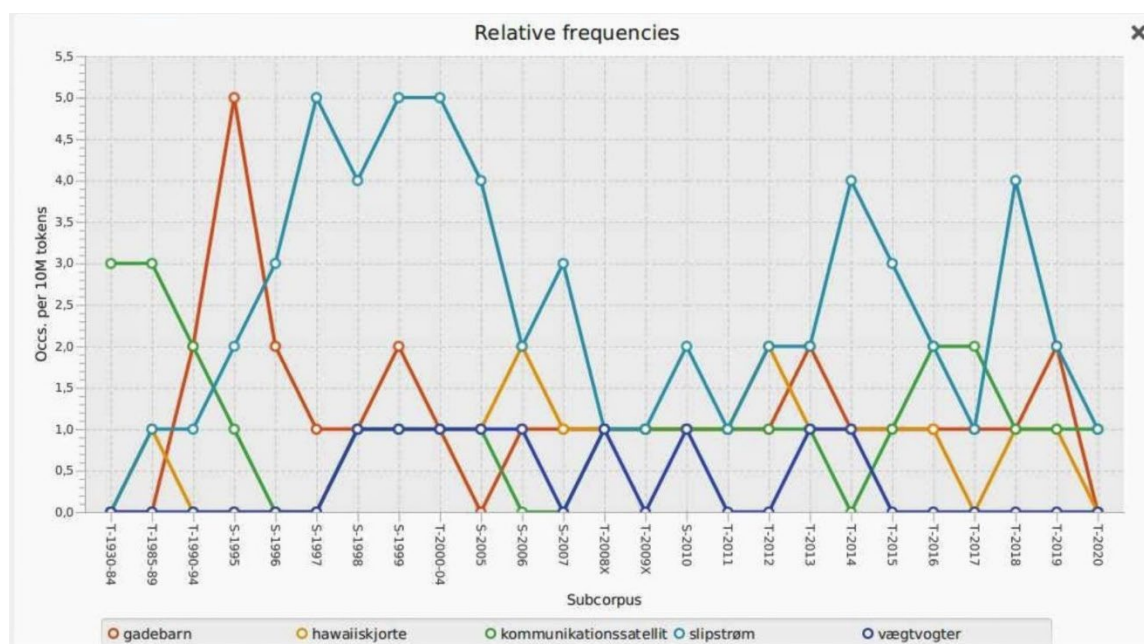


Table 20 shows another instance of low success rates for Anglicisms, this time compound nouns challenged by Danish synonyms. Only two of the sixteen nouns compared display more-than-average growth, *nultolerance* and *bamse* – the latter of these being an all-Danish synonym, a semantic extension of a Danish word for ‘bear’, coined after the introduction of teddybears in Denmark.⁴³ To

⁴³ A major reason that the outdated Anglicism *teddybjørn* is still found in Danish media discourse is that it typically refers to the Anglosphere, as in this example from *Politiken* of September 14, 2017: “Mark Wahlberg spiller drengerøven John Bennett, hvis bedste ven er den levende teddybjørn Ted.” [Mark Wahlberg plays the immature John Bennett, whose best friend is the live teddybear, Ted.]

be fair, the near-monopoly of the direct borrowing *e-mail* should be noted,⁴⁴ as well as the fact that *jobbeskrivelse* and *lederskab* manage slightly better than their Danish competitors.

As for the potential success of the Scenario-8 calques, figures once more point in all directions, with the semantic market share of calques ranging from 1.5 to 95.3 percent. The average throughout is 43.1%, a figure without statistical significance due to the extreme variation displayed here.

Table 20: Polymorphemic calques with Danish synonyms (Scenario 8)

Competing expressions	Dating	English etymon	Infomedia 1990-2009	Infomedia 2010-2019		Change
			Hits	Hits	Calques	
e-brev	1994 I	e-letter	160	127		- 20.6%
e-post	1992 I	email	11,199	7,432	95.3%	- 33.6%
elektronisk post	1977 I	electronic mail	4,148	2,923		- 29.5%
elektronisk brev [electronic letter]	1983 I		718	518		- 27.9%
e-mail	1992 N	E-mail	183,590	373,501		103.4%
{femte kolonne/femtekolonne}	1945 O	fifth column	843	855	36.0%	1.4%
5. kolonne	1940 O		301	248		- 17.6%
kollaboratør [wartime collaborator]	1945 O		2,199	1,960		- 10.9%
jobbeskrivelse	1974 N	job description	3,471	8,638	77.5%	148.9%
stillingsbeskrivelse ⁴⁵	1951 O		1,363	2,511		84.2%
[description of position]						
lederskab	1946 O	leadership	28,522	74,850	5.3%	162.4%
ledelse [management]	1700 O		635,182	1,347,974		112.2%
nultolerance	1993 I	zero tolerance	4,347	15,693	95.2%	261.0%
ingen pardon [no pardon]	1722 O		1,267	796		- 37.2%
teddybjørn	1917 O	teddybear	3	5	1.5%	66.7%
bamse [cuddly (toy) bear] ⁴⁶	1923 O		101	329		225.7%
Average share: calques					43.1%	
Average share: Danish synonyms					56.9%	

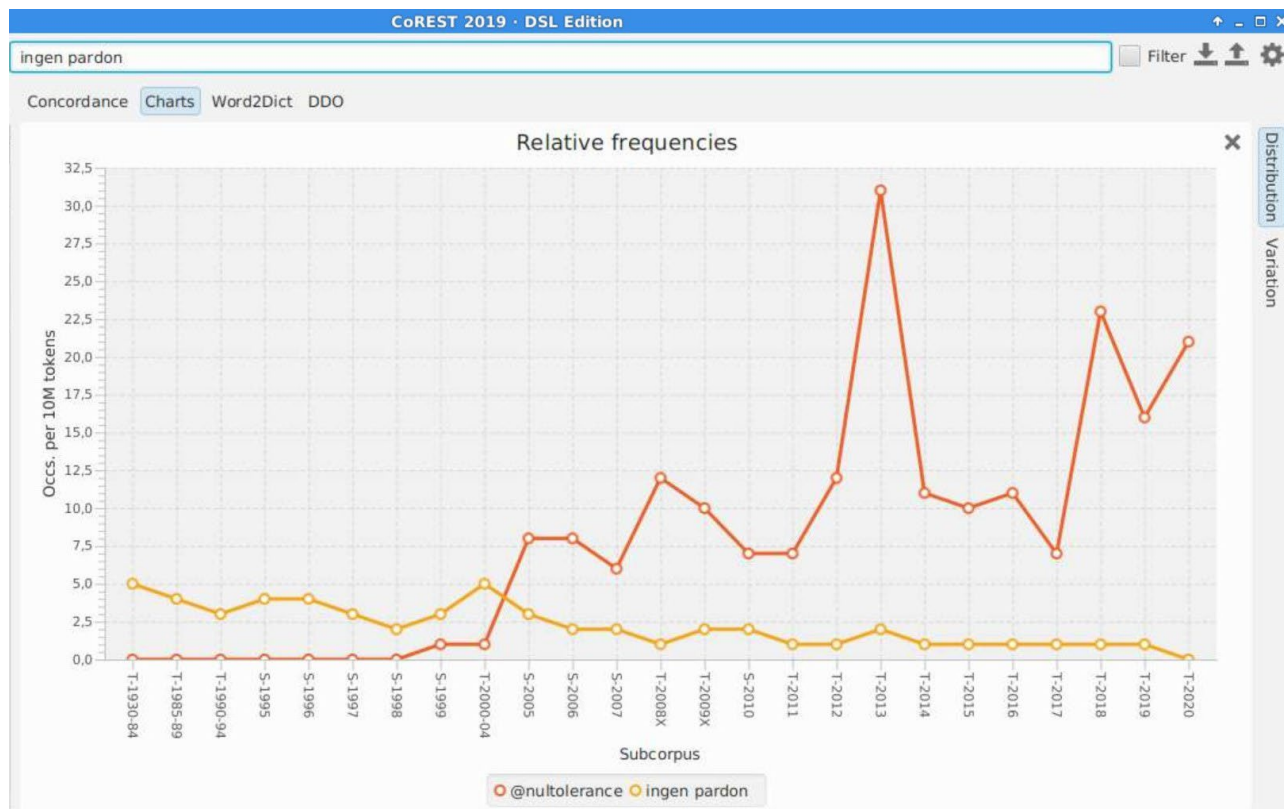
Like a textbook example, Figure 3 illustrates the worries of Danish purists, as we watch the established Danish expression *ingen pardon* (with the Gallicism *pardon* pronounced in a mock-French fashion) being ‘suppressed’ almost year by year by the ‘invisible’ Anglicism *nultolerance*. After 2020, according to the *Bakspejlet* corpus (Asmussen 2019/2021), we may declare *ingen pardon* dead and gone, at least in written usage.

⁴⁴ This directly borrowed term was added to the listing for reference.

⁴⁵ A Danish 1954 handbook claims that this term is based on the English ‘job specification’.

⁴⁶ To disambiguate the ‘teddybear’ sense from other senses and names, the search node ‘hendes bamse’ (‘her teddybear’) was used, hence the small number of hits. For comparison, ‘hendes teddybjørn’ had to be used as well.

Figure 3: An example of an English-based calque ousting an established Danish synonym



6. Discussion and conclusion

It is now time to put all the pieces together and see whether any general trends can be observed with regard to the two key objectives of this study:

1) *How do calques fare over time compared with a) direct English borrowings, and b) established Danish synonyms?*

2) *Are multi-word and polymorphemic Anglicisms becoming more frequent in (written) Danish?*

Starting with the second objective, the results are very mixed indeed. In Table 21, a green arrow ↓ indicates an Anglicism with lower frequency in the period 2010-19 than in the period 1990-2009. Similarly, red arrows ↑ indicate higher frequencies, and bidirectional black arrows ↓ represent items that showed neither significant growth nor decrease in frequency.

Although the forty-four items investigated were randomly selected, their number is too limited to justify sweeping generalizations. Still, hypotheses regarding the potential success of the Anglicisms in the eight different scenarios may be formulated. The arrows in Table 21 suggest growing success of both direct multi-word borrowings and their calques (Scenario 2), of ‘uncontested’ multi-word calques (Scenario 3), and of direct polymorphemic borrowings plus their calques (Scenario 6).

Conversely, uncontested direct polymorphemic borrowings seem to become less frequent (Scenario 5), a fate shared with uncontested polymorphemic calques (Scenario 7) as well as polymorphemic calques plus their synonyms (Scenario 8). With Scenarios 1 and 4, neither an upward nor a downward trend is discernible.

Table 21: The success of Danish phraseological Anglicisms: all scenarios

Scenario		Frequency span: ↔ (Infomedia hits 2010-19) Success ↑ or loss ↓ (Hits 1990-2009 vs. 2010-19)		
		Synonyms	Direct loans	Calques
1	Direct multi-word borrowings <i>without</i> calques		3 ↔ 4,352 ↑↑↓↓	
2	Direct multi-word borrowings <i>with</i> calques		45 ↔ 560 ↑↑↑↓	33 ↔ 41,590 ↑↑↑↓
3	Multi-word calques <i>without</i> synonyms			316 ↔ 5,876 ↑↑↑↓
4	Multi-word calques <i>with</i> synonyms	4,490 ↔ 284,747 ↑↑↓↓		47 ↔ 28,229 ↑↑↓↓
5	Direct polymorphemic borrowings <i>without</i> calques		34 ↔ 775 ↑↓↓	
6	Direct polymorphemic borrowings <i>with</i> calques		18 ↔ 4,500 ↑↑↓	9 ↔ 21,580 ↑↑↑↓
7	Polymorphemic calques <i>without</i> synonyms			186 ↔ 15,930 ↑↓
8	Polymorphemic calques <i>with</i> synonyms	329 ↔ 1,347,974 ↑↓		5 ↔ 15,693 ↑↓

As for the first objective, i.e. the fate of calques vis-à-vis direct Anglicisms on the one hand and all-Danish synonyms on the other, Table 22 shows that in sheer numbers, multi-word calques without Danish synonyms – at least the ones investigated here – enjoy considerable success, followed by multi-word calques with Danish synonyms. Polymorphemic calques, whether contested by Danish synonyms or not, straddle the fence and show neither marked growth or decline. The losers seem to be calques competing with direct borrowings from English, whether these are multi-word or polymorphemic – scenarios 2 and 6.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ A Norwegian study on ‘pragmatic’ Anglicisms found that when RL speakers have to choose between a direct borrowing and a domestic term, “the domestic and borrowed variants are not interchangeable in all contexts” (Andersen 2022a: 270). In the same way, continued co-existence of English-based calques and domestic phrasemes is only feasible if the pragmatic circumstances differ enough to justify two synonymous expressions.

Table 22: The success of Danish phraseological Anglicisms: calques only

Scenario	Infomedia hits 1990-2009	Infomedia hits 2010-19	Change
2 Calques competing with direct multi-word borrowings	22,382	45,334	102.5%
3 Multi-word calques <i>without</i> synonyms	1,274	8,877	596.8%
4 Multi-word calques <i>with</i> established synonyms	14,207	42,563	199.6%
6 Calques competing with direct polymorphemic borrowings	12,414	23,740	91.2%
7 Polymorphemic calques <i>without</i> synonyms	10,987	26,357	139.9%
8 Polymorphemic calques <i>with</i> synonyms	52,994	110,771	109.0%

This finding ties in with one of the results from a large-scale Belgian study on the success of English loanwords in Dutch – more specifically, person reference nouns (like *babyboomer* and *foodie*). It was found that these direct loans will turn out more successful than their potential Dutch counterparts “if the loanword is introduced in Dutch as a necessary loan⁴⁸ for which a Dutch alternative was only coined later” (Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts 2012: 781).

A Danish example of this limited success of calques vis-à-vis direct borrowings is the pair *graphic novel / grafisk roman*. As we saw in Table 14, the calque was coined in Danish 18 years prior to the introduction of the direct Anglicism in 2005,⁴⁹ and in the period 1990-2009 it still had the upper hand, with 349 *Infomedia* hits against 325. In the period 2010-19 the balance had shifted, with *graphic novel* now occupying 55% of this semantic field. Yet, both terms gained ground in absolute numbers, and writers no longer had to explain the concept, as they did in a news item from *Horsens Folkeblad* of June 10, 2005, defining the genre as “det, der med en moderne og præcis beskrivelse kaldes a graphic novel – en grafisk roman.” [something which, with a modern and accurate term, is called a graphic novel – en grafisk roman.]

Summing up, the present study reveals that in early 21st century written Danish,

(1) the success of multi-word and polymorphemic direct borrowings from English is largely unpredictable, and

(2) calques competing with direct English borrowings have a hard time, whereas

(3) calques not competing with direct English borrowings (and often not recognized as Anglicisms) enjoy growing popularity.

List of abbreviations

CS: Codeswitching

DDO: Den Danske Ordbog (The Danish Dictionary)

DL: Donor Language

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

ELF: English as a Lingua Franca

ESL: English as a Second Language

GLAD: Global Anglicism Database

⁴⁸ The (dubious) notion of necessary vs. unnecessary loans is discussed in Gottlieb 2020a, 200.

⁴⁹ Interestingly, the Danish calque seems to have escaped the attention of the leading editor at a Danish publishing house, who in *Berlingske Tidende* of September 3, 2005 claims that the concept of ‘graphic novel’ “findes endnu ikke i en dansk oversættelse” [still has no Danish translation].

NoiD: Nye Ord i Dansk (New Words in Danish)

NP: Noun Phrase

ODS: Ordbog over det Danske Sprog (Dictionary of the Danish Language)

POS: Part of Speech (= word class)

ppm: Parts per million

RL: Recipient Language

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Features of the grammar of Cameroon English and Nigerian English: Corpus evidence¹

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Abstract: Cameroon English and Nigerian English are varieties of English which result from the spread of the English language around the world. These two new Englishes, which have grown in neighbouring countries, are gradually being described for subsequent codification. In the domain of grammar, several studies have been carried out to highlight the features that characterise each variety. However, analytical comparisons have hardly been made to determine how similar or different they can be, given that they are both categorised as West African Englishes, their populations share much in common and they communicate on a daily basis. This paper, therefore, proposes a comparative and contrastive description of the grammar of these varieties. The review of previous studies and the exploration of the Corpus of Cameroon English (CCE) and the Nigerian component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-Nigeria) reveal that both varieties are more similar than different, and features of indigenisation are attested at the morphological as well as syntactic levels. For the sake of simplification, and failure to manage syntactic traces (Mbangwana and Sala 2009), questions and passivisation are restructured, and pronoun reduplication is resorted to fill in the empty slot created by a displaced constituent. While subjectless and verbless sentences and the reflexive use of reciprocal pronouns are specific to Nigerian English, *when*-adverbials, *that*-adverbials, and *that*-complements of ‘abuse verbs’ rather characterise the Cameroonian variety.

Keywords: Cameroon English, Nigerian English, new Englishes, features, grammar.

Introduction

Despite the numerous works on the grammar of English, that is British English, in order to enable the language to be used in a somewhat common pattern, the grammars of the varieties that have emerged over time around the globe are still to be fully codified. Several reasons account for this, ranging from attitude to (insufficient) academic investment in this area. Hundt (2001: 737-738) offers two reasons. The first relates to the fact that priority has been given to phonological and lexicological features over grammatical ones because the latter are far less perceptible, accessible and frequent than the former, thus making their empirical description more difficult. The second reason is that variations are considered to be a mere “shift in the linguistic centre of gravity” as illustrated by American English vis-à-vis British English after the Second World War.

Thus, the fact that grammatical variations are either less perceptible or considered as a mere shift already precludes a tough job for those who venture in the study of new varieties of English. Indeed, most early descriptions viewed such changes as errors revealing low mastery of grammatical norms. Evidence of this is seen in the plethora of works in error analysis in the new Englishes settings (Osoba 2014; Ojetunde 2013; Ekundayo 2013; Okoro 2017). In spite of these odds, a number of scholars have taken up the challenge to describe findings in the variations observed that can be considered not errors or shifts, but distinguishing morphological and syntactic features of emerging Englishes. Such endeavours have been reported in academic dissertations and theses (like Daode 2001; Fokam Tchoupo 2013), articles (such as Buregeya 2001; Schmied 2008; Nkemleke 2007; Akinlontan 2016), and books (for example, Blair and Collins 2001; Kachru and Nelson 2006; Mesthrie, Rajend & Bhatt 2008). Devoting a whole book to this effect as Mbangwana and Sala (2009) and Jowitt (2019) have done for Cameroon English (henceforth CamE) and Nigerian English (henceforth NigE), respectively, marks a significant step forward in the description and codification process of these two varieties.

¹ This paper is culled from an ongoing PhD thesis.

Though it might be a daunting task to attempt a thorough description of a language, the challenge is worth it if the urge to elaborate a common communication tool is at stake. The acceptance of different accents and the inclusion of new vocabulary items in a reference dictionary such as the Oxford English Dictionary² should equally be extended to morphological and syntactic changes observed.

Setting grammatical norms based on their widespread feature is an approach which deserves attention as it consists in establishing patterns for existing realities. This approach has been in vogue in the evolution of the English language, insofar as no regulatory authority decides and dictates the way the language should be used. Rather, going from empirical observations (with the help of corpora), rules are derived and published for general use. The well-known reference grammar of British English, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al. 1985), is based on empirical data, just as is Biber et al.'s (1999) *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. This is not surprising as one of the authors of both books, Geoffrey Leech, regularly claims to be fundamentally empiricist (Leech 2011). Biber et al. (1999: 5) clearly state their position when they indicate that the aim of their book “is to study the various ways in which grammatical features occur and recur in actual use”. Sala (2006), who buys this approach, strongly argues for the democratisation of the language. Referring to Cameroon English, he calls it “community English” and holds that despite the fact that purists will view many of the features that make up a grammar as errors, “when errors become a tendency and then a norm, we can no longer refer to them as errors” (2006: 63). This stance holds and is gradually proven right over time. Taking the case of CamE and NigE, several investigations have been carried out to work out the way they operate. The following interrogations constitute the starting point for investigation: i) what features have been indigenised? ii) how similar or different are CamE and NigE?, and iii) are the differences enough of a criteria to set them apart? Below, the most salient features of the grammar of CamE and NigE, as already established, can be found.

1. Pluralisation

It is widely reported in the literature on new Englishes that the pluralisation of some uncountable nouns, mass nouns and proper nouns is a very common phenomenon. As highlighted by Nelson (1992); Buregeya (2001), Igboanusi (2006), Kachru and Nelson (2006), Adedimeji (2007), Mbangwana and Sala (2009), and Opara (2019), among others, such uncountable words as *information, furniture, stationery, chalk, cutlery, equipment, advice, evidence* and *infrastructure* are used with the *-s* plural morpheme. This is illustrated by the sentences bellow from the Corpus of Cameroon (CCE) English and the Nigerian component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-Nigeria). The words in bold character are those that illustrate the point.

- (1) Their money may not be in their bank account but it is on their gluttonous food tables, expensive **furnitures**. [CCE]
- (2) the estimate or possible growth of the population in the few coming years and other important **informations** that will be useful to the government is planing [*sic*] for their economic strategies. [ICE-Nigeria]
- (3) Principally burnt down into ashes beyond recognition were the Director's files, **stationeries**, Uniforms³, sports equipment, and furniture. [CCE]

² The January 2020 update edition of this dictionary includes a number of words from Nigerian English which have been incorporated in the dictionary (complete list accessible through <https://public.oed.com/blog/nigerian-english-release-notes/>).

³ Capital letter used in the corpus. Corpus materials are cited in this article without any modifications whatsoever, including punctuation, capitalisation, spelling and structure.

- (4) Materials such as **chalks**, chemicals in laboratories, pen, pencil, exercise books for notes of lesson are in short supplies. [ICE-Nigeria]

Though this may be viewed as ungrammatical in BrE, the pluralisation logic is kept to the end, thus legitimating this form. In other words, subject-verb agreement is applied and the verb is marked plural accordingly, whereas in BrE it is singular subject-verb agreement that obtains, as these sentences heard over the media and in conversations illustrate:

- (5) These **informations** are difficult to verify.
 (6) The **stationeries** we need *include* rulers, pens, pencils, file folders and clips.

As concerns pluralised proper nouns, they are mainly names of ethnic groups such as *the Hausas*, *the Bamilékés*. However, it is not uncommon to encounter proper names of persons designating the family as a group bearing plural morpheme and preceded by the definite article *the* as in *the Boubas*, *the Ashus*. This should be understood as the members of the family wherein Bouba and Ashu are the persons (generally the father) who head the family and whose name the other members bear as family name. In this case, the –s plural morpheme is phonologically realised.

2. Parts of speech

Parts of speech display several features which are worth discussing because of their complexity. These features generally include deletion, insertion, substitution (as in the case of articles), and conversion.

2.1. Articles

The use of articles may be quite tricky in these varieties so much so that it is not easy to work out a dependable rule to account for their varied uses. Until now, researchers have simply offered instances of situations where the article is deleted or inserted as opposed to what obtains in the mother variety. Consider for instance this enumeration by Adedimeji (2007: 8) concerning NigE: “I am a student of University of Ilorin”, “make mistake,” “take tribe”, “deliver lecture” “have class”. No information is given as to which article is deleted, where it is deleted and why. Note, however, that except for the first member of the list wherein the definite article *the* is left out before *University*, it is the indefinite article that is omitted between the two member of each pair. This same approach is noticeable in Lawal (2013: 75) and Lamidi (2007: 242). Ojetunde (2013: 261-262) and Mbufong (2013: 480) attempt to explain this by the absence of similar equivalent categories in speakers’ L1. Yet, article deletion is not systematic. This makes this argument questionable.

It has been observed that in both varieties, the definite article *the* usually replaces the possessive adjective (Mbangwana and Sala (2009) echoing Mbangwana (1992: 99)). Note, however, that the trend is restricted to the third persons *his*, *her* and *their* in the context where someone is talking about another person’s kinship or possession in general. Below is an example.

- (7) He sent money to **the** wife. (BrE, His wife)

2.2. Prepositions

The observation of preposition/postposition use reveals the complexity of these particles in English. Three situations can be observed. First, while certain verbs normally take a postposition in English, this particle is deleted in new Englishes. Conversely, there are verbs which in the mother variety require no particle but in these varieties take one. Lastly, the particle is substituted. Epoge (2015 and 2016a) offers a detailed investigation of this aspect of the language in Cameroon English. His conclusions are similar to examples offered by Adedimeji, (2007: 9), Lawal (2013: 76), Ekundayo

(2013:42, 44-45) and Okunrinmeta (2014: 326) for Nigeria English. Some of them are illustrated in the following table.

Table 1: Verb particles in CamE and NigE

BrE	CamE/NigE	Illustration
Particle deletion		
To dispose <i>of</i> refuse	To dispose refuse	I don't know how to dispose this refuse.
To reply <i>to</i> a letter	To reply a letter	Has your mother replied your letter?
To write <i>to</i> somebody	To write somebody	We shall write you.
To enable sb <i>to</i> do sth	To enable sb do sth	My job does not enable me live comfortably.
Particle insertion		
To discuss sth	To discuss <i>about</i> sth	The board is discussing about this issue.
To emphasise sth	To emphasise <i>on</i> sth	I want to emphasise on the need to act.
To vanish	To vanish <i>away</i>	The thieves had vanished away by then.
To voice	To voice <i>out</i>	Voice out your grievance.
To comprise	To comprise <i>of</i>	The team comprises of ten members.
Particle substitution		
To chat <i>with</i> sb	To chat <i>to</i> sb	I am chatting to my friend.
To leave <i>for</i>	To leave <i>to</i>	She is leaving to the village this morning.
To ask <i>for</i>	To ask <i>after</i>	Someone is asking after you out there.
To round <i>off</i>	To round <i>up</i>	Let me round up the meeting first.

Epoge (2016: 108-109) further notes that *to come out with* and *to put up with* have undergone semantic extension.

2.3. Word class shift

Through the process of lexicalisation, some prepositions have acquired verbal features, that is, head of a phrase which assigns left and right arguments and theta role. The most discussed are *off* and *on*. Epoge (2016a: 111) holds that they are actually clipped phrasal verbs of which the full forms are *switch off* and *switch on*, respectively. This argument can stand since *off* and *on* in this context are used to mean the same as *switch off* and *switch on* and are also mono-transitive verbs.

Other words from other word classes are equally assigned verbal features. Those from the class of adjectives include: *to precise*, *to pregnant*, *to dead*, *to junior*, *to senior*, *to ready* and *to naked* (Adedimeji 2007: 8). Among nouns are *to horn* which means to produce a sound alert using the horn of a vehicle, and specific to NigE is *to paste*, that is, to brush one's teeth (Adedimeji 2007: 11).

3. Pronouns in the sentence

Be it in CamE or in NigE, pronouns have developed specific grammatical uses that are worth considering.

3.1. Resumptive pronouns

Trace management seems to be a delicate mental operation for World Englishes users. In order to go round the problem, they tend to fill the position left empty by the displaced sentence constituent. Hence the phenomenon of resumptive pronoun that is so common in the new Englishes. Beside Mbangwana and Sala (2009), who discuss it as *trace guilt*, it has been documented in NigE and CamE for instance by Lamidi (2007: 245), Epoge (2015), and Opara (2019). Take for instance sentences (8) and (9) below:

- (8) The people that you sent **them** have come.
 (9) The village where I am going **there** is far.

In (8), *that* is the relative pronoun generated in the object position of *sent*, while in (9), *where* is the relative adverb which originally occupied the adjunct position of *going*. The displacement of *that* and *where* leads to an empty slot only marked by a trace as can be visible in (10) and (11). But in CamE and NigE, this trace is phonologically realised as pronoun bearing the same features as those of the moved NP: *them* (for *the people*) in (8) and *there* (for *the village*) in (9).

- (10) The people that_i you sent t_i have come.
 (11) The village where_i I am going t_i is far.

An exceptional case of resumptive pronoun documented by Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 201) for CamE is the filling of the trace position by a full NP (not a pronoun), as they illustrate by the following sentences.

- (12) We have names like Nathana, Clara and Joel which are familiar **names**.
 (13) There exists authority which Clara wants that she can thus gain **this authority** over the husband.

The highlighted NPs in these sentences are said to occupy the trace position. The occurrence of a resumptive pronoun, Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 201) say, “is linked to the incapability to manage traces or to link the adjectives in complement or predicate position to their noun heads in subject position”.

Another characteristic that they highlight is the substitution of the possessive relative pronoun “whose” by the relative pronoun “that” to simplify structure. So, instead of having:

- (14) This is the father whose child you sent; or
 (15) This is the father of which you sent the child,

CamE will rather favour the construction:

- (16) This is the father that you sent the child.

The same observation is made by Fokam Tchoupo (2013: 117) who goes further to note that “that” is used in CamE as a genitive pronoun to replace “whose to introduce a subordinate clause where the antecedent is not a person”. He refers to this *that* as “*that-genitive*”.

3.2. Reflexive pronouns

It has further been noted by Lamidi (2007: 245) and Opara (2019: 199) that, in NigE, the reflexive

pronouns *ourselves* and *themselves* have undergone semantic extension to equate reciprocal pronouns *each other* and *one another*. Lamidi (2007: 245) offers the following illustrations quoted from previous works:

- (17) Though they are brother and sister, they do not love *themselves* (Jowitt and Nnamoni 1985: 50).
- (18) Unselfishness means that we should love *ourselves* (Jowitt and Nnamoni 1985: 51).
- (19) My wife and I *never knew ourselves* before we got married (University teacher (May 2004). [In Standard English: ‘My wife and I never had coital relationship/carnal knowledge of each other/ made love to each other before we got married’.]

A feature that deserves great attention here is one highlighted by Lawal (2013: 75-76) concerning NigE. It consists in using some verbs as reciprocal verbs without thus adding the reciprocal pronoun. He offers example sentences like:

- (20) We have known for the ten years.
- (21) We saw this morning.

Wherein *have known* and *saw* are not followed by *each other* or *one another* (depending on the number of people involved) but imply that each person *saw* or *had known* the other(s). These two verbs thus behave in NigE as the verb *to meet*, which inherently is a reciprocal verb and, therefore, does not require the addition of a reciprocal pronoun (which would be redundant).

3.3. *They* for passivisation

Last but not least, the pronoun *they* in both varieties under study is used as substitute for passivisation (Lamidi 2007: 244; Mbangwana and Sala 2009: 178-183). Mbangwana and Sala (2009) refer to it as *unbounded they* for the obvious reason that its referent seems to be neutral or loose, even though it may be very clear in the active voice. From the examples they use, this pronoun can be used both for singular/plural and male/female referent. Take for instance the following examples they offer:

- (22) a. The principal has published the results.
b. **They have published the results.**
- (23) a. The bank is paying salaries.
b. **They are paying salaries.**
- (24) a. The tenant has soiled the toilet.
b. **They have soiled the toilet.**

Even though the agent (grammatical subjects) in each of the active sentences (sentences a.) above is clearly indicated, the passivised versions (sentences b.) behave as if they are not. As a consequence, the *by-phrase* is simply omitted in each case. Of course, such a passive form exists in BrE, but it is licensed only in the context of neutral agent generally marked by an indefinite pronoun (someone, anybody, everyone, people, ...). There may, therefore, be a confusion between CamE and NigE passive sentences and normal active sentence with *they* as subject and doer of the action/event. In this situation, only context will help. The two-step rule proposed by Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 191) for passive sentences in CamE, but which can be extended to Nigerian English is as follows:

- (i) *Drop subject-NP*
- (ii) *Insert an expletive “they” in subject position.*

Going by these authors, this form emerges owing to two factors. The first relates to the absence of passive form in the L1 of speakers of these varieties. So, they have to devise strategies to accommodate it in their English. The second factor is purely linguistic and is a consequence of the general avoidance of constituent movement in the sentence, as can already be attested in question formation.

4. Question formation

The structure of the question catches a lot of attention, and the variations are treated quite differently. A striking common feature shared by Yes/No questions and *wh*-questions is the absence of movement transformations as is the case in standard BrE (Anchimbe 1998; Nkemleke 2007; Mbangwana and Sala 2009; Mbufong 2013; Epoge 2016b). In other words, the question is structured as a mere declaration with a final question mark (in writing) or final rising tone (in speech). Consider for instance the questions for the declaration “They will travel next week”:

- (25) Will they travel next week?
- (26) They will travel next week?
- (27) When will they travel?
- (28) They will travel when?

Sentences (25) and (27) illustrate traditional Yes/No and *wh*_question respectively wherein a) the operator (*will*) is fronted and b) the *wh*_element (*when*) is moved to sentence initial position. Sentences (26) and (28) correspond to their equivalent in CamE and NigE. As can be seen, they portray the structure of a mere declarative sentence, but with a final question mark. In sentence (28), the *wh*-element is left in situ. In consequence, the structure of the question in these two varieties, as in other new Englishes, can globally be sketched as follows:

- (29) **Subject** (+ auxiliary) (+not) + **verb** (+ object) (+complement) (+ adjunct)

In this structure, the only two mandatory elements are thus the *subject* and the *verb* in the case of a Yes/No question. Depending on the type of verb or the idea to express, the other elements are complementary. Accordingly, the object, the complement and the adjunct will be replaced by the appropriate *wh*-word to generate the *wh*-question. Question (28) above will, for example, have the following structure:

- (30) Subject + auxiliary + verb + adjunct

Implemented on the sentence as

- (31) [subject They [aux will [verb travel [adjunct when]]]]

An observation with this structure is that in the absence of an overt auxiliary in the declaration, CamE and NigE questions will not bother to revive the recessive auxiliary, *do*, to help form the question. For instance, the sentence “He wants a bag” will be turned into questions as (32) and (33) for the traditional Yes/No and *wh*-question patterns, and (34) and (35) for the new Englishes patterns.

- (32) **Does** he want a bag?
- (33) What **does** he want?
- (34) He wants a bag?

(35) He wants what?

While in (32) and (33), *does*, marked with features of tense and person, is fronted, its absence in (34) and (35) makes these questions syntactically and morphologically very similar to the initial declaration.

According to Nkemleke (2007: 136), this interrogative structure is characteristic of “informal settings” and thus, informal language. Yet the data he bases his analysis on are gathered in and out of school contexts from the speech of informants “having attained at least high school education” (2007: 133). Many example sentences the author quotes for illustration clearly indicate, for instance, that the utterances were made by teachers in the process of teaching or by learners in the classroom learning process. Yet, such a context is categorised as formal. If the conclusions arrived at depict the structure of the question in CamE, it would not be appropriate to qualify it characteristic of informal contexts. Rather, it would be more appropriate, at least, to describe this as feature of spoken CamE grammar, as Biber et al (1999) do for British and American Englishes. But, following the description offered by Mbangwana and Sala (2009), and Igboanusi (2006), such a question formation pattern is noticeable in written language as well.

It can be observed that questions asked with a rising tone create ambiguity with exclamatory sentences as in (36) and (37):

(36) This looks beautiful?

(37) This looks beautiful!

The ambiguity hails from the fact that yes/no questions in CamE and NigE are constructed without movement transformation involved.

A second ambiguity concerns the *wh*-question and is also raised by Buregeya (2001: 17-18) concerning Kenyan English. Given that in new Englishes the *wh-constituent* is left in situ, one may think that the resulting question is an echo-question (or *focalised wh-question* as Epoge (2016b) calls it), that is, a question which in reality rather than just eliciting real information, dominantly conveys such emotions as surprise, indignation, and curiosity. Take for example:

(38) as soon as possible means what? [CCE]

(39) Stephen, you know what? [CCE]

(40) “You call yourself a nurse and you can’t even detect a pregnant woman?” Agnes remarked. “**You’re what?**...Oh, all those early morning trips to the toilet. [ICE-Nigeria]

(41) “I’m...getting married.” “**What?** Marriage? To whom?” Jimi asked in alarm. [ICE-Nigeria]

When consideration is given to Anchimbe’s (1998) finding that all questions are asked with final rising tone in CamE, we actually realise how difficult it would be to differentiate *wh*-constituent questions from echo-questions. All the four questions above can be interpreted as content questions or echo-question. However, mindful of the immediate context, (40) and (41) are more likely to be echo-question than any other, since surprise is clearly felt.

Another way of constructing echo-question in CamE is done through deletion operation which Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 170ff) identify as the “Super-ordinate clause deletion for echo-questions”. They frame the rule as follows:

(42) Delete the superordinate clause to have the echo-question

This consists in deleting the main clause of the complex sentence and keeping only the subordinate clause. They provide examples like (43) and (44) where the bracketed strings are the main clauses which have been deleted to obtain the echo-question (bold segment).

- (43) (You say) **that you are going where?**
 (44) (You say) **that who is going home?**

So, though CamE and NigE follow the same structure as BrE to form questions, they also can generate questions by simply adding rising intonation to the last word of the declarative sentence. This engenders ambiguity with echo-questions.

A last observation on questions relates to question tags. The two varieties of English under investigation here are described as using invariant tags. In other words, the same particle, namely *isn't it*, may be used at the end of any declaration (or anchor) irrespective of tense, auxiliary, person, and positive or negative form. For example:

- (45) you did it **isn't it?** [CCE]
 (46) Paul would come. **Isn't it?** [CCE]
 (47) Even in a day, a wife could be pregnant by her husband, **isn't it?"** he asked, looking at Basara [ICE-Nigeria]

In these examples, while in NigE the tag is set aside by a preceding comma, it is either merged with the declaration or constitutes a separate sentence in CamE. In addition, the auxiliary in the declaration is in the past simple tense (*did*, *would* and *could*, respectively) but the tag is in the present simple (*is*). Lawal (2013: 76) adds that *won't you*, and *haven't you* are also used in NigE irrespective of the auxiliary in the statement section. Besides, *not so* is also used in this context in both varieties.

- (48) You met all these things when you came into the universe, **not so?** [CCE]

Just as in BrE, particles such as *right* and *okay* are used as invariant tags, there are discourse particles in CamE and NigE which behave similarly. Just as *isn't it*, they are used invariably. The following is common to both varieties: *now* or its phonological variant *nàa* (Achiri-Taboh 2020) in CamE. Those that are specific to the Nigerian variant (following Igboanusi 2006: 400-401) include: *abi*, *ko*, *to* and *ba*.

5. Phrase construction

Reduplication or repetition has been described in the literature as a very common feature of new Englishes (Kachru and Nelson 2006; Igboanusi 2006; Meutem Kamtchueng 2011; Epoge 2014). It consists in reiterating a word consecutively. Though this phenomenon is more likely to be encountered in spoken language, and more often in colloquial speech, Meutem Kamtchueng (2011) amply illustrates its occurrence in literary works as well. Thus, this linguistic phenomenon becomes more formal as it is introduced in written language.

Reduplicated words include content and grammatical words. The largest group consists of content words, among which intensifiers, like *very* and *more*, are the most recurrent. Other content words include adverbs of frequency (*never*), adverbs of manner (*well*, *fast*), adverbs of time (*now*, *before*), adverbs of duration (*and so on*), and adjectives (*long*, *rich*). Among grammatical words are personal pronouns, demonstratives, the quantifier *many* and numerals (*one*, *two*). The effect of this phenomenon is dominantly to emphasise a point as illustrated below:

- (49) we were **very very** sorry about the situation. [CCE]
 (50) I am sorry it took me this long to reply. **Many many** reasons. [ICE-Nigeria]
 (51) The Greeks who discovered the joys of writing and reading **long long** ago, centuries before Christ was even born, realised this and captured it in the maxim [CCE]
 (52) it was evident that Nigerian English has **more more** strong syllables and the patterns does not follow the rhythmic alternation [ICE-Nigeria]

In many such constructions, *very* is suitable to convey the intensification desired. In examples (50) and (51), the first member of the pair may be replaced by *very*, while in (52) the first *more* is used where BrE would use *much*. But if it is *very* that is repeated (as in (49)), the deletion of one may be enough.

Igboanusi (2006: 65-66) adds that reduplication may also be used for pluralisation as in

- (53) I have **small small** children in the house.

Here, the use of *many* before the repeated words would be redundant due to the plural noun *children*.

With regard to the noun phrase (NP, for short), Lamidi (2007: 242), just as Okunrinmeta (2014), observes that in the case of conjoined noun phrase involving a pronoun and a noun in subject position, “The Nigerian English structure has pronoun + noun word order”. This structure obviously departs from what canonically obtains in BrE. As a matter of fact, it is the noun that precedes the pronoun in BrE. The sections in bold character in the following examples culled from ICE-Nigeria illustrate the point.

- (54) **I and my children** must eat.
 (55) **He and his wife** chose to live here as missionaries, discipling [sic] and supervising the church planters.
 (56) **She and my father Aluko** had come back from Ojoku, a village near Offa in Ilorin Province

Though no such investigation has yet been published in relation to Cameroon English, the exploration of the corpus reveals that this very feature is equally attested in this variety as the following examples testify:

- (57) “my concern for both Bangem and Tombel is equal since **I and my party**, the UNP, believe in egalitarianism”. [CCE]
 (58) I am extremely glad to hear that **you and Male1** are doing quite fine now after that tragic journey to Yaounde [CCE]
 (59) He dismissed it and **he and the driver** discussed the wave of murders by head hunters in Douala. [CCE]
 (60) Tell her that the day **she and her father** think that they can no longer leave with the child they should call me to come and take him. [CCE]
 (61) The federal formula which **they and Ahidjo** accepted as the basis of a new constitutional framework seems to have been interpreted differently [CCE]

It is worth observing that CamE seems to be far more liberal in the use of this structure since the range of pronouns involved is far wider than in NigE. As the two sets of examples indicate, the only two pronouns found in this construction in ICE-Nigeria are the first and third person singular pronouns *I and he* (as rightly observed by Lamidi, 2007). While in CCE, only *it* and *we* have no

instances. Comparatively, therefore, this feature will be said to be more characteristic of the Cameroonian variety of English than the Nigerian.

6. Clause construction

6.1. *Verbless clause*

It is established in the literature that the head of a clause is the verb. It is the element which carries the meaning of the clause and distributes syntactic roles. Though this feature is the norm in all varieties of English, Nigerian English has equally developed the verbless clause, or verbless sentence as referred to by Igboanusi (2006: 401). This author, however, indicates that it is a feature of conversational language and a marker of pleasantry and intimacy. The examples he gives are all wh-questions used to elicit personal information. They are:

- (62) How? ('How are you?')
- (63) How now? ('How are you?')
- (64) How things? ('How are things?')
- (65) How work? ('How is work?')
- (66) How family? ('How is your family?')
- (67) How life? ('How is life with you?')
- (68) How body? ('How is your body?')
- (69) How market ('How is business?')

He further indicates that the deep structure of such sentences "may not be really verbless but the result of a phonological rule in which single consonants (in this case, [z]) are deleted between word boundaries" (Igboanusi 2006: 401). This feature has not been documented in Cameroon English yet.

6.2. *Subjectless sentences*

Another feature involving sentence constituent deletion is the construction of subjectless sentences (not attested in CamE). This is not in the case of imperative wherein the subject is not phonologically realised, but it is indeed a declarative sentence of which the subject is omitted. According to Igboanusi (2006: 397), only the third person singular pronoun *it* is concerned by this phenomenon and "Where this omission occurs in the speech of educated users of NE, it is largely influenced by the process of shortening in which the form *it's* is reduced to *is*, especially in spoken English". Yet, Lamidi (2007: 246-7) extends the phenomenon to *he*, *she* and the dummy pronoun *there* in negative sentences. In the examples he provides,

- (70) No problem.
- (71) No entry.
- (72) No thoroughfare/road.
- (73) Not on seat.
- (74) Not at home.

the deletion of the subject leads to the deletion of the verb (*be* in this case), thus turning the sentence into a non-verbal sentence.

6.3. *Double subjects*

Contrary to the previous feature, NigE and CamE are also said to be characterised by double subjects or pronoun copying (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2011). It consists in emphasising the subject of the

sentence by “the use of double pronouns (e.g. *this your/my, Me I*) or the pronoun + a modifier/qualifier (e.g. *we children, we the poor*)” (Igboanusi 2006: 398). The effect, the author says, is to emphasise the subject. As a matter of fact, that the (subject) personal pronoun precedes the other element of the group draws more attention to the referent. This construction is not syntactically marked by a comma as is the case for the apposition. Examples include:

- (75) asked for a rescue but the driver and the motor boys answered **we we** cannot take donkey to the river and force it to drink [ICE-Nigeria]
 (76) **that his** teaching was of the highest quality. [ICE-Nigeria]
 (77) In fact in **that their** house Mama is the best. [CCE]

Emphasis is further highlighted by the prepositional phrase *as for* or *for* as in

- (78) **As for me I** won't get tired of waiting for them. [ICE-Nigeria]
 (79) **As for me I** am fine. [CCE]
 (80) **For me I** believe that the upbringing of my children is my sole responsibility. [ICE-Nigeria]
 (81) So **for me I** am in form three and I am trying for my own education. [CCE]
 (82) **For her she** has been taken up and not adopted. [CCE]

A peculiar structure of doubled subjects highlighted by Meutem Kamtchueng (2011: 10) is the use of an object pronoun after the verb to echo the subject pronoun. For example:

- (83) “*I went me in to see how much lore I could still do to prepare for that rain*”
 (84) “*I sat me quiet*”

Though this construction is very common in spoken language, the examples cited by the author are from literary works. This indicates the appropriation of this feature by writers.

6.4. Dangling modifier

Simo Bobda (2002: 78-80) warns (non-native) English language users against dangling modifiers, which, he says, do not modify anything in the sentence. Yet, this warning has not prevented the expansion of the phenomenon in the language; the reason why it is now analysed as a distinguishing feature vis-à-vis British English. In addition to Sala (2005), Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 218-228) ponder over this issue. Syntactically, the dangling modifier stands in sentence-initial position and is separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma. These authors argue that dangling modifiers violate the principle of recoverability known as “Equi-NP-deletion”. This is due to the fact that they “flout two rules in English that govern modifier topicalisation: The Co-indexation Condition and The Restrictive Relative Constraint” (Sala 2005: 60). In addition, dangling modifiers fall within a general problem with the interpretation of empty categories in Cameroon English and their interpretation is based on context. Examples from Sala (2005: 61) include:

- (85) Coming back from work yesterday, a car knocked him down.
 (86) Trapped in the wrecked car, we could remove him only by sawing the door open.
 (87) At the age of twenty, do not expect your daughter to behave like a baby.

(85) is semantically licensed on condition that the PRO subject of “coming” be co-indexed with the object “him” in the lower clause and not with “car”. In other words, it must be *him* that was

“coming back from work yesterday”. In (86), co-indexation must be between the PRO subject of “trapped” and not the object “him” of “remove.” As concerns (87), the topicalised constituent must be co-indexed with “your daughter”, not with the integrated subject of “do not expect.” In this way, even if the sentence with a dangling modifier may sound awkward to an unaccustomed ear, and even ambiguous, context and logic are used in the Cameroonian context to work out the intended meaning.

6.5. *That-complement clause*

Complements in language are added to head that in themselves do not convey all the meaning intended. They can have different structures and can follow any content word and the preposition. Complements beginning with *that* are clauses which typically follow a noun (*that*-nominal), a verb (*that*-complement) or introduce a relative clause (*that*-relative) as in (88), (89) and (90) successively.

- (88) We have the *impression that things are changing*.
- (89) We *think that things are changing*.
- (90) Our *impression that things are changing* has been confirmed.

Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 102-107) discuss the changes brought in by CamE users concerning *that*-complements. They observe that this complement is added to verbs which normally do not allow it by virtue of their semantic charges and the number of arguments they assign. The authors call them *abuse-verbs* and describe them as having the following features:

- i) they are verbs of saying
- ii) they have switched from [say + content] in BrE to [say – content] in CamE
- iii) they are mono-transitive verbs
- iv) they involve a mental event

Such verbs include *abuse, insult, mock, laugh (at), curse, phone* and *refuse*. Going by the second feature, these verbs must take a *that*-complement to express the idea intended. Here are some illustrative sentences.

- (91) They insulted him *that he is a rascal*.
- (92) The president phoned *that he will be late*.
- (93) The diver abused her *that she is a prostitute*.

In BrE, these sentences would end after the direct object (*him* in (91) and *her* in (93)) because the verbs inherently mean “say rude things about someone”. Yet the absence of this meaning by virtue of feature ii) above imposes the completion of the verb with the *that*-complement that is added. This complement would have been expressed in BrE by an infinitival clause or a sequence introduced by *saying that*. The sentences above would thus be

- (94) They insulted him *saying that he is a rascal*.
- (95) The president phoned *to say that he will be late*.
- (96) The diver abused her *saying that she is a prostitute*.

As can be seen, the *that*-complement in the CamE sentences has the same explanatory functions as the infinitival and *saying that* sections in BrE. For this reason, Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 105) conclude “that “that” in *that*-complements has the feature [+explanation (of content)]”. In the absence of the literature to document this feature in Nigerian English, the corpus was browsed but no instance

of such a construction could be found.

6.6. Adverbial clauses

Adverbials are defined as sentence constituents meant to provide circumstantial information such as reason, time, place, result, contrast, concession, and manner. The adverbial clause in English generally comes in sentence peripheral position and is introduced by a subordinating conjunction which determines the type of circumstantial information added. Yet, as Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 107-123) demonstrate, CamE has developed an adverbial clause introduced by *that*. As it is known, this lexeme is either a relative pronoun (which introduces a *that*-relative clause) or a complementiser (introducing a *that*-complement clause). As discussed in the previous section, *that*-complement clauses already display specificities in this variety of English. *That*-adverbial clauses may, in some cases, be confused with CamE *that*-complement when the same category of verbs is selected. Take for instance

(97) He insulted me that I am too lazy.

By virtue of the conditions stated above in relation to *that*-complements, the *that*-clause “that I am too lazy” is a complement of the verb *insulted* if it provides the content of the insult (if being lazy is considered an insult). The corresponding question would be: **What was the insult?** And the answer would be: *The insult was that I am too lazy*. However, if the speaker admits to be lazy, then the same clause will be interpreted as giving the reason for the insult (**Why did he insult you – He insulted me because I am too lazy**). In this case, it will function as an adjunct of reason in the same way that the bracketed strings in these other examples do.

(98) He is crying [that I have eaten his food.]

(99) His boss bears a grudge against him [that he is always coming late.] (Mbangwana and Sala 2009: 107).

Fortunately, verbs that licence *that*-adverbials have features that distinguish them from those commanding CamE *that*-complements. Syntactically, the *that*-adverbial clause has the following characteristics identified by the authors:

- Unlike the adverbial clause in BrE, it does not allow free displacement from sentence periphery to sentence periphery. The authors call this the *Strict Adjacency Condition*, which holds that the adverbial clause should always follow the verb.
- It can be questioned. In other words, a *wh*-question can be generated in the adverbial clause but is left in situ (by virtue of the absence of movement transformation in question formation in this variety of English). Therefore, sentence (100), generated from (98) will have as BrE equivalent (101).

(100) He is crying that what?

(101) Why is he crying?

As it appears, *that what* is CamE equivalent for *why* in this context. It can only be placed after the verb. This particular feature of the *that*-clause is possible in the context of a reproach.

- In case it expresses reproach, that is, a specific category of reason, “the relationship between the superordinate and the subordinate clause is that of *non-reason*, which is not attested in English” (Mbangwana and Sala 2009: 123). In other words, the event in the main clause does not condition that of the subordinate clause. In this case, the sentence must be either interrogative or negative as shown below.

(102) You have eaten all the food that I should eat what? (Mbangwana and Sala 2009: 114)

(103) I will not go to Bamenda that I want to see him. (Mbangwana and Sala 2009: 117)

- In case of iterative construction, the *that*-adverbial clause must follow the *that*-complement clause as instantiated below.

(104) He refused [*that*-complement that he will not eat the food [*that*-adverbial that it is too small.]] (Mbangwana and Sala 2009: 118)

- Only the accomplished aspect is allowed in the main clause. In other words, the verb in the main clause must be in the past or at least have no implication with the future.
- Semantically, the *that*-adverbial introduces i) cause/reason, ii) purpose, or iii) result. In consequence, its interpretation is essentially context-bound, chiefly that the structure may be very similar to the *that*-complement. Here are some examples given by Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 118)

(105) We are only crying that the government should give us roads. (purpose/complement)

(106) He is crying that I have eaten his food. (cause)

(107) He cried that his eyes were swollen. (result)

- In order to distinguish *that*-adverbial from other *that*-clauses, the authors frame the following rule: that ^{adverbial} / in the context [IP Y_i] + ...+[IP *X_i], understood as ““that” is that ^{adverbial} if it is not co-indexed with a constituent Y in the superordinate IP” (Mbangwana and Sala 2009: 122). We believe that the non-co-indexation condition is not necessary if it is admitted that redundant pronouns are a feature of CamE. In this line, sentences (108) and (109) are equally illustrative of *that*-adverbials.

(108) He tore the dress_i [that I stole his watch_j.] (Mbangwana and Sala 2009: 122)

(109) He tore the dress_i [that I stole it_i.]

Both sentences can be answers to the question *why did he tear the dress?* In either case, the reason for tearing is theft, but the object stolen is different. In the example provided by the authors (sentence (108)), it is the *watch* that was stolen, whereas in (109) it is the same *dress*. Therefore, the action of tearing in (108) is motivated by revenge, while it is to sanction an unlawful act (theft) that the dress is torn in (109). For sure, the *that*-clause in sentence (109) can also be interpreted as *that*-relative since it is normal for traces to be filled by resumptive pronouns in CamE. Consequently, only the context can finally help determine if a *that*-clause in CamE is a complement, a relative or an adverbial.

Adverbial clauses introduced by *when* are of interest too in CamE. In many respects, they behave like the *that*-adverbials. Concretely, *when*-adverbials, as discussed by Mbangwana and Sala (2009: 129-139), in addition to providing circumstantial information of time, introduce a contrast, a non-reason relation of the type illustrated in these examples:

- (110) You are already condemning me when you did not even listen to the story.
 (111) He is insulting me when I am his boss. (Mbangwana and Sala 2009:132)

A priori, one may interpret the adverbial clauses in these examples as temporal adverbials. However, close consideration reveals that there is more than that since there is a kind of false causality between the two parts of the sentence: the non-reason relation. The event in the subordinate clause is not supposed to obtain if the main clause is true. There is, thus an attitude of reproach of the speaker.

Just like *that*-adverbials, CamE *when*-adverbials must abide by the strict adjacency condition, that is, they must follow the main clause and thus cannot deliberately move from sentence periphery to sentence periphery. Besides, this type of adverbial can also be questioned. This time around, it is a yes/no question. The consequence of this transformation is a reprobativ question which shows the non-logic between the two events in the sentence. Thus, the resulting question is actually a rhetorical question. For instance:

- (112) You want me to eat when I am not hungry? (Mbangwana and Sala 2009: 136)
 (113) He abuses me when I am he boss?

According to the speaker in (112), s/he should not be forced to eat given that s/he is not hungry. Likewise, the boss in (113) does not understand (or admit) that s/he is abused despite his/her status.

All the features discussed here concerning clause construction have so far not been documented in Nigerian English yet.

7. Aspect

Though aspect is globally equally used in both native variety and nativised ones, one aspectual distinguishing feature of CamE and NigE is the use of the progressive form with the verb *to have*, state verbs and verbs of thought where BrE would use the non-progressive, namely the simple form (Lawal 2013:75). Examples include:

- (114) She is having a problem with her car.
 (115) I am hearing that you do not go to school?
 (116) I am seeing you.
 (117) Are you understanding?

Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that Cameroon English and Nigerian English are two varieties of English which can also be differentiated based on grammar as is the case in terms of phonology and lexis. Grammatical features which have been indigenised pertain to all the aspects of language including subject verb agreement, parts of speech, verb tenses, phrase, clause and sentence construction.

A panoramic look at the distribution of the distinguishing features indicates that NigE and CamE are very close varieties to the point that one can actually question the validity of distinguishing them as distinct varieties from the grammatical perspective. Yet, a closer look reveals that there are key syntactic structures like *that*-complements, *when*-adverbials and *that*-adverbials which demarcate CamE while verbless and subjectless sentences are specific to NigE. Furthermore, even though a feature like *pronoun + noun word order* in conjoined subject is common to both varieties, it proves to be more elaborate in CamE whereas it is restricted to the pronouns *I* and *he* in NigE. Therefore, it can be argued that it is a feature which will more likely direct to the Cameroonian variety.

As concerns question formation, both varieties follow the general trend in new Englishes of not

moving the operator and the wh-element leftward, but resort to final rising tone to mark yes/no questions. It arises that such question formations generate ambiguity so much so that it is not always obvious to differentiate a genuine question from an echo question. Besides, CamE has another special construction for echo questions which consists in deleting the main clause of a complex sentence and keeping only the subordinate clause introduced by the complementiser *that* in which the wh-constituent is left in-situ.

We will conclude with these words by Okunrinmeta (2014:321), about the way NigE has developed grammatical specificities to say that

these Nigerian forms have been created, sustained and made meaningful by the Nigerian linguistic and cultural situation and should, therefore, be treated, not as errors, but as permissible local variations whose legitimacy and appropriateness within the Nigerian setting lie on their ability to reflect and express the Nigerian experience.

Of course, this remark is not valid for Nigerian English alone, but it extends to any new variety of English, including Cameroon English. All the features discussed above thus contribute to establish Nigerian English and Cameroon English as varieties distinct from British English from which they stem, on the one hand, and distinct from each other, on the other hand. As indicated, some of these features are attested in other varieties of English but their spread may posit as the demarcating criterion to tag them more with one variety than another (see for instance the inventory offered by the electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English at <https://ewave-atlas.org/>).

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On liberation of English from purist pundithood through nativization in Nepal

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Abstract: This qualitative content analysis paper attempted to explore the linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization employed by creative Nepali authors of English in their writings. I purposively selected three anthologies of stories, four novels, eight essays, one newspaper article, and four news stories/reports. Then, I went through the contents, examined the language used in those texts, noted down the unique features of Nepali English, and thematized them under linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization to make the analysis more explicit. I found that the creative Nepali authors of English intentionally nativized English to convey a distinct sense of Nepaliness and to deconstruct the so-called sacred cow model of English. Findings reveal that policymakers and pedagogues need to shift from the monomodel approach to the functional polymodel approach that only values the features of Nepali English as innovations, rather than errors.

Keywords: Nepali English, nativization, bilinguals' creativity, sacred cow model.

1. Introduction

Nepal is a multilingual and multicultural country where 0.01% of the total population speaks English as a mother tongue and 0.30% of them speak it as a second language (Central Bureau of Statistics 2014). However, Crystal (2003) estimated that 27.6% of people in Nepal speak English as a second language. Current estimates indicate that 30% of people speak English as a second language, and some linguists estimate that around 40-50% of urban Nepali people are functionally literate in English (Bolton & BaconShone 2020). Because of its rapid spread and use, English is overtaking Nepali in many crucial sectors like tourism, trade and business, education, science and technology, and most other economic sectors in Nepal (Giri 2020a). Various factors have contributed to the spread of English in Nepal from past to present, such as the entry and settlement of European missionaries in Nepal, British colonization over India and its direct and indirect influence in Nepal, the recruitment and retirement of the Nepali British Army, the establishment of the Darbar School and Tri-Chandra College, which adopted English as the language of education, the British Council, the American Embassy, Nepal English Language Teachers' Association (NELTA), business, research, tourism, technology, education (particularly private schools), mass media, and global cyber culture (Dewan & Laksamba 2020). With its nationwide spread, the forms and functions of English have changed in Nepal.

However, English has not yet been officially declared an official language in Nepal. Since Nepal had no colonial legacy and English was a foreign language, B. Kachru (1990) categorized Nepal under the Expanding Circle countries. But the colonial history and official status alone do not determine whether Nepal is an Expanding Circle or an Outer Circle country and whether English is a second or a foreign language. It is necessary to consider the functional penetration of English in many aspects of Nepali life (Giri 2020a). Unlike B. Kachru (1990), Bolton et al. (2020) argued that Nepal can be regarded as an Outer Circle country from a historical perspective since it was also influenced by British colonialism in South Asia and has had a long history of contact with English. In addition, Nepal can also be regarded as an Outer Circle country from the sociolinguistic perspective because of the significant educational, social, and economic roles played by English in Nepali society as other Outer Circle varieties of English have performed (Pandey 2020). Historically, too, English was the only medium of instruction until the 1950s, and as a subject, it continued to be taught as a second or even first, not a foreign language in Nepal at least up until 1971 (Shrestha 1983). Because of the growing craze of English in all socio-economic and educational sectors, Giri (2015: 95) claimed that

“English in Nepal has been anything but a foreign language”. It is the second most widespread language after Nepali (Eagle 1999), a primary language in various sectors (Adhikari 2018; Dewan & Saud 2022; Giri 2020a), and one of the local languages in Nepal (Giri 2020b). Along with the roles or functions of English, its forms have also changed with the contact of local languages.

In the bi/multilingual contexts, English has two Janus-like faces: nativization, the effect of English in a localized context, and Englishization, the effect on local languages in the same context (Bolton 2006; B. Kachru 1996, 2011). In the Outer and Expanding Circle countries, contact between English and local languages has resulted in the nativization of English and the Englishization of indigenous languages (Y. Kachru 2020). The term “nativization” refers to the changes that English has undergone due to its contact with various languages in diverse geo-cultural settings (Pandharipande 1987) or the adaptation of English in particular socio-cultural settings (Y. Kachru & Nelson 2011). Although the terms are different, some scholars use nativization, acculturation, indigenization, and hybridization for the same purpose (Pandharipande 1987). In this sense, an imported variety of “English” is nativized, acculturated, indigenized, or hybridized and becomes a local variety known as Nepali English (NE), Indian English, Chinese English, and many other kinds of English in different countries.

The nativization of English has been instrumental in slaughtering the “sacred cows of English”, the term used by B. Kachru (1988), which perpetuates the age-old mythology of linguistic purity (B. Kachru 2011). The purist pundits like Prator (1968) and Quirk (1985), who held the monolithic vision of English, advocated for the sacred cow model of English, ignoring the pluralistic features of non-native varieties of English. For the purist linguistic pundits, divergence from the so-called Standard English is labelled as error, deviation, and fossilization. They uncritically follow English native speakers, their models and methods of teaching English and their materials, and ignore the sociolinguistic realities where different Englishes are spoken (See B. Kachru 1988). Studies on different varieties of English reveal that the creative users of English seem to slaughter the sacred cows of English and establish new canons (B. Kachru 2011) by appropriating English in their own terms as per their needs, values, and aspirations (Canagarajah 1999). To liberate English from the purist pundithood and to ensure more intelligibility in the local contexts, Patil (2006) reported that the creative authors like India’s Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, and Khushwant Singh, and Nigeria’s Achebe and Ojaide consciously deviated English from the norms of the so-called native varieties of English.

In Nepal, the issue of nativization, or Nepaliness of English was first raised in the late 1970s. In 1977, Malla claimed that “there are a number of marked-style features in the Nepalese written English” (Cited in Shrestha 1983: 52). Backing up to Malla, in 1978, Shrestha analyzed some written samples of NE and found some marked features of English (Shrestha 1983). Both Malla and Shrestha indicated some kind of Nepaliness in the written English in Nepal. On nativization of English in Nepal, Shrestha (1983) argued that some degree and kind of divergence from the “parent” English language is discernible in the English spoken and written in Nepal and that a particular Nepaliness of English can be noticed in the Nepali people’s sound system, accent and intonation, and selection and arrangement of words. In this regard, Karn (2006: 76) stated, “...English here has been nepalized (nativized) in Nepal with its own typical features, borrowings, vocabulary, and phonology, and it is likely to diverge from the standard English in the future”. As a result of language contact, nativization, and bilinguals’ creativity, Rai (2006: 39) claimed with evidence that “a different kind of spoken as well as written English is emerging in Nepal... [.]”. Therefore, the researchers have focused their attention on the study of various forms and functions of NE. In light of this, the present article is particularly focused on exploring how the English language undergoes linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization within the Nepali context.

2. Review of related literature

This study is theoretically based on three kinds of nativization – linguistic, pragmatic, and creative (Bamgbose 1998; Falola 2003) and cultural nativization (Alptekin 2006). Linguistic nativization is the process of indigenizing a non-native variety of English (Bamgbose 1998), in which substitution, pluralization, introduction of culture-specific vocabulary items, semantic shifts, and different verb-preposition combinations take place (Falola 2003). Innovations at the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics fall under linguistic nativization. In the words of Bamgbose (1998), this type follows the feature form (structures or rules). Pragmatic nativization is culture-based (Bamgbose 1998) in which the rules of language use typical of English native situations are modified under the pressure of the cultural practices of another language environment, such as the use of numerous indigenous greetings and modes of address as per the social status and age (Falola 2003). English can function maximally in non-native situations only when it reflects the norms of appropriateness. Pragmatic nativization, therefore, is concerned with “both the indigenisation of the pragmatics of English as described in the third phase of Schneider’s (2003, 2007) model of postcolonial Englishes and the performance of certain actions via language by local speakers of English” (Funke 2020: 1). Creative users of English do not use English as it is, but rather appropriate or nativize it and use it as per their aspirations, needs, and values (Canagarajah 1999). Similarly, creative nativization reflects aspects of cultures by rendering authentic indigenous idioms and rhetorical patterns into English (Bamgbose 1998). In creative nativization, new words or expressions are coined, and local native idioms are translated into English to convey the message (Falola 2003). Of the three types of nativization, pragmatic and creative nativization are more accepted and tolerated than the linguistic one. Of the linguistic innovations, lexical and semantic innovations are easier to accept than phonological, morphological, and syntactic innovations (Bamgbose 1998). Besides the phonological innovations, this study highlights other types of innovations.

The notion of nativization, particularly cultural nativization, was further elaborated by Alptekin (2006: 499) as “the sociological, semantic, and pragmatic adaptation of the textual and contextual clues of the original story into the language learner’s own culture, while keeping its linguistic and rhetorical content essentially intact”. He described that textual cues have to do with settings, locations, characters and occupations, and contextual cues involve culture-specific customs, rituals, notions, structures, and values. More specifically, he argued that nativization through the sociological dimension includes culture-specific contextual clues of customs and rituals such as religious conventions, courting patterns, social festivities, interpersonal relationships, and home and family life. Nativization through semantic dimension incorporates the adaptation of culture-specific notions and structures, for instance, conceptual and lexical changes made in the areas of food, currency, clothes, drinks, and institutions. Finally, nativization through the pragmatic dimension encompasses the substitution of local cultural values for the target cultural values. Studies by Alptekin (2006) and Jalilifar and Assi (2008) showed that cultural nativization has a facilitative effect on comprehension of stories.

Nativization takes place both formally and functionally through various processes and at different stages. B. Kachru (1981) discussed both the formal and functional nativization of some new Englishes such as Indian English and West African English with some examples. In many Asian countries, B. Kachru (1998, 2011) argued that English has attained “functional nativeness”, which is determined by the depth (domains of functions) and range (the degree of social penetration) of a language in a society. In nativization, non-native speakers generalize rules from the established varieties and transfer the features from other languages used in each speech community (Lowenberg 1986). In the nativization process, the logic of the local languages is transferred to English; there is variation within the nativized varieties of English; and deviations of various types occur intentionally in the creative writing and newspaper registers and unintentionally in the ordinary speech (Pandharipande 1987). Such processes involve adjustments, borrowings, transfer, reduplication,

compounding, and deviations of grammatical patterns (Pandharipande 1987). But they do not come all of a sudden. Vethamani (1996) maintained that the nativization process comes in two stages. Firstly, new learners of English incorporate a number of culturally-loaded local words into English. Such words, which are generally cultural markers, do not have their exact equivalents in English. Secondly, nativized Englishes get liberated from the standards of English set by the native speakers. More local features get penetrated into English as people of different language backgrounds start using it as a *lingua franca*.

Several studies have been conducted on the nativization of English in different countries. Valentine (1992) studied how the creative authors nativize the subvarieties of gender, age, and ethnicity in the new English varieties. In his study on the nativization strategies used by Chinua Achebe in his fiction, Bamiro (2006) found linguistic hybridization and the Africanization of English as the two major strategies adopted by the author. Tunde-Awe (2014) studied the nativization of English in Nigeria and identified some typical phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic features of Nigerian English.

Some studies have been conducted on NE, which reveal how English is being nativized or localized in Nepal. Brett's (1999) study revealed the Nepalization of English at the lexical level. After Brett, Rai (2006) found how English in Nepal is being nativized through the entry of Nepali words in English, attachment of English suffixes to Nepali words and vice-versa, the change of word order of English in Nenglish, and the introduction of literal translation of Nepali proverbs in English texts. In his study on the nativization in various genres of literature written in Nepal, Karn (2012) found that the authors adopted various rhetorical strategies such as linguistic and cultural transfer, borrowings, hybridization, code-switching, translation of Nepali expressions, and reduplication. Later, Giri's (2015) study identified the attachment of Nepali suffixes to English words, large scale code-mixing and code-switching between Nepali and English words, transliteration of English words into Nepali, and modifications to the standard rules of English at the lexis, grammar, and writing levels. Likewise, Sharma et al. (2015) found some features of NE such as the incorrect use of articles, unnecessary use of the suffix "-s", unnecessary use of prepositions or the lack of them, unique use of certain words, code-mixing, and use of unnecessary words (e.g., "in the context of Nepal", for "in Nepal"). Similarly, Jora's (2019) study showed some phonological, syntactic, semantic, and discourse features of NE. In a study on hybridity in NE, Dewan and Laksamba (2020) found that the creative Nepali users of English adopted the strategies, such as hybrid affixation, hybrid reduplication, hybrid compounding, hybrid blending, hybrid neologisms, and hybrid calques to nativize English in Nepal. In a similar vein, Ghimire's (2021) study revealed that the creative authors nativized English through the entry of Nepali words, use of complete Nepali sentences, attachment of English suffixes to Nepali words and vice versa, the change in word order of English, and the literal translation of Nepali proverbs in English literature. The first study on bilinguals' creativity by Dewan (2021) revealed that the bilingual author adopted different linguistic and literary strategies such as direct lexical transfer, code-switching, hybridization, metaphors and proverbs, loan translation, and nativized discourse strategies to convey a distinct sense of Nepaliness.

All the literature reviewed above varies in terms of the data they used and their focus of study. My proposed study is the most comprehensive study on nativization based on a larger scale of data, in which data were collected from literary books written in English by Nepali authors, creative writings, and English newspapers. No research has yet been conducted focusing on linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization of English in Nepal, bringing the evidence of any feature from various sources to justify that the features described in this article are innovations since the more the knowledgeable people (writers, teachers, media practitioners, publishing houses) use any variety (Bamgbose 1998) and the more frequent or common the feature is (Mesthrie 2003), the higher the chances of the variety being accepted as an innovation. In the following section, I briefly describe the methods of study used in my study.

3. Methodology

The qualitative content analysis approach was adopted to explore the linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization of English in the creative writings. In qualitative content analysis, the text data are categorized into clusters of similar entities or conceptual categories to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variables or themes, are open to subjective interpretation, and reflect multiple meanings (Given 2008). I purposively selected three anthologies of stories, namely, Vishnu Singh Rai's *Martyr and Other Stories* (2016a) and Samrat Upadhyay's *The Royal Ghosts* (2006) and *Arresting God in Kathmandu* (2018); four novels, namely, Manjushree Thapa's *Seasons of Flights* (2012), Shiwani Neupane's *Crossing Shadows* (2015), Narayan Wagle's translated book *Palpasa Café* (2005/2016), and Sheeba Shah's *The Other Queen* (2018); Govinda Raj Bhattarai's essays, namely *A Recollection of a Journey to Stratford-upon-Avon* (2011), *Reminiscing my Childhood Days (Ignorance of Bliss)* (2012), and *A Day in the Kalaksetra Guwahaty, Assam* (2016); Laxmi Prasad Devkota's essay *Is Nepal Small?* (2017); Krishnachandra Singh Pradhan's essay *A Letter from Gautam Buddha to Ashoka* (2017); Vishnu Singh Rai's essay *Three Months in Austria* (2016b); B.P. Koirala's autobiographical essay *Atmabrittanta: Late Life Recollections* (2017); and CK Lal's essay *I am the Nepali* (2017). These texts were chosen because they were written by well-known Nepali authors with good writing skills in English and a strong academic background who "have the unparalleled privilege to 'bend' the language at times to suit their context-specific needs" (Li & He 2021), and because they were characterized by the acrolect variety of English, also known as the educated variety, used by people of a certain level of education (Bamgbose 1998), which encompassed "a remarkable degree of uniformity" (Fuchs 2016: 11) in the English language used in the texts. The English language used in those texts can be claimed as a linguistic innovation rather than an error since, as Bamgbose (1998) claimed, the more knowledgeable or educated people (for instance, authors, teachers, examination bodies, media practitioners, and publishing houses) are seen to use the variety, the higher the chances of the variety being accepted as an innovation. Similarly, I selected the NE literatures, which, according to B. Kachru (1996), are part of the local canons of creativity and the texts in the local literary books have their own context within the new canons of creativity, such as a context of sociocultural canons and canons of creativity. Such locally produced English literatures also show how the creative authors acculturate or nativize English in their local contexts to maintain the local colour as well as to add a distinct local flavour (B. Kachru 2011).

I selected one English article by Mandal (2020) from the English newspaper "The Kathmandu Post" and three news reports by Budha (2020), Ghimire (2020), and Pradhan (2020) from the English newspaper "Republica" and one news report by Khadgi (2020) from the English newspaper "The Kathmandu Post" because they are the popular English-language national newspapers published in Nepal, which also reveal the acrolect variety of English used by educated authors. Unlike literary texts, newspaper articles and news reports follow specific writing conventions and styles which reveal how English is used in the formal and public domains in Nepal. The study of media Englishes not only demonstrates the depth and range of variation but also questions the validity of claims that some languages are authentic and others are not (Moody 2019). Such English dailies incorporate lexical and grammatical nativizations and disseminate local varieties of English (Baumgardner 1987).

I also purposively selected essays from English textbooks and a journal, and news stories/reports and an article from the English newspapers, which all use the standard acrolectal variety of English. The rationale for using multiple sources is to present more evidence from different sources to justify that linguistically, creatively, and pragmatically nativized expressions are innovations.

In this study, I thoroughly read the sampled anthologies of stories, novels, essays, news stories/reports, and an article, examined morphological, lexical, semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic features of NE in the texts, underlined and noted down all the features in my diary, categorized them into different themes, compared them with the Standard English norms, and particularly employed

the theoretical ideas derived from Bamgbose (1998), Falola (2003), and Alptekin (2006) to describe how English has undergone linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization in the Nepali context. The results of this study are presented and discussed in the section below.

4. Findings and discussion

In this paper, I have presented and discussed the results of the study under the three broad headings, such as linguistic nativization, creative nativization, and pragmatic nativization.

4.1 Linguistic nativization

The study revealed that the creative Nepali authors of English nativized English linguistically, which reflects the sociolinguistic facts in language contact situations. The linguistic tools used to nativize English are discussed below.

Hybrid affixation

In NE, hybrid words are formed by attaching the Nepali suffixes to English words, and vice versa, which aligns with Rai (2006). The authors hybridized and nativized the words by attaching the Nepali suffix *-ji/jee* to proper nouns, such as Kisunji, Jayaprakashji (Koirala 2017), Michaelji, Hariji (Rai 2016a), Dipak-ji, Bandana-ji (Upadhyay 2018), Kabitaji, Pitamberji (Thapa 2012), Sureshji, Raghuji (Upadhyay 2006); to common nouns such as Punditji (Bhattarai 2012), poetji, sirji, sahuji (Rai 2016a), postmanji (Upadhyay 2018), sirjee (Neupane 2015), Guru ji/guruji (Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a); to surname such as Deepak Mishraji (Upadhyay 2018), Neupaneji (Thapa 2012); and to kinship terms such as muaji and buaji (Shah 2018) to show more respect and closeness. The English suffix “-s/es” was attached to Nepali words to pluralize them, such as *dokos* “wicker baskets”, *Nepalis* “citizen of Nepal” (Rai 2016a; Wagle 2005/2016), *paajis* “fools”, *rajas* “kings”, (Shah 2018), *namastes* (Thapa 2012), *kalashes* “pitchers or water vessels” (Rai 2016a), and *momos* “dumplings” (Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2018). Other English affixes attached to the words included “-ic” in *Brahmanic* (Bhattarai 2012); “-ed” in *namasted* “the Nepali greetings by joining two palms” (Rai 2016a); “-ist” in *Buddhist* (Upadhyaya 2018); “-an” in *Teraian* “inhabitant of the plain or lowland” (Rai 2016b), “anti-” in *anti-chhaupadi* “against a menstrual taboo” (Budha 2020), “non-” in *non-Nepali* “one other than Nepali” (Devkota 2017) and *non-Gorkhali* “other than the inhabitants of Gorkha or the brave Nepalese people” (Lal 2017), and “-e” in *Americane* (Thapa 2012). All these examples reveal that hybridity is an unavoidable phenomenon in NE.

Pluralization of non-count nouns

Unlike British English (BE) or American English (AE), non-count nouns are also pluralized in NE, for example, works (Bhattarai 2016; Wagle 2005/2016), committees (Rai 2016a), luggages (Rai 2016b), jewelries (Bhattarai 2016; Rai 2016a), evidences, offsprings (Shah 2018), and researches (Pokharel 2020). In BE or AE, the word “work” is an uncountable noun which is not generally pluralized. “Work” as a countable noun refers to a book, piece of music, and painting, and “works” refer to activities involving building or repairing something (Stevenson 2010). In NE, it is generally pluralized to mean jobs or tasks to be done. Both Bhattarai (2016) and Wagle (2005/2016) have used “works” to refer to tasks that need to be done. The plural of “person” as “persons” (Bhattarai 2016; Rai 2016b; Shah 2018) is very common in NE, but it is only used in formal notices in Standard English (Brett 1999). The most common plural form of “person” is “people”. Similarly, the words “committee”, “offspring”, “evidence”, “jewelry”, and “luggage” are mass nouns, which are not generally pluralized in BE or AE but the examples show that pluralization of collective or mass noun is common in NE. Similarly, the word “research” is a non-count noun which is not pluralized in BE or AE but its pluralization is very common in NE. This might be because of the influence of the Nepali language since Nepali native speakers take them as a singular noun and add the Nepali plural

marker *-haru* after them, for example, *childrenharu*, *furnitureharu*, and *informationharu*. All the examples reveal that double pluralization is common in NE, which shows bilinguals' linguistic creativity.

Borrowings of local words having English equivalence

The study revealed that local words were borrowed even if they had their equivalent words in English to show Nepaliness such as *momos* "dumplings" (Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2016; Wagle 2005/2016), *Sagarmatha* "Mount Everest" (Pradhan 2017; Shah 2018), *darbar/durbar* "castle or palace" (Rai 2016a; Shah 2018), *Belayat* "Britain" (Bhattarai 2011; Rai 2016a; Wagle 2005/2016), *chi/chi-chi/chee-chee!* "Yuck!" (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Upadhyay 2018); *aiya!* "Ouch!" (Upadhyay 2006, 2018), *oho!* "oh!" (Neupane 2015; Thapa 2012), *dahi* "yogurt" (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a), *Cheen* "China", *Mahasagar* "ocean", *Bhot* "Tibet", (Shah 2018), *himals* "mountains", *ghar* "home" (Thapa 2012), *gunda* "hooligan", *raksya* "drunkard", *juade* "gambler" (Rai 2016a), *langadi* "a lame", *sadhu* "sage" (Upadhyay 2006, 2018), *sipahi* "soldier", *jhakris* "shamans or witch doctors", *apsaras* "fairies" (Shah 2018), *hay Bhagwan* "Oh my god", *bhagya* "fate", *chia* "tea", *ullu* "idiot" (Neupane 2015), *Maobadis* "Maoists", and *bhoj* "feast" (Upadhyay 2006). These examples indicate how Nepali words are being globalized through their extensive use in creative writing texts. The substitution of Nepali words in place of English words makes the texts more comprehensible for the Nepali readers of English.

Use of culture-specific words

Linguistic nativization incorporates several culture-specific words. The creative Nepali authors linguistically nativized English by using culture-specific words related to clothes and wearing items such as *daura-suruwal* "national dress worn by Nepali men" (Bhattarai 2016; Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018), *topi* "Nepali national cap" (Bhattarai 2016; Koirala 2017; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018), *salwar-kurta*, or *kurta-salwar/suruwal/surwal/sural* (with different spellings) "trousers and collarless shirt worn by Nepali women/girls" (Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2018), *sindur/sindoor* "vermillion powder worn by married women in their hair part" (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), and *janai* "a sacred thread worn by Brahmin and Chhetri men" (Bhattarai 2012; Shah 2018). These borrowed words convey the Nepali socio-cultural meanings.

The creative authors also borrowed words related to foods and drinks such as *raksi* "local liquor" (Rai 2016a; Upadhyay 2018), *dal-bhat/daal-bhaat* "traditional Nepali meal" (Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *chura/chiura* "beaten/flattened rice" (Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Wagle 2005/2016), *dhindo/dhido* "porridge prepared from boiled maize- or millet-flour" (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016b; Wagle 2005/2016), *achar* "pickle" (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016), *chhoila/choila* "buffalo meat prepared in a typical Newari style" (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *aila* "Newari liquor" (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018), *gundruk* "fermented and dried vegetables made by pressing radish or mustard" (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018), *laddoo/ladoo* "sweets made of flour, ghee/oil and sugar" (Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2006). Those words were borrowed to fill the lexical gaps.

Similarly, some other culture-specific words related to festivals and rituals borrowed by the creative authors incorporated *Dashain* "the biggest Hindu festival" (Bhattarai 2011, 2012; Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *Tihar* "second biggest Hindu festival" (Bhattarai 2012; Pradhan 2020; Pokharel 2020; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016), *bratabanda* "a Hindu ritual to offer a boy to wear a sacred thread" (Bhattarai 2012; Khadgi 2020), *puja/pooja* "worship" (Bhattarai 2012; Neupane 2015; Pokharel 2020; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006, 2018), *tika/teeka* "decorative mark put on the forehead" (Bhattarai 2012, 2016; Neupane 2015; Pokharel 2020; Rai 2016a, 2016b; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006), *jatra* "special celebration with worship at the

place of God or Goddess” (Khadgi 2020; Shah 2018), and *akshata/ acchheta* “sacred rice offered in worship” (Bhattarai 2012; Pradhan 2017). Other culture-specific words included *madal* “a folk Nepali musical instrument” (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *sarangi* “a traditional folk musical string-instrument which is played by rubbing on a group of strings with a small stick fastened with some strings” (Devkota 2017; Shah 2018), *dohori* “a popular Nepali duet song sung in question and answer” (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018), *doko* “wicker basket” (Rai 2016a; Wagle 2005/2016), *piral/pirka* “wooden seat” (Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2018), *khukuri/khukri* “national Nepali knife” (Bhattarai 2016; Neupane 2015; Pradhan 2017; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *lakh* “one hundred thousand” (Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2006, 2018), *crore* “ten million” (Bhattarai 2016; Neupane 2015), *peepul/pipal* tree “a screed tree in the Hindu culture which is best for oxygen to human beings and is worshipped” (Devkota 2017; Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2006), and *Harey Shiva* “Oh my god, a term used by the followers of Hindu religion to express their sorrow or grief” (Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2018). All these cultural words do not have their exact equivalent words in English. Therefore, they were borrowed to remedy the linguistic deficit (B. Kachru 2011) or to fill the lexical gaps (Hockett 1958).

Semantic shifts

Many English words have undergone semantic shifts in NE, for example, cinema “movie/film” (e.g. When I am in a foreign land, I am watching cinema or a drama) (Devkota 2017), straight “simple-minded, or not talented” (Wagle 2005/2016), heroine “actress” (Neupane 2015; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016), hero “actor” (Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016), silly “clever” (Shah 2018), and tiffin “break time” rather than snack or lunch itself (Bhattarai 2012). In NE, the word “hero” is also used more negatively to refer to “a person who becomes over-smart” (e.g., Who asked you to be the hero?) (Upadhyay 2018). In the past, the word “master” was used to refer to a specific person, particularly a teacher who had mastery over any specific subject. The following examples show how the meaning of “master” has been changed:

- (1) Let’s have a look at your works– how your masters have written in your notebook. (Bhattarai 2012)
- (2) The classmate replied, ‘No, I’ll be a schoolmaster, Sir.’ This time the teacher had laughed. ‘Oh, you’ll be a master all right. A master tailor!’ (Wagle 2005/2016)
- (3) My master was calling me again, so I hurried to the kitchen to heat water for him. (Upadhyay 2018)

In example (1), the term “master” refers to “a teacher who teaches at school”. Its meaning has been changed into “tailor” in example (2) and “landlord” in example (3). In this way, the meaning of “master” is overextended in NE. The meaning of the word “knife” has semantically shifted from broad to narrow in NE. Bhattarai (2011) used the Nepali word *karda* (e.g., a *karda* knife) and Bhattarai (2012, 2016) and Upadhyay (2016) used the Nepali word *khukuri/khukri* with “knife” (e.g., *khukuri* knife) to convey the messages more explicitly. Similarly, the verb “give” is used quite differently in NE.

- (4) Say that you have a meeting to attend or I have an exam to give! (Neupane 2015)

In example 4, the word “give” has been used instead of “take”. In BE or AE, students or examinees take an exam or a test, and the examiners give it. In NE, the verb “give” is commonly used “to take” an exam. In a similar vein, the meaning of guru has gradually shifted from a religious teacher or an expert to anyone without any expertise and then to a driver.

(5) Guruji not only gave her a free ride...[.] (Rai 2016a)

In Nepal, the driver is addressed by adding the honorific suffix “-ji” to the word “guru”. This indicates that teachers are less respected and have a lower status than the drivers in Nepal. The findings endorse Dewan’s (2023) study that English words have undergone a semantic volte-face in Nepal, particularly from broad to narrow, from positive to negative and vice versa, and to something new or different in meaning, which are the variety markers of NE.

Unusual question tags

In Standard BE or AE, the same auxiliary verb from the statement is repeated in the question tag or the periphrastic “do” is used in the case of main verb in the question tag. But question tags in NE are formed using the Nepali expression “*hoina ta*” and the English word “no” as a question tag to make confirmation.

(6) Then he was caught, *haina ta*? (Shah 2018)

(7) I am weak, *haina ta*? (Shah 2018)

(8) The mornings here are so beautiful, no? (Upadhyay 2018).

In spoken English, the invariant question tag “isn’t it”, which is the direct translation of the Nepali question tag *haina ta*, is very common (e.g., You passed your exam, isn’t it?). In NE, the main verb “have” is also treated as an auxiliary verb, and the question tag is formed accordingly.

(9) I have to fill in some form, haven’t I? (Rai 2016a).

All these examples indicate the unique ways of forming question tags in NE, which make it different from other varieties of English.

Overuse and underuse of prepositions

Nepali speakers of English overuse and underuse prepositions, which makes NE different from other varieties of English.

(10) When he is home, he always demands, you know? (Rai 2016a)

(11) Is Mr. Mohan Kumar home? (Rai 2016a)

(12) When she was home she brewed organic beer... [.] (Thapa 2012)

In these three examples, the preposition “at” is missing. Unlike casual, informal spoken language, the preposition “at” is used in formal language. Another unique feature of NE is concerned with redundancy, which is shown in the following examples:

(13) I entered into the Cathedral – there are rows of benches inside. (Rai 2016b)

(14) I was undertaking a great venture by entering into an unknown world. (Bhattarai 2012)

The preposition “into” in (13) and (14) is overused, which is unnecessary. The verb “enter” would seem to have the same conceptual content as the preposition “into” (Langacker 2008). In Standard English, “enter into” is a phrasal verb which means “to start to become involved in something, especially a discussion or agreement” (Wong 2014). Similarly, the overuse of prepositions is found in the following examples:

- (15) We noticed from the media that political parties, government and parliament are now discussing about the ramification of MCC. (Ghimire 2020)
 (16) He returned back from Saudi Arabia... [.] (Rai 2016a)

Following Wong (2014), the co-occurrence of the preposition “about” with the verb “discuss” is motivated semantically in NE. Similarly, the preposition “back” is redundant with the verb “return” in example (16). All the examples show the least correspondence between the verb and the preposition in NE.

Unusual syntactic structures

In Standard BE or AE, people can be judged from appearance by using the sense verbs like look/sound/feel/taste/smell + adjective, look/sound/feel/taste/smell + like + a noun/noun phrase, and look/sound/feel/taste/smell + as if/though + a clause (Doff et al. 1991). In NE, unique sentences are formed.

- (17) It looked like it was dripping with blood. (Wagle 2005/2016)
 (18) She felt like she was a spectator in a massive parade... [.] (Neupane 2015)
 (19) And yet it still looks like he’s got every word down right. (Neupane 2015).

In these examples, “look/feel like” is followed by a clause. Such sentences are not generally found in BE or AE. Similarly, the verb “seem” is used as a linking verb or with a to-infinitive (Doff et al. 1991). However, in NE, it is used with “like + a clause”, which indicates that NE is different from other varieties of English.

- (20) Somehow Ayush Dai’s death seemed like it had nothing to do with the waging war... [.] (Neupane 2015)
 (21) But it seemed like they didn’t care at all. (Neupane 2015)

In NE, the word “already” is used as an aspectual marker to signal completion, which is akin to a feature of Singapore Colloquial English (Ferguson 2006).

- (22) They are already here... [.] (Neupane 2015)
 (23) I already have Lal Bahadur Thakuri on the case. (Neupane 2015)
 (24) Maybe other people are already helping her. (Upadhyay 2006)

Contrary to NE, as shown in (22), (23), and (24), the word “already” is often used with the present perfect or past perfect in Standard English. Similarly, in NE, the plurality of the noun is not marked like the nouns in Standard BE or AE.

- (25) Kirshna had failed in one of his test and had tried to buy Professor Parajuli. (Rai 2016a)

Some NE speakers do not add the morpheme “-s” to the nouns (e.g. test) when they are modified by definite and indefinite numbers (e.g. one). This finding endorses Karn (2011). Such linguistic nativization has caused the emergence of a unique English in Nepal.

Nepali language-induced English expressions

Reduplication is very common in the Nepali language, which has influenced the production of English sentences. The creative Nepali authors have produced Nepali language-induced English expressions by reduplicating the English words.

- (26) Here I am trying and trying, and you never appreciate what I do. (Upadhyay 2018)
 (27) ...the taste of hot hot momos... [...] (Upadhyay 2018)
 (28) ...I thought for the longest, longest time. (Shah 2018)
 (29) We wear different-different things. (Thapa 2012)
 (30) She talks about big-big things. (Thapa 2012)
 (31) We bought a second-hand car –cheap-cheap! (Thapa 2012)

In (26), the verb is repeated, and from (27) to (31), the adjectives are reduplicated. The adjectival reduplication generally intensifies the meaning, and verbal reduplication is usually used to express attenuation or continuity (Anesa 2019). Similarly, echo-reduplication is found in NE.

- (32) Shashi, Honey! Now leave this ‘but-shut.’ (Rai 2016a)

The author produced the echo-reduplication “but-shut” because of the influence of the Nepali language since echo-reduplication is very common in the Nepali language. In (32), the word “but” is repeated with the substitution of an initial sound. Similarly, some unique sentences in NE include:

- (33) You have crossed the seven seas. (Thapa 2012)
 (34) Manisha’s new film is playing at Kumari Hall. (Upadhyay 2006)
 (35) *Chhora*, come home quick. (Neupane 2015)

The sentence (33) is a direct transfer of the Nepali expressions, in which “the seven seas” refers to “abroad or a foreign country”. Another sentence (34) is a direct translation of the Nepali sentence *Manishako naya film Kumari Hallma chaliraheko chha*. In BE or AE, the inanimate subject “Manisha’s new film” cannot be the agent of the verb “play”. The sentence should actually be “Manisha’s new film is being played/run at Kumari Hall”. In the sentence (35), the word “quick” instead of “fast” was used because of the influence of the Nepali language. The following examples show how the creative authors nativize English in Nepal:

- (36) Our house is there. (Upadhyay 2018)
 (37) I’ll heat the water, *hajur*. (Upadhyay 2018)
 (38) I can buy people like you with my left hand. (Upadhyay 2018)
 (39) ...Gopal Sir would be selected because he was Head Sir’s right hand. (Rai 2016a)

The use of the locative adverbial “there” in (36) is akin to Indian English (e.g. coffee is there, tea is there) where BE speakers would prefer an existential construction (Ferguson 2006). In (37), the author used the word “heat” to mean “boil or warm” because of the influence of the Nepali word *tataunu*. Similarly, sentence (38) was formed by borrowing the meaning and structure from the Nepali sentence. In (39), the expressions “Gopal Sir” to mean “Mr. Gopal” and “Head Sir’s right hand” to mean “the Head teacher’s chief assistant or supporter” were formed due to the influence of the Nepali language. In a similar vein, the compound word “moustache-war” (Rai 2016b) was formed from the Nepali expression *jungago ladai*, which means “fight among people for power”.

- (40) What has happened has happened. (Shah 2018)

Sentence (40), which means “let bygones be bygones”, was derived from the Nepali expression *je hunu thiyo so bhayo*. All the examples mentioned above indicate that Nepal has transcreated, recreated, and modified English to appropriate it in the Nepali context.

Approximant quantification

The authors used two numbers together to mean “about” or “or” such as five-seven hours (Gautam 2020), two-three years (Mandal 2020), and 20-22 days (Koirala 2017), which indicate bilinguals’ creativity and nativization of English in local contexts. This finding is consistent with the feature of Indian English by Sridhar (2020).

4.2 Creative nativization

The study revealed that creative Nepali authors of English produced novel or creative words and expressions because of their bilinguals’ creativity (See Dewan 2021).

Coinage

The authors coined some new words such as blue films “porn movies”, Head sir “Principal or Head teacher”, *namasted* “greeted by joining two palms” (Rai 2016a), Second Sir “Assistant Principal or Head teacher in the school” (Bhattarai 2012), *bahun* bird “a child from the Brahmin caste” (Wagle 2005/2016), pin-drop silence “complete silence”, *Nepal bandh* “countrywide strike” (Neupane 2015), non-vegetarian “non veg meal” (Thapa 2012), east-coat jacket “sleeveless half-coat/jacket worn within a full coat/jacket” (Bhattarai 2016), inequality “inequality”, and unwritibale “something that cannot be written” (Rai 2016b). Similarly, Bhattarai (2012) coined new words by modifying the spelling of English words such as iskool for “school”, Hyallow for “Hello”, krau for “crow” and thrusty for “thirsty”, which reveal how the Nepali speakers of English creatively produce the English words. Rai (2016a) coined the word “leachy” by modifying the spelling of “litchi/lychee” to refer to a small fruit with the thick, rough reddish skin, white flesh, and a large stone.

The study revealed the invention of some new words through the hybridization of English and indigenous languages, such as neighbourhood *bhatti* “a nearby place where local wine is made”, wedding *doli* “a wooden palanquin to carry a bride during the wedding”, *kuirey* journalist “a British journalist”, (Upadhyay 2018), mutton *sukuti* “dried meat of he-goat”, skinny *bahun* “a very thin person from the Brahmin caste”, (Wagle 2005/2016), *angrezi* book “English book”, (Bhattarai 2012), mighty *angrez* “a powerful Englishman”, local *aila* “a kind of liquor from the Newari community” (Shah 2018), valley *bund* “strike in the valley” (Rai 2016a) (See Dewan & Laksamba 2020).

Translations of local proverbs into English

The creative Nepali authors of English formed the proverbs in English by imitating the Nepali proverbs which borrow the meaning from Nepali.

(41) A bull without horns can’t call himself sharp. (Upadhyay 2018)

(42) Husband-wife’s quarrel is like hay-fire. (Rai 2016a)

(43) Once a thief always a thief. (Shah 2018)

(44) Even the walls have ears. (Shah 2018)

Proverb (41) was formed from the Nepali proverb *jun gorooko singh chhaina usakai naam teekhe* “an empty vessel makes much noise”, the proverb (42) from the Nepali proverb *shriman-srimatiko jhagada paralko aago ho* “the quarrel between husband and wife is temporary”, proverb (43) from the Nepali proverb *ek patakko chor sadhaiko chor* “once you earn bad name, it will always be with you”, and proverb (44) is the literal translation of the Nepali proverb *bhittoko samet kaan hunchha* “be careful what you say as people may be eavesdropping”. These proverbs are the results of the authors’ bilingual creativity.

4.3 Pragmatic nativization

The study revealed that Nepali words and expressions were borrowed for greetings and other social functions, as well as for addressing people, which were pragmatically fit to the Nepali contexts.

Greetings and other social functions

NE replicates numerous indigenous greetings and other expressions that serve different socializing functions. In the examples, “And then he heard someone saying, Namaskar Sir” (Rai 2016a), “Namaste, Mister Pandey” (Upadhyay 2018), “Namaste, she said, pressing her palms together” (Wagle 2005/2016), “Namaste aunty” (Neupane 2015), “Did you do Namaste to him?” (Upadhyay 2006), and “Sushil and she exchanged polite namastes” (Thapa 2012), all the authors borrowed the Nepali word *Namaste* or *Namaskar*, which is used to greet someone or to say goodbye to someone who is older than the speaker. It is done by joining both palms. This shows that *Namaste*, or *Namaskar* is a NE word. No English word can pragmatically fit to these situations since English does not have its exact equivalent word. Similarly, Shah (2018) borrowed the Nepali word *salaams* (e.g. ...who greet him with exaggerated salaams) as a form of greeting. Similarly, Thapa (2012) adopted translanguaging practices for greetings, for example, “*Kasto chha?* How are you?” In the Nepali expression *Dhok chadayen, maharajdhiraj* (Shah 2018), the word *dhok* is a kind of greeting in which someone puts their forehead onto the feet of another person as a sign of respect. Thapa (2012) used the Nepali expression *Swaagat chha Americamaa* “Welcome to America” as a form of welcoming. In another example “You have to learn to say dhanyabad... [.]” (Shah 2018), the Nepali word *dhanyabad* is commonly used by Nepali speakers to thank someone.

Terms of address

The study revealed that the authors pragmatically nativized their texts by borrowing words from the local languages which do not have their equivalent words in English. Some common words include *sab/saab/saheb/sa'b/ sahi/sah'b* (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016) after the profession (e.g. Director sab, hawaldar sab, doctor saheb), surname (e.g. Chaudhari saheb), person's name (e.g. Prakash sab), kinship term (buasahib), other words like “mem” (e.g. memsab/saheb), and in isolation (e.g. We don't know anything, sah'b) to refer to a man or woman in a position of authority; *babu* (Rai 2016a; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016) after a person's name (e.g. Prem babu, Bhola babu), profession (e.g. Painter babu), and nationality (e.g. Belayati babu) to show affection; *nani* (Bhattarai 2012; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2018) as an affectionate term used to address a child or a junior person; and *hajur/hujoor/hajoor* (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006, 2018) to address some respectable people (e.g. buahajur/Drive to the hospital, hajur?) and to accept or respond to a call by the senior people (e.g. Hajur, Sudhir sir). All the words described above have different pragmatic meanings in Nepali societies which do not have any equivalent words in English.

The Nepali words *shreeman/shriman* (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016) and *pati parmashwar* (Shah 2018) have different socio-cultural meanings which cannot explicitly be expressed by the English word “husband”. The use of *parmashwar*, which means god, indicates that the husband in the Hindu tradition has been given the place of god. Nepali women generally address their husbands by using such honorific words. Other borrowed words included *bahun* “people from the Brahmin caste” (Bhattarai 2012; Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *dhami* “witch doctor” (Bhattarai 2012; Shah 2018), *lahurey/lahure* “British or Indian soldier” (Koirala 2017; Wagle 2005/2016), *damai* “someone traditionally involved in tailoring” (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *Newar* “people from the Newari ethnic tribe” (Khadgi 2020; Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016, Upadhyay 2006), and *gaine* “a door-to-door singer” (Devkota 2017; Shah 2018), which do not have any equivalent words in English. The word *raja* used by Rai (2016a) as a modifier before the kinship term *chora* “son” magnifies the value of the son in Nepali societies. Shah (2018) and Upadhyay (2006) used the word *raja* to refer to “king”. Koirala (2017), Shah (2018), and Upadhyay (2006) used *maharaja* to mean “great king”. The word *guruji* (Koirala 2017; Rai 2016a) with the suffix “-ji” reveals the prestigious position of the “driver” in Nepali societies. But Neupane (2015) used the word

guruji to address a teacher, which is less common these days. Both Bhattarai (2011) and Rai (2016b) used *mahakavi* to mean “great poet”. However, they have different connotative meanings. *Mahakavi* is the title given to only Laxmi Prasad Devkota in Nepal.

The study also revealed that the use of Nepali kinship terms is very common in NE to address people having consanguineal, affinal, adoptive, ritual, and social relations. The most frequently and commonly used Nepali kinship terms included *bahini/baini/bainee/behen* “elder or younger sister” (Bhattarai 2012; Neupane 2015; Pokharel 2020; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *bhai* “younger brother” (Bhattarai 2012; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *daju/dai/da* “elder brother” (Bhattarai 2012; Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), and *didi* “elder sister” (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016). To demonstrate social relations, the terms *dai/daju* and *bhai* were also used to address any male and *bahini/baini/bainee/behen* and *didi* to any female. The terms “brother” and “sister” are more general which do not explicitly convey the meaning of Nepali kinship terms. Another borrowed kinship term *kaka/kaaka* (Bhattarai 2012; Rai 2016a, 2016b; Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016) refers to the father’s younger brother or uncle. But the word “uncle” has a more general and inclusive meaning than the Nepali word *kaka* and its use creates confusion among the Nepali speakers if the context is unknown. In Nepal, calling people by their names alone is assumed to be impolite (Thapa 2012). Therefore, Nepali people are called by the Nepali kinship terms after their name (e.g., Neeru-*didi*, Sushil-*bhinaju*, Harihar-*dai*, Somi *kaka*, Sharda-*ma*) or by the the kinship term alone (e.g., *Bahini*, *Dai*). Other borrowed words included *ma/mua/ama* “mother”, *ba/bua/buwa* “father” (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), and *mama* “mother’s brother” (Rai 2016b; Shah 2018). However, Nepali people affectionately or politely address a woman as *ama* and a man as *ba/bua/buwa*, which indicates the social relation rather than the biological one.

The authors borrowed different Nepali kinship terms such as *chora/chhora* “son” (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a), *dharmaputra* “adoptive son” (Shah 2018), and *miit chhora* “a ritual son”, which indicate consanguineal, adoptive, and ritual relations, respectively. Similarly, they borrowed words such as *chori/chhori* (Thapa 2012; Wagle 2005/2016), and *beta* (Rai 2016a) to address the daughter. Rai (1995) mentioned that Hindi native speakers use the word *beta* for both their son and daughter, whereas Nepali speakers use it only to refer to their daughter; they never address their son as *beta*, rather they use *chhora*. He explained that the word *beta* being used to address a daughter confirms that the sociolinguistic factor is more important than any one. The use of *beta* to address the daughter reflects the modern attitude of treating a son and a daughter equally.

The findings also indicated that the authors used the Nepali kinship terms *buhari* (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a) to refer to “daughter-in-law”, and *bhauju* (Rai 2016a; Upadhyay 2006) to refer to “elder brother’s wife”. Wagle (2005/2016) borrowed Nepali kinship terms such as *Miit* “ritual friend”, *Miitini* “ritual friend or wife of a ritual friend”, *Miit Ba* “ritual father”, *Miitini Aama* “ritual mother”, *Miit Kaaka* “ritual uncle”, and *Miit Chhora* “ritual son”, which are the social relations formed by friendship or ritual in the Nepali tradition. English does not have their equivalent terms to show social kinship. Alptekin (2006) maintained that nativization through the sociological dimension includes culture-specific contextual cues of customs and rituals. In Nepali societies, the expression “best friend” cannot actually incorporate the deep cultural value of the Nepali ritual kinship terms *miit* and *miitini*. Therefore, the author has borrowed the above kinship terms to fill the lexical gaps.

Unlike other varieties of English, NE has unique words to address some people, such as *kaanchha/kanchha* “last born (youngest) male” (Shah 2018; Thapa 2012) and *kaanchhi* “last born (youngest) female” (Shah 2018), *jetha-dai* “eldest brother” (Thapa 2012), *Thule* “first born (eldest) son”, *Maldai* “second eldest brother”, *Saila* “third born son”, and *Sane* “last born (youngest) son” (Bhattarai 2012). All these words do not have any equivalents in English.

Slang and swear words

The study revealed that Nepali slang and swear words are common in NE, which convey different socio-cultural meanings. The authors borrowed different Nepali slang and swear words, such as *chutiya/chuthiya* “an idiot or a worthless person”, *saley/saala* “a term of abuse” (Neupane 2015; Thapa 2012), *Shalini* “a term used to abuse a woman or a girl” (Rai 2016a), *muji/mujhi* “an asshole or an abusive word used to underestimate others” (Shah 2015; Upadhyay 2006), *chor* (Thapa 2012) and *jaattha chor* (Shah 2018) “words used to rebuke a man (*jaattha* means pubic hair)”, *machikni* “mother fucker”, *maampakha* “a slang word used when someone is angry” (Neupane 2015), *randi* “a whore”, *goru mute/namarda* “a coward”, *saitan* “devil”, *harami kuukkur* “a word used to abuse someone who has dog-like behaviour”, *paaji* “an abusive word to refer to an idiot”, *allichhini* “an abusive word used to address a woman who has bad manner”, and *pakhe* “a slang word used to denote an ignorant and uncivilized man who does not know the modern world” (Shah 2018). All these swear and slang words are instances of pragmatic nativization, which have only partial or no equivalent words in English because they are the typical words used in NE, which have pragmatic or cultural meanings in Nepali society. The authors borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps created by English.

5. Conclusion

This paper focused on the linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization employed by creative Nepali authors of English in their writings. The features of NE investigated on the basis of linguistic data collected from different literary texts, newspaper reports, and articles represent how English is being used in the Nepali context. The study revealed that the authors nativized English linguistically, creatively, and pragmatically in order to make it fit the Nepali context. They were found to be not linguistic purists but active agents who use English creatively and critically rather than mechanically and diffidently (Canagarajah 1999). The nativization processes exemplified and described in the paper “reflect the sociolinguistic rules, communicative conventions, and cultural traditions of the local people that suit best their communicative purposes” (Canagarajah 1999: 179-180). Creative Nepali authors of English nativized English to manifest their individual and sociocultural values, to seek their identities and dignity in World Englishes literature, to communicate Nepali social values to the rest of the world, to show some empathy towards English (Karn 2012), to make it comprehensible to the Nepali people and practicable in the Nepali context (Dewan 2022a, 2022b), and to liberate English from the so-called purist pundithood or the monolithic vision of English. In this sense, I agree with Baker and Egginton (1999) that monolingual writing as a norm for English writing needs to be revised to incorporate multi-norms of creativity and style and multi-norms of bilingual creativity.

The innovations observed in the paper say a lot about the linguistic, sociolinguistic, and educational realities, which must be taken into consideration while discussing the language policies and pedagogy of Nepal. Policy makers and pedagogues need to adopt the functional polymodel approach that accentuates issues of identity and sociocultural and interactional contexts (Kachru 2011). Students find materials with local context more appealing and interesting because of their familiarity and local flavor (Thirusanku & Yunus 2013). Such localized materials contain localized English and local knowledge. Lestari (2020: 291) maintained, “If this local knowledge is brought to EFL classes, the students, at least, do not have to learn from scratch, i.e., learning the language and contents at the same time”. As NE is presumably practically relevant and pedagogically convenient for the Nepali speakers of English, it is quite unequal, unjust, and undemocratic to impose BE or AE in education and label locally innovated Englishes as errors, deviations, and fossilizations. Such labels do not romanticize the equality of Englishes, although all Englishes are linguistically equal (Tupas & Rubdy 2015) and respect the bilinguals’ creativity.

Despite being non-recognized in the stated or visible language policy of Nepal, NE has constituted a valuable linguistic tool in the verbal repertoire of Nepali people. Findings show that NE has become a viable medium for literary creativity or creative writing. The culture bound localized

strategies transcended in English are more effective and culturally significant than the native strategies for interaction (B. Kachru 1991). Therefore, the teachers need to reexamine the appropriateness and practicality of the native English model embedded in teaching and assessment (Lin 2020), be flexible enough to understand and teach the kind of English that their students need (Brigg 2008), be positive towards their English and support them to flourish and nurture their linguistic insights (Bhattarai & Gautam 2008), offer them the appropriate English that fulfills their needs of the time (Harmer 2007), acknowledge and give space to local varieties of English in curricula and classroom teaching (Sharma 2008), and value the new varieties of English as innovations (Dewan 2021). Such a liberation model or view of English (or liberation linguistics) invites the traditional sacred cows of English to slaughter (B. Kachru 2011), enhances the position of a localized variety of English, and empowers its speakers. This study was confined to the linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization in the creative writings. Further research can be conducted on nativization in spoken discourses, social media, and advertisements/billboards in Nepal.

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Patienters sprogbrug i e-konsultationer med deres praktiserende læge: Hvordan kommunikerer patienter relationel og emotionel information?

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Abstract: In Denmark, the e-mail consultation has been an important part of general practice for more than a decade. This consultation format has several advantages, but general practitioners have been concerned that they cannot, for example, interpret patients' emotional state through the written medium. In this article, we examine what characterizes those parts of patients' language use in e-mail consultations that deviate from standard written language. The background is the importance of understanding how digital patients communicate in writing, and what possibilities they have of expressing themselves. Based on 646 e-mail consultations from 38 patients from four Danish general practitioners' offices, we have analyzed the linguistic devices which deviate from standard written language. Our purpose is to characterize the patients' use of language, including deviations, alternative sign use, context keywords, and orthographic variation. We argue that patients' use of these forms makes it possible to communicate relational and emotional information which in a face-to-face meeting would typically be communicated non-verbally. In addition, this language use creates an informal tone with their general practitioner. Our analyses reflect how the e-mail consultation format places new demands on patients, who must be able to express themselves in writing, but who also have to be creative with their keyboard use if they want to express something that is not normally communicated in writing.

Keywords: E-konsultation, almen praksis, patientkommunikation, nonverbal, skriftsprog.

1. Introduktion

Patienter er i dag også digitale patienter. Den digitale patient er anderledes end den fysiske patient, idet den digitale patients krop transmitteres igennem teknologi, hvad end det er igennem et begrænset videoformat, der kun viser de dele af patienten, denne vælger at vise (Jepsen et al. 2022), eller det er igennem et skriftligt medie, hvor patienten eksempelvis beskriver, hvordan noget på kroppen ser ud (Klausen & Grønning 2021). Den digitale patientkrop kan således i formater som disse være mindre detaljeret, da lægerne ikke ser de ting, patienterne enten ikke kan eller vil kommunikere igennem digital teknologi (Nordtug et al. 2022). Fordi den digitale patient er anderledes end den fysiske patient, kan det forventes, at patienten også gestalter patientrollen på en anden måde. Den danske digitale patient kommunikerer især med sin læge igennem e-konsultationen (også kaldet e-mailkonsultation); i 2021 var 22 % af alle konsultationer i almen praksis e-konsultationer (PLO 2022a). Siden 2009 har det været et lovkrav, at alle patienter i Danmark skal have mulighed for at kommunikere med deres praktiserende læge via e-konsultationer. E-konsultationer har dermed i løbet af det sidste årti forandret, hvad det vil sige at gå til lægen (Grønning & Assing Hvidt 2021).

Når en stor del af kommunikationen flyttes fra det analoge møde, der foregår ansigt til ansigt, til et skriftligt digitalt medie, opstår der nye patient-læge-kommunikationssituationer, som vi ved meget lidt om rent sprogligt. Størstedelen af den internationale forskning i e-konsultationer har nemlig fokuseret på lægers og patienters holdninger til og erfaringer med e-konsultationer (Antoun 2016; Banks et al. 2018; Mold et al. 2019). Patienterne er generelt positive (Grønning et al. 2020; Fage-Butler & Nisbeth Jensen 2015), bl.a. pga. større fleksibilitet og øget tilgængelighed, hvad angår kontakten med deres læge, idet de kan henvende sig når som helst, og har direkte adgang til lægen uden om bestillingssystemerne og lægesekretæren (Grønning et al. 2020). Desuden muliggør e-konsultationsmediet mere detaljerede og reflekterede udvekslinger, hvor patienten har mulighed for

at skrive kladder samt vende tilbage til tidligere udvekslinger (Grønning et al. 2020). Også lægerne ser fordele ved e-konsultationen; bl.a. fordi de har mulighed for at svare, når det passer dem (i den danske kontekst dog inden for fem hverdage; PLO 2022c; Grønning et al. 2020). Nogle læger er imidlertid mere tilbageholdende bl.a. på grund af arbejdsbyrden, og fordi de er nervøse for, at kommunikationen bliver til en længere chatudveksling, som fastholder lægen i mailboksen og dermed tager tid fra andre centrale opgaver (Grønning et al. 2020; Assing Hvidt et al. 2020). Desuden giver lægerne udtryk for, at i modsætning til mødet med patienten ansigt til ansigt i den fysiske konsultation, så giver e-konsultationen dem ikke mulighed for at "observe patients' emotionally charged body language or nonverbal cues, aiding the clinical interpretation of symptoms, signs and their meanings" (Assing Hvidt et al. 2020: 417), og at e-konsultationen derfor kan være svær at fortolke. Lægerne er således bekymrede for at overse noget pga. den begrænsede mulighed for at aflæse patientens følelsesladede kropssprog og nonverbale signaler i den skriftlige e-konsultation (Assing Hvidt et al. 2020). Kun få studier (Laursen et al. 2021; Grønning et al. 2020; Nordtug et al. 2021) har undersøgt e-konsultationens sproglige og tekstuelle dimensioner, selvom disse kan være særligt interessante, da e-konsultationsplatformen giver patienter muligheden for at sætte dagsordenen i konsultationssituationen (Nordtug, Nisbeth Brøgger & Møller 2021), idet langt størstedelen af e-konsultationer er patient-initierede (Grønning et al. 2020). Dette er også en uvant situation for patienter, som i e-konsultationen skal præsentere hele problemstillingen i én tur; en problemstilling der sædvanligvis udforskes og etableres via dialog mellem patienten og lægen under den mundtlige konsultation. Retningslinjerne for brug af e-konsultation er vage ("enkle, konkrete forespørgsler af ikke-hastende karakter, som ikke kræver supplerende spørgsmål fra lægens side"; PLO 2022b), og det er derfor overladt til patienten selv at finde ud af denne genres form og indhold. Patienterne er dermed med til at skabe genren og må foretage valg om, hvilke emner der er relevante, hvordan teksten skal opbygges, og hvilken sprogbrug der skal anvendes. Laursen et al. (2021) har netop undersøgt patienters opbygning af e-konsultationen ved at analysere den genremæssige trækstruktur i 137 e-konsultationer og fandt syv mulige træk: emne, åbning, opdatering, præsentation af problem, anmodning, argumentation og afslutning. Der var dog stor variation i, hvor mange af disse træk patienterne brugte, og ingen af trækkene var obligatoriske. Nordtug et al. (2021)¹ har undersøgt, hvordan 22 praktiserende læger i 633 e-konsultationer brugte nonverbale cues, såsom emotikoner og kreativ brug af typografi. Studiet konkluderer, at disse lægers e-konsultationer indeholder en stor mængde stavfejl og mangel på stort begyndelsesbogstav, mens andre nonverbale cues, såsom emotikoner og kreativ brug af typografi er meget sjældne.

Som nævnt ovenfor er det overladt til patienterne selv at finde ud af de genremæssige krav til deres e-konsultationer; dog ved vi meget lidt om deres sproglige strategier (se Klausen & Grønning 2021; Laursen et al. 2021, der er nævnt ovenfor for eksempler på studier, der berører dette). Så vidt vi ved, foreligger der ingen undersøgelser af de sproglige karakteristika ved patienters e-konsultationer. Derfor er formålet med denne artikel at undersøge, hvordan patienter udtrykker sig sprogligt i e-konsultationen. Vores mere specifikke fokus vedrører, hvordan patienter kan udtrykke deres følelser og kompensere for de nonverbale signaler, som de har mulighed for at anvende i den mundtlige kommunikation, der foregår ansigt til ansigt, og som lægerne ifølge forskningen efterspørger i e-konsultationen for bedre at kunne tolke og forstå patienternes symptomer og problemstillinger (Assing Hvidt et al. 2020: 417). Derfor stiller vi følgende forskningsspørgsmål: Med hvilke sproglige midler, der afviger fra den standardsproglige brug af skriftsproget, kommunikerer patienter relationel og emotionel information i e-konsultationen?

1.2. E-konsultationens kontekst

I en dansk kontekst er e-konsultationen en asynkron, tovejs kommunikationsform, som foregår

¹ Dette studie fra 2021 anvender samme datasæt som denne artikel, dog i 2021 med fokus på lægernes kommunikation.

gennem krypterede systemer. Beskederne bliver automatisk en del af patientens journal. De fleste systemer har en begrænsning på 500 tegn for patientens e-konsultation, og systemet har ikke samme formateringsfunktioner som en almindelig e-mail. Det er f.eks. ikke muligt at bruge kursiv, understregning og emojis. Patienten kan skrive til lægen når som helst, enten gennem en indgang på lægens hjemmeside eller via appen "Min læge". Lægen har pligt til at svare inden for fem hverdage (PLO 2022b) og honoreres med DKK 46,47 per e-konsultationssvar (PLO 2022b). Patienterne kan vælge, hvilken læge de vil skrive til, og i nogle lægehuse kan patienten vælge "alle læger", hvad der giver patienten mulighed for hurtigere svar. Ifølge overenskomst om almen praksis skal e-konsultationer bruges til "enkle, konkrete forespørgsler af ikke-hastende karakter, som ikke kræver supplerende spørgsmål fra lægens side" (PLO 2022b), hvilket vil sige, at idealet er én e-konsultation fra patienten og ét svar fra lægen. E-konsultationen er en professionel kommunikationssituation, idet lægen kommunikerer i kraft af sin profession, men samtidig også en meget privat kommunikationssituation, idet den anden kommunikationspart, patienten, skriver som privatperson om meget personlige og/eller private emner.

2. Teoretisk ramme

Produktionsvilkårene for tale og skrift er vidt forskellige, og der har længe hersket en vis uenighed om, hvordan online skriftsprog skal kategoriseres; som hybrid (Hougaard 2004), "computer-mediated discourse" (Herring 2004), "netspeak" (Crystal 2011), "social media discourse" (Androustopoulos 2006), "digital discourse" (Thurlow & Mroczek 2011), "online talk" (Paulus, Warren & Lester 2016) eller "conversation-like" (Herring 2010). Det kan diskuteres, hvordan man skal tage højde for de forskelligartede produktionsvilkår i analysen af data, men ofte har forskerne fokuseret på lighedspunkterne mellem onlineinteraktion og mundtlig samtale (Jensen 2014), idet de har anvendt interaktionelle begreber som turtagning, turdesign og turpar (Paulus, Warren & Lester 2016) og mundtlighedsorienterede begreber som udtale, tavshed og *oral stylisation* (Giles et al. 2015; White 2015).

Ifølge *media richness*-teorien er det skriftlige medium forbundet med et mere begrænset udtrykspotentialer, fordi skriften normalt ikke gengiver visuelle sociale tegn som gestikulation og mimik (Daft & Lengel 1984). Derfor mangler den type socioemotional og relationel information, man normalt kommunikerer via det nonverbale og paralingvistiske, dvs. gestik, mimik og stemmeføring, som udgangspunkt i skriftlig onlineinteraktion. Allerede tidligt begyndte brugerne af f.eks. e-mail og chat at skabe nye måder at kompensere tekstligt for disse mangler på (Baron 1984; Cherny 1999; Herring 1999, 2001). De "kompenserende" funktioner var f.eks. emotikoner, forskellige grafiske elementer, gentagelser, sletninger og performative handlingsord som f.eks. *vinker* (Hougaard 2004). Ifølge Herring et al. kan disse "be interpreted as replacing paralinguistic and nonverbal cues that are absent from the written repertoire" (Herring, Stein & Virtanen 2013: 8).

For at undersøge patienternes kommunikation i e-konsultationer generelt og med særligt henblik på, hvordan de kommunikerer relationel og emotionel information, anvender vi således et analytisk begrebsapparat, der dels er baseret på den forskning, der fremhæver lighederne mellem online interaktion og mundtlig kommunikation, dels på undersøgelser der arbejder med tekster fra "unregulated spaces" (Sebba 2007), hvor tekstproduktionen ikke direkte er underlagt standardskriftsprognormen (Rathje 2013). Det analytiske begrebsapparat er således inspireret af henholdsvis Carey (1980), Yus (2011), Hougaard og Balleby (2019), Berthelsen et al. (2019) og Nordtug et al. (2021); studier, der alle beskæftiger sig med computer-medieret kommunikation. Baseret på analyser af computer-medieret kommunikation beskrev Carey (1980) i 1980'erne forskellige paralingvistiske virkemidler og såkaldte minus-detajler, såsom ikke-rettede stavfejl (Carey 1980). Årtier senere foreslog Yus (2011) at omtale disse virkemidler som *oralizations*, altså skriftlig tekst, der forsøger at illudere egenskaber, som kendes fra mundtlig interaktion.

Baseret på en induktiv tilgang til materialet har vi fundet fire typer af sprogbrug, der på

forskellig vis adskiller sig fra en standardsproglig brug af skriftsproget. I stil med Berthelsen et al. (2019) betragter vi fundene som meningsfulde skriftlige praksisser, der ”er konsistente og i større eller mindre omfang konventionaliserede praksisformer der kan beskrives inden for rammerne af en funktionelt orienteret grammatik” (Berthelsen et al. 2019: 96) og dermed som medialektale træk. Det betyder, at vores fokus ikke ligger på forkert eller fejlbehæftet sprogbrug. Når vi i vores optælling alligevel også har medregnet eksempler på det, man i reglen betegner som fejl eller afvigelser fra retskrivningsnormen, er det med henblik på at lave en fuldstændig² beskrivelse af materialet. Fejlene kan også være betydningsbærende, da afvigelser ifølge Carey (1980) kan indikere en afslappet tone mellem dem, der kommunikerer. Afvigelser kan således give udtryk for mere end blot fejlbehæftet sprogbrug. Ligeledes vil vi argumentere for, at eksemplerne kan vise, hvordan den digitale patient, der henvender sig skriftligt til lægen, kommer til udtryk.

I tabel 1 ses en oversigt over, hvilke typer af alternativ sprogbrug der findes i materialet. Efter tabellen gennemgås begreberne, og eksempler på de forskellige kategorier analyseres.

Tabel 1: Forskellige former for alternativ sprogbrug i e-konsultationer

Kategori	Type	Eksempler
Afvigelser	Stave- og slåfejl	blodtryk; kontrolscann8ng
	Manglende slutpunktum	håber I kan finde en tid til mig
	Manglende slutspørgsmålstegn	Kan den forlænges
	Fejl ved store/små bogstaver	Hej henrik
Alternativ tegnbrug	Udråbstegn	Hjælp!!!
	Versaler	MEGET
	Gentagne spørgsmålstegn	mener de er stærkere???
	Tøveprikker	især om natten...
Kontekststikord	Lyddord og interjektioner	Haha, Humm
	Emotikoner	:-)
Ortografisk variation (lydefterligning)	Lydforlængelser	Nååhh ³
	Lydforkortelser	så jeg ikk skal tænke på det her

Under kategorien ”afvigelser” opererer vi med fire typer, henholdsvis stave- og slåfejl, manglende slutpunktum, manglende slutspørgsmålstegn og fejl ved store/små bogstaver. Forskellen på stavefejl og slåfejl er i overensstemmelse med den udbredte opfattelse, at fejl kan være tilfældige og f.eks. bero på, at man rammer forkerte taster (jf. Rathje 2013), heraf navnet slåfejl, mens stavefejl her forstås som de staveafvigelser, som sprogbrugeren sandsynligvis ikke ville være i stand til at rette. Rathjes skelnen mellem bevidst og ubevidst (2013) er fravalgt mhp. at åbne for den fortolkningsmulighed, at sprogbrugerne med vilje undlader at rette en stavefejl, hvad der senere vil blive uddybet.

Under kategorien ”alternativ tegnbrug” indregnes brug af *versaler* samt anderledes brug af tre typer af interpunktionstegn, nemlig gentagelse af et punktum eller et spørgsmålstegn samt brugen af et udråbstegn en eller flere gange. Ligesom det må antages at være en bevidst handling, når man vælger at skrive et helt ord med versaler, er disse tegngentagelser ofte beskrevet som en del af netsproget (Androutsopoulos 2018; Crystal 2006).

² Til forskel fra opgørelser som f.eks. Rathje (2013) har vi fravalgt følgende ”afvigelsestyper”: manglende apostrof, komma, forkortelsespunktum, anførselstegn og bindestreg, fordi det ikke er meningen at lave en oversigt over fejl og mangler i sprogbugen i materialet; og specificeringsgraden af de enkelte afvigelsestyper er relativt lav, da det ikke har været hensigten med undersøgelsen at gå i dybden med dette. Desuden har vi ikke inkluderet fejl i syntaks eller hilsner uden afsnitsinddeling til resten af beskeden.

³ Eksempler så som ”Nååhh” og ”Humm” regnes her både som interjektioner og som lydforlængelser.

Kategorien ”kontekststikord” omfatter ord eller tegn, der giver en yderligere situativ bestemmelse, dvs. ord eller tegn der er bestemt af eller for situationen i stil med begrebet ”contextualization cues”, dvs. ”any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions” (Gumperz 1982: 131). I vores materiale har vi samlet brugen af emotikoner samt lydord og interjektioner under denne kategori, fordi alle tre typer ofte bruges som en form for følelestilkendegivelse og dermed er med til at angive noget relationelt og nonverbalt.

Sidste kategori ”ortografisk variation” omfatter det, som oftest er blevet fremhævet som kendetegnende for netsproget, nemlig alternative staveformer (Hougaard 2004; Crystal 2006; Hougaard 2014; Reid 1991; Herring 1999; Werry 1996), der gennem de sidste 25 år har været mere eller mindre kodificeret, som f.eks. leet-speak (Rotne 2009; Danet 1998). I materialet forekommer dog kun to former for alternativ stavning, der overordnet kan kaldes lydforkortelse og lydforlængelse. Begge kan ses som forsøg på lydefterligning (se mere nedenfor).

3. Metode

3.1. Dataindsamling

Vi indsamlede e-konsultationer fra fire danske lægehuse i Region Midtjylland i 2018 og 2019. Vi bad fire praktiserende læger fra hvert lægehus om alle e-konsultationer fra ti patienter hver. De blev bedt om at udvælge patienter, hvis e-konsultationer havde noget indhold, dvs. ikke kun var receptfornyelser. Vi informerede alle læger om tavshedspligt, og de underskrev en samtykkeerklæring. Alle involverede patienter blev informeret om projektet af deres læge via e-konsultation og afgav skriftligt samtykke. Et dansk studie har diskuteret fordele og ulemper ved forskellige tilgange til data management, når e-konsultationer bruges om empirisk materiale (Laursen, Simonsen & Grønning 2022). Vi anvendte følgende tilgang: Alle fire lægehuse printede e-konsultationerne fra patientjournalerne, og de blev overdraget ved fysiske møder. Disse ikke-digitale e-konsultationer havde derfor samme format som de oprindelige digitale med alle originaldata såsom navn, CPR-nummer, dato, etc. Alle e-konsultationer blev derefter indskrevet ordret, dvs. vi inkluderede alle slåfejl, opsætningsfejl etc., og desuden anonymiseret. I alt modtog vi 1279 e-konsultationer fra 38 patienter. Vi valgte at fokusere på patienternes e-konsultationer fra perioden 2015 til 2019, i alt 646. De pågældende patienters alder var i 2019, som er det seneste skrivetidspunkt, mellem 21 og 91 år, og de havde i e-konsultationerne kommunikeret med i alt 22 praktiserende læger, 5 sygeplejersker og 3 lægesekretærer.

Tabel 2: Overblik over patienter

Alder i 2019	Mand	Kvinde	Total
20–30	0	4	4
31–40	1	2	3
41–50	1	5	6
51–60	4	7	11
61–70	4	2	6
71–80	2	3	5
81+	2	1	3
Total	14	24	38

3.2. Analyse af empiri

I analysen af, hvilke relationelle og emotionelle virkemidler patienter bruger i e-konsultationen, har vi kodet efter de forskellige kategorier, der blev præsenteret i tabel 1. Vi kodede e-konsultationerne i det computer-assisterede kvalitative datalysesoftware NVivo. Artiklens førsteforfatter (MN) udførte den første runde kodning af alle data i NVivo, hvorefter forfattergruppen gennemgik koderne, diskuterede usikkerheder og foretog justeringer. Usikkerhederne opstod eksempelvis i kodningen af afvigelser, da det ikke altid var tydeligt, hvad afvigelsen skyldtes. Et eksempel her var i sætningen ”Har også en underlig mærkelig fornemmelse i min ende (tarm) nærmest konstant, som om der sidder noget..” som gav anledning til usikkerhed om, hvorvidt der skulle kodes for fejl i sammensatte navneord, eller om patienten ønskede at specificere hvilken del af ”enden”, der var tale om. Et andet eksempel var diskussion af fejl ved store/små bogstaver ifm. præparatnavne.

Vores kodningspraksis har betydet, at vi kun har kodet én gang per forekomst. Det vil sige, at hvis en sætning eksempelvis indeholdt flere afvigelser, har vi kodet alle afvigelser i den sætning, dog med det forbehold, at vi kun har kodet for hver underkategori én gang per ord (så hvis ét ord eksempelvis indeholdte to stavfejl, er det ord kun blevet kodet som stavfejl én gang).

4. Analyse

Den kvalitative kodning har givet os overblik over, hvor mange gange de forskellige former bruges i de patient-skrevne e-konsultationer. Disse har vi givet et overblik over i tabel 3.

Tabel 3: Oversigt over patienters brug af forskellige former for alternativ sprogbrug i e-konsultationer og disse formers hyppighed

Type	Antal
1. Afvigelser	
1.1. Stave- og slåfejl	534
1.2. Manglende slutpunktum	147
1.3. Manglende slutspørgsmålstegn	164
1.4. Ukorrekt brug af store og små bogstaver	564
2. Alternativ tegnbrug	
2.1. Udråbstegn	44
2.2. Versaler	30
2.3. Gentagne spørgsmålstegn	52
2.4. Tøveprikker	85
3. Kontekststikord	
3.1. Lydord og interjektioner	8
3.2. Emotikoner	47
4. Ortografisk variation	
4.1. Lydforkortelser	28
4.2. Lydforlængelser	3

4.1. Afvigelser

I kodningen ser vi 1409 tilfælde af afvigelser. Vi har opdelt de forskellige afvigelser i fire overordnede kategorier, henholdsvis *stave- og slåfejl*, *manglende slutpunktum*, *manglende slutspørgsmålstegn* og *ukorrekt brug af store og små bogstaver*.

Som det første har vi identificeret stave- og slåfejl. Disse omfatter særskrivning af sammensatte navneord i modsætning til den ortografisk korrekte sammenskrivning (f.eks. ”smerte stillende” og ”kikkert undersøgelsen”), slåfejl (f.eks. ”kontrolscann8ng”) og stavefejl (f.eks. ”blodtryg”). Det omfatter også ord, hvor vi formoder, at patienten benytter uofficielle forkortelser (f.eks. ”forklar.” i stedet for ”forklaring”; ”blodtryksapp” i stedet for ”blodtryksapparat”; ”mens” i stedet for ”menstruation”). Disse forkortelser giver typisk mening i konteksten, og i et format som e-konsultationen, hvor patienterne har et begrænset antal ord, kan det give mening, at patienterne formulerer sig kreativt og kortest muligt. Vi formoder således ikke, at der er tale om slåfejl, men stavefejl, der er skrevet for at benytte et mindre antal tegn. Derudover omfatter afvigelser også de tilfælde, hvor patienterne udelader et ord (f.eks. mangler der et verbum i denne sætning: ”Jeg har jo altid fået 200 stk da de I denne størrelse.”).

For det andet har vi fundet eksempler på, at patienterne i 147 tilfælde undlader at afslutte en sætning med et punktum. Det gør sig f.eks. gældende i sætningerne ”håber I kan finde en tid til mig” og ”Status er nok jeg er måske nød til og stoppe det arbejde, jeg har i dag, hvis det Ikke bliver bedre”. I disse sætninger er der ingen form for tegnsætningsafslutning.

Tilsvarende har vi for det tredje fundet 164 eksempler på, at patienterne undlader at sætte spørgsmålstegn efter et spørgsmål. Det gør sig eksempelvis gældende i sætningerne ”Den fysioterapi er sen fuld dækket, eller delvis selv betaling” og ”Kan den forlænges”.

For det fjerde har vi fundet eksempler på ukorrekt brug af store og små bogstaver. Det gælder brug af små bogstaver ved navne (f.eks. ”henrik” og ”pinex”), små bogstaver i starten af en sætning (f.eks. ”og går også til psykolog. jeg vil gerne sige”), og brugen af store bogstaver, når de skulle have været små (f.eks. ”jeg måtte tage hjem pga. Stærk hovedpine” og ”en prøve for eventuel Prostata”).

Ovenstående eksempler er blot nogle af de afvigelser, der findes i patienternes e-konsultationer. Det vil altså sige, at der forekommer en række andre fejl, herunder manglende forkortelsespunktum, manglende komma, manglende eller for mange mellemrum og lignende. Vi har i denne artikel valgt ikke at give et fuldstændigt overblik over alle fejltypen, men bruger ovenstående som eksempler på, hvordan der opstår afvigelser i patienternes e-konsultationer. Til en vis grad fortæller afvigelseerne noget om relationen mellem patient og læge. Når de interagerende ikke bruger tid eller energi på at rette slåfejl, kan det fremstå, som om der er en afslappet og uformel tone i kommunikationen mellem læge og patient. Men afvigelseerne kan også være en konsekvens af, at patienterne betragter e-konsultationen som værende i familie med andre online hverdagstekster som f.eks. sms og messengerbeskeder med lav formalitetsgrad. Disse (som også kan være tilfældet med e-konsultationer) produceres ofte på telefonens lille tastatur (med større mulighed for at ramme forkert) og i sammenhænge med en højere grad af intimitet og personligt kendskab. Desuden produceres online hverdagstekster ofte i sammenhænge, hvor den skrivende har begrænset tid og koncentrationsevne og derfor ikke nødvendigvis er grundig med retskrivningen. Afvigelseerne kan sige noget om relationen mellem patient og læge, når det gælder uofficielle forkortelser, idet patienterne formoder, at disse opfundne forkortelser både accepteres og forstås af lægen. Derudover kan de tilfældige fejl, navnlig slåfejl, signalere en uformel tone. De fejl, patienterne ikke nødvendigvis ved, at de skal rette, siger i stedet noget om patienternes kompetencer, hvad angår det at benytte e-konsultationsformatet. Det kan være svært at vurdere, om en afvigelse er en stavefejl eller en slåfejl. Vi vil gå ud fra, at patienten ved, at der ikke skal være et 8-tal i ”kontrolscann8ng”, hvorimod det er mere usikkert, om patienten ’kom til’ at skrive ”blodtryg”, eller om patienten tror, at det er den korrekte stavemåde. Ligeledes formoder vi, at der er tale om en slåfejl, når vi finder eksempler på, at en patient skriver ”ruinprøve” i stedet for ”urinprøve” og beder om ”et stort glad Panodil” i stedet for

et stort *glas*. Mere usikkert er det dog, om en patient, der skriver om sin ”operation” kom til at trykke på p-tasten to gange, eller om patienten tror, det er sådan det staves.

De fleste fejl, vi ser ovenfor, giver ikke nødvendigvis lægen noget problem med at forstå patientens kommunikation. Vi ser dog eksempler på, at patienternes fejl kan skabe forvirring hos lægen, som det eksempelvis gør sig gældende i nedenstående dialog:

Eksempel 1:

[Patients forespørgsel]:

Hej Lone⁴ [læge]

Mange tak for hjælpen idag.

Jeg vil høre om du vil skrive en recept til mig på en s ring.

Jeg fik mere end et vink med en vognstang da jeg ventede på paven- og det var ikke lyset jeg så....

Mvh Lis. [patient]

[Lægens svar]:

Kære Lis [patient]

Jeg er altså ikke helt sikker på hvad du mener. mon det er en estring du gerne vil have? Altså en hormonring der ligger fast i skeden?

Nu har jeg bestilt en sådan til dig.

Skriv hvis det er helt forkert forstået eller du gerne vil vide lidt mere.

Mvh. Lone [læge]

I ovenstående samtale beder patienten om en recept på en ”s ring”, hvortil lægen svarer, at hun ikke ved, hvad patienten mener. Lægen foreslår, at patienten muligvis ønsker en ”estring”, og bestiller en sådan til patienten, men tilføjer også at patienten må henvende sig, hvis der er tale om en misforståelse. Selv om patienten tilsyneladende anlægger en lidt humoristisk og ironisk tone i sin besked, anstrenger lægen sig tydeligvis for at tage henvendelsen seriøst og understrege vigtigheden af at fremstå fremkommelig. Lægen affærdiger ikke beskeden som uforståelig. Vi ser et lignende eksempel i samtalen mellem patienten Kirsten og lægen Lone:

Eksempel 2:

[Patientens forespørgsel]:

Bestilte Toilet skal være styrke og antal som sidst

Venlig hilsen

Kirsten Aavad

[Lægens svar]:

Jeg har prøvet at gøre som du beder mig om.

Mvh. Lone

I denne samtale har patienten ikke skrevet et præparat-navn, som vi formoder skulle være ”Toilax”. Patienten har skrevet et helt andet ord (eller også har hendes stavekontrol ændret det indtastede til ”Toilet”), hvilket kan være meningsforstyrrende. Man fornemmer da også en usikkerhed i lægens svar, der skriver, at hun har ”prøvet” at gøre, som hun bliver bedt om.

I analysen ser vi også eksempler på patientbeskeder, der gennemgående er svære at læse. Vi

⁴ Alle navne på patienter og læger er pseudonymer.

har valgt ikke at gengive disse beskeder af etiske hensyn, idet patienterne potentielt vil kunne genkende sig selv og deres e-konsultationer som eksempler på 'meget dårligt sprog'.

4.2. Alternativ tegnbrug: Kreativ brug af grammatiske markører

I analysen af e-konsultationerne ser vi, at patienterne benytter sig af forskellige typer tegnsætningstegn på en måde, der adskiller sig fra standarden, enten ved at tegnet gentages helt op til fire gange, eller ved at tegnet (særligt udråbstegn) bruges mere, end hvad der er standard. Gentagelsen af både spørgsmålstegn og udråbstegn beskrives ofte som en form for intensivering (Androutsopoulos 2018). Vi fandt fire underordnede kategorier af alternativ tegnbrug, henholdsvis *udråbstegn*, *versaler*, *gentagne spørgsmålstegn* og *tøveprikker*.

Udråbstegn bruges til f.eks. at give udtryk for emfase og for, at noget er ment "som udråb, ordrer, opfordringer, ønsker, udtryk for forundring og lign." (sproget.dk N/A). På den måde kan udråbstegnet i sin originale funktion være med til at gøre sproget mere ekspressivt, men der ses også det, som Crystal benævner en inflationær brug af tegnet (Crystal 2015). I vores datamateriale ser vi 41 eksempler på patienters standardbrug af udråbstegn. Nogle gange bruges de i forbindelse med fatisk kommunikation, f.eks. når patienterne skriver "god ferie!" og "god sommer!". Andre gange bliver det brugt i tiltale, hvis patienterne eksempelvis starter en besked til deres læge: "Hej Marie!" og "Hej du!". Andre gange ser vi eksempler på, at patienterne bruger udråbstegn til at give en pointe emfase, som det kan ses i følgende e-konsultation fra patienten Kirsten:

Eksempel 3:

Hej Lone,

Tak for det bestilte medicin. Jeg arbejder fuldtid, og det går rigtigt fint, men kun medicineret! Jeg prøver engang i mellem med en mindre dosering, men så går det ikke!
Jeg booker en tid hos dig, som du skriver. Hilsen Kirsten

I eksemplet gør Kirsten brug af udråbstegn to gange til at understrege, at det kun er, når hun er medicineret, at det går fint at arbejde fuldtid, og at det ikke går, når hun prøver med en mindre dosering. Udråbstegnet bruges altså her til at give udsagnene ekstra intensitet. Det samme gør sig gældende i nedenstående e-konsultation fra patienten Mark, der bruger udråbstegnet i samspil med et spørgsmålstegn:

Eksempel 4:

Hej Thomas

Jeg er også bekymret for bivirkninger af medicinen, da jeg oplevet smerterne i maven og det prække i min venstre arm. jeg tager nu kun en pille om aftenen, så du mener jeg skal op i to piller istedet. Hvor lang tid skal jeg blive ved med at tage medicinen. Skal jeg leve hele livet med den!?

Ang. tiden skal jeg rejse til Tyrkiet fra 05 oct. til 21. oct. så detbvar derfor jeg har valgt at tiden skal være enten før 5. eller 21.

VH Mark

Brugen af et udråbstegn og et spørgsmålstegn sammen giver indtryk af, at spørgsmålet om, hvorvidt patienten skal leve med sin medicin hele livet, er skrevet med en vis desperation 'i stemmen' over et eventuelt bekræftende svar og giver altså spørgsmålet et ekstra ekspressivt særpræg. Tre gange bruger patienterne mere end ét udråbstegn, som i nedenstående eksempel skrevet af patienten Sanne:

Eksempel 5:

Hej Pernille [læge]. Jeg er i ”pille” behandling for skedesvamp. Men det virker ikke, det har aldrig kløet mere end det gør nu. Jeg er virkelig virkelige plaget af det. Den første kur som kun bestod af 1 pille, virkede i over en måned. Jeg har nu spist 2 af pillerne fra den nye kur, over to uger. Men intet resultat. Hjælp!!! Jeg er ved at gå ud af mit gode skind

I dette eksempel sætter patienten tre udråbstegn ved siden af hinanden efter ordet ”Hjælp”. Dette kommer, efter patienten har beskrevet sin frustration over, at en medicinsk behandling ikke har virket, og efterfølges af en udmelding om, at patienten er ved at gå ud af sit gode skind. Med de tre udråbstegn udtrykker patienten emfase og giver forsøgsvis et bud på, hvordan ”hjælp” forestilles udtalt i dette tilfælde for på den måde at understrege og underbygge den frustration, hun forsøger at udtrykke overfor sin læge.

En anden type tegnvariation er patienternes brug af versaler. 30 gange skriver patienterne hele ord med store bogstaver. Versaler kan både bruges til at understrege noget, ændre tonen i en besked, signalere at stemmen ændrer sig, og så kan det bruges til at kommunikere følelser og gøre beskeden mere ekspressiv (Carey 1980; Yus 2011). I seks tilfælde var det f.eks. ordet ”ikke”, som skrives med versaler, som i følgende e-konsultation skrevet af patienten Marlene:

Eksempel 6:

Hej Jeg er gået tør for Contalgin 10 mg 25 stk jeg er blevet opereret og kan IKKE undvære min depot morfin endnu vil du lave en recept

Her bruges de store bogstaver til at give udtryk for et alvorligt behov. Den emfatiske funktion af store bogstaver bruges f.eks. også, når patienten Mads skriver, at noget går ham ”MEGET på”, og når patienten Maja skriver, at hun bliver ”SÅ elendig ved tanken”. I alle disse tilfælde formår patienterne ved hjælp af typografi at mundtliggøre sproget ved netop at gøre det klart, hvordan et ord ville skulle udtales. Desuden er brugen af versaler ortografisk emfase, idet deres grafiske manifestation giver dem blikfangsværdi i forhold til den øvrige tekst. Brugen af versaler som visuelt fremtrædende træk er et anerkendt typografisk virkemiddel (Gjedsted 1965). I nogle tilfælde er funktionen af versalbrug dog tvetydig. Patienten Carsten afslutter f.eks. flere af sine beskeder med at skrive ”På forhånd TAK”. Følger vi ovenstående argumentation, skulle det at skrive hele ordet ”tak” med store bogstaver have til funktion at understrege Carstens taknemmelighed:

Eksempel 7:

Hej Thomas [læge] . Jeg har mandag den 12/11 fået svar på de fleste af de prøver, du sendte mig til den 9/11. Der mangler nogle få blodprøver, men ellers ser alt heldigvis fint ud. Jeg vil dog stadig gerne have en konsultation snarest muligt hos dig, så vi kan finde ud af, om der skal ske en ændring af min medicinering, eller hvad mine symptomer ellers kan skyldes.

Håber, at du som aftalt vil kontakte mig, når du er tilbage igen. På forhånd TAK.

Mvh, Carsten [patient]

Vi kan ikke udelukke, at det for Carstens vedkommende er blevet en del af hans hilse-rutine, og dermed at denne brug af store bogstaver ikke længere (eller i reduceret grad) udtrykker emfase i forhold til dele af indholdet.

Endvidere er der 52 forekomster af gentagne spørgsmålstegn. I disse tilfælde skriver patienterne to, tre eller fire spørgsmålstegn lige efter hinanden. Et eksempel på dette ser vi i e-

konsultationen skrevet af patienten Jytte:

Eksempel 8:

Jeg har tidligere fået røntgen fotograferet mit knæ, uden bemærkninger . Har været ved fys. I hornslet to gange, hvad har gjort at smerterne er meget værre og næsten ikke til at holde ud. Er stoppet ved fys, da det ikke er til gavn. Morten fys. Sagde det muligvis var menisken der vAr blevet skadet. Jeg ved ikke hvad jeg skal stille op????

I denne e-konsultation er de gentagne spørgsmålstejn sat, efter patienten har beskrevet sin fortvivlelse over sin sundhedssituation. De er således med til at understrege patientens desperation i sin søgen på svar på, hvad hun skal stille op; de mange spørgsmålstejn er med til at understrege tonen i sætningen. I andre tilfælde er den kommunikative funktion af tegngentagelsen dog tvetydig. Det gør sig f.eks. gældende i følgende eksempel:

Eksempel 9:

super hvor meget skal jeg ta så mener de er stærkere ??? bestiller du dem så
Har kun tablettet til, til og med søndag
Marlene

I Marlenes besked er der sat tre spørgsmålstejn efter et spørgsmål angående dosering, og her kan de angive, at patienten er imødekommende over for, om lægen er af en anden opfattelse angående præparatets styrke. Spørgsmålstejnene kan dermed ses som en understregning af, at patienten godt er klar over, at hun antager noget, der faktisk kan vise sig at være forkert. Spørgsmålene kommer dermed (sammen med verbet ”mener”) til at angive og understrege patientens tvivl.

Sluttelig har vi fundet hele 85 eksempler på, at patienterne skriver flere punktummer i streg, også kaldet tøveprikker eller udeladelsesprikker. Gentagne punktummer kan have flere funktioner: De kan både repræsentere implicit information, de kan repræsentere en længere pause (Yus 2011; Carey 1980), og de kan angive at noget er uafsluttet (Androutopoulos 2018) eller uafklaret (Hougaard 2004). De skaber altså en fysisk pause i teksten. At tøveprikker kan repræsentere implicit information eller pause, ser vi i følgende eksempel skrevet af patienten Maja:

Eksempel 10:

Hej Claus [læge], de virker noget, jeg sover til mellem 03 og 05 - enkelte gange længere.

Nogen gange virker det at stå op og læse - nogen gange ikke. Der er 7 tilbage....

Måske er det værste at jeg ikke kan se nogen ende på problemet... Når jeg beslutter mig for, at uanset hvad, så skal jeg væk fra den kollega, så sover jeg bedre, men tilgængæld så bliver jeg bare SÅ elendig ved tanken. For hvad så? Næste nat sover jeg elendig fordi jeg alligevel håber, og den tror kroppen/hjernen ikke på!

Patienten benytter sig her to gange af tøveprikker, der både skaber en pause i teksten og signalerer noget uafklaret. De første tøveprikker kan tolkes som en udeladelse af noget i retning af ”Hvad gør jeg, når jeg ikke har flere piller?”, mens de næste tøveprikker måske signalerer, at patienten ikke ved, hvad hun skal gøre (og derfor hvad hun skal skrive). De kan ses som en form for understregning af den opgivelse, der ligger i den foregående sætning (”Måske er det værste at jeg ikke kan se nogen ende på problemet...”). Begge forekomster signalerer, at der er noget, patienten ikke sætter ord på. Tilsvarende skriver patienten Hanne, at ”jeg har sygemeldt mig nu er så træt. .”. I dette eksempel formår patienten næsten at vise trætheden med punktummerne, der skaber en pause i teksten.

I materialet ser vi imidlertid også, at patienterne bruger gentagne punktummer i andre

funktioner. Det gør sig f.eks. gældende i følgende e-konsultation skrevet af patienten Jytte:

Eksempel 11:

Tror du ikke det er muligt jeg kan få en tid på fredag om formiddagen.... Jeg mistede min far den 11 april , og mærker mærkamt jeg har deg rigtig dårligt nu.

De tre punktummer i ovenstående e-konsultation repræsenterer hverken implicit information, en længere pause eller noget uafsluttet. Snarere fremstår de her som en erstatning for et spørgsmålstejn, måske med en blødgørende funktion, der understreger, at patienten ikke ønsker at forlange ”en tid på fredag”, men måske snarere håber, at lægen kan aflæse behovet via den efterfølgende personlige beskrivelse af patientens livssituation.

4.3. Kontekststikord

I e-konsultationerne ser vi 55 eksempler på kontekststikord bestående af interjektioner og lydord samt emotikoner. Vi ser otte eksempler på interjektioner og lydord. Disse ikke-ord (Ameka 1992) er en form for følelestilkendegivelse eller lydschildring (Hougaard 2013). Disse er henholdsvis ”haha”, ”hummm”, ”Humm”, ”Tsk,tsk”, ”øv øv”, ”åh”, ”nå” og ”Nååhh”⁵. Vi ser det i nedenstående eksempel:

Eksempel 12:

jeg er begyndt at bruge meget mere akut(astma)medicin. Hvilket jeg ikke helt forstår.
Og jeg er stort set lige så blev som i vinter.
Indtil det går op for mig at det er MEGET forskelligt om og hvor meget jeg får i GionaEasyhaler. Mange gange er der intet pulver i dosen når jeg tjekker. Og jeg ryster godt og grundigt og holde den i den rigtige stilling osv. hver gang. hummm?? den sidste jeg brugt havde sammen problem, troede bare det var fordi den var ved at være tom.
mvh Maja

I denne e-konsultation bruges lydordet ”hummm” til at skildre en undrende lyd. Patienten bruger altså en mundtliggørelse i stedet for at beskrive sin undren yderligere. Ligeledes bruger patienten Mikkel interjektionen ”Tsk,tsk”:

Eksempel 13:

Hej Lone
Der er ikke noget krav fra jobcenter eller kommune, men 2-3 timer om dagen vil være realistisk alt efter hvad jeg kan finde. Der er heller ingen krav om hvor mange jobs man SKAL søge. Bare man er aktiv. .
Så du fik ret i at tingene løser sig med tiden Tsk,tsk. . .
Mvh Mikkel

Mikkels brug af ”Tsk,tsk” kunne angive selvbejdelse, hvilket ændrer tonen i beskeden.

En anden meget benyttet måde at beskrive konteksten på er ved at bruge emotikoner (såkaldte smileyer); der er 47 forekomster af forskellige emotikoner (ikke at forveksle med emojis, som systemerne ikke muliggør). Emotikoner kan udformes ved hjælp af tastaturtegn, der sættes sammen til at ligne ansigtsudtryk, og kan have forskellige funktioner; eksempelvis kan de erstatte ansigtsudtryk (Walther 2006; Skovholt, Grønning & Kankaanranta 2014) og fungere som joke- eller ironi-markører (Hougaard 2020). Desuden kan et emotikon bruges opblødende eller forstærkende

⁵ Vi har fraregnet brugen af interjektionerne ”nej” og ”ja”, da vi regner dem som en del af det standardiserede skriftsprog.

(Skovholt, Grønning & Kankaanranta 2014) og som angivelse af, hvordan et udsagn skal forstås (Dresner & Herring 2013, 2010). De emotikoner, patienterne benyttede sig af i vores datamateriale, er henholdsvis:

- :-) og :)
- :/
- ;) og ;-)
- :-(, :(og :-((

Emotikoner benyttes ofte til at understrege det, der allerede er skrevet med ord (Yus 2011). Det ses i følgende eksempel skrevet af patienten Lotte:

Eksempel 14:

Har rigtig meget ondt i hænderne og har nu her i weekenden så også forstuvet venstre håndled..:(..

Patienten beskriver her smerter i hænderne efterfulgt af et emotikon, der skal illudere et ansigtsudtryk med nedadvendte mundvige. Både den verbale kommunikation og emotikonet udtrykker således noget negativt, men sidstnævnte angiver, at patienten er trist eller ked af det. På den måde understreger emotikonet hele situationens alvor og måske endda patientens følelse af opgivelse eller håbløshed.

Modsat kan emotikoner dog også bruges til at ændre budskabet ved f.eks. at modsige den sproglige semantik (Yus 2011):

Eksempel 15:

Hej Claus [læge]. Tak for dit svar på min prøve, hvad er næste step for mig, ser vi tiden an, eller har du flere muligheder for at tage nogle flere prøver undersøgelser for at finde ud af hvad der er problemet ved mig. Jeg har det jo stadig dårligt ikke hver dag men ofte stadig syre utilpashed øverst i maven og højre side driller jo også af og til endnu. Jeg har også igen fået brændende mund tror jeg, har haft det for et par år siden, så det går rigtig godt :-)
Hilsen Frida [patient]

Sætningen ”så det går rigtig godt” afsluttes med et emotikon, der efterligner et ’smilende’ ansigt, hvorved patienten understreger sin afsluttende ironiske pointe.

4.4. Ortografisk variation: Lydforkortelser og lydforlængelser

Der er i vores korpus adskillige forekomster af forskellige former for forkortning, også kaldet ”verbale kortformer” (Rathje 2015) eller ”clipping” (White 2014). Det gør sig eksempelvis gældende ved at stave ordene ”gav” som ”ga”, ”tage” som ”ta”, ”tager” som ”tar”, ”god” som ”GO”, ”kan” som ”ka”, ”have” som ”ha” eller ”ha”, ”bare” som ”bar”, ”ikke” som ”ikk” eller ”ik” og ”kunne” som ”ku”. Der forekommer et eksempel i nedenstående e-konsultation, hvor infinitivformen af verbet ”have” staves ”ha”:

Eksempel 16:

Jeg søger om et flexjob, da ryggen ikke kan mere. Jobcentret vil gerne ha’ en status, men vi skal vel lige snakke.

Derudover ser vi det i denne e-konsultation, hvor patienten Sara bruger stavningen ”ik” i stedet for

”ikke”:

Eksempel 17:

jeg har det meget bedre, men slet ik som jeg burde :/

Således er der i disse tilfælde tale om ord, der staves på én måde, men ofte udtales anderledes. Patienterne mundtliggør således den skriftlige kommunikation netop ved at benytte stavemåder, der nøje afspejler udtalen. Det skaber en mindre formel kommunikation fra patient til læge.

I materialet har vi også fundet et eksempel på, at patienten Marlene reproducerer et ord, sådan som det havde været udtalt mundtligt:

Eksempel 18:

Hej En lille hilsen tilbage fra Laura Finker... Nååhh lille Claus, og så grinte hun

”Nååhh” er skrevet på en ikke-standardiseret måde for at gengive udtalen og prosodien (f.eks. tonehøjde og rytme). Bogstavgentagelserne lader til at skulle illudere en forlængelse af vokallydene. Som det gør sig gældende i eksemplerne ovenover, er der her formodentlig tale om en stavemåde, som er bevidst afvigende fra standarden, da mundtliggørelsen af det skriftlige sprog her prioriteres over korrekt stavning. Igen er der altså tale om, at kommunikationen mundtliggøres, idet patienten vælger at forsøge at efterligne en mundtlig situation. Ved at illudere en forlængelse af vokallydene er patienten, ligesom i eksemplet med lydforkortelser, med til at gøre kommunikationen med lægen mindre formel.

5. Diskussion

Når kommunikationen mellem læge og patient bliver skriftlig, forsvinder en del af detaljegraden i, hvilken information patienten har mulighed for at transmittere om sin krop, sundhed, sygdom og lignende. I vores analyse ser vi patienter med behov for at udtrykke følelser såsom irritation, frustration, sorg eller glæde overfor deres læge benytte sig af strategier, der går ud over det standardiserede skriftsprog, omend de kun har et almindeligt tastatur til rådighed. I ovenstående analyse fandt vi således eksempler på, at patienter formår at udtrykke en emotionel tilstand. Det gør de på forskellige måder; ved brug af afvigelser, alternativ tegnbrug, kontekststikord og ortografisk variation kan vi se, at patienter blandt andet udtrykker humor, betoner emotionel tilstand og er med til at skabe en uformel tone med lægen. Patienterne indsætter f.eks. emotikoner og bruger versaler, udråbstegn og spørgsmålstegn på kreative måder for at udtrykke en bestemt tone. En sådan ekspressivitet kræver i det skriftlige medie, at patienter gør en indsats, der er semiotisk anderledes end i det fysiske møde med lægen. Netop det, at disse ting skal udtrykkes i et skriftligt digitalt medie, viser, at e-konsultationsplatformen stiller nye krav til patienters skriftlige kompetencer og skriftlige kreativitet.

I analysen så vi en lang række *afvigelser* i patienternes sprog. Afvigelser kan være med til at gøre tonen imellem læge og patient mere uformel (Carey 1980), da de viser, at kommunikationen ikke opleves så normpræget, at patienterne ser det som en nødvendighed at læse korrektur og følge standardsproget i alle tilfælde. Derudover kan det vise, hvordan patienter finder kreative måder at holde sig inden for det begrænsede e-konsultationsformat på, som vi f.eks. så med patienternes egenopfundne forkortelser. Dette peger således på, at brugen af e-konsultationer også for patienterne kan være præget af hast og effektivitet. Afvigelser kan dog også være udtryk for, at nogle digitale patienter bliver skriftligt mere begrænset end andre. Det ser vi eksempelvis i og med de krav – og for nogen udfordringer – der følger med e-konsultationsformatet, da nogle patienter kan have svært ved at skrive korrekt og forståeligt. At e-konsultationen stiller nye krav til, hvordan patienter kan og skal udtrykke sig, er i sig selv ikke usædvanligt: Når nye medier introduceres og implementeres i sundhedsvæsenet,

følger nye forventninger og krav til, hvad både patienter og læger skal kunne (Norman & Skinner 2006). Når nye digitale teknologier implementeres, følger ofte en forventning om, at de involverede brugere er i stand til at anvende de digitale medier og dermed bidrage til at løse sundhedsproblemer, hvilket også er tilfældet med e-konsultationens digitale, skriftlige format. I nogle af de analyserede e-konsultationer fremstår enkelte patienters skriftlige kompetence dog som lav. Vi så eksempler på beskeder med en høj grad af afvigelser, der samlet gjorde teksten usammenhængende, var meningsforstyrrende og besværliggjorde læsningen. Man kan således ikke forvente, at patienter nødvendigvis formulerer sig godt og forståeligt og dermed effektivt, blot fordi de får muligheden for at konsultere via en skriftlig, digital platform. Patienter er altså ikke lige godt stillede mht. til muligheden for at benytte denne måde at kommunikere på, hvilket især gælder patienter med lav sundhedskompetence (*health literacy*). Derudover skal den kommunikationsevne, patienter bruger i mundtlige konsultationer, oversættes til en ny skriftlig praksis. F.eks. er det velkendt, at såvel patienter som læger gør brug af både verbal og nonverbal kommunikation for at udtrykke sig i det mundtlige møde (Mast 2007; Friedman 1979).

Som tilfældet var med afvigelser, kan patienter ved *alternativ tegnbrug*, *kontekststikord* og *ortografisk variation* ligeledes gøre kommunikationen og dermed relationen med lægen mere uformel. Men hvor afvigelser kan afspejle, at e-konsultationen giver nogle patienter skriftsproglige udfordringer, er gentagen brug af *spørgsmålstejn*, brug af *udråbstegn*, af gentagne *punktummer*, af *versaler*, *lydord* og *emotikoner*, samt brug af *lydforlængelser* og *lydforkortelser* en mere kreativ og sandsynligvis bevidst måde, hvorpå man kan give udtryk for noget af det, der ellers ikke kommer til udtryk i det skriftlige digitale medie (Yus 2011). At patienterne benytter sig af sprogbrug, der går udover standardskriftsproget, tyder på, at de i nogle tilfælde ønsker at tilkendegive mere end blot det, de kan udtrykke igennem standardskriftsproget; de kan eksempelvis ønske at markere en vis form for intensitet i beskeden, f.eks. desperation eller vigtigheden af den besked, de vil formidle til lægen. Den digitale patient er således ikke udelukkende en faktaorienteret person, der udtrykker ”enkle, konkrete forespørgsler” til lægen, som mediet ellers foreskriver (PLO 2022b), men en patient, der også kan og vil udtrykke en emotionel tilstand. Dette underbygges af andre studier, som viser, at både læger og patienter bryder den norm om enkelthed og om kommunikation bestående af én tur, som fremsættes i de officielle beskrivelser af e-konsultationen (PLO 2022b). I stedet stiller de flere spørgsmål til hinanden, har længere udvekslinger bestående af flere ture og kommunikerer om komplekse emotionelle og psykosociale problemstillinger (Møller, Fage-Butler & Nisbeth Brøgger 2021).

5.1. Implikationer for praksis

Vores studie viser, at læger bør forvente mere end blot enkle, konkrete beskeder, som egentlig er det, e-konsultationen er tiltænkt: Patienterne forsøger eksempelvis at udtrykke emotionel tilstand og kommunikere relationelt, bl.a. gennem informalitet. Hvad angår sprogstærke patienter, vil vi argumentere for, at læger vil kunne læse mere ekspressivitet ud af e-konsultationsformatet, end hvad tidligere forskning viser, de forventer (Assing Hvidt et al. 2020). Desuden kan læger med fordel forsøge i hvert fald delvist at tilpasse deres kommunikation til patienternes sprogbrug, hvilket vi i tidligere forskning har påvist, at de ikke gør i lige så høj grad som patienterne (Nordtug et al. 2021). Der ligger et uforløst potentiale i at udtrykke noget ekspressivt på skrift bl.a. ved brug af kontekststikord, såsom emotikoner og alternativ tegnbrug. Dog er patientens og lægens roller forskellige i denne kommunikationssituation, hvorfor nogle af de former for alternativ sprogbrug, som anvendes af patienterne, ikke nødvendigvis er hensigtsmæssige for lægen at kopiere. Et tidligere studie fra USA har bl.a. vist, at nogle patienter finder praktiserende lægers grammatiske fejl i e-mails til patienter foruroligende (Schiller et al. 2013).

6. Konklusion

I et digitaliseret samfund kommer læger i kontakt med patienter på forskellige måder. I denne artikel

har vi haft særligt fokus på digitale patienter, der henvender sig skriftligt til lægen, og på hvordan disse patienter kommunikerer, fordi tidligere forskning har argumenteret for, at skriftliggørelsen kan begrænse lægens fortolkningsmuligheder og dermed læge-patient-kommunikationen. Især har vi undersøgt, hvordan patienter gør brug af sprog, der adskiller sig fra standardskriftsprog for at udtrykke det, skriftsproget ikke nødvendigvis rummer, såsom emotionel tilstand, toneleje og formalitetsgrad. I analysen så vi, hvordan patienter anvendte flere forskellige strategier til at adskille deres sprogbrug fra standardskriftsproget. Specifikt så vi, at patienterne benyttede sig af *afvigelse*, *alternativ tegnbrug*, *kontekststikord* og *ortografisk variation*. De forskellige former for ikke-standard skriftsprog afspejler både, at nogle patienter ønsker en uformel tone med deres læge, og at nogle patienter har skriftlige udfordringer med e-konsultationsplatformen, samt at de ønsker at udtrykke mere end, hvad standardskriftsproget typisk tilbyder.

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Patienters sprogbrug i e-konsultationer med deres praktiserende læge: Hvordan kommunikerer patienter relationel og emotionel information?

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Abstract: In Denmark, the e-mail consultation has been an important part of general practice for more than a decade. This consultation format has several advantages, but general practitioners have been concerned that they cannot, for example, interpret patients' emotional state through the written medium. In this article, we examine what characterizes those parts of patients' language use in e-mail consultations that deviate from standard written language. The background is the importance of understanding how digital patients communicate in writing, and what possibilities they have of expressing themselves. Based on 646 e-mail consultations from 38 patients from four Danish general practitioners' offices, we have analyzed the linguistic devices which deviate from standard written language. Our purpose is to characterize the patients' use of language, including deviations, alternative sign use, context keywords, and orthographic variation. We argue that patients' use of these forms makes it possible to communicate relational and emotional information which in a face-to-face meeting would typically be communicated non-verbally. In addition, this language use creates an informal tone with their general practitioner. Our analyses reflect how the e-mail consultation format places new demands on patients, who must be able to express themselves in writing, but who also have to be creative with their keyboard use if they want to express something that is not normally communicated in writing.

Keywords: E-konsultation, almen praksis, patientkommunikation, nonverbal, skriftsprog.

1. Introduktion

Patienter er i dag også digitale patienter. Den digitale patient er anderledes end den fysiske patient, idet den digitale patients krop transmitteres igennem teknologi, hvad end det er igennem et begrænset videoformat, der kun viser de dele af patienten, denne vælger at vise (Jepsen et al. 2022), eller det er igennem et skriftligt medie, hvor patienten eksempelvis beskriver, hvordan noget på kroppen ser ud (Klausen & Grønning 2021). Den digitale patientkrop kan således i formater som disse være mindre detaljeret, da lægerne ikke ser de ting, patienterne enten ikke kan eller vil kommunikere igennem digital teknologi (Nordtug et al. 2022). Fordi den digitale patient er anderledes end den fysiske patient, kan det forventes, at patienten også gestalter patientrollen på en anden måde. Den danske digitale patient kommunikerer især med sin læge igennem e-konsultationen (også kaldet e-mailkonsultation); i 2021 var 22 % af alle konsultationer i almen praksis e-konsultationer (PLO 2022a). Siden 2009 har det været et lovkrav, at alle patienter i Danmark skal have mulighed for at kommunikere med deres praktiserende læge via e-konsultationer. E-konsultationer har dermed i løbet af det sidste årti forandret, hvad det vil sige at gå til lægen (Grønning & Assing Hvidt 2021).

Når en stor del af kommunikationen flyttes fra det analoge møde, der foregår ansigt til ansigt, til et skriftligt digitalt medie, opstår der nye patient-læge-kommunikationssituationer, som vi ved meget lidt om rent sprogligt. Størstedelen af den internationale forskning i e-konsultationer har nemlig fokuseret på lægers og patienters holdninger til og erfaringer med e-konsultationer (Antoun 2016; Banks et al. 2018; Mold et al. 2019). Patienterne er generelt positive (Grønning et al. 2020; Fage-Butler & Nisbeth Jensen 2015), bl.a. pga. større fleksibilitet og øget tilgængelighed, hvad angår kontakten med deres læge, idet de kan henvende sig når som helst, og har direkte adgang til lægen uden om bestillingssystemerne og lægesekretæren (Grønning et al. 2020). Desuden muliggør e-konsultationsmediet mere detaljerede og reflekterede udvekslinger, hvor patienten har mulighed for

at skrive kladder samt vende tilbage til tidligere udvekslinger (Grønning et al. 2020). Også lægerne ser fordele ved e-konsultationen; bl.a. fordi de har mulighed for at svare, når det passer dem (i den danske kontekst dog inden for fem hverdage; PLO 2022c; Grønning et al. 2020). Nogle læger er imidlertid mere tilbageholdende bl.a. på grund af arbejdsbyrden, og fordi de er nervøse for, at kommunikationen bliver til en længere chatudveksling, som fastholder lægen i mailboksen og dermed tager tid fra andre centrale opgaver (Grønning et al. 2020; Assing Hvidt et al. 2020). Desuden giver lægerne udtryk for, at i modsætning til mødet med patienten ansigt til ansigt i den fysiske konsultation, så giver e-konsultationen dem ikke mulighed for at "observe patients' emotionally charged body language or nonverbal cues, aiding the clinical interpretation of symptoms, signs and their meanings" (Assing Hvidt et al. 2020: 417), og at e-konsultationen derfor kan være svær at fortolke. Lægerne er således bekymrede for at overse noget pga. den begrænsede mulighed for at aflæse patientens følelsesladede kropssprog og nonverbale signaler i den skriftlige e-konsultation (Assing Hvidt et al. 2020). Kun få studier (Laursen et al. 2021; Grønning et al. 2020; Nordtug et al. 2021) har undersøgt e-konsultationens sproglige og tekstuelle dimensioner, selvom disse kan være særligt interessante, da e-konsultationsplatformen giver patienter muligheden for at sætte dagsordenen i konsultationssituationen (Nordtug, Nisbeth Brøgger & Møller 2021), idet langt størstedelen af e-konsultationer er patient-initierede (Grønning et al. 2020). Dette er også en uvant situation for patienter, som i e-konsultationen skal præsentere hele problemstillingen i én tur; en problemstilling der sædvanligvis udforskes og etableres via dialog mellem patienten og lægen under den mundtlige konsultation. Retningslinjerne for brug af e-konsultation er vage ("enkle, konkrete forespørgsler af ikke-hastende karakter, som ikke kræver supplerende spørgsmål fra lægens side"; PLO 2022b), og det er derfor overladt til patienten selv at finde ud af denne genres form og indhold. Patienterne er dermed med til at skabe genren og må foretage valg om, hvilke emner der er relevante, hvordan teksten skal opbygges, og hvilken sprogbrug der skal anvendes. Laursen et al. (2021) har netop undersøgt patienters opbygning af e-konsultationen ved at analysere den genremæssige trækstruktur i 137 e-konsultationer og fandt syv mulige træk: emne, åbning, opdatering, præsentation af problem, anmodning, argumentation og afslutning. Der var dog stor variation i, hvor mange af disse træk patienterne brugte, og ingen af trækkene var obligatoriske. Nordtug et al. (2021)¹ har undersøgt, hvordan 22 praktiserende læger i 633 e-konsultationer brugte nonverbale cues, såsom emotikoner og kreativ brug af typografi. Studiet konkluderer, at disse lægers e-konsultationer indeholder en stor mængde stavfejl og mangel på stort begyndelsesbogstav, mens andre nonverbale cues, såsom emotikoner og kreativ brug af typografi er meget sjældne.

Som nævnt ovenfor er det overladt til patienterne selv at finde ud af de genremæssige krav til deres e-konsultationer; dog ved vi meget lidt om deres sproglige strategier (se Klausen & Grønning 2021; Laursen et al. 2021, der er nævnt ovenfor for eksempler på studier, der berører dette). Så vidt vi ved, foreligger der ingen undersøgelser af de sproglige karakteristika ved patienters e-konsultationer. Derfor er formålet med denne artikel at undersøge, hvordan patienter udtrykker sig sprogligt i e-konsultationen. Vores mere specifikke fokus vedrører, hvordan patienter kan udtrykke deres følelser og kompensere for de nonverbale signaler, som de har mulighed for at anvende i den mundtlige kommunikation, der foregår ansigt til ansigt, og som lægerne ifølge forskningen efterspørger i e-konsultationen for bedre at kunne tolke og forstå patienternes symptomer og problemstillinger (Assing Hvidt et al. 2020: 417). Derfor stiller vi følgende forskningsspørgsmål: Med hvilke sproglige midler, der afviger fra den standardsproglige brug af skriftsproget, kommunikerer patienter relationel og emotionel information i e-konsultationen?

1.2. E-konsultationens kontekst

I en dansk kontekst er e-konsultationen en asynkron, tovejs kommunikationsform, som foregår

¹ Dette studie fra 2021 anvender samme datasæt som denne artikel, dog i 2021 med fokus på lægernes kommunikation.

gennem krypterede systemer. Beskederne bliver automatisk en del af patientens journal. De fleste systemer har en begrænsning på 500 tegn for patientens e-konsultation, og systemet har ikke samme formateringsfunktioner som en almindelig e-mail. Det er f.eks. ikke muligt at bruge kursiv, understregning og emojis. Patienten kan skrive til lægen når som helst, enten gennem en indgang på lægens hjemmeside eller via appen "Min læge". Lægen har pligt til at svare inden for fem hverdage (PLO 2022b) og honoreres med DKK 46,47 per e-konsultationssvar (PLO 2022b). Patienterne kan vælge, hvilken læge de vil skrive til, og i nogle lægehuse kan patienten vælge "alle læger", hvad der giver patienten mulighed for hurtigere svar. Ifølge overenskomst om almen praksis skal e-konsultationer bruges til "enkle, konkrete forespørgsler af ikke-hastende karakter, som ikke kræver supplerende spørgsmål fra lægens side" (PLO 2022b), hvilket vil sige, at idealet er én e-konsultation fra patienten og ét svar fra lægen. E-konsultationen er en professionel kommunikationssituation, idet lægen kommunikerer i kraft af sin profession, men samtidig også en meget privat kommunikationssituation, idet den anden kommunikationspart, patienten, skriver som privatperson om meget personlige og/eller private emner.

2. Teoretisk ramme

Produktionsvilkårene for tale og skrift er vidt forskellige, og der har længe hersket en vis uenighed om, hvordan online skriftsprog skal kategoriseres; som hybrid (Hougaard 2004), "computer-mediated discourse" (Herring 2004), "netspeak" (Crystal 2011), "social media discourse" (Androustopoulos 2006), "digital discourse" (Thurlow & Mroczek 2011), "online talk" (Paulus, Warren & Lester 2016) eller "conversation-like" (Herring 2010). Det kan diskuteres, hvordan man skal tage højde for de forskelligartede produktionsvilkår i analysen af data, men ofte har forskerne fokuseret på lighedspunkterne mellem onlineinteraktion og mundtlig samtale (Jensen 2014), idet de har anvendt interaktionelle begreber som turtagning, turdesign og turpar (Paulus, Warren & Lester 2016) og mundtlighedsorienterede begreber som udtale, tavshed og *oral stylisation* (Giles et al. 2015; White 2015).

Ifølge *media richness*-teorien er det skriftlige medium forbundet med et mere begrænset udtrykspotentialer, fordi skriften normalt ikke gengiver visuelle sociale tegn som gestikulation og mimik (Daft & Lengel 1984). Derfor mangler den type socioemotional og relationel information, man normalt kommunikerer via det nonverbale og paralingvistiske, dvs. gestik, mimik og stemmeføring, som udgangspunkt i skriftlig onlineinteraktion. Allerede tidligt begyndte brugerne af f.eks. e-mail og chat at skabe nye måder at kompensere tekstligt for disse mangler på (Baron 1984; Cherny 1999; Herring 1999, 2001). De "kompenserende" funktioner var f.eks. emotikoner, forskellige grafiske elementer, gentagelser, sletninger og performative handlingsord som f.eks. *vinker* (Hougaard 2004). Ifølge Herring et al. kan disse "be interpreted as replacing paralinguistic and nonverbal cues that are absent from the written repertoire" (Herring, Stein & Virtanen 2013: 8).

For at undersøge patienternes kommunikation i e-konsultationer generelt og med særligt henblik på, hvordan de kommunikerer relationel og emotionel information, anvender vi således et analytisk begrebsapparat, der dels er baseret på den forskning, der fremhæver lighederne mellem online interaktion og mundtlig kommunikation, dels på undersøgelser der arbejder med tekster fra "unregulated spaces" (Sebba 2007), hvor tekstproduktionen ikke direkte er underlagt standardskriftsprognormen (Rathje 2013). Det analytiske begrebsapparat er således inspireret af henholdsvis Carey (1980), Yus (2011), Hougaard og Balleby (2019), Berthelsen et al. (2019) og Nordtug et al. (2021); studier, der alle beskæftiger sig med computer-medieret kommunikation. Baseret på analyser af computer-medieret kommunikation beskrev Carey (1980) i 1980'erne forskellige paralingvistiske virkemidler og såkaldte minus-detajler, såsom ikke-rettede stavfejl (Carey 1980). Årtier senere foreslog Yus (2011) at omtale disse virkemidler som *oralizations*, altså skriftlig tekst, der forsøger at illudere egenskaber, som kendes fra mundtlig interaktion.

Baseret på en induktiv tilgang til materialet har vi fundet fire typer af sprogbrug, der på

forskellig vis adskiller sig fra en standardsproglig brug af skriftsproget. I stil med Berthelsen et al. (2019) betragter vi fundene som meningsfulde skriftlige praksisser, der ”er konsistente og i større eller mindre omfang konventionaliserede praksisformer der kan beskrives inden for rammerne af en funktionelt orienteret grammatik” (Berthelsen et al. 2019: 96) og dermed som medialektale træk. Det betyder, at vores fokus ikke ligger på forkert eller fejlbehæftet sprogbrug. Når vi i vores optælling alligevel også har medregnet eksempler på det, man i reglen betegner som fejl eller afvigelser fra retskrivningsnormen, er det med henblik på at lave en fuldstændig² beskrivelse af materialet. Fejlene kan også være betydningsbærende, da afvigelser ifølge Carey (1980) kan indikere en afslappet tone mellem dem, der kommunikerer. Afvigelser kan således give udtryk for mere end blot fejlbehæftet sprogbrug. Ligeledes vil vi argumentere for, at eksemplerne kan vise, hvordan den digitale patient, der henvender sig skriftligt til lægen, kommer til udtryk.

I tabel 1 ses en oversigt over, hvilke typer af alternativ sprogbrug der findes i materialet. Efter tabellen gennemgås begreberne, og eksempler på de forskellige kategorier analyseres.

Tabel 1: Forskellige former for alternativ sprogbrug i e-konsultationer

Kategori	Type	Eksempler
Afvigelser	Stave- og slåfejl	blodtryk; kontrolscann8ng
	Manglende slutpunktum	håber I kan finde en tid til mig
	Manglende slutspørgsmålstegn	Kan den forlænges
	Fejl ved store/små bogstaver	Hej henrik
Alternativ tegnbrug	Udråbstegn	Hjælp!!!
	Versaler	MEGET
	Gentagne spørgsmålstegn	mener de er stærkere???
	Tøveprikker	især om natten...
Kontekststikord	Lyddord og interjektioner	Haha, Humm
	Emotikoner	:-)
Ortografisk variation (lydefterligning)	Lydforlængelser	Nååhh ³
	Lydforkortelser	så jeg ikk skal tænke på det her

Under kategorien ”afvigelser” opererer vi med fire typer, henholdsvis stave- og slåfejl, manglende slutpunktum, manglende slutspørgsmålstegn og fejl ved store/små bogstaver. Forskellen på stavefejl og slåfejl er i overensstemmelse med den udbredte opfattelse, at fejl kan være tilfældige og f.eks. bero på, at man rammer forkerte taster (jf. Rathje 2013), heraf navnet slåfejl, mens stavefejl her forstås som de staveafvigelser, som sprogbrugeren sandsynligvis ikke ville være i stand til at rette. Rathjes skelnen mellem bevidst og ubevidst (2013) er fravalgt mhp. at åbne for den fortolkningsmulighed, at sprogbrugerne med vilje undlader at rette en stavefejl, hvad der senere vil blive uddybet.

Under kategorien ”alternativ tegnbrug” indregnes brug af *versaler* samt anderledes brug af tre typer af interpunktionstegn, nemlig gentagelse af et punktum eller et spørgsmålstegn samt brugen af et udråbstegn en eller flere gange. Ligesom det må antages at være en bevidst handling, når man vælger at skrive et helt ord med versaler, er disse tegngentagelser ofte beskrevet som en del af netsproget (Androutsopoulos 2018; Crystal 2006).

² Til forskel fra opgørelser som f.eks. Rathje (2013) har vi fravalgt følgende ”afvigelsestyper”: manglende apostrof, komma, forkortelsespunktum, anførselstegn og bindestreg, fordi det ikke er meningen at lave en oversigt over fejl og mangler i sprogbugen i materialet; og specificeringsgraden af de enkelte afvigelsestyper er relativt lav, da det ikke har været hensigten med undersøgelsen at gå i dybden med dette. Desuden har vi ikke inkluderet fejl i syntaks eller hilsner uden afsnitsinddeling til resten af beskeden.

³ Eksempler så som ”Nååhh” og ”Humm” regnes her både som interjektioner og som lydforlængelser.

Kategorien ”kontekststikord” omfatter ord eller tegn, der giver en yderligere situativ bestemmelse, dvs. ord eller tegn der er bestemt af eller for situationen i stil med begrebet ”contextualization cues”, dvs. ”any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions” (Gumperz 1982: 131). I vores materiale har vi samlet brugen af emotikoner samt lydord og interjektioner under denne kategori, fordi alle tre typer ofte bruges som en form for følelestilkendegivelse og dermed er med til at angive noget relationelt og nonverbalt.

Sidste kategori ”ortografisk variation” omfatter det, som oftest er blevet fremhævet som kendetegnende for netsproget, nemlig alternative staveformer (Hougaard 2004; Crystal 2006; Hougaard 2014; Reid 1991; Herring 1999; Werry 1996), der gennem de sidste 25 år har været mere eller mindre kodificeret, som f.eks. leet-speak (Rotne 2009; Danet 1998). I materialet forekommer dog kun to former for alternativ stavning, der overordnet kan kaldes lydforkortelse og lydforlængelse. Begge kan ses som forsøg på lydefterligning (se mere nedenfor).

3. Metode

3.1. Dataindsamling

Vi indsamlede e-konsultationer fra fire danske lægehuse i Region Midtjylland i 2018 og 2019. Vi bad fire praktiserende læger fra hvert lægehus om alle e-konsultationer fra ti patienter hver. De blev bedt om at udvælge patienter, hvis e-konsultationer havde noget indhold, dvs. ikke kun var receptfornyelser. Vi informerede alle læger om tavshedspligt, og de underskrev en samtykkeerklæring. Alle involverede patienter blev informeret om projektet af deres læge via e-konsultation og afgav skriftligt samtykke. Et dansk studie har diskuteret fordele og ulemper ved forskellige tilgange til data management, når e-konsultationer bruges om empirisk materiale (Laursen, Simonsen & Grønning 2022). Vi anvendte følgende tilgang: Alle fire lægehuse printede e-konsultationerne fra patientjournalerne, og de blev overdraget ved fysiske møder. Disse ikke-digitale e-konsultationer havde derfor samme format som de oprindelige digitale med alle originaldata såsom navn, CPR-nummer, dato, etc. Alle e-konsultationer blev derefter indskrevet ordret, dvs. vi inkluderede alle slåfejl, opsætningsfejl etc., og desuden anonymiseret. I alt modtog vi 1279 e-konsultationer fra 38 patienter. Vi valgte at fokusere på patienternes e-konsultationer fra perioden 2015 til 2019, i alt 646. De pågældende patienters alder var i 2019, som er det seneste skrivetidspunkt, mellem 21 og 91 år, og de havde i e-konsultationerne kommunikeret med i alt 22 praktiserende læger, 5 sygeplejersker og 3 lægesekretærer.

Tabel 2: Overblik over patienter

Alder i 2019	Mand	Kvinde	Total
20–30	0	4	4
31–40	1	2	3
41–50	1	5	6
51–60	4	7	11
61–70	4	2	6
71–80	2	3	5
81+	2	1	3
Total	14	24	38

3.2. Analyse af empiri

I analysen af, hvilke relationelle og emotionelle virkemidler patienter bruger i e-konsultationen, har vi kodet efter de forskellige kategorier, der blev præsenteret i tabel 1. Vi kodede e-konsultationerne i det computer-assisterede kvalitative datalysesoftware NVivo. Artiklens førsteforfatter (MN) udførte den første runde kodning af alle data i NVivo, hvorefter forfattergruppen gennemgik koderne, diskuterede usikkerheder og foretog justeringer. Usikkerhederne opstod eksempelvis i kodningen af afvigelser, da det ikke altid var tydeligt, hvad afvigelsen skyldtes. Et eksempel her var i sætningen ”Har også en underlig mærkelig fornemmelse i min ende (tarm) nærmest konstant, som om der sidder noget..” som gav anledning til usikkerhed om, hvorvidt der skulle kodes for fejl i sammensatte navneord, eller om patienten ønskede at specificere hvilken del af ”enden”, der var tale om. Et andet eksempel var diskussion af fejl ved store/små bogstaver ifm. præparatnavne.

Vores kodningspraksis har betydet, at vi kun har kodet én gang per forekomst. Det vil sige, at hvis en sætning eksempelvis indeholdt flere afvigelser, har vi kodet alle afvigelser i den sætning, dog med det forbehold, at vi kun har kodet for hver underkategori én gang per ord (så hvis ét ord eksempelvis indeholdte to stavefejl, er det ord kun blevet kodet som stavefejl én gang).

4. Analyse

Den kvalitative kodning har givet os overblik over, hvor mange gange de forskellige former bruges i de patient-skrevne e-konsultationer. Disse har vi givet et overblik over i tabel 3.

Tabel 3: Oversigt over patienters brug af forskellige former for alternativ sprogbrug i e-konsultationer og disse formers hyppighed

Type	Antal
1. Afvigelser	
1.1. Stave- og slåfejl	534
1.2. Manglende slutpunktum	147
1.3. Manglende slutspørgsmålstegn	164
1.4. Ukorrekt brug af store og små bogstaver	564
2. Alternativ tegnbrug	
2.1. Udråbstegn	44
2.2. Versaler	30
2.3. Gentagne spørgsmålstegn	52
2.4. Tøveprikker	85
3. Kontekststikord	
3.1. Lydord og interjektioner	8
3.2. Emotikoner	47
4. Ortografisk variation	
4.1. Lydforkortelser	28
4.2. Lydforlængelser	3

4.1. Afvigelser

I kodningen ser vi 1409 tilfælde af afvigelser. Vi har opdelt de forskellige afvigelser i fire overordnede kategorier, henholdsvis *stave- og slåfejl*, *manglende slutpunktum*, *manglende slutspørgsmålstegn* og *ukorrekt brug af store og små bogstaver*.

Som det første har vi identificeret stave- og slåfejl. Disse omfatter særskrivning af sammensatte navneord i modsætning til den ortografisk korrekte sammenskrivning (f.eks. ”smerte stillende” og ”kikkert undersøgelsen”), slåfejl (f.eks. ”kontrolscann8ng”) og stavefejl (f.eks. ”blodtryg”). Det omfatter også ord, hvor vi formoder, at patienten benytter uofficielle forkortelser (f.eks. ”forklar.” i stedet for ”forklaring”; ”blodtryksapp” i stedet for ”blodtryksapparat”; ”mens” i stedet for ”menstruation”). Disse forkortelser giver typisk mening i konteksten, og i et format som e-konsultationen, hvor patienterne har et begrænset antal ord, kan det give mening, at patienterne formulerer sig kreativt og kortest muligt. Vi formoder således ikke, at der er tale om slåfejl, men stavefejl, der er skrevet for at benytte et mindre antal tegn. Derudover omfatter afvigelser også de tilfælde, hvor patienterne udelader et ord (f.eks. mangler der et verbum i denne sætning: ”Jeg har jo altid fået 200 stk da de I denne størrelse.”).

For det andet har vi fundet eksempler på, at patienterne i 147 tilfælde undlader at afslutte en sætning med et punktum. Det gør sig f.eks. gældende i sætningerne ”håber I kan finde en tid til mig” og ”Status er nok jeg er måske nød til og stoppe det arbejde, jeg har i dag, hvis det Ikke bliver bedre”. I disse sætninger er der ingen form for tegnsætningsafslutning.

Tilsvarende har vi for det tredje fundet 164 eksempler på, at patienterne undlader at sætte spørgsmålstegn efter et spørgsmål. Det gør sig eksempelvis gældende i sætningerne ”Den fysioterapi er sen fuld dækket, eller delvis selv betaling” og ”Kan den forlænges”.

For det fjerde har vi fundet eksempler på ukorrekt brug af store og små bogstaver. Det gælder brug af små bogstaver ved navne (f.eks. ”henrik” og ”pinex”), små bogstaver i starten af en sætning (f.eks. ”og går også til psykolog. jeg vil gerne sige”), og brugen af store bogstaver, når de skulle have været små (f.eks. ”jeg måtte tage hjem pga. Stærk hovedpine” og ”en prøve for eventuel Prostata”).

Ovenstående eksempler er blot nogle af de afvigelser, der findes i patienternes e-konsultationer. Det vil altså sige, at der forekommer en række andre fejl, herunder manglende forkortelsespunktum, manglende komma, manglende eller for mange mellemrum og lignende. Vi har i denne artikel valgt ikke at give et fuldstændigt overblik over alle fejltypen, men bruger ovenstående som eksempler på, hvordan der opstår afvigelser i patienternes e-konsultationer. Til en vis grad fortæller afvigelseerne noget om relationen mellem patient og læge. Når de interagerende ikke bruger tid eller energi på at rette slåfejl, kan det fremstå, som om der er en afslappet og uformel tone i kommunikationen mellem læge og patient. Men afvigelseerne kan også være en konsekvens af, at patienterne betragter e-konsultationen som værende i familie med andre online hverdagstekster som f.eks. sms og messengerbeskeder med lav formalitetsgrad. Disse (som også kan være tilfældet med e-konsultationer) produceres ofte på telefonens lille tastatur (med større mulighed for at ramme forkert) og i sammenhænge med en højere grad af intimitet og personligt kendskab. Desuden produceres online hverdagstekster ofte i sammenhænge, hvor den skrivende har begrænset tid og koncentrationsevne og derfor ikke nødvendigvis er grundig med retskrivningen. Afvigelseerne kan sige noget om relationen mellem patient og læge, når det gælder uofficielle forkortelser, idet patienterne formoder, at disse opfundne forkortelser både accepteres og forstås af lægen. Derudover kan de tilfældige fejl, navnlig slåfejl, signalere en uformel tone. De fejl, patienterne ikke nødvendigvis ved, at de skal rette, siger i stedet noget om patienternes kompetencer, hvad angår det at benytte e-konsultationsformatet. Det kan være svært at vurdere, om en afvigelse er en stavefejl eller en slåfejl. Vi vil gå ud fra, at patienten ved, at der ikke skal være et 8-tal i ”kontrolscann8ng”, hvorimod det er mere usikkert, om patienten ’kom til’ at skrive ”blodtryg”, eller om patienten tror, at det er den korrekte stavemåde. Ligeledes formoder vi, at der er tale om en slåfejl, når vi finder eksempler på, at en patient skriver ”ruinprøve” i stedet for ”urinprøve” og beder om ”et stort glad Panodil” i stedet for

et stort *glas*. Mere usikkert er det dog, om en patient, der skriver om sin ”operation” kom til at trykke på p-tasten to gange, eller om patienten tror, det er sådan det staves.

De fleste fejl, vi ser ovenfor, giver ikke nødvendigvis lægen noget problem med at forstå patientens kommunikation. Vi ser dog eksempler på, at patienternes fejl kan skabe forvirring hos lægen, som det eksempelvis gør sig gældende i nedenstående dialog:

Eksempel 1:

[Patients forespørgsel]:

Hej Lone⁴ [læge]

Mange tak for hjælpen idag.

Jeg vil høre om du vil skrive en recept til mig på en s ring.

Jeg fik mere end et vink med en vognstang da jeg ventede på paven- og det var ikke lyset jeg så....

Mvh Lis. [patient]

[Lægens svar]:

Kære Lis [patient]

Jeg er altså ikke helt sikker på hvad du mener. mon det er en estring du gerne vil ave?

Altså en hormonring der ligger fast i skeden?

Nu har jeg bestilt en sådan til dig.

Skriv hvis det er helt forkert forstået eller du gerne vil vide lidt mere.

Mvh. Lone [læge]

I ovenstående samtale beder patienten om en recept på en ”s ring”, hvortil lægen svarer, at hun ikke ved, hvad patienten mener. Lægen foreslår, at patienten muligvis ønsker en ”estring”, og bestiller en sådan til patienten, men tilføjer også at patienten må henvende sig, hvis der er tale om en misforståelse. Selv om patienten tilsyneladende anlægger en lidt humoristisk og ironisk tone i sin besked, anstrenger lægen sig tydeligvis for at tage henvendelsen seriøst og understrege vigtigheden af at fremstå fremkommelig. Lægen affærdiger ikke beskeden som uforståelig. Vi ser et lignende eksempel i samtalen mellem patienten Kirsten og lægen Lone:

Eksempel 2:

[Patientens forespørgsel]:

Bestilte Toilet skal være styrke og antal som sidst

Venlig hilsen

Kirsten Aavad

[Lægens svar]:

Jeg har prøvet at gøre som du beder mig om.

Mvh. Lone

I denne samtale har patienten ikke skrevet et præparat-navn, som vi formoder skulle være ”Toilax”. Patienten har skrevet et helt andet ord (eller også har hendes stavekontrol ændret det indtastede til ”Toilet”), hvilket kan være meningsforstyrrende. Man fornemmer da også en usikkerhed i lægens svar, der skriver, at hun har ”prøvet” at gøre, som hun bliver bedt om.

I analysen ser vi også eksempler på patientbeskeder, der gennemgående er svære at læse. Vi

⁴ Alle navne på patienter og læger er pseudonymer.

har valgt ikke at gengive disse beskeder af etiske hensyn, idet patienterne potentielt vil kunne genkende sig selv og deres e-konsultationer som eksempler på 'meget dårligt sprog'.

4.2. Alternativ tegnbrug: Kreativ brug af grammatiske markører

I analysen af e-konsultationerne ser vi, at patienterne benytter sig af forskellige typer tegnsætningstegn på en måde, der adskiller sig fra standarden, enten ved at tegnet gentages helt op til fire gange, eller ved at tegnet (særligt udråbstegn) bruges mere, end hvad der er standard. Gentagelsen af både spørgsmålstegn og udråbstegn beskrives ofte som en form for intensivering (Androutsopoulos 2018). Vi fandt fire underordnede kategorier af alternativ tegnbrug, henholdsvis *udråbstegn*, *versaler*, *gentagne spørgsmålstegn* og *tøveprikker*.

Udråbstegn bruges til f.eks. at give udtryk for emfase og for, at noget er ment "som udråb, ordrer, opfordringer, ønsker, udtryk for forundring og lign." (sproget.dk N/A). På den måde kan udråbstegnet i sin originale funktion være med til at gøre sproget mere ekspressivt, men der ses også det, som Crystal benævner en inflationær brug af tegnet (Crystal 2015). I vores datamateriale ser vi 41 eksempler på patienters standardbrug af udråbstegn. Nogle gange bruges de i forbindelse med fatisk kommunikation, f.eks. når patienterne skriver "god ferie!" og "god sommer!". Andre gange bliver det brugt i tiltale, hvis patienterne eksempelvis starter en besked til deres læge: "Hej Marie!" og "Hej du!". Andre gange ser vi eksempler på, at patienterne bruger udråbstegn til at give en pointe emfase, som det kan ses i følgende e-konsultation fra patienten Kirsten:

Eksempel 3:

Hej Lone,

Tak for det bestilte medicin. Jeg arbejder fuldtid, og det går rigtigt fint, men kun medicineret! Jeg prøver engang i mellem med en mindre dosering, men så går det ikke!
Jeg booker en tid hos dig, som du skriver. Hilsen Kirsten

I eksemplet gør Kirsten brug af udråbstegn to gange til at understrege, at det kun er, når hun er medicineret, at det går fint at arbejde fuldtid, og at det ikke går, når hun prøver med en mindre dosering. Udråbstegnet bruges altså her til at give udsagnene ekstra intensitet. Det samme gør sig gældende i nedenstående e-konsultation fra patienten Mark, der bruger udråbstegnet i samspil med et spørgsmålstegn:

Eksempel 4:

Hej Thomas

Jeg er også bekymret for bivirkninger af medicinen, da jeg oplevet smerterne i maven og det prække i min venstre arm. jeg tager nu kun en pille om aftenen, så du mener jeg skal op i to piller istedet. Hvor lang tid skal jeg blive ved med at tage medicinen. Skal jeg leve hele livet med den!?

Ang. tiden skal jeg rejse til Tyrkiet fra 05 oct. til 21. oct. så detbvar derfor jeg har valgt at tiden skal være enten før 5. eller 21.

VH Mark

Brugen af et udråbstegn og et spørgsmålstegn sammen giver indtryk af, at spørgsmålet om, hvorvidt patienten skal leve med sin medicin hele livet, er skrevet med en vis desperation 'i stemmen' over et eventuelt bekræftende svar og giver altså spørgsmålet et ekstra ekspressivt særpræg. Tre gange bruger patienterne mere end ét udråbstegn, som i nedenstående eksempel skrevet af patienten Sanne:

Eksempel 5:

Hej Pernille [læge]. Jeg er i ”pille” behandling for skedesvamp. Men det virker ikke, det har aldrig kløet mere end det gør nu. Jeg er virkelig virkelige plaget af det. Den første kur som kun bestod af 1 pille, virkede i over en måned. Jeg har nu spist 2 af pillerne fra den nye kur, over to uger. Men intet resultat. Hjælp!!! Jeg er ved at gå ud af mit gode skind

I dette eksempel sætter patienten tre udråbstegn ved siden af hinanden efter ordet ”Hjælp”. Dette kommer, efter patienten har beskrevet sin frustration over, at en medicinsk behandling ikke har virket, og efterfølges af en udmelding om, at patienten er ved at gå ud af sit gode skind. Med de tre udråbstegn udtrykker patienten emfase og giver forsøgsvis et bud på, hvordan ”hjælp” forestilles udtalt i dette tilfælde for på den måde at understrege og underbygge den frustration, hun forsøger at udtrykke overfor sin læge.

En anden type tegnvariation er patienternes brug af versaler. 30 gange skriver patienterne hele ord med store bogstaver. Versaler kan både bruges til at understrege noget, ændre tonen i en besked, signalere at stemmen ændrer sig, og så kan det bruges til at kommunikere følelser og gøre beskeden mere ekspressiv (Carey 1980; Yus 2011). I seks tilfælde var det f.eks. ordet ”ikke”, som skrives med versaler, som i følgende e-konsultation skrevet af patienten Marlene:

Eksempel 6:

Hej Jeg er gået tør for Contalgin 10 mg 25 stk jeg er blevet opereret og kan IKKE undvære min depot morfin endnu vil du lave en recept

Her bruges de store bogstaver til at give udtryk for et alvorligt behov. Den emfatiske funktion af store bogstaver bruges f.eks. også, når patienten Mads skriver, at noget går ham ”MEGET på”, og når patienten Maja skriver, at hun bliver ”SÅ elendig ved tanken”. I alle disse tilfælde formår patienterne ved hjælp af typografi at mundtliggøre sproget ved netop at gøre det klart, hvordan et ord ville skulle udtales. Desuden er brugen af versaler ortografisk emfase, idet deres grafiske manifestation giver dem blikfangsværdi i forhold til den øvrige tekst. Brugen af versaler som visuelt fremtrædende træk er et anerkendt typografisk virkemiddel (Gjedsted 1965). I nogle tilfælde er funktionen af versalbrug dog tvetydig. Patienten Carsten afslutter f.eks. flere af sine beskeder med at skrive ”På forhånd TAK”. Følger vi ovenstående argumentation, skulle det at skrive hele ordet ”tak” med store bogstaver have til funktion at understrege Carstens taknemmelighed:

Eksempel 7:

Hej Thomas [læge] . Jeg har mandag den 12/11 fået svar på de fleste af de prøver, du sendte mig til den 9/11. Der mangler nogle få blodprøver, men ellers ser alt heldigvis fint ud. Jeg vil dog stadig gerne have en konsultation snarest muligt hos dig, så vi kan finde ud af, om der skal ske en ændring af min medicinering, eller hvad mine symptomer ellers kan skyldes.

Håber, at du som aftalt vil kontakte mig, når du er tilbage igen. På forhånd TAK.

Mvh, Carsten [patient]

Vi kan ikke udelukke, at det for Carstens vedkommende er blevet en del af hans hilse-rutine, og dermed at denne brug af store bogstaver ikke længere (eller i reduceret grad) udtrykker emfase i forhold til dele af indholdet.

Endvidere er der 52 forekomster af gentagne spørgsmålstegn. I disse tilfælde skriver patienterne to, tre eller fire spørgsmålstegn lige efter hinanden. Et eksempel på dette ser vi i e-

konsultationen skrevet af patienten Jytte:

Eksempel 8:

Jeg har tidligere fået røntgen fotograferet mit knæ, uden bemærkninger . Har været ved fys. I hornslet to gange, hvad har gjort at smerterne er meget værre og næsten ikke til at holde ud. Er stoppet ved fys, da det ikke er til gavn. Morten fys. Sagde det muligvis var menisken der vAr blevet skadet. Jeg ved ikke hvad jeg skal stille op????

I denne e-konsultation er de gentagne spørgsmålstejn sat, efter patienten har beskrevet sin fortvivlelse over sin sundhedssituation. De er således med til at understrege patientens desperation i sin søgen på svar på, hvad hun skal stille op; de mange spørgsmålstejn er med til at understrege tonen i sætningen. I andre tilfælde er den kommunikative funktion af tegngentagelsen dog tvetydig. Det gør sig f.eks. gældende i følgende eksempel:

Eksempel 9:

super hvor meget skal jeg ta så mener de er stærkere ??? bestiller du dem så
Har kun tablettet til, til og med søndag
Marlene

I Marlenes besked er der sat tre spørgsmålstejn efter et spørgsmål angående dosering, og her kan de angive, at patienten er imødekommende over for, om lægen er af en anden opfattelse angående præparatets styrke. Spørgsmålstejnene kan dermed ses som en understregning af, at patienten godt er klar over, at hun antager noget, der faktisk kan vise sig at være forkert. Spørgsmålene kommer dermed (sammen med verbet ”mener”) til at angive og understrege patientens tvivl.

Sluttelig har vi fundet hele 85 eksempler på, at patienterne skriver flere punktummer i streg, også kaldet tøveprikker eller udeladelsesprikker. Gentagne punktummer kan have flere funktioner: De kan både repræsentere implicit information, de kan repræsentere en længere pause (Yus 2011; Carey 1980), og de kan angive at noget er uafsluttet (Androutopoulos 2018) eller uafklaret (Hougaard 2004). De skaber altså en fysisk pause i teksten. At tøveprikker kan repræsentere implicit information eller pause, ser vi i følgende eksempel skrevet af patienten Maja:

Eksempel 10:

Hej Claus [læge], de virker noget, jeg sover til mellem 03 og 05 - enkelte gange længere.

Nogen gange virker det at stå op og læse - nogen gange ikke. Der er 7 tilbage....

Måske er det værste at jeg ikke kan se nogen ende på problemet... Når jeg beslutter mig for, at uanset hvad, så skal jeg væk fra den kollega, så sover jeg bedre, men tilgængæld så bliver jeg bare SÅ elendig ved tanken. For hvad så? Næste nat sover jeg elendig fordi jeg alligevel håber, og den tror kroppen/hjernen ikke på!

Patienten benytter sig her to gange af tøveprikker, der både skaber en pause i teksten og signalerer noget uafklaret. De første tøveprikker kan tolkes som en udeladelse af noget i retning af ”Hvad gør jeg, når jeg ikke har flere piller?”, mens de næste tøveprikker måske signalerer, at patienten ikke ved, hvad hun skal gøre (og derfor hvad hun skal skrive). De kan ses som en form for understregning af den opgivelse, der ligger i den foregående sætning (”Måske er det værste at jeg ikke kan se nogen ende på problemet...”). Begge forekomster signalerer, at der er noget, patienten ikke sætter ord på. Tilsvarende skriver patienten Hanne, at ”jeg har sygemeldt mig nu er så træt. .”. I dette eksempel formår patienten næsten at vise trætheden med punktummerne, der skaber en pause i teksten.

I materialet ser vi imidlertid også, at patienterne bruger gentagne punktummer i andre

funktioner. Det gør sig f.eks. gældende i følgende e-konsultation skrevet af patienten Jytte:

Eksempel 11:

Tror du ikke det er muligt jeg kan få en tid på fredag om formiddagen.... Jeg mistede min far den 11 april , og mærker mærkamt jeg har deg rigtig dårligt nu.

De tre punktummer i ovenstående e-konsultation repræsenterer hverken implicit information, en længere pause eller noget uafsluttet. Snarere fremstår de her som en erstatning for et spørgsmålstejn, måske med en blødgørende funktion, der understreger, at patienten ikke ønsker at forlange ”en tid på fredag”, men måske snarere håber, at lægen kan aflæse behovet via den efterfølgende personlige beskrivelse af patientens livssituation.

4.3. Kontekststikord

I e-konsultationerne ser vi 55 eksempler på kontekststikord bestående af interjektioner og lydord samt emotikoner. Vi ser otte eksempler på interjektioner og lydord. Disse ikke-ord (Ameka 1992) er en form for følelestilkendegivelse eller lydskildring (Hougaard 2013). Disse er henholdsvis ”haha”, ”hummm”, ”Humm”, ”Tsk,tsk”, ”øv øv”, ”åh”, ”nå” og ”Nååhh”⁵. Vi ser det i nedenstående eksempel:

Eksempel 12:

jeg er begyndt at bruge meget mere akut(astma)medicin. Hvilket jeg ikke helt forstår.
Og jeg er stort set lige så blev som i vinter.
Indtil det går op for mig at det er MEGET forskelligt om og hvor meget jeg får i GionaEasyhaler. Mange gange er der intet pulver i dosen når jeg tjekker. Og jeg ryster godt og grundigt og holde den i den rigtige stilling osv. hver gang. hummm?? den sidste jeg brugt havde sammen problem, troede bare det var fordi den var ved at være tom.
mvh Maja

I denne e-konsultation bruges lydordet ”hummm” til at skildre en undrende lyd. Patienten bruger altså en mundtliggørelse i stedet for at beskrive sin undren yderligere. Ligeledes bruger patienten Mikkel interjektionen ”Tsk,tsk”:

Eksempel 13:

Hej Lone
Der er ikke noget krav fra jobcenter eller kommune, men 2-3 timer om dagen vil være realistisk alt efter hvad jeg kan finde. Der er heller ingen krav om hvor mange jobs man SKAL søge. Bare man er aktiv. .
Så du fik ret i at tingene løser sig med tiden Tsk,tsk. . .
Mvh Mikkel

Mikkels brug af ”Tsk,tsk” kunne angive selvbejdelse, hvilket ændrer tonen i beskeden.

En anden meget benyttet måde at beskrive konteksten på er ved at bruge emotikoner (såkaldte smileyer); der er 47 forekomster af forskellige emotikoner (ikke at forveksle med emojis, som systemerne ikke muliggør). Emotikoner kan udformes ved hjælp af tastaturtegn, der sættes sammen til at ligne ansigtsudtryk, og kan have forskellige funktioner; eksempelvis kan de erstatte ansigtsudtryk (Walther 2006; Skovholt, Grønning & Kankaanranta 2014) og fungere som joke- eller ironi-markører (Hougaard 2020). Desuden kan et emotikon bruges opblødende eller forstærkende

⁵ Vi har fraregnet brugen af interjektionerne ”nej” og ”ja”, da vi regner dem som en del af det standardiserede skriftsprog.

(Skovholt, Grønning & Kankaanranta 2014) og som angivelse af, hvordan et udsagn skal forstås (Dresner & Herring 2013, 2010). De emotikoner, patienterne benyttede sig af i vores datamateriale, er henholdsvis:

- :-) og :)
- :/
- ;) og ;-)
- :-(, :(og :-((

Emotikoner benyttes ofte til at understrege det, der allerede er skrevet med ord (Yus 2011). Det ses i følgende eksempel skrevet af patienten Lotte:

Eksempel 14:

Har rigtig meget ondt i hænderne og har nu her i weekenden så også forstuvet venstre håndled..:(..

Patienten beskriver her smerter i hænderne efterfulgt af et emotikon, der skal illudere et ansigtsudtryk med nedadvendte mundvige. Både den verbale kommunikation og emotikonet udtrykker således noget negativt, men sidstnævnte angiver, at patienten er trist eller ked af det. På den måde understreger emotikonet hele situationens alvor og måske endda patientens følelse af opgivelse eller håbløshed.

Modsat kan emotikoner dog også bruges til at ændre budskabet ved f.eks. at modsige den sproglige semantik (Yus 2011):

Eksempel 15:

Hej Claus [læge]. Tak for dit svar på min prøve, hvad er næste step for mig, ser vi tiden an, eller har du flere muligheder for at tage nogle flere prøver undersøgelser for at finde ud af hvad der er problemet ved mig. Jeg har det jo stadig dårligt ikke hver dag men ofte stadig syre utilpashed øverst i maven og højre side driller jo også af og til endnu. Jeg har også igen fået brændende mund tror jeg, har haft det for et par år siden, så det går rigtig godt :-)
Hilsen Frida [patient]

Sætningen ”så det går rigtig godt” afsluttes med et emotikon, der efterligner et ’smilende’ ansigt, hvorved patienten understreger sin afsluttende ironiske pointe.

4.4. Ortografisk variation: Lydforkortelser og lydforlængelser

Der er i vores korpus adskillige forekomster af forskellige former for forkortning, også kaldet ”verbale kortformer” (Rathje 2015) eller ”clipping” (White 2014). Det gør sig eksempelvis gældende ved at stave ordene ”gav” som ”ga”, ”tage” som ”ta”, ”tager” som ”tar”, ”god” som ”GO”, ”kan” som ”ka”, ”have” som ”ha” eller ”ha”, ”bare” som ”bar”, ”ikke” som ”ikk” eller ”ik” og ”kunne” som ”ku”. Der forekommer et eksempel i nedenstående e-konsultation, hvor infinitivformen af verbet ”have” staves ”ha”:

Eksempel 16:

Jeg søger om et flexjob, da ryggen ikke kan mere. Jobcentret vil gerne ha’ en status, men vi skal vel lige snakke.

Derudover ser vi det i denne e-konsultation, hvor patienten Sara bruger stavningen ”ik” i stedet for

”ikke”:

Eksempel 17:

jeg har det meget bedre, men slet ik som jeg burde :/

Således er der i disse tilfælde tale om ord, der staves på én måde, men ofte udtales anderledes. Patienterne mundtliggør således den skriftlige kommunikation netop ved at benytte stavemåder, der nøje afspejler udtalen. Det skaber en mindre formel kommunikation fra patient til læge.

I materialet har vi også fundet et eksempel på, at patienten Marlene reproducerer et ord, sådan som det havde været udtalt mundtligt:

Eksempel 18:

Hej En lille hilsen tilbage fra Laura Finker... Nååhh lille Claus, og så grinte hun

”Nååhh” er skrevet på en ikke-standardiseret måde for at gengive udtalen og prosodien (f.eks. tonehøjde og rytme). Bogstavgentagelserne lader til at skulle illudere en forlængelse af vokallydene. Som det gør sig gældende i eksemplerne ovenover, er der her formodentlig tale om en stavemåde, som er bevidst afvigende fra standarden, da mundtliggørelsen af det skriftlige sprog her prioriteres over korrekt stavning. Igen er der altså tale om, at kommunikationen mundtliggøres, idet patienten vælger at forsøge at efterligne en mundtlig situation. Ved at illudere en forlængelse af vokallydene er patienten, ligesom i eksemplet med lydforkortelser, med til at gøre kommunikationen med lægen mindre formel.

5. Diskussion

Når kommunikationen mellem læge og patient bliver skriftlig, forsvinder en del af detaljegraden i, hvilken information patienten har mulighed for at transmittere om sin krop, sundhed, sygdom og lignende. I vores analyse ser vi patienter med behov for at udtrykke følelser såsom irritation, frustration, sorg eller glæde overfor deres læge benytte sig af strategier, der går ud over det standardiserede skriftsprog, omend de kun har et almindeligt tastatur til rådighed. I ovenstående analyse fandt vi således eksempler på, at patienter formår at udtrykke en emotionel tilstand. Det gør de på forskellige måder; ved brug af afvigelser, alternativ tegnbrug, kontekststikord og ortografisk variation kan vi se, at patienter blandt andet udtrykker humor, betoner emotionel tilstand og er med til at skabe en uformel tone med lægen. Patienterne indsætter f.eks. emotikoner og bruger versaler, udråbstegn og spørgsmålstegn på kreative måder for at udtrykke en bestemt tone. En sådan ekspressivitet kræver i det skriftlige medie, at patienter gør en indsats, der er semiotisk anderledes end i det fysiske møde med lægen. Netop det, at disse ting skal udtrykkes i et skriftligt digitalt medie, viser, at e-konsultationsplatformen stiller nye krav til patienters skriftlige kompetencer og skriftlige kreativitet.

I analysen så vi en lang række *afvigelser* i patienternes sprog. Afvigelser kan være med til at gøre tonen imellem læge og patient mere uformel (Carey 1980), da de viser, at kommunikationen ikke opleves så normpræget, at patienterne ser det som en nødvendighed at læse korrektur og følge standardsproget i alle tilfælde. Derudover kan det vise, hvordan patienter finder kreative måder at holde sig inden for det begrænsede e-konsultationsformat på, som vi f.eks. så med patienternes egenopfundne forkortelser. Dette peger således på, at brugen af e-konsultationer også for patienterne kan være præget af hast og effektivitet. Afvigelser kan dog også være udtryk for, at nogle digitale patienter bliver skriftligt mere begrænset end andre. Det ser vi eksempelvis i og med de krav – og for nogen udfordringer – der følger med e-konsultationsformatet, da nogle patienter kan have svært ved at skrive korrekt og forståeligt. At e-konsultationen stiller nye krav til, hvordan patienter kan og skal udtrykke sig, er i sig selv ikke usædvanligt: Når nye medier introduceres og implementeres i sundhedsvæsenet,

følger nye forventninger og krav til, hvad både patienter og læger skal kunne (Norman & Skinner 2006). Når nye digitale teknologier implementeres, følger ofte en forventning om, at de involverede brugere er i stand til at anvende de digitale medier og dermed bidrage til at løse sundhedsproblemer, hvilket også er tilfældet med e-konsultationens digitale, skriftlige format. I nogle af de analyserede e-konsultationer fremstår enkelte patienters skriftlige kompetence dog som lav. Vi så eksempler på beskeder med en høj grad af afvigelser, der samlet gjorde teksten usammenhængende, var meningsforstyrrende og besværliggjorde læsningen. Man kan således ikke forvente, at patienter nødvendigvis formulerer sig godt og forståeligt og dermed effektivt, blot fordi de får muligheden for at konsultere via en skriftlig, digital platform. Patienter er altså ikke lige godt stillede mht. til muligheden for at benytte denne måde at kommunikere på, hvilket især gælder patienter med lav sundhedskompetence (*health literacy*). Derudover skal den kommunikationsevne, patienter bruger i mundtlige konsultationer, oversættes til en ny skriftlig praksis. F.eks. er det velkendt, at såvel patienter som læger gør brug af både verbal og nonverbal kommunikation for at udtrykke sig i det mundtlige møde (Mast 2007; Friedman 1979).

Som tilfældet var med afvigelser, kan patienter ved *alternativ tegnbrug*, *kontekststikord* og *ortografisk variation* ligeledes gøre kommunikationen og dermed relationen med lægen mere uformel. Men hvor afvigelser kan afspejle, at e-konsultationen giver nogle patienter skriftsproglige udfordringer, er gentagen brug af *spørgsmålstegn*, brug af *udråbstegn*, af gentagne *punktummer*, af *versaler*, *lydord* og *emotikoner*, samt brug af *lydforlængelser* og *lydforkortelser* en mere kreativ og sandsynligvis bevidst måde, hvorpå man kan give udtryk for noget af det, der ellers ikke kommer til udtryk i det skriftlige digitale medie (Yus 2011). At patienterne benytter sig af sprogbrug, der går udover standardskriftsproget, tyder på, at de i nogle tilfælde ønsker at tilkendegive mere end blot det, de kan udtrykke igennem standardskriftsproget; de kan eksempelvis ønske at markere en vis form for intensitet i beskeden, f.eks. desperation eller vigtigheden af den besked, de vil formidle til lægen. Den digitale patient er således ikke udelukkende en faktaorienteret person, der udtrykker ”enkle, konkrete forespørgsler” til lægen, som mediet ellers foreskriver (PLO 2022b), men en patient, der også kan og vil udtrykke en emotionel tilstand. Dette underbygges af andre studier, som viser, at både læger og patienter bryder den norm om enkelthed og om kommunikation bestående af én tur, som fremsættes i de officielle beskrivelser af e-konsultationen (PLO 2022b). I stedet stiller de flere spørgsmål til hinanden, har længere udvekslinger bestående af flere ture og kommunikerer om komplekse emotionelle og psykosociale problemstillinger (Møller, Fage-Butler & Nisbeth Brøgger 2021).

5.1. Implikationer for praksis

Vores studie viser, at læger bør forvente mere end blot enkle, konkrete beskeder, som egentlig er det, e-konsultationen er tiltænkt: Patienterne forsøger eksempelvis at udtrykke emotionel tilstand og kommunikere relationelt, bl.a. gennem informalitet. Hvad angår sprogstærke patienter, vil vi argumentere for, at læger vil kunne læse mere ekspressivitet ud af e-konsultationsformatet, end hvad tidligere forskning viser, de forventer (Assing Hvidt et al. 2020). Desuden kan læger med fordel forsøge i hvert fald delvist at tilpasse deres kommunikation til patienternes sprogbrug, hvilket vi i tidligere forskning har påvist, at de ikke gør i lige så høj grad som patienterne (Nordtug et al. 2021). Der ligger et uforløst potentiale i at udtrykke noget ekspressivt på skrift bl.a. ved brug af kontekststikord, såsom emotikoner og alternativ tegnbrug. Dog er patientens og lægens roller forskellige i denne kommunikationssituation, hvorfor nogle af de former for alternativ sprogbrug, som anvendes af patienterne, ikke nødvendigvis er hensigtsmæssige for lægen at kopiere. Et tidligere studie fra USA har bl.a. vist, at nogle patienter finder praktiserende lægers grammatiske fejl i e-mails til patienter foruroligende (Schiller et al. 2013).

6. Konklusion

I et digitaliseret samfund kommer læger i kontakt med patienter på forskellige måder. I denne artikel

har vi haft særligt fokus på digitale patienter, der henvender sig skriftligt til lægen, og på hvordan disse patienter kommunikerer, fordi tidligere forskning har argumenteret for, at skriftliggørelsen kan begrænse lægens fortolkningsmuligheder og dermed læge-patient-kommunikationen. Især har vi undersøgt, hvordan patienter gør brug af sprog, der adskiller sig fra standardskriftsprog for at udtrykke det, skriftsproget ikke nødvendigvis rummer, såsom emotionel tilstand, toneleje og formalitetsgrad. I analysen så vi, hvordan patienter anvendte flere forskellige strategier til at adskille deres sprogbrug fra standardskriftsproget. Specifikt så vi, at patienterne benyttede sig af *afvigelse*, *alternativ tegnbrug*, *kontekststikord* og *ortografisk variation*. De forskellige former for ikke-standard skriftsprog afspejler både, at nogle patienter ønsker en uformel tone med deres læge, og at nogle patienter har skriftlige udfordringer med e-konsultationsplatformen, samt at de ønsker at udtrykke mere end, hvad standardskriftsproget typisk tilbyder.

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Ufrivilligt barnløs i et samfund, der fokuserer på børnefamilien

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Abstract: This study explores how fertility treatment without children influences a woman's identity construction. This study draws on a social constructionist perspective, where a narrative approach creates the framework for exploring identity construction. The study design is qualitative. Six Danish women were interviewed. The empirical data is analyzed through Michael Bamberg's narrative small story approach to identity. The findings reveal that there are very few alternative identities to the mother identity in Danish society. Thus, loss of the possibility to be included in the biological mother identity has emotional consequences such as grief, exclusion, anxiety, anger, frustration, envy, shame, fear, etc. The findings are discussed in light of current master narratives in society and may contribute to an enhanced understanding of identity construction in women who cannot have biological children.

Keywords: Ufrivillig barnløs, identitetspåvirkning, narrativ identitet, børnefamilie, fertilitetsbehandling.

1. Introduktion

Infertilitet defineres af World Health Organization (WHO 2020) som en lidelse, der rammer det reproduktive system og diagnosticeres, når graviditet ikke er opnået efter regelmæssigt ubeskyttet samleje i 12 måneder. Globalt set har denne diagnose indflydelse på omkring 186 millioner mennesker i den reproduktive alder (WHO 2020). Tendensen til ufrivillig barnløshed skyldes hovedsageligt biologiske faktorer som eksempelvis en høj gennemsnitsalder for første forsøg på at blive gravid. Gennemsnitsalderen for førstegangsfødende er steget for kvinder til henholdsvis 29,9 år (Aggerbeck 2023). Med alderen daler fertiliteten, men moderne reproduktionsteknologi kan være med til at tilbyde kvinder et håb om at opnå moderskab på trods af eventuel høj alder, hvis der skulle opstå komplikationer i processen (Buddeberg 2002: 57-58; Cousineau & Domar 2007). Dog er sandsynligheden for behandlingssucces begrænset for de forskellige behandlinger med en succesrate på blot 15 til 25 procent (Aggerbeck 2023). I tilfælde, hvor der ikke er behandlingssucces, må forestillingen om familieførøgelse opgives (Loftus & Andriot 2012). Dette kan især være svært i et samfund, som konstant opfordrer, markedsfører og socialiserer til at skabe et familieliv bl.a. via reklamers hyppige anvendelse af familiescenarier og boligannoncers fremhævelse af børnevenlige omgivelser og indretning (Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2009). Grundet disse årsager kan ufrivillig barnløshed udgøre både en psykologisk og social udfordring for individet.

For mange markeres overgangen til voksenlivet ved at få børn, og for nogle kvinder vil det opleves som en permanent mislykket transition i livet, hvis ikke det lykkes at blive forældre (Loftus & Andriot 2012). For kvinder, som altid har haft et ønske om at få egne børn, kan infertilitet bidrage til at ændre deres kvindelige identitet, når denne forestilling ikke kan realiseres (Cousineau & Domar 2007). Dermed opleves både et brud på identitetskonstruktionen som kommende mor og en forhindring i at forme en kulturelt anerkendt mor-identitet (Alamin et al. 2020).

På den baggrund vil nærværende studie undersøge identitetspåvirkning efter afsluttet fertilitetsbehandling uden børn, da forskningen kun i begrænset omfang har undersøgt den mulige påvirkning af identiteten, som infertilitet kan have, når behandlingen afsluttes uden børn. Dette perspektiv er relevant, da det kan give en bedre forståelse af konstruktionen af identitet ved afsluttet behandling og af den efterfølgende tid og mulighederne i livet uden biologiske børn. Identitet forstås i dette studie som noget, der konstrueres i sociale interaktioner og gennem sproget (Bamberg 2011). Med udgangspunkt i ovenstående overvejelser ønsker vi at undersøge, *hvorledes afsluttet eller*

afbrudt fertilitetsbehandling uden børn har indflydelse på kvindens konstruktion og oplevelse af egen identitet.

2. Forskning på området

Johansson & Berg (2005) undersøger i et interviewstudie otte kvinders oplevelse af vedvarende barnløshed to år efter afslutningen af fertilitetsbehandling. Artiklen identificerer livssorg som essensen af deres oplevelse, herunder sorgen over at opleve barnløshed, ikke at kunne føre familien videre og ikke at kunne bekræfte parforholdet gennem forældreskabet. I tråd med dette udforsker McCarthy (2008) gennem interviews 22 kvinders erfaring med infertilitet efterfulgt af ikke succesfuld fertilitetsbehandling. Heraf fremgår det ligeledes, at infertilitet har en langsigtet psykosocial og følelsesmæssig, men ligeledes spirituel indvirkning. Et studie af Bryson, Sykes & Traub (2000), der inkluderer 76 kvinder, som har besvaret et spørgeskema fire til ni år efter behandling, viser, at infertilitet bidrager til psykologisk dysfunktion, herunder stress og angst, længe efter behandling. Desuden fremhæver de tre ovennævnte forfattere i tråd med Bergart (2000) behovet for at forberede kvinder på behandlingssvigt og sikre adækvat rådgivning, når behandling ikke længere er passende. Wirtberg et al. (2007) interviewer 14 kvinder 20 år efter deres fertilitetsbehandling uden børn. Heraf fremgår det, at barnløsheden har haft en stærk indflydelse på alle kvindernes liv, som opleves både på et personligt, interpersonelt og socialt niveau. Halvdelen af kvinderne er blevet separeret, og 13 har oplevet langvarig negativ påvirkning af deres seksuelle liv. Mange af kvinderne har håndteret deres barnløshed ved at tage sig af andre. Desuden interviewer Ferland & Caron (2013) 12 kvinder 15-25 år efter de har erfaret, at de var infertile. Her fremhæves livslange erfaringer med sorg, hvilket er i overensstemmelse med fundene i Johansson & Berg (2005) og Bergart (1997). Tjørnhøj-Thomsen (2009) bidrager med et antropologisk synspunkt på fænomenet ved gennem deltagerobservation at undersøge, hvordan ufrivillig barnløshed konstruerer sammenhænge mellem slægtskab, familie, hjem, hus og børn. Studiet viser, at familiens socialitet er informeret af både ideer omkring slægtskab og forbundethed samt af samfundets forventninger til familien. Hjemmet og familien associeres med følelser af ubetinget kærlighed, nærvær, varme, tryghed, og at kvinden er mor. Derudover undersøger Malik & Coulson (2013) online støttefællesskabers betydning for kvinder, der står over for permanent ufrivillig barnløshed. Gennem en fænomenologisk tematisk analyse belyser de, hvordan onlinefællesskabet for nogle kan være en hjælp i processen med at acceptere ufrivillig barnløshed, da det fremmer kvindernes følelse af selvværd og fornemmelse af mening med livet.

Denne gennemgang af litteraturen viser, at der er forsket i både de kortsigtede og langsigtede påvirkninger af afsluttet fertilitetsbehandling uden børn hos kvinder. Desuden er der forsket i det biologiske slægtskabs betydninger, samt hvorledes online støttefællesskaber spiller en rolle i rehabiliteringen efter endt behandling. Den primære tilgang har været den kvalitative undersøgelse ud fra et fænomenologisk ståsted, hvor fokus er på individets oplevelsesverden. Et mangelfuldt aspekt i litteraturen har været en dybdegående forståelse af kvindens identitet, som kun benævnes overfladisk i litteraturen. Nærværende studie bidrager med en forståelse for ændringerne i identiteten og dennes rolle i forhold til kvindernes mentale helbred.

3. Teoretisk afsæt

For at undersøge ufrivilligt barnløses identitet i den kontekst, hvor den er konstrueret, følger analyserne en diskurspsykologisk analyse (Davies & Harré 1990; Potter & Wetherell 1987). Indenfor socialpsykologien har diskursanalysen udviklet sig til en vigtig socialkonstruktivistisk fremgangsmåde. Her ses identitet som en diskursiv konstruktion, som forhandles og rekonstrueres i sproglige interaktioner (Potter & Wetherell 1987). Ifølge Jonathan Potter og Margaret Wetherell (1987) defineres diskurs som alle former for sproglig interaktion, både formelt og uformelt, samt alle former for nedfældet tekst. Når vi taler, konstruerer vi sociale versioner af verden, og disse har en funktion, alt efter hvordan de konstrueres. Derfor kan undersøgelser af sproget give forskellige

resultater over tid, da konteksten altid vil være en anden. På den måde vil individets konstruktion af sig selv og verden også altid være forskellig (Potter & Wetherell 1987). Diskurser konstrueres altid ud fra præeksisterende sproglige ressourcer, hvor individet udvælger nogle ressourcer og fravælger andre. Dette er dog ikke ensbetydende med, at disse valg træffes bevidst eller intentionelt (Potter & Wetherell 1987).

3.1. *Narrativ identitet*

I denne artikel forstås identitet ud fra Michael Bambergs (2011) diskurspsykologiske forståelse. Ifølge ham er identitet en proces, hvor individet hele tiden må gøre krav på forskellige sociokulturelle kategorier som for eksempel køn, alder, job, hjemland etc. (Bamberg 2011). I et samfund, der er blevet mere globalt, og som hastigt udvikler sig, er disse kategorier i dag tilsvarende hurtigt skiftende, hvorfor individet hele tiden må være klar til at tilpasse sig nye forhold. Det medfører ligeledes, at individet hele tiden må træffe valg om, hvilke kategorier vedkommende ønsker at være en del af. Det er i sociale interaktioner og gennem sproget, at individet gør krav på disse kategorier, og hver gang det sker, opstår der tre dilemmaer, som individet må forholde sig til (Bamberg 2011).

Dilemma 1: Konstruktionen af et kontinuerligt selv versus et foranderligt og multipelt selv

I det første dilemma anses forandringer ikke kun som påført individet udefra, men også som noget, der sker mellem individ, kultur og samfund. I hverdagen sorterer vi hele tiden i begivenheder, der enten bidrager med en fortsat forståelse af, hvem vi er, eller som er med til at omforme denne forståelse. Det multiple selv henviser til, at mennesket ikke har en enkelt sammenhængende identitet, men at den er afhængig af sociale arenaer. Ændringer i identiteten er noget, der foregår subtilt i hverdagens interaktioner. For det meste er individet altså i stand til at fremstå som den samme person over tid, på trods af de forandringer og forskellige sociale arenaer, som konstruerer identiteten. Det afhænger dog af, hvor meget omgivelserne ændrer sig. Store forandringer i omgivelserne kan nemlig skabe betydelige udfordringer for individet, da det måske ikke længere er muligt at bibeholde en oplevelse af en kontinuerlig identitet (Bamberg 2011).

Dilemma 2: Konstruktionen af selvet som unikt og forskelligt fra andre og samtidig den samme som andre

Det at vide, hvem man er, er også at vide, hvem man ikke er. Derfor tager mennesker ofte andre mennesker eller grupper i brug, når de skal fortælle, hvem de er og ikke er. På den måde positionerer individet sig som unikt og adskilt fra nogle sociale grupper, mens det på andre tidspunkter positionerer sig som medlem. Dermed former individet ikke blot sin egen identitet, men drager også antagelser om andres. Det er igen en subtil praksis, der foregår i sociale interaktioner, hvor individet afprøver, forkaster eller accepterer gruppens identitet som en del af sin egen (Bamberg 2011).

Dilemma 3: Konstruktionen af agency med en selv-til-verden retning og med en verden-til-selv retning.

Dette dilemma resulterer i spørgsmål om, hvorvidt det er individet, som aktivt konstruerer sin verden, eller om individet forholder sig mere passivt og lader sig underlægge dominerende samfundsdiskurser (Bamberg 2011). Agency er et centralt begreb inden for den narrative forståelse af identitet og indebærer, hvordan og hvorvidt en person aktivt konstruerer sig selv. Her er der ikke tale om indre psykologiske processer, der påvirker det omgivende miljø og omvendt, men i stedet et mere komplekst og dynamisk samspil, der både er situeret i interaktionen og er i konstant bevægelse. På den måde konstruerer individet sin identitet ud fra, hvordan omverdenen påvirker vedkommende. Det sker for eksempel gennem samfundets normer og regler, men også individets biologiske og

fysiologiske opbygning har betydning, da den er en forudsætning for aktionspotentialer. Individet vil både trække på samfundsdiskurser, men også være underlagt disse. Alt efter hvor fastlåst individet føler sig, er det muligt for det at vælge andre diskurser at trække på, som det dog samtidig underlægges. I den forbindelse kan de diskurser, individet udvælger, også være modsatrettede. Dermed oplever forskellige mennesker forskellige grader af agency alt efter, hvilke aktionspotentialer individerne har og hvilke diskurser, de underlægges og trækker på (Bamberg 2011).

Identitetskonstruktion er altså en fortsat proces, hvor de tre ovenstående dilemmaer altid er i spil. Når denne proces foregår uforstyrret af drastiske forandringer, præsenteres den ofte gennem et sammenhængende narrativ om, hvem man er som person, og hvad der har formet denne opfattelse (Bamberg 2011). Men nogle gange sker der noget i denne proces. Eksempelvis kan individet komme ud for noget i sit liv, der forandrer dets verden i en sådan grad, at personen mister følelsen af, hvem vedkommende er. Det vil ofte komme til udtryk i et opbrudt narrativ, hvor der er stor forskel på, hvem personen følte han eller hun var før og efter denne begivenhed (Bamberg 2011). I sådanne tilfælde er det relevant at tale om rekonstruktion af identitet, da der sker et opbrud i personens normale identitetskonstruktion.

4. Metode

For at undersøge, hvordan ufrivillig barnløshed påvirker kvinders konstruktion og oplevelse af egen identitet, blev det kvalitative forskningsinterview benyttet (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 149-197). Der blev udført 6 semistrukturerede interviews med kvinder, der er ufrivilligt barnløse. Det semistrukturerede interview skabte en organiseret samtale mellem interviewer og informant med et bestemt formål, hvor der var plads til at udforske fænomenet.

a.

4.1. Deltagere og procedure

Deltagerne blev alle rekrutteret ved hjælp af organisationerne Landsforeningen for Ufrivilligt Barnløse (LFUB) og Fertility Care, som gennem deres sociale medier, herunder Facebook og Instagram, delte opslag vedrørende deltagelse i interview. Der blev opstillet følgende inklusionskriterier:

1. Kvinder, der oplevede ufrivillig barnløshed.
2. Minimum 1 år siden afsluttet eller afbrudt fertilitetsbehandling.
3. Ingen biologiske børn.
4. Fravalgt adoption.

Begrundelsen for de opstillede kriterier udsprang af vores fokus på at ville undersøge kvinder, som hverken havde biologiske eller adopterede børn.

I studiet blev seks informanter inkluderet (se Tabel 1). Det var en relativ homogen gruppe bosat i Danmark. Det var en forudsætning, at de kunne gennemføre interviewet online via en sikret version af online-plattformen Zoom grundet COVID-19.

Informanterne havde forud for interviewet underskrevet en informeret samtykkeerklæring. Interviewet tog udgangspunkt i en interviewguide, der stillede spørgsmål til informanternes oplevelser af sig selv før, under og efter fertilitetsbehandling. Der blev anvendt en diktafon til at optage samtalen, og efterfølgende blev interviewene transskriberet med fokus på direkte nedskrivning af det sagte. Alle navne og stednavne blev ændret for at sikre anonymitet.

Tabel 1: Præsentation af informanterne

Sarah	Start 40'erne, fra Sjælland. I fertilitetsbehandling i 5 år og afsluttede for 2 år siden.
Eva	Start 40'erne, fra Jylland og boede sammen med sin mand. I fertilitetsbehandling i 4 år og afsluttede for 5 år siden.
Nadia	Midt 40'erne, fra Jylland. Døjede med endometriose. Usikker på længden af behandling, men ca. 10 år.
Anna	Slut 40'erne, fra Sjælland. Boede sammen med sin mand og bonusbørn. I fertilitetsbehandling i ca. et år og afsluttede for 4 år siden.
Malene	Slut 30'erne, fra Sjælland. Havde Polycystic Ovary Syndrome. Behandlingen blev efter tre fjerdedele af et år afbrudt, før den reelt kom i gang. Dette var ca. 3 år siden.
Naja	Slut 30'erne, fra Sjælland. Boede sammen med sin mand. I fertilitetsbehandling i 2 år og afsluttede for 3 år siden.

4.2. Analysestrategi

Den analytiske fremgangsmåde tog udgangspunkt i Braun og Clarkes (2006) tematiske analyse, der følger 6 trin. Forfatterne gennemlæste transskriberingerne af interviewene uafhængigt af hinanden og familiariserede sig med disse ved gentagen læsning (trin 1). Koder blev genereret på baggrund af citater, der centrerede sig om identitetsopfattelse (trin 2). Med afsæt i Bambergs identitetsforståelse havde vi fokus på, hvordan den enkelte navigerede i de tre identitetsdilemmaer og dermed konstruerede identitet efter endt fertilitetsbehandling. Koder blev dernæst omdannet til overordnede temaer (trin 3), der folder påvirkning af identitetsopfattelsen ud. Forfatterne så da igen på temaer og koder med reference til dataene (trin 4), reviderede disse, navngav temaerne (trin 5) og udvalgte dernæst relevante citater for at illustrere temaerne (trin 6).

De tre fundne temaer illustrerer kvindernes hovednarrativer, som blev tolket som det centrale i fortællingerne om deres oplevelse af egen identitet. Disse hovednarrativer havde til formål at besvare artiklens forskningsspørgsmål. Med identitetsopfattelse trækkes der på det fælles opstillede begrebsapparat informeret af studiets narrative perspektiv.

5. Resultater

Af analysen kan det udledes, at alle kvinderne i dette studie i højere eller mindre grad har identificeret sig med at skulle være biologisk mor. Derfor har de i forbindelse med afslutningen af fertilitetsbehandling uden børn måttet erkende, at denne identitet ikke kan realiseres via fertilitetsbehandling. Nedenfor illustreres tre temaer, der belyser, hvordan denne nye situation påvirker kvindernes identiteter på forskellig vis.

5.1. Hende, der ikke kan få børn

Sarah beskriver "...Jeg følte, det stod i min pande i starten, åh det er hende der ikke kan få børn eller hende der, som ikke lykkes...". I dette udsagn skaber Sarah en tydelig markering af sig selv som forskellig fra andre, jf. identitetsdilemma 2, idet hun ikke kan få børn. Ydermere fremgår det, at der er nogle socialt konstruerede retningslinjer for, hvornår mennesket lykkes og dermed også, hvornår det fejler. Sarahs narrativ er forbundet med en følelse af skam. Ud fra dette udsagn trækkes på en diskurs,

hvor mor-identiteten er forbundet med succes, hvorfor det bliver skamfuldt for Sarah ikke at kunne blive biologisk mor. Tab af muligheden for en identitet som (biologisk) mor har hos alle kvinderne i varierende grad været forbundet med ambivalens, sorg og ensomhed. Anna fortæller blandt andet:

“...Jeg var jo sindssygt bange for, at det ikke at blive mor var ensbetydende med, at jeg ikke kom til at opleve dyb kærlighed. Jeg var bange for, at jeg ville blive lukket ude fra nogle fællesskaber... (...) når man får bonusbørn ind, så er der jo en (gisper), fuck det her, altså, der er jo en følelse af, at det er jer tre, og I hører sammen, og jeg står udenfor, ikk’?”

Anna beskriver her frygten for ikke at opleve den dybe kærlighed, der er mellem en mor og et barn. I tillæg dertil beskriver hun, hvordan det biologiske barn er en inklusionsfaktor for fællesskaber. Annas mand har to børn fra et tidligere forhold, og hun konstruerer her en udenforhed i relationen, da de to børn og manden altid vil have det biologiske bånd, som hun ikke er en del af. Anna uddyber:

“Altså jeg har jo været tvunget til at finde ud af, hvornår er jeg med, og hvornår er jeg ikke med, og hvornår vil jeg gerne være med, og hvornår er jeg bare ikke naturligt med...”

Det er vanskeligt for Anna at finde ud af, hvilket rolle- og tilhørsforhold hun har til manden og de to børn, når hun ikke er biologisk mor til børnene. Det biologiske bånd bliver markøren for, hvor hun er forskellig fra dem, og hun mærker denne forskellighed i situationer, hvor hun ikke er naturligt med, da hun ikke er børnenes biologiske mor.

Karakteristisk for alle kvinderne er, at de har oplevet en grad af forvirring i forbindelse med tab af muligheden for en identitet som biologisk mor. Kvindernes udsagn eksemplificerer særligt dilemma nummer 2, hvor de konstruerer sig som forskellige fra andre kvinder. Vi ser det blandt andet udtrykt hos Nadia på følgende måde:

“Barnløsheden betyder jo, at jeg er Nadia, som ikke får børn. (.) Min identitet er, (...) at jeg er Nadia uden børn. (...) Lige pludselig lukkede dør nummer et, så lukkede dør nummer to, og så lukkede dør nummer tre. Lige pludselig var der nul muligheder”.

Heraf fremgår det, at Nadia tilskriver sig selv en lav grad af handlemuligheder, da hun ikke kan gøre noget ved situationen samtidig med, at hun er fastlåst i ønsket om at blive mor. Barnløsheden betyder, at hun ikke får sit dybeste og største ønske i livet opfyldt. Dette vidner om, at Nadia har tabt en enormt betydningsfuld identitet, og at dette har skabt stor meningsløshed i hendes tilværelse. Desuden illustrerer det også, at hun har svært ved at skabe andre og nye meningsfulde identiteter.

Alle kvinder i studiet er i varierende grad og på forskellig vis i gang med en identitetsrekonstruktion, hvor de giver slip på mor-identiteten og konstruerer nye identiteter. Blandt andet beskriver Eva, at hun “... ville være så ked af det, hvis man var hende, der ikke fik børn”. I interviewet præsenterer Eva en identitet, der kan beskrives som “at være alt andet end barnløs”. Ved at præsentrere denne identitet positionerer Eva sig som en kvinde, der med agens, jf. identitetsdilemma 3, selv ønsker at sætte rammerne for sit liv og mening og derved ikke bare blive kvinden, der ikke fik børn. For hende handler det om at opfinde en ny forestilling om, hvad hun skal:

“Jeg læste et sted, og det synes jeg var sådan meget godt beskrevet, at der var en, der var i gang med fertilitetsbehandling, og ender så med at få et barn, men i processen siger, at det her svarer jo et eller andet sted til at få taget begge arme af eller begge ben af. Du har altid forestillet, at du kunne bruge arme og ben eller løbe eller, altså, hvordan du skal leve

dit liv, og lige pludselig skal du gentænke alt. Altså alt, hvad du tænkte, du skulle proppe ind i det, eller ikke alt, men basen af det, den skal du genopfinde”.

Betydningen af identitetstab kommer til udtryk ved, at hun identificerer sig med beskrivelsen af at miste begge arme og ben. Dette indikerer, at tabet af identiteten som mor har været en kæmpe omvæltning, som har krævet, at hun skulle genopbygge en grundlæggende identitetsforståelse. En tolkning af dette kan være, at hun har mistet muligheden for et betydningsfuld tilhørsforhold, men at hun samtidigt er bevidst om, at en del af hende stadig er den samme. Egentlig kan en person uden arme og ben fremstilles som invalideret og begrænset, hvilket bliver en metafor for, hvor vanskeligt og kompliceret situationen er. At miste en kropsdel indikerer, at man har mistet noget uigenkaldeligt. Dog kan vi se, at Evas agens igen bliver fremtrædende, da hun ikke mener, at livet går i stå, men at hun kæmper videre og nu har muligheden for at rekonstruere sig selv.

Anna italesætter sig selv som en person, der oplever en forandring i identiteten, både i forhold til at udvikle nye sider af sig selv over tid, jf. identitetsdilemma 1, men samtidig også bevarer eksisterende identiteter. Hendes identitet er stærkt påvirket af at ”...være hård og klare det. Klemme balderne sammen og ikke vise sårbarhed...”, men hendes partner inviterer hende til at gå ind i drømmene om at blive mor og skrive det ned. Hun uddyber således:

“... så kan jeg huske, at min mand han bad mig skrive alt det ned, som jeg drømte om i forhold til at blive mor. Alle de drømme jeg havde. Så læste jeg det højt for ham, og så gik vi det igennem. Så en ting var jo at læse det højt og få lov til at græde (griner) og sørge og blive holdt af ham. Noget andet var at connecte den længsel med at sige: hvor kan jeg få det her opfyldt andre steder? Så sammen med min mand gik vi på opdagelse, jamen, hvor kunne man finde det her et andet sted? Og det var jo utroligt giveligt”.

Annas mand giver plads til Annas sorg og længsler om at blive mor, hvormed hun bliver mødt og anerkendt i sin sårbarhed. I dette narrativ er de fælles om at udforske drømmen om at blive biologisk mor og værdierne bag. Sammen tager de på opdagelsesrejse og undersøger, hvor disse værdier kan findes andre steder end i det at blive mor. Dette er med til at udvide Annas handlemuligheder både i forhold til at rumme sin sorg og til at finde det, hun søger, et andet sted. På denne måde opstår en fælles proces og et fælles vi, så Anna ikke er alene i det.

Til trods for at kvinderne arbejder med en rekonstruktion af deres identitet, oplever de en mangel på alternative anerkendte identitetsforståelser. I denne proces eksemplificerer informanternes udsagn nogle bestemte samfundsnarrativer, som har haft varierende betydning for kvindernes identitetskonstruktion. Dette omfatter blandt andet kvindeidentitetens tætte tilknytning til moderskabet og ønsket om kernefamilien, følelsen af ikke at lykkes på baggrund af dette identitetstab, samt den tabubelagte sorg.

Hvad angår kvindernes ønske om at opnå den biologiske mor-identitet, beskriver Sarah eksempelvis, hvordan hun oplever en næsten for stærk mor-identitet hos veninderne:

“Men jeg har virkelig også aversion mod kvinder, der dyrker mor-rollen. Altså jeg bliver sådan helt. Hvor de ikke længere er veninder, de er mødre altså. (...) Og det kan godt være de siger, at de gerne vil tale om andre ting, men i virkeligheden så ved jeg, at de allerhelst vil tale om deres børn hele tiden. Eller det er det, som fylder mest, og det er ikke for at gøre dem forkerte, men jeg magter det bare ikke”.

Andetsteds i interviewet beskriver hun det som: “de kører i det tog jeg gerne ville være i, og jeg kører ved siden af og kan ikke følge med”. Sarah er altså meget bevidst om, at hun adskiller sig fra veninderne, jf. identitetsdilemma 2, og det er tydeligvis enormt svært for hende at forsones sig med denne forskel. Det vil sige, at den anerkendte identitet som mor er med til at isolere Sarah fra omverdenen, da hun ikke har mulighed for at indgå i det fællesskab, som moderskabet repræsenterer.

5.2. Sorg i forbindelse med tab af muligheden for biologisk mor-identitet

Tabet af muligheden for biologisk mor-identitet har hos alle kvinderne i varierende grad været forbundet med ambivalens, sorg og ensomhed. Naja beskriver sorgprocessen i det følgende:

“Så tænker man, så nu kan vi se fremad, men det sorgarbejde, der kommer efterfølgende, har bare været... Så finder man ud af, at man står alligevel for foden af et kæmpe bjerg, man skal op ad, og der er bare lang vej til at acceptere, at det er sådan, det ser ud. Men... men altså, det vil jeg sige, det lykkedes så. Jeg har accepteret det, og det er en kæmpe lettelse”.

Af citatet ses det, at der for Naja både opstår en form for lettelse, men også en sorg ved tabet af muligheden for biologisk mor-identitet. Anstrengelserne for at blive biologisk mor har skabt en uvished i Najas identitet, og afslutningen på behandlingen gør, at hun nu kan begynde at give slip på den biologiske mor-identitet og acceptere den sorg, som dette medfører. Naja beskriver i øvrigt, at hun i dag bedre lykkes med at lukke af. Her henviser hun til, at hun tidligere ville have tænkt mere over tingene og måske grublet over dem, men via metakognitiv terapi virker det til, at hun har lært at stoppe tankerne. Her konstruerer Naja et skifte i sin identitet over tid, jf. identitetsdilemma 1 – fra at være den analyserende og eftertænksomme til at være mere i nuet og kunne styre tankene og lukke af for disse, hvilket beskrives i følgende:

“... Jamen jeg tænker ikke lige så meget over tingene mere, altså. Det er jo også fordi, at jeg har (.) fundet ud af, at det ikke har gjort mig noget godt i selve sorgprocessen, det der med at skulle gruble. Altså der er jeg nok gået meget mere over i, (.) ja. Hvad hedder det der metakognitive (griner), øh retning ik? Altså det er klart i nogle situationer, øh, skal man bearbejde det og sådan noget, men, men i andre situationer. Det kan være en lille ting på arbejdet, at der er sket et eller andet, jeg har været træt af mig selv eller nogle andre, jamen (.) Der bliver jeg meget mere. Det lukker jeg bare af for. Altså. Og det havde jeg ikke gjort for tre-fire år siden. Der ville jeg have grublet over det og tænkt, og hvad kunne jeg gøre bedre...”

Evas fortælling er også præget af en ambivalent identitetsforståelse, hvilket fremgår af følgende:

“Altså det er jo mega frustrerende og befriende. Og samtidig med at der er en kæmpe sorg, sorry (Eva bliver rørt). Ja. Og så skal man lære. Undskyld. Så skal man lære at leve med det (.) Og lære at se på de gode ting”.

I interviewsituationen beskriver Eva de følelser, der er forbundet med at afslutte behandlingen, og dermed tabet af identiteten som mulig biologisk mor. Hun bliver tydeligvis berørt, når hun italesætter sin situation, men alligevel bliver det essentielt for hende at fortælle, hvor vigtigt det er at vælge de ting til, som man nu kan, når man ikke har børn. Her udviser Eva agens, jf. identitetsdilemma 3, og et ønske om at kunne påvirke eget liv. I interviewsituationen konstruerer hun sig som en person, der formår at skabe det gode liv på trods af barnløsheden og de sorgfulde følelser.

Ambivalens kommer også til udtryk i Malenes fortælling, da hun beskriver sig selv som "selvvalgt ufrivillig barnløs". Som det fremgår i interviewet, har beslutningen om at afslutte behandlingen bidraget til konstruktionen af en ny identitet, som Malene kalder selvvalgt ufrivillig barnløs - en identitet, som hun "faktisk selv har valgt". Med denne identitetskonstruktion leger hun med den oftere anvendte betegnelse "ufrivilligt barnløs". Denne omfortolkning indikerer, at det er hendes beslutning, og at hun har været i kontrol over valget om ikke at få børn. Derfor udviser Malene stærk agens, jf. identitetsdilemma 3, hvormed hun har stor indflydelse på egen identitetsforståelse uafhængigt af den almene forståelse. Dette kan betyde, at Malene har et behov for at opleve at være i kontrol, da det skaber en tryghed i hendes identitetsforståelse. Dog kommer en ambivalens til udtryk, da Malene siger:

"Det sværeste ved beslutningen er at sige farvel til håbet om, at det kunne lade sig gøre (.). Det er faktisk noget, jeg har talt om senere hen, at ja, hvad hedder sådan noget, et mellemstadium? Ja, fordi jeg er faktisk ikke færdig med at bearbejde min sorg, (.) og jeg er faktisk ikke så langt med det. Fordi hvis jeg begynder at tage hul på sorgen, så begynder jeg at gå den vej (peger til venstre), men håbet ligger her (peger til højre)".

I dette citat giver Malene udtryk for, at hun befinder sig på et mellemstadium mellem identiteten som mor, der forbindes med håb, og identiteten som barnløs, der forbindes med sorg. Med andre ord er Malenes identitetsforståelse præget af modstridende følelser. Hvis hun påbegynder sorgarbejdet, opgiver hun samtidig identiteten som mor, hvorfor identiteten som selvvalgt ufrivillig barnløs er forbundet med stor ambivalens.

Ensomheden, det sorgfyldte og de ambivalente følelser kommer også til udtryk hos Sarah, når hun udtaler:

"Men samtidig er det meget mærkeligt, fordi det er mine gamle bedste veninder, og hvorfor har jeg ikke lyst til at ses med dem? Men de minder mig jo om det, jeg ikke fik. (.) Og faktisk også skam og skyld over, at jeg ikke kan unde dem at have børn, argh, jeg bliver faktisk ked af det nu (Sarah bliver rørt og græder). Det er det værste, fordi jeg gider det ikke. (.) Jeg gider det virkelig ikke faktisk. Jeg ville ønske, jeg kunne sidde og snakke med dem om det, men det kan jeg jo ikke, eller jo, det kan jeg, men det kan jeg faktisk ikke. Det kan jeg faktisk ikke".

I citatet ses både sorg og ambivalens hos Sarah, og hun bebrejder sig selv ikke at kunne unde andre at være biologiske mødre, og samtidig bliver de andre også et konstant minde om det, hun ikke fik. Hendes gentagelse af "det kan jeg faktisk ikke" (sidde og snakke med dem om det) vidner om, hvor svært det er, og selvom hun ville ønske, hun kunne, er det ikke muligt for hende, da det er for smertefuldt. Der kan argumenteres for, at der opstår et dobbelttab for Sarah, hvor hun også mister kontakten til sine nære veninder.

5.3. Kulturelt anerkendte identiteter for kvinder

Det, vi i samfundet forbinder med at være mand og kvinde, er i høj grad kulturelt og socialt betinget og kan ændre sig over tid. Dog kan visse traditionelle kønsrollemønstre være svære at slippe af med. Sarah oplever f.eks., at det er svært at finde kulturelt anerkendte identiteter for kvinder i hendes situation:

"Uh ja, og det bliver jeg lige nødt til at tilføje, MEN MEDIERNE ALTSÅ. Der er sateme ikke mange film om vores situation. Altså, vi er ikke nogen steder, altså (griner)".

Her giver Sarah udtryk for, at barnløshed fylder meget lidt i mediebilledet, hvilket i denne sammenhæng repræsenterer en begrænsning for Sarahs identitetskonstruktion. I denne sammenhæng antyder grinet ikke, at Sarah finder det morsomt, men at hun kommunikerer sin frustration og vrede ud gennem en humoristisk tone. Samtidig italesætter hun et vi og derved en inklusion i en gruppe af ufrivilligt barnløse mødre, jf. identitetsdilemma 2, hvis eksistens overses i medierne. Oplevelsen af at medierne ikke inkluderer ufrivilligt barnløse kvinder i film mv., kan yderligere stigmatisere kvinderne som værende ikke kulturelt anerkendte.

Et andet dominerende narrativ, som gør sig gældende, omhandler, at kvinder uden biologiske børn er karrierekvinder. Naja oplever det som om, at hendes arbejdsmæssige præstationer er betinget af, hvorvidt hun har børn:

“og det samme i forhold til igen med arbejde at, at jeg kan mærke, at der er jo ikke nogen, der siger det direkte, men det ligger lidt alligevel mellem linjerne, at jeg kan jo ikke. Jeg har jo ikke LÆRT at prioritere min tid, fordi jeg er ikke tvunget til det, så jeg kan ikke, jeg kan ikke arbejde 100 procent effektivt i 20 minutter ligesom mødre kan, fordi at det er de tvunget til”.

Denne opfattede konstruktion af Naja fratager hende muligheden for at føle succes og stolthed over sine resultater på lige fod med øvrige kollegaer med børn. Dog afviser hun denne positionering, og igen bliver hendes agens tydelig i fortællingen. Ifølge hende handler det om færdigheder, og hun konstruerer sig selv som en fagligt dygtig kvinde.

Flere af kvinderne oplever som Naja, at det er ilde set at være egoistisk, hvorimod uselvskheden og at tænke på andre er ønskede egenskaber - egenskaber som ofte forbindes med moderskabet.

6. Diskussion

Nærværende studie viser, at den ufrivillige barnløshed har en langsigtet negativ påvirkning af kvindernes selvforståelse og identitet, hvilket er i tråd med eksisterende forskning på området (Johansson & Berg 2005; McCarthy 2008). Kvinderne i nærværende studie tilskriver de negative identitetspåvirkninger tabet af den kulturelt anerkendte identitetsforståelse; biologisk mor-identitet. Dette tab medfører en livssorg, som også blev set i studiet af Johansson & Berg (2005).

I tråd med tidligere forskning på området ses psykosociale følger (angst, stress, depression mv.) efter mislykket fertilitetsbehandling – herunder et sorgaspekt. Desuden ses det biologiske slægtskab som en stærk drivkraft. Den biologiske familie associeres med følelser af ubetinget kærlighed, hvor forældreskabet bekræfter en biologisk forbundethed som familie. Sammenlignet med f.eks. en familie med bonusbørn, så vil den ikke-biologiske bonusforælder ikke altid være en naturlig del af forældreskabet, f.eks. som del af skole-hjem-samtaler eller andet, hvor det alene er de biologiske forældre, der deltager.

Trods mere mangfoldige familieformer findes der ifølge dette studies fund fortsat dominerende fortællinger om kvinden, der relaterer sig til moderskabet, og der findes begrænsede muligheder for alternative anerkendte identitetsforståelser. Derfor fokuseres der i diskussionen på kvindens identitet og mulighedsrum i det 20. århundredes samfund.

Vores studie finder tre temaer eller hovednarrativer på tværs af de 6 kvinder: Hende, der ikke kan få børn, Sorg i forbindelse med tab af muligheden for biologisk mor-identitet og Kulturelt anerkendte identiteter for kvinder. Disse hovednarrativer vil danne rammen for den følgende diskussion.

6.1. Kvindens identitet i det 20. århundrede

Af analysen fremgår det, at moderskabet er en ønskværdig identitet og et eftertragtet fællesskab at blive en del af. Men hvorfra kommer dette brændende ønske om at skulle være mor, og hvilken indflydelse har det på identitetskonstruktionen? En forklaring på dette kan være, at samfundet altid i en vis grad har betragtet kvinderollen som tæt forbundet med moderskab. Kvindeligheden og moderskabet er gennem tiden i høj grad konstrueret som en og samme identitet, og der har været mangel på andre anerkendte identitetsforståelser til kvinder (Giese 2016), hvilket også bliver et hovednarrativ i dette studie, hvor kvinderne savner flere kulturelt anerkendte identiteter. I det 20. århundrede forekommer en forandring i konstruktionen af den kvindelige identitet, som får varierende betydning. I 70'erne sker der en forandring, hvor moderskabet til dels betragtes med foragt og medlidenhed, hvilket står i kontrast til i dag, hvor moderskab igen dyrkes og idealiseres (Giese 2016: 170-200). Kvinders økonomiske uafhængighed og ligestilling har på den anden side banet vejen for et større handlefrirum til at skabe alternative identitetsforståelser, som ikke er bundet op på det at være mor, men noget tyder på, at de endnu ikke er socialt anerkendte.

I dag vokser identiteten som karrierekvinde frem som en alternativ identitetsforståelse for kvinder, som ikke har fået børn. Denne identitetsforståelse er central hos den moderne kvinde i dag, og den er med til at udvide kvindens muligheder i forhold til at skabe egen identitet indenfor samfundets normer. På den anden side er dette ofte på bekostning af identiteten som mor, og der hersker således ambivalens i denne identitet som karrierekvinde, da den af samfundet konstrueres som blandt andet egoistisk, ensom eller ukvindelig (Giese 2016: 170-200).

Det dominerende narrativ om at være egoistisk, hvis man tænker på sig selv og ikke får børn, kommer til udtryk på forskellige måder hos flere af vores informanterne. Blandt andet ytrer Naja en social forståelse af, at karrierekvinder udelukkende har succes i arbejdslivet, fordi de netop har valgt børn fra. Baggrunden for forståelsen kan stamme fra en samfundsdiskurs om, at kvinder bør være uselviske og have øje for fællesskabet, hvorfor der er højere forventninger til, at kvinden agerer altruistisk. Denne konstruktion forstærkes af, at kvinder oftest indtager roller, der kræver denne adfærd, såsom moderskabet eller diverse omsorgserhverv, hvilket socialiserer kvinder til at agere mindre egoistisk (Rand et al. 2016). Det vil sige, at samfundet er med til at konstruere karrierekvinder som egoistiske og dermed kun fagligt dygtige i kraft af, at de er barnløse, hvilket har en negativ betydning for deres identitetsforståelse. Dette på trods af, at de tre kvinder ikke fremstår egoistiske, men derimod tænker på andre. Derfor kan denne diskurs gøre det svært at omfavne den alternative identitet som karrierekvinde, som for flere af informanterne er blevet forstærket efter fertilitetsbehandling uden børn, da diskursen omkring karrierekvinden modstrider visse normer i samfundet.

Selvom kvinden har fået en bredere vifte af mulige identiteter at vælge imellem grundet arbejde, ligestilling og økonomisk uafhængighed, oplever kvinderne i dette studie fortsat kvindens identitet som mor som den mest fremtrædende og accepterede i nutidens samfund. Dette fremgår ligeledes af analysen, hvor flere af informanterne giver udtryk for, at deres veninder dyrker moderskabet og lader det fylde i deres nære relationer. Anna nævner desuden mødregrupper, institutioner og højtider, som i høj grad er bygget op omkring børn. At være ufrivilligt barnløs kan derfor medføre ensomhed eller isolation, depression, meningsløshed, sorg og identitetsforvirring.

Det at være ufrivilligt barnløs kan endvidere påvirke kvinderne negativt, da det positionerer dem i en offerrolle, eller som nogen samfundet skal have medlidenhed med. Dette underbygges i analysen af Malenes udsagn, hvor hun nævner den dominerende fortælling om "de stakkels barnløse". En årsag til denne udvikling kan hævdes at være idealiseringen af moderskabet, men samtidig en sygeliggørelse af infertiliteten. Førhen var det et privat problem i hjemmet, men nu betragtes det som en medicinsk diagnose, som kan behandles (Greil, Slauson-Blevins & McQuillan 2011). På den ene side kan dette skabe muligheder for kvinder, da flere får chancen for at blive mødre. På den anden side er det ikke alle kvinder, som opnår at få børn som resultat af behandlingen, hvormed de vil være

permanent sygeliggjorte eller abnorme i kraft af denne sociale konstruktion.

6.2. Frygten for at fejle i præstationssamfundet

Under hovednarrativet ”Hende der ikke kan få børn” ligger frygten for at fejle eller ikke at lykkes, hvortil flere af informanterne italesætter, hvordan de har følt sig presset af bestemte samfundsstrukturer og normer. I samfundet er der primært fokus på præstation og succes, og der er ikke plads til muligheden for at afvige eller fejle. Følelsen af at skulle lykkes kan også blive forstærket grundet fertilitetsklinikkernes positive indstilling til behandlingens effekt, men succesraten bliver ofte ikke italesat (Ulrich & Weatherall 2000). Fertilitetsklinikkerne kan være med til at konstruere og fastholde håbet og drømmen om at blive biologisk mor med forsideudsagn på hjemmesider som: ”Drømmer du om børn? Vi kan hjælpe dig”. Kvinderne i interviewet fortæller, at der ingen rådgivning tilbydes, når behandlingen svigter, og at de ikke forberedes på behandlingssvigt. Studiet af Bergart (2000) peger ligeledes på et fravær af rådgivning fra klinikernes side og et øget behov for at tilbyde passende rådgivning til kvinderne både som en forberedelse på evt. Behandlingssvigt samt en direkte rådgivning, når fertilitetsbehandling må ophøre uden børn.

På den ene side kan klinikernes optimisme bidrage med håb hos kvinderne. På den anden side kan dette ”Vi kan hjælpe dig” bidrage til at forstærke følelserne af at fejle hos kvinderne, hvis de er en af dem, der ikke kunne hjælpes, til trods for at det er ude af deres kontrol. Moderskabet bliver forbundet med at lykkes, hvorfor man har fejlet som kvinde, når fertilitetsbehandling afsluttes uden børn (Ulrich & Weatherall 2000). Til trods for at kvinderne finder alternative måder at leve på, nye værdier og selv oplever at lykkes, bliver de holdt op mod en samfundsdiskurs om moderskab som ideal.

Hovednarrativet om at lykkes bliver også forstærket, da man i samfundet opfordrer til at reproducere sig selv, inden det af biologiske årsager bliver for sent (Aggerbeck 2023). Dette forekommer i forskellige kampagner såsom ”Har du talt dine æg i dag?”, som Københavns Kommune og Rigshospitalet står bag. Denne kampagne gør opmærksom på, hvordan chancerne for at få børn ser ud, når man er 25 år, sammenlignet med når man er 35 år. Dette biologiske fokus bidrager til en legitimering af, at moderskabet ligger instinktivt i kvinden (Letherby 2002). I 2020 var der 21,4 procent af kvinder midt i 30’erne, som levede et liv uden børn (Danmarks Statistik 2020). Det peger på, at flertallet får børn. Dog tager de 21,4 procent ikke højde for, hvorvidt barnløsheden er frivillig eller ufrivillig, men det kan antages at have en betydning for, hvordan kvinden positioneres. Derfor er det interessant, hvilken rolle det ufrivillige aspekt og ønsket om at blive mor spiller i forhold til identitetskonstruktionen. Hvis en kvinde oplever ufrivillig barnløshed, er der drømme og mål omkring familielivet og identiteten som mor, der ikke går i opfyldelse (Ulrich & Weatherall 2000). Derfor kan det antages, at kvinden gør alt i sin magt for at opnå drømmen - herunder fertilitetsbehandling.

Desuden oplever kvinderne i studiet stigmatisering af livet uden børn, hvilket kan gøre det vanskeligt for kvinder at træffe et aktivt fravalg af børn, fordi det afviger fra normen. Alligevel ser vi kvinder, der selv fravælger livet med børn af forskellige årsager, såsom klimakriser, finansielle omstændigheder eller retten til det frie valg. Her betragtes moderskabet således mere som et valg end en pligt, da der i det moderne samfund er fokus på individualisering og individets livsprojekt (Throsby 2002). Diskursen om, at kvinder aktivt tager stilling til livet med eller uden børn, er ved at ændre sig og anses nu som en styrkende faktor for den enkeltes agens. Retten til det frie valg virker dog kun til at gøre sig gældende, hvis man selv fravælger børn, og ikke i tilfælde af ufrivillig barnløshed. Her dominerer diskursen om, at barnløsheden er forbundet med at fejle, hvilket får kvinder til at gå i fertilitetsbehandling og kæmpe til det sidste for at lykkes. Kvinder, der fravælger børn, anses som individer, der forsøger at realisere sig selv og deres drømme, hvorimod kvinder, der oplever ufrivillig barnløshed, ofte kommer i kategorien ikke lykkedes (Throsby 2002). Forskellen her kan antages at være på det aktive valg og på et fravær af biologisk årsag til barnløshed – dvs. At kvinden, der aktivt

vælger børn fra, potentielt er frugtbar og har muligheden for at få børn. Kvinder, der aktivt har valgt børn fra, vil heller ikke betegne sig selv som *barnløse*. I ordet barnløs ligger noget ufrivilligt og ikke selvvalgt.

6.3. Tab af mor-drømmen – en ikke samfundsmæssigt anerkendt sorg

Informanterne i dette studie beskriver en kompleksitet, hvad angår deres sorg, som kan kobles til tabet af mor-identiteten. Der er her tale om tab af kvindelige værdier, tab af kvindens vigtige livsprojekt i forhold til moderskab og tab af målet for udviklingen af den kvindelige personlighed. Blandt andet sammenligner flere af informanterne deres tab med at miste arme og ben, som bliver invaliderende for dem, og dermed bliver et udtryk for den enorme indflydelse, tabet har på deres liv. Sorg i forbindelse med tab af muligheden for biologisk mor-identitet viser sig derfor som et tredje hovednarrativ på tværs af kvindernes udsagn.

Sorg er en grundlæggende følelse og eksistentiel tilstand, som udløses af tab, der er et almenmenneskeligt livsvilkår. Oftest er der tale om sorg i forhold til dødsfald, skilsmisse eller sygdom, men sorg kan ligeledes opstå i såkaldte mangeltilstande. Her er der tale om et tab af noget, man forventede eller håbede på ville ske (Guldin 2019: 15-23). Ud fra denne forståelse kan tabet af mor-identiteten anses som en mangeltilstand, der kan resultere i en sorgreaktion. For nogle af informanterne har drømmen om familielivet fyldt meget, hvorfor de allerede har tanker om indretning af børneværelset eller navnelisten klar. Derfor bliver afsluttet fertilitetsbehandling uden børn en sorg over tabet af drømme, hvorfor der er tale om en eksistentiel smerte (Guldin 2019: 15-23). Fælles for informanterne er, at de er påvirkede af, at deres sorg ikke anerkendes. Vi har ikke et sorgbegreb, der favner at miste muligheder eller funktioner. I disse tilfælde bliver sorgen miskendt (Doka 2008: 223-240).

Den sorg, der opstår, når drømmen om at blive mor ikke bliver opfyldt, bliver oftest overset, da der ikke er tale om et fysisk tab. Da sorg ikke foregår isoleret, men i samspillet mellem mennesker, får anerkendelse af sorg en vigtig betydning i forhold til, hvordan individet tænker og oplever sig selv (Guldin 2019: 15-23). Derfor afspejler tabet af mor-drømmen en sorgproces, der ikke er anerkendt af samfundet, hvilket kan begrænse informanterne i deres identitetskonstruktion. Deres sorgproces er især påvirket af den samfundsdiskurs, hvor retten til at føle sorg ikke anerkendes, når der ikke er tale om et dødsfald, men hvor der er tale om sorg i forbindelse med tab af muligheder og drømme. Kvinderne i analysen mødes ofte med en positiv fortolkning af deres situation. For eksempel bliver Sarah mindet om, at man sagtens kan opnå et godt liv uden børn.

Det kan skabe en følelse af ensomhed og isolation fra andre, når sorgen ikke anerkendes eller passer ind i den definerede sorgforståelse. Manglen på anerkendelse af sorgen begrænser informanterne i deres identitetskonstruktion, da den kan resultere i undertrykte følelser frem for bearbejdning og accept.

Hos flere af informanterne bliver det tydeligt, at når de befinder sig i relationer og fællesskaber, der giver plads til sorgen og anerkendelsen, bliver det muligt at skabe alternative fortællinger. Disse alternative fortællinger bidrager til en identitetskonstruktion, hvor informanterne undersøger, hvad der nu skal give mening i deres tilværelse.

7. Konklusion

Dette studie har haft til formål at udforske perioden efter afsluttet fertilitetsbehandling, da forskningen i begrænset omfang har undersøgt mulige påvirkning af identiteten, som infertilitet kan have, når behandlingen afsluttes uden børn. Denne problemstilling blev undersøgt gennem 6 kvalitative forskningsinterviews med kvinder, der alle havde afsluttet fertilitetsbehandling uden børn.

Studiets metode og teoretiske afsæt har bidraget med forskellige analytiske pointer, hvor det er tydeligt, at afsluttet fertilitetsbehandling uden børn skaber en forandring i identiteten. Tabet af mor-drømmen har en essentiel påvirkning af kvindens identitetsforståelse, som medfører mange stærke og

ofte ambivalente følelser. Tabet af muligheden for biologisk mor-identitet omfatter blandt andet sorg, ensomhed, vrede, frustration, misundelse, skam, frygt og lettelse.

Samfundsdiskursen omhandlende kvinde- og mor-identiteten begrænser informanterne i forhold til at skabe en alternativ identitetsforståelse, da der er mangel på andre anerkendte identiteter for kvinder i samfundet. Kvinderne begrænses yderligere, da idéen om at fejle gør det sværere for dem at konstruere en positiv identitetsforståelse. Desuden kan det konkluderes, at kvinderne er påvirkede af, at deres sorg i forbindelse med tabet af biologisk mor-identitet ikke er socialt anerkendt. I og med at tabet ikke er anerkendt, påvirkes deres identitetskonstruktion, da det gør det sværere at bearbejde tabet.

Til trods for disse begrænsninger fremgår det af studiet, at mange af informanterne formår at skabe en alternativ fortælling, som danner grundlag for en positiv identitetsforståelse. Kvinderne i dette studie ønsker ikke at identificere sig med offerrollen, hvorfor de aktivt forsøger at modpositionere sig og blive stærke aktører i eget liv.

Studiets fund kan bidrage med en dybere forståelse af, hvordan afsluttet fertilitetsbehandling uden børn kan påvirke den enkelte kvindes identitetsopfattelse, og hvordan kvinden bedst hjælpes til at bearbejde identitetstab.

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