Copycats, ja dom shouf: Using hip hop to compare lexical replications in Danish and Swedish multiethnolects

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Abstract
In the contact scenarios of late-modern urban Europe, a complex interplay of predictors determine each output in the variety. They include substrate inputs, superstrate structure, social conditions, diachrony, and more; they are elusive and hard to isolate. However, if one was to attempt to isolate them, the Nordic multiethnolects would be a befitting start point because their languages, social structures, and origins of their migrants are similar. Diachrony is where they differ most: Swedish represents a later-stage multiethnolect; Danish, earlier. In this study, I compare lexical replications in Danish and Swedish hip hop because it features multiethnolect in its most flamboyant style. Hip hop is a de facto empirical isolation of the upper limits of community-accepted replication. I analyzed a corpus of 22 Danish (13,086 words) and 34 (15,668) Swedish ‘hit’ rap songs and found that the Swedish artists use nearly double the number of foreign lexical replications than the Danish artists. Furthermore, a higher number of Swedish replications (32) were used by >10% of the artists than Danish replications (14). High-use Danish replications were solely nouns and exclamations/tags. High-use Swedish replications included nouns, exclamations/tags, adjectives, verbs, and the first-person pronoun ‘benim.’ After closer analysis, I define ‘benim’ as a first-person ‘egohonorific’ pronoun and offer an explanation on its origin and social-indexical function. I argue that Swedish multiethnolect is ‘richer’ than Danish multiethnolect both in terms of level of replication as well as types of replications. The study provides fresh insight on two neighboring multiethnolects that have formed under similar conditions save for diachrony.
Copycats, ja dom shouf: Using hip hop to compare lexical replications in Danish and Swedish multiethnolects

Nathan Young*

1 Introduction

During the time that I have been researching language in Denmark and Sweden, I have observed (and at times made claims about) phenomena that have never been systematically tested. The first is that Swedish multiethnolect seems ‘richer’ than Danish; it replicates more lexical matter from other languages and also seems to calque more. The other is that some of the replications in Swedish, particularly the first-person singular pronoun benim, go deeper into the linguistic system than what is typical of slang replications in vernacular.

As stand-alone curiosities, these questions are worthy of deeper investigation. They also relate to a larger theoretical question in our field about the ‘feature pool’ [Mufwene 2001] and why certain features are adopted while others are rejected. [Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox, and Torgersen 2011] frame this question in the following manner:

The output varieties from the pool reflect competition within the pool between the various input varieties (and may well involve restructuring). Selection of features from the pool is constrained by the same factors that have been found relevant in other language contact situations. For some features the output reflects both the frequency of features in the input varieties and social factors. (Cheshire et al. 2011)

Cheshire et al. 2011 start with two observed phenomena – GOOSE-fronting and be like. They then incorporate past research with their own to identify social factors that contributed to the phenomena.

Identifying social factors that contribute to adoption in one scenario and rejection in another is extremely difficult because the confounds are seemingly endless. Unique substrate inputs, host languages, social conditions, and diachrony are all predictors that pull on each adoption/rejection output in the system. They are complex and often obscure; but if researchers were to take on this task, Scandinavia would be an excellent place to start. According to Quist 2000,

The Scandinavian countries are comparable with respect to urban organization and developments, and the languages are relatively similar in grammar and vocabulary. Furthermore, the parallel socio-demographic developments of the three Scandinavian welfare states offer comparable socio-political backgrounds for young people in the ethnically mixed areas of the larger cities. (Quist 2000:10)

In addition to the above similarities, Denmark and Sweden have taken in migrants from many of the same countries, resulting in similar substrate inputs. Furthermore, the Nordic nations also have a wealth of readily-available demographic data on their populations that other nations do not have (the usefulness of this becomes evident in Section 7).

The goal of this paper is not to resolve the complex question of why one feature is adopted and another rejected. Rather, the goal of this paper is to be a first step toward addressing bigger theoretical questions by comparing an earlier (Danish) and later-stage (Swedish) multiethnolect.

2 Multiethnic speech practice in Denmark and Sweden: Two timelines

Much of Europe is witnessing the development of new sociolects that are specifically late-modern and referred to as contemporary urban vernaculars [Rampton 2011] or multiethnolects [Clyne 2000, Quist 2008]. This linguistic phenomenon has been seen (thus far) exclusively in cities of European countries that experienced postwar labor migration.

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1 Translation: 'Copycats, yeah they're watching' (Gee Dixon, Alltid 100)
2 I would like thank Devyani Sharma and Erez Levon for their helpful feedback and support.
The Nordic multiethnolects are part of this. In fact, Swedish multiethnolect (‘Rinkeby Swedish’) was the first European multiethnolect to come to the attention of scholars (Kotsinas 1988). Danish multiethnolect came to our field’s attention much later (Jørgensen 2000; Quist 2000). This is probably because Danish multiethnolect developed later than its Swedish counterpart; Denmark began accepting migrants later and at lower rates than Sweden did. Quist 2012 also takes this position:

In Sweden this process started somewhat earlier, and one sees here a higher percentage of immigrants compared to Denmark and Norway. [...] These differences can possibly explain why it specifically was Sweden where the first investigations of youth language variation emerged. (Quist 2012)

Of the predictors listed in the Introduction (substrate inputs, host languages, social conditions, diachrony), diachrony is one of the biggest differences between Danish and Swedish multiethnolects. While there are clearly other differences, a comparative analysis can nonetheless shed light on what lexical replications look like in the early and late stages of late-modern contact-influenced vernacular.

3 Research questions

This article has three goals: (1) compare the level of replication between Danish and Swedish multiethnolects; (2) provide a comparative account of these replications, including their usage and grammatical nature; (3) hone in on any replication(s) of particular linguistic interest.

4 Method

4.1 Defining ‘replication’

Often a favorite topic for popular science, slang is considered ‘low-hanging fruit’ in terms of sociolinguistic investigations. Neologisms and replications abound in the multiethnic enclaves of Europe; most of them are transient, used by a cohort and discarded by the next. On the other hand, replications (be they slang or not) have been investigated more seriously in the context of contact scenarios. One of the more insightful theoretical frameworks for this sort of investigation is Matras and Sakel’s 2007 MAT/PAT delineation. Replications of matter (MAT) include the direct placement of lexemes from a substrate language into the superstrate. Replications of pattern (PAT) include the placement of the substrate structure into the superstrate while using the superstrate’s lexical material. Four types of replications are relevant to this study; two are MATs, and two are PATs.

1. Replicating lexical matter from English (e.g., haters, dubs up)

2. Replicating lexical matter from migrant languages in the community (e.g., chagga from Wolof, translation: ‘prostitute’)

3. Calquing English and Black English Vernacular (BEV) phrases (e.g., brække nakke from BEV, translation: ‘breaking neck’; i.e., to check somebody out)

4. Violating V2 constraints (e.g., lige nu jeg har ikke tid instead of lige nu har jeg ikke tid, translation: ‘right now I don’t have time’)

This paper will solely address (1) and (2) with a sharper focus on (2).

4.2 Hip hop: Controlling the ‘replication’ context

One challenge with a variable like ‘replication level’ is that the circulation of replications is highly diverse within even the same speech community. Any given replication inventory will have countless

\[^{2}\text{It is up for debate whether this constitutes an actual PAT.}\]
predictors. So even if we could find two comparable Danish and Swedish speech communities, positionality within those groups would also affect rates of variation. In other words, if we were fortunate enough to have a Danish corpus and a Swedish corpus of gang members (we aren’t), the varying ‘lameness’ levels might confound any meaningful comparison (Labov 1973).

The solution I propose is to compare replications in Danish and Swedish hip hop, because Nordic hip hop has emerged in the past decade as a highly visible platform for urban multiethnolect (Brunstad, Røyneland, and Opsahl 2010; Stæhr and Madsen 2017). The biggest hits can top 5,000,000 views within a year’s time, despite the languages’ relatively small number of speakers (Danish - 5,532,120 and Swedish - 12,362,250; Lewis 2009).

An examination of hip hop is effectively an empirical extraction of a very specific type of practice-based community. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992 define such communities of practice as “an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992:8). The position I am taking is that innovation in and mastery of the local vernacular – what Alim 2011 refers to as ill-literacy – becomes that very engagement. In Nordic hip hop, such practices of peripherality and anti-ness mandate the vernacular in its most flamboyant form. Here we can expect to find the upper limit of any anti-indexical bricolage, of which replicating foreign lexemes is one part.

4.3 Corpus selection

Thirty-four Swedish songs and 22 Danish songs were selected according to the following criteria: (1) The artist had to be of (partial) immigrant descent. (2) Songs had to have some sort of popular attention beyond their YouTube presence, such as mention in Kingsize Magazine (Sweden) or Gaffa (Denmark), heard in a nightclub, blasting from a car, or on the radio. (3) Songs had to have high YouTube viewership, which I define as over 100,000 views per year for Swedish hits and 45,000 views per year for Danish hits. (4) Songs had to have been released between 2012 and 2017.

The songs were transcribed with help from Genius.com, and replications were manually annotated as such. The Swedish corpus consists of 15,668 total words, and the Danish 13,086 total words. Many songs are collaborations: 39 artists are behind the 34 Swedish songs, and 26 artists are behind the 22 Danish songs. Therefore I broke the corpus down by “appearance” with 71 Swedish appearances and 51 Danish appearances, provided in Appendix A.

5 Analysis: Comparing the level of Danish and Swedish replications

The number of unique replications was counted; if the same replication occurred numerous times in one appearance, it was counted once. The counts were normalized and plotted in Figure 1. 471 unique lexical replications occurred in the Swedish corpus, and 190 occurred in the Danish corpus.

The Danish corpus shows a lower number of foreign lexical replications than the Swedish. Also noticeable is the many hit female rappers in Sweden and their absence in Denmark. I ran a poisson regression analysis with the following call Replications ~ Language * Gender. The predictor represents the three-way split of Danish male, Swedish male, and Swedish female. Swedish males were significantly different from Danish males, Swedish females were significantly different from Danish males, and Swedish males were not significantly different from Swedish females.

314 of the 471 Swedish replications were from English, and 117 of the 190 Danish replications were from English. An explanation for this is that hip hop originates from the United States, and English proficiency in the Nordic countries is extremely high (Education First 2016). There were 157 non-English replications in Swedish and 73 non-English replications in Danish. In a poisson re-
Figure 1: Boxplots of lexical replications (normalized) per artist by country. Swedish replications are in yellow and blue (corpus size=15,668 words; unique lemmas=471), Danish replications are in red and white (corpus size=13,086 words; unique lemmas=190), and female artists (all Swedish) are marked $F$. The artists are arranged by mean replication count from lowest to highest.

Progression analysis, Swedish male and female artists also replicated non-English lexemes significantly more than Danish males. There was no significant difference between Swedish males and females.

6 Analysis: Inventorying and describing replications

In order to separate sporadic idiolectal occurrences from the more stable lexemes in circulation, lemmas that were used by at least 10% of the rappers were examined more closely. For the Danish corpus, 10% means lemmas were spoken by at least three rappers; for the Swedish corpus, it means lemmas were spoken by at least four rappers. Table 1 provides a full list of the replications.

Fourteen Danish and 32 Swedish replications were distributed among at least 10% or more of the rappers.

The mean ‘embeddedness’ was calculated for the top fourteen lemmas for both languages to offer another tool for comparing replication density. Per this metric, Swedish also ‘scored’ higher than Danish. The top fourteen Swedish lemmas averaged 22% in usage versus 18% in Danish.

6.1 English lemmas

English expletives (Fuck, beat, nigga) generally occurred more in Danish than Swedish. Bro, ghetto, and Rollie were used by three Danish rappers each, whereas none of those lemmas were as widespread among the Swedish rappers. Eleven Swedish rappers used baby lemmas in contrast to only one Danish rapper. Seven Swedish rappers used bitch lemmas in contrast to only one Danish rapper. Six Swedish artists used chill and its verb form chilla as opposed to one Danish artist. Six Swedish artists also used the Jamaican Creole term wine/wine’a, which means to dance. No wine lemmas
The remaining English replications in Swedish – *beef, boss, boy, G, game, grind jet* – were spoken by four rappers each. *Jet* did not occur in Danish but *jetski* did (two rappers; not in figure). *Jetski* is a slang term for *cool* that emerged in Stockholm’s suburbs (my anecdotal assessment) around 2013. By 2017, one mostly heard *jet* in Swedish instead of *jetski*. Around this same time in 2017, *jetski* made its first appearance in Danish. I therefore treat them as the same lemmas.

### 6.2 Non-English lemmas

Although English is the most common replication source for both corpora (117 and 314 for Danish and Swedish, respectively), non-English slang is what stereotypes these multiethnolects. Table 1 shows that the Swedish corpus also has a higher number of ‘embedded’ non-English lemmas than Danish. In the Swedish corpus, the most ‘embedded’ non-English source was Turkish with eight

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lemma</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Artists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HUSTLA</td>
<td>to hustle</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>AMBO, Antigoni, Bente Jur, Brao, Carmen, Fosil, Gilli, Hakoon, HamVolk, J-Min, Ken, HH, Stor, Sliman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARA</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>6/26 0.23 Fosil, Gilli, Iszy, Omar, Svva, Sliman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BEAT beat</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>5/26 0.19 Hakoon, HamVolk, J-Min, Omar, Sliman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>LAAK sentence tag</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>tag</td>
<td>5/26 0.19 AMBO, Danne, Fosil, HamVolk, Omar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NIGGA nigga</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>5/26 0.19 Hakoon, Iszy, Jamaka, J-Min, Omar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ORALE “Let’s go”</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
<td>5/26 0.19 Carmen, Danne, Fosil, Gilli, Jamaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>BABA address term</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>4/26 0.15 Carmen, J-Min, NODE, Soep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>SHABAB friend</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>4/26 0.15 AMBO, Carmen, Iszy, NODE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>BRO address term</td>
<td>BEV</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>3/26 0.12 AMBO, Hakoon, Sliman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>FLOS money</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>3/26 0.12 Carmen, Danne, Hakoen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ghetto ghetto</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>3/26 0.12 Carmen, Fosil, Sliman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>JUJU marijuana</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>3/26 0.12 Carmen, Gilli, Sliman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ROLLE Rolex watch</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>3/26 0.12 Hakoon, J-Min, Stor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>SAHEB friend</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>3/26 0.12 Fosil, Jamaka, NODE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: ‘Embedded’ replications, defined as lemmas used by 10% or more of the artists. 13 lemmas are distributed among 10% or more of the Danish artists, and 32 lemmas are distributed among 10% or more of the Swedish artists. The mean usage of the top 14 lemmas is provided for comparison.

occurred in Danish. *Hustla* lemmas were used by five Swedish rappers but were absent in Danish.
replications: *para, benim, bakk, gäri, aina, guzz, gött and länn* (in same order as in Table 1). In the Danish corpus, it was Arabic with four replications: *laak, shabab, flous, and saheb*. Aside from Arabic, other source languages in the Danish corpus include Turkish (2 replications), Spanish (1), and Somali (1). Aside from Turkish, other source languages for Swedish include Arabic (4), Romani (1), Somali (1), and Spanish (1).

*Para* was replicated in high rates in both the Danish and Swedish corpora. It is also one of the original slang words reported in Rinkeby Swedish by Kotsinas (1988). Its synonym *flous* was produced by 3/26 of the Danish rappers, whereas only two Swedish rappers used it. Other than *para*, there are few similarities between Danish and Swedish for the embedded non-English lemmas.

The origin of *shuno* is unclear, but an anecdote that circulates is that it is a forged foreignism that originates from two morphemes, ‘sun’ and ‘-o’. The first morpheme is said to be taken from the final syllable of *person* (pronounced [pəˈsun]). The second is said to originate from the masculine ending in substrate languages like Romani and Spanish.

### 6.3 Grammatical depth

Of the Danish replications shown in Figure 1, 79% constitute nouns, 0% adjectives, 0% verbs, and 21% miscellaneous categories (like exclamations and discourse markers). Of the Swedish replications shown, 59% constitute nouns, 6% adjectives, 21% verbs, 3% pronouns (i.e., 1), and 11% miscellaneous. Not only do the Swedish replications include verbs – a lexical category that makes higher online cognitive demands (Osterhout et al. 2002) – they also include a functional category (Muysken 2008): the self-referential pronoun *benim*.

### 7 Benim: A replication of particular linguistic interest

I define *benim* as an ‘ego-honorific’ first-person singular pronoun. Kotsinas and Doggelito (2004) were the first to identify the word in an academic context; however, no in-depth analysis was provided as to its use, frequency, or social-indexical meaning. As far as I know, there has been no research on its adoption and reanalysis into Swedish.

#### 7.1 Origin

*Benim* originates from the Turkish first-person genitive pronoun, which sometimes translates as the possessive ‘my’, but not always. Because Turkish is highly synthetic, the frequency of its standalone personal pronouns is lower than in analytic languages like Swedish (e.g., ‘she doesn’t like it’ = *sévmiyor*, Göksel and Kerslake 2005:34). According to Göksel and Kerslake (2005), *benim* would mark emphasis in the possessive context. While this may be infrequent, the few times it would occur will all be highly salient. Other possible contexts for *benim* are certain prepositional phrases, possessive existential sentences (e.g., *benim bir kitabım var*, ‘I have a book’), and the subject of subordinate clauses (Göksel and Kerslake 2005).

With this in mind, it seems less odd that the genitive *benim* was replicated instead of nominative *ben*. A Zipf distribution mandates that lower-frequency words will have smaller differences in frequency than high-frequency words.Invoke IT’s 2011 corpus of Turkish subtitles exemplifies what I mean. *Ben* (I) occurred 244,870 times, *beni* (me) 123,999 times (50% the frequency of *ben*), *benim* (my) 110,422 times (45%), and *benimle* (with me) 22,258 times (9%). In its corpus of Swedish subtitles, *jag* (I) occurred 1,036,755 times, *mig* (me) 229,399 times (22% of *jag*), and *min/mitt* (my) 134,516 times (13%). These figures offer helpful context to the *benim* output.

#### 7.2 Speaker profile

Table 2 provides a list of the contexts in which *benim* occurs and by which speakers in which songs. The following artists (ethnicity) use it: Dani M (Swede/Venezuelan), Denz (Eritrean), Gee

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8See Cheshire et al. 2011 for the role of salience in feature-pool selection.
Dixon (Gambian), Ibbe (Sierra Leonian), Jireel (Angolan), Kaliffa (Gambian/Swede), Keya (Kurdish/Turkish), Lamix (Gambian), Pato Pooh (Chilean), and Yasin Byn (Somali). An observation here is that only one of the artists is actually Turkish, but this is not necessarily surprising because many early speakers of Swedish multiethnolect were of Turkish descent (Kotsinas 1988).

The Swedish corpus is overrepresented by Stockholmers, but the artists are actually well-distributed across neighborhoods. For benim, this is also the case. Dani M grew up in Stenhagen, Uppsala and is still registered there. Denz, Keya, Pato Pooh, and Yasin Byn are from Stockholm’s ‘west side’ area, to which Rinkeby is a part. The remaining are from Stockholm’s ‘south side’: Gee Dixon is from Visätra in Huddinge; Ibbe and Jireel are from Rågsved; Kaliffa grew up in Dalen but now resides in Högdalen; Lamix is from Norsborg.

The age distribution can tell us whether generational limits are imposed, and it would seem that this is also the case. Dani M grew up in Stenhagen, Uppsala and is still registered there. Denz, Keya, Pato Pooh, and Yasin Byn are from Stockholm’s ‘west side’ area, to which Rinkeby is a part. The remaining are from Stockholm’s ‘south side’: Gee Dixon is from Visätra in Huddinge; Ibbe and Jireel are from Rågsved; Kaliffa grew up in Dalen but now resides in Högdalen; Lamix is from Norsborg.

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7.3 Social-indexical meaning

I define benim as an ‘ego-honorific’ first-person singular pronoun. Another term for this is *other-deprecatory* (in the sense of ‘deprecating others’). Miyazaki (2004) uses this terminology to describe the Japanese first-person pronoun ore. In her ethnography of a Japanese junior-high school, popular boys used ore, and less popular boys faced negative sanctions for its use. When examining the context in which benim occurs, similar gendered themes emerged. The contexts in Table 2 include triumph over some obstacle, rivalry, sexual prowess, and drugs/alcohol, which give it a particularly masculine socio-indexicality – especially when one considers the absence of female usage. However, this picture is incomplete, and limitations will be discussed in more detail in Section 8.

7.4 Grammatical depth

*Benim* is left-dislocated five times, followed by a third-person pronoun (Table 2, benim han...). This implies that it is not a complete first-person pronoun for everyone. Left-dislocated proper nouns followed by a pronoun are extremely common in both Danish and Swedish (Johannessen 2014, i.e., *Anders han er sød*; Eng: Anders is nice). Here, we see benim in conflict. My explanation for this is that the form of benim (disyllabic, non-standard phonotactics) resembles a proper noun too much, which is creating tension with its actual function as a pronoun. This is probably why some rappers are left-dislocating it as if it were a proper noun, even as it is doing self-referential work.

8 Conclusion

The analysis presented in this study starts with a macro-perspective and moves to the level of the individual lexeme in order to offer new insights on replications in an early-stage Nordic multiethnolect (Danish) and a later-stage Nordic multiethnolect (Swedish). I return to the original research questions presented:

1. **Compare the level of replication between Danish and Swedish multiethnolects:** Section 5 demonstrates that Swedish artists replicate more lemmas than Danish artists and that there does not appear to be a gender effect. There are 471 unique Swedish replications and 190 unique Danish replications. 157 of the Swedish replications and 73 of the Danish replications are from languages other than English. If one accepts the premise that the corpus is representative of hip hop and multiethnolect at large, one can conclude that Swedish multiethnolect has a higher replication level than Danish.

2. **Provide a comparative account of these replications:** I interpret the results in Section 6 to mean that Swedish hip hop is ‘richer’ in lexical replications than Danish. Thirty-two lemmas had usage by more than 10% of the artists in Swedish, whereas in Danish it was 14. The Swedish replications are also more grammatically diverse: 59% constitute nouns (including one forged foreignism), 6% adjectives, 21% verbs, 3% pronouns (i.e., 1), and 11% miscellaneous compared to 79%, 0%, 0%, and 21% in Danish, respectively. If one accepts the premise that the corpus is representative of hip hop and multiethnolect at large, one can conclude that Swedish multiethnolect is richer in its lexical replications than Danish.

3. **Hone in on benim (Eng: I, me):** Benim is an ego-honorific first-person pronoun that occurs 24 times in the Swedish corpus and is used by 10 speakers, which represents the fourth-most distributed usage in the Swedish corpus. It is a reanalysis from the Turkish first-person genitive pronoun; its high salience and medium frequency in Turkish offers an explanation for how this might have come to be. Users have a relatively wide age distribution (17–38), a wide ethnic distribution, and come from a fairly wide distribution of greater-Stockholm neighborhoods. Of the 24 contexts benim occurs, five of them left-dislocate the pronoun as if it were a proper noun. My interpretation of this is that benim’s surface form (it resembles a proper noun) is creating a barrier for its full absorption as a personal pronoun.

The analysis of benim also resulted in new questions. In this corpus, it is used only by male artists, and its context includes themes like triumph over an obstacle, rivalry, sexual prowess, and drugs/alcohol. This picture, however, is skewed because the context surrounding tokens of jag/mig
The conclusions drawn here shed light on two neighboring multiethnolects in similar speech communities at different stages of development. The results from the Swedish data might foreshadow what is yet to come in Danish multiethnolect, but language change is notoriously elusive. What is clear, however, is that the repertoires of Denmark’s and Sweden’s multiethnic rappers differ in ways that aid our understanding of contemporary urban vernaculars and late-modern language change.

References


Quist, Pia. 2012. Skandinavisk i kontakt med indvandrersprog [Scandinavian in contact with immigrant languages]. *Sprog i Norden* 43.


### Appendix A: Discography

List of Danish and Swedish songs with YouTube addresses, artists, gender, word count per song, and number of unique lexical replications per appearance. Hyperlinks are provided to the videos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Danish</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Song</strong></td>
<td><strong>YouTube address</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Aktivitet</td>
<td>watch?v=0CbCyuRUqc8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Alt eller Intet</td>
<td>watch?v=262apSUZ4uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>watch?v=UCUDBYjY5c6</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
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**Notes:**
- 1. Aktivitet - Hakeem M
- 2. Alt eller Intet - Sleiman M
- 3. Gilli - Ibbe
- 4. Bar Sig Til - Omar M
- 5. Artigeardit - ICEKIDD
- 6. Blondiner og Brunetter - ICEKIDD
- 7. Branco - ICEKIDD
- 8. Bar Sig Til - ICEKIDD
- 9. Bomaye - ICEKIDD
- 10. Branco - ICEKIDD
- 11. Bomaye - ICEKIDD
- 12. Branco - ICEKIDD
- 13. Bomaye - ICEKIDD
- 14. Branco - ICEKIDD
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- 18. Goldfishen - ICEKIDD
- 19. Holy Molly - ICEKIDD
- 20. Ik Tal til mig - ICEKIDD
- 21. Ik Tal til mig - ICEKIDD
- 22. Jer - ICEKIDD
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