

*Copycats, ja dom shouf:*¹ Using hip hop to compare lexical replications in Danish and Swedish multiethnolects

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1 Introduction

During the 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.

¹Translation: ‘Copycats, yeah they’re watching’ (Gee Dixon, *Alltid 100*)

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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')²

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

²It 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 hits³. (4) Songs had to have been released between 2012 and 2017⁴.

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 songs⁵. 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 Denmark⁶. 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-

³These figures were calculated based on the proportional population differences of Danish and Swedish speakers. According to Lewis 2009, the world has 5,532,120 Danish and 12,362,250 Swedish speakers.

⁴Ringsager 2015 and Stæhr and Madsen 2017 cite the year 2011 as a turning point for Danish rap, after which a 'new wave' began to widely feature multiethnic artists and their language.

⁵The artists rap one at a time, not together.

⁶I cross-checked this with several hip hop fans in Denmark, who confirmed this to be the case.

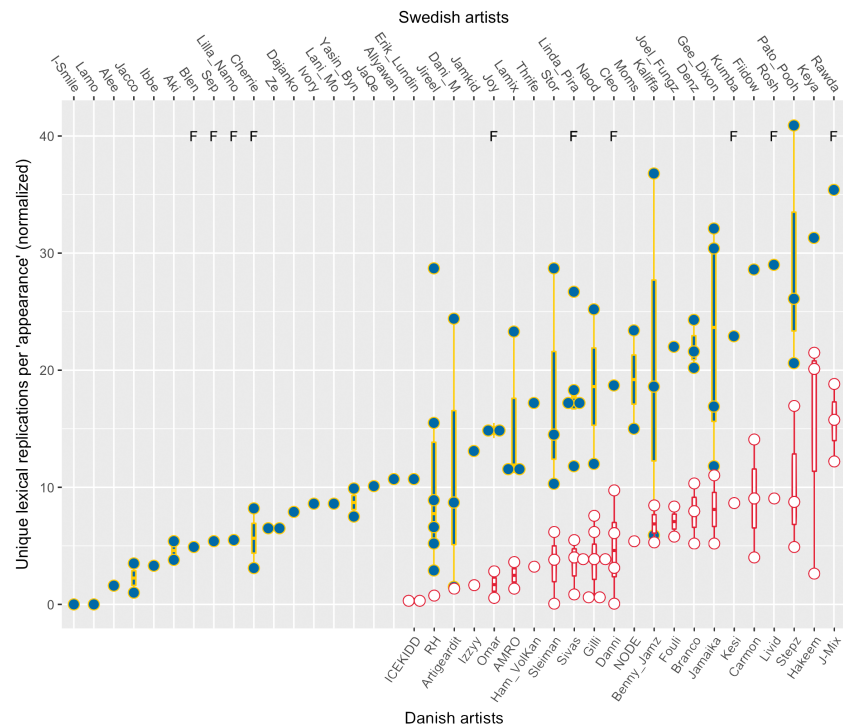


Figure 1: Boxplots of lexical replications (normalized) per artist by country. Swedish replications are in yellow and blue (corpus size=15,668 words; unique lemmas=471), Danish replications are in red and white (corpus size=13,086 words; unique lemmas=190), and female artists (all Swedish) are marked *F*. The artists are arranged by mean replication count from lowest to highest.

gression 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 replications⁷. 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

⁷Where the definition or source language is unknown, a ‘?’ is provided. Readers are encouraged to contact me with any information about definitions or origins that I have misattributed or have marked as unknown.

	Lemma	Definition	Origin	Function	Users/ ‘Embeddedness’	artist count	Artists	
Danish	1	FUCK	fuck	English	exclamation	14/26	0.54	AMRO, Artigeardit, Benny Jamz, Branco, Carmon, Fouli, Gilli, Hakeem, HamVolkan, J-Mix, Kesi, RH, Sivas, Sleiman
	2	PARA	money	Turkish	noun	6/26	0.23	Fouli, Gilli, Izzyy, Omar, Sivas, Sleiman
	3	BEAT	beat	English	noun	5/26	0.19	Hakeem, HamVolkan, J-Mix, Omar, Sleiman,
	4	LAAK	sentence tag	Arabic	tag	5/26	0.19	AMRO, Danni, Fouli, Ham VolKan, Omar
	5	NIGGA	nigga	English	noun	5/26	0.19	Hakeem, Izzyy, Jamaika, J-Mix, Omar
	6	ORALE	‘Let’s go’	Spanish	exclamation	5/26	0.19	Carmon, Danni, Fouli, Gilli, Jamaika
	7	BABA	address term	Turkish	noun	4/26	0.15	Carmon, J-Mix, NODE, Stepz
	8	SHABAB	friend	Arabic	noun	4/26	0.15	AMRO, Carmon, Izzyy, NODE
	9	BRO	address term	BEV	noun	3/26	0.12	AMRO, Hakeem, Sivas
	10	FLOUS	money	Arabic	noun	3/26	0.12	Carmon, Danni, Hakeem
	11	GHETTO	ghetto	English	noun	3/26	0.12	Carmon, Fouli, Sleiman
	12	JUU	marijuana	Somali	noun	3/26	0.12	Carmon, Gilli, Sleiman
	13	ROLLIE	Rolex watch	English	noun	3/26	0.12	Hakeem, J-Mix, Stepz,
	14	SAHEB	friend	Arabic	noun	3/26	0.12	Fouli, Jamaika, NODE
					<i>mean: 0.18</i>			
Swedish	1	PARA	money	Turkish	noun	16/39	0.41	Blen, Dani M, Denz, Erik Lundin, Gee Dixon, Ibbe, Jacco, Jireel, Joel Funz, Lamix, Linda Pira, Naod, Pato Pooh, Stor, Thrife, Yasin Byn
	2	FUCK	fuck	English	exclamation	15/39	0.38	Aki, Allyawan, Cleo, Dani M, Ivory, JaQe, Jireel, Joel Funz, Joy, Kaliffa, Lilla Namu, Linda Pira, Moms, Pato Pooh, Stor
	3	BABY	baby	English	noun	11/39	0.28	Cherrie, Fiidow, Gee Dixon, Jamkid, Jireel, Kaliffa, Lamix, Lani Mo, Linda Pira, Sep, Z.e
	4	BENIM	I, me	Turkish	pronoun	10/39	0.26	Dani M, Denz, Gee Dixon, Ibbe, Jireel, Kaliffa, Keya, Lamix, Pato Pooh, Yasin Byn
	5	BAKK	to watch	Turkish	verb	9/39	0.23	Cherrie, Dani M, Denz, Fiidow, Gee Dixon, Kaliffa, Lilla Namu, Linda Pira, Pato Pooh
	6	GÄRI	girl	Turkish	noun	8/39	0.21	Erik Lundin, Gee Dixon, Ivory, Jireel, Joel Funz, Kaliffa, Lani Mo, Stor
	7	SHUNO	guy	‘foreignism’	noun	8/39	0.21	Cleo, Erik Lundin, Kaliffa, Kumba, Linda Pira, Pato Pooh, Rosh, Stor
	8	ABI(AT)	cocaine	Arabic	noun	7/39	0.18	Allyawan, Denz, Gee Dixon, Ivory, Pato Pooh, Stor, Z.e
	9	AINA	police	Turkish	noun	7/39	0.18	Dani M, Gee Dixon, Ivory, Joel Funz, Lamix, Lilla Namu, Stor
	10	BITCH	bitch	English	noun	7/39	0.18	Cleo, Gee Dixon, Jireel, Joy, Linda Pira, Pato Pooh, Yasin Byn
	11	BECKNA	deal drugs	Romani	verb	6/39	0.15	Cherrie, Dani M, Joel Funz, Pato Pooh, Stor, Thrife
	12	CHILL(A)	chill	English	noun/verb	6/39	0.15	Denz, Jireel, Joy, Lamix, Rawda, Z.e
	13	JAPP	have sex	?	verb	6/39	0.15	Gee Dixon, Dani M, Jacco, Naod, Stor, Yasin Byn
	14	WINE	to dance	Jamaican	verb	6/39	0.15	Fiidow, Kaliffa, Kumba, Lani Mo, Linda Pira, Naod
						<i>mean: 0.22</i>		
	15	GUZZ	girl	Turkish	noun	5/39	0.13	Jireel, Joel Funz, Keya, Lamix, Linda Pira
	16	GÖTT	butt	Turkish	noun	5/39	0.13	Dani M, Fiidow, Jireel, Kaliffa, Lamix
	17	HUSTLA	to hustle	English	verb	5/39	0.13	Cherrie, Denz, Linda Pira, Stor, Yasin Byn
18	LÄNN	sentence tag	Turkish	tag	5/39	0.13	Lilla Namu, Linda Pira, Pato Pooh, Thrife, Yasin Byn	
19	SHOUF	to look	Arabic	verb	5/39	0.13	Dani M, Gee Dixon, Kaliffa, Linda Pira, Moms, Naod	
20	TAGGA	to leave	Somali	verb	5/39	0.13	Ivory, Jireel, Lilla Namu, Naod, Yasin Byn	
21	YALLA	come on	Arabic	exclamation	5/39	0.13	Erik Lundin, Lilla Namu, Linda Pira, Moms, Stor	
22	AJAIB	magical	Arabic	adjective	4/39	0.10	Fiidow, Ibbe, Kaliffa, Lani Mo	
23	BEEF	dispute	BEV	noun	4/39	0.10	Gee Dixon, Pato Pooh, Stor, Yasin Byn	
24	BOSS	boss	English	noun	4/39	0.10	Cleo, Denz, Jireel, Stor	
25	BOY	address term	BEV	noun	4/39	0.10	Gee Dixon, Joel Funz, Lamix, Naod	
26	G	address term	BEV	noun	4/39	0.10	Aki, Denz, Gee Dixon, Yasin Byn	
27	GAME	game	English	noun	4/39	0.10	Jireel, Pato Pooh, Stor, Yasin Byn	
28	GRIND	hard work	BEV	noun	4/39	0.10	Blen, Dani M, Gee Dixon, Joy	
29	JET	cool	English	adjective	4/39	0.10	Jireel, Lamix, Linda Pira, Pato Pooh	
30	LIFE	life	English	noun	4/39	0.10	Cherrie, JaQe, Joy, Linda Pira	
31	PAPI	address term	Spanish	noun	4/39	0.10	Keya, Lamix, Linda Pira, Pato Pooh	
32	ÄZI	weed	?	noun	4/39	0.10	Denz, Erik Lundin, Ivory, Stor, Yasin Byn	

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

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

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*, *floos*, 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 *floos* 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, ‘*şun*’ and ‘*-o*’. The first morpheme is said to be taken from the final syllable of *person* (pronounced [pɛˈʃun]). 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 stand-alone 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 salient⁸. 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

⁸See Cheshire et al. 2011 for the role of salience in feature-pool selection.

Artist	Song	Context with hyperlink to video on <i>benim</i>	Grammatical role
Ibbe	'Adjaib' [Magical]	Har druckit för mycket så benim är redo för klubben ikväll Have drunk too much so I am ready for the club tonight	subject
Gee Dixon	'Alltid 100' [Keep it 100]	Visade bebexen tugget, benim eran ammo Showed the kids the ropes, I'm your ammo	subject
Jireel	'Cataleya' [Cataleya]	Vi träffades i orten, sen benim han var där We met in the hood, then I was there	subject
Jireel	'Cataleya' [Cataleya]	Benim han är boss, jag ska dö som en man I'm the boss, I shall die like a man	left dislocator
Jireel	'Cataleya' [Cataleya]	Nu benim han e grande Now I am big	left dislocator
Pato Pooh	'Driftig' [Hardworking]	Jag e på min Kanye skit, benim e min egen favorit emcee I'm on my Kanye shit, I'm my own favorite emcee	subject
Jireel	'Driftig' [Hardworking]	Benim han e driftig som aldrig för, jag vill leva lyxliv I'm hardworking like never before, I want to live the good life	left dislocator
Gee Dixon	'Groupie' [Groupie]	Hon säger hon är groupie, benim måste få psykos She says she's a groupie, I must have gone crazy	subject
Gee Dixon	'Groupie' [Groupie]	Hon har vart låst, benim e den enda nyckeln She's been locked, I'm the only key	subject
Keya	'Groupie' [Groupie]	Tog henne backstage, du vet benim driftig Took her backstage, you know I'm diligent	subject
Pato Pooh	'Jet jet' [Cool cool]	Benim han är honcho, bara plus på mitt konto I'm a (head) honcho, only pluses in my account	left dislocator
Dani M	'Shouf remix' [Look remix]	Låtsas som frihetsgudinnan när benim i dimman Pretend like the Statue of Liberty when I'm in the fog	subject
Gee Dixon	'Shouf remix' [Look remix]	Skiter i vad ni tror, benim G med sitt ord I don't care what y'all think, I'm a G with his (refl) words	subject
Pato Pooh	'Sig Ingenting remix' [Say nothing remix]	Säg till blåa till röda till gröna att benim gjort ankomst Tell the blue to the red to the green that I've arrived	subject
Denz	'Sig Ingenting remix' [Say nothing remix]	Benim snackar om abi för abin så ren I'm talking about coke for the coke is so clean	subject
Jireel	'Sig Ingenting remix' [Say nothing remix]	Benim är den bästa, om du inte tror du kan testa I'm the best, if you don't think you can test	subject
Kaliffa	'Spontanitet' [Spontaneity]	Du behöver inte känna krav, för benim han e spontan You don't need to feel pressured because I am spontaneous	left dislocator
Jireel	'Tagga' [Leave]	Ni ser benim skina, så ni börjar hata You see me shining, so you start hating	object
Yasin Byn	'Trakten' [The hood]	Pressen den är hög, benim kan inte förlora The pressure is high, I can't lose	subject
Lamix	'Vad du vill' [What you want]	Baby ta det lugnt, benim är chill Baby take it easy, I am chill	subject
Denz	'Varje Dag' [Every Day]	Ingen bullshit, har NIVY i laget, och benim e Michael Jordan No bullshit, have NIVY in my team, and I am Michael Jordan	subject
Denz	'Varje Dag' [Every Day]	Dom bakk oss som en final, och benim gör det bra They are watching us like a championship, and I'm doing well	subject
Yasin Byn	'Vart än jag går' [Wherever I go]	Du har benim i din mun för du vet de jag ska bli You've got me in your mouth for you know what I'll become	object
Yasin Byn	'Vart än jag går' [Wherever I go]	Jag har mitt liv i mina händer, de benim som bestämmer I got my life in my hands, it's me who decides	predicate

 Table 2: Twenty-four occurrences of *benim* with context and YouTube hyperlinks on the *benims*.

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 Turkish⁹; 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 Gen-Z, Millennial, and even Gen-X artists have 'rights' to the pronoun (otherwise, they would have faced negative sanctions via low YouTube views). The artists' ages in 2017 are: Jireel – 17 (2000), Lamix – 20 (1997), Yasin Byn – 21 (1996), Ibbe – 23 (1994), Denz – 24 (1993), Keya – 25 (1992), Gee Dixon – 26 (1991), Dani M – 27 (1990), Pato Pooh – 32 (1985), and Kaliffa – 38 (1979)¹⁰.

⁹Keya's father is Kurdish; his mother is Turkish. Ethnicity data has not yet been assembled for the two larger corpora.

¹⁰Birthdate is public record in Sweden if a full name is known. This is not the case in Denmark.

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*

(I, me) have not been accounted for. I propose a more thorough study in the future that includes searches of the lemma in the complete discography of each artist identified here, including female artists. This will provide more insight into *benim*'s embeddedness and gendered use.

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.

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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.

Danish				Swedish			
Song	YouTube address	Artist	Gender Words/Unique Lexemes	Song	YouTube address	Artist	Gender Words/Unique Lexemes
1	Aktivitet	/watch?v=0CbCyRUQc8	Hakeem M 546 6	1	163 för evigt	/watch?v=mfhulHkELqk	Cherrie F 317 11
2	Alt eller Intet	/watch?v=262apSUZ4uk	Sleiman M 309 5	2			Ze M 71 2
3			Gilli M 93 3	3	Adjaib	/watch?v=YAdXK8xjRe4	Ibbe M 429 6
4	Bar Sig Til	/watch?v=jg6N_IsoO1g	Omar M 432 1	4			Naod M 103 11
5			Artigeardit M 181 1	5			Jamkid M 72 4
6	Blondiner og Brunetter	/watch?v=H1D1nstLU9o	ICEKIDD M 510 1	6			Fidow M 99 12
7	Bøljen	/watch?v=jtPc3NZo	Gilli M 398 7	7	Aldrig igen	/watch?v=PCzFQxq70zo	Dani M 325 2
8			Branco M 91 4	8	Alltid 100	/watch?v=FmJQIB2_UZQ	Gee Dixon M 473 34
9			Stepz M 124 9	9	Bang bang	/watch?v=W6TeCOUF2GY	Linda Pira F 423 30
10			Benny Jamz M 166 6	10	Caramel	/watch?v=Pp4wLJ4XY0	Ze M 550 15
11	Bomaye	/watch?v=W8Md1z4ugIk	Sleiman M 201 0	11	Cataleya	/watch?v=k_nTibAFxk0	Jireel M 380 25
12			Branco M 90 2	12	Där dit vinden	/watch?v=wzTnwGZQwNo	JaQe M 187 8
13			Livid M 52 2	13	kommer		Joy F 116 7
14			Stepz M 80 3	14	Driftig	/watch?v=VJMzK0vbZkw	Pato Pooh M 289 32
15	Don Diego	/watch?v=bUDD8Y8Z4s	Sleiman M 304 8	15			Jireel M 160 2
16	For Længe	/watch?v=jj4LQpT2MDY	Ham VolKan M 223 3	16			Denz M 97 10
17			RH M 330 1	17	Flodhästar i Colombia	/watch?v=5HV8eCNuVok	Erik Lundin M 617 28
18	Gulddansen	/watch?v=hN0mEvC9h6A	ICEKIDD M 314 0	18	Goolooleh	/watch?v=ALZeO8VooQ0	Allyawan M 243 11
19	Holy Moly	/watch?v=_UKTLKOFW4M	J-Mix M 396 32	19			Aki M 185 3
20			Hakeem M 141 13	20			Alee M 150 1
21	Ik Tal til mig	/watch?v=OuNy7U4_FZE	Omar M 505 6	21	Groupie	/watch?v=JQH7mDt09v8	Gee Dixon M 176 24
22	Jer	/watch?v=C6-LW7-kEpI	Carmon M 117 2	22			Stor M 114 5
23			Jamaika M 341 16	23			Keya M 98 13
24			Danni M 150 2	24	Helt Seriöst	/watch?v=vt9N0sD3alo	Kaliffa M 304 24
25	Korrupt	/watch?v=Ztgr7quKZjA	AMRO M 355 2	25	Hemmaplan	/watch?v=dHVh3FvR12M	Joel Fungz M 118 11
26			Gilli M 153 4	26			Thrife M 123 9
27	Mon Poto	/watch?v=5hK6Y0et7As	Fouli M 284 7	27			Lamo M 90 0
28	Ohh Baba	/watch?v=uO4Mj-HDhIU	J-Mix M 402 21	28			I-Smile M 193 0
29	Orale	/watch?v=BXE57C6aLQ	Gilli M 456 7	29	Høj Volymen	/watch?v=qCIUf5kdMGs	Lilla Namø F 562 13
30	Orale Pt 2	/watch?v=O_idwx2ArGc	Jamaika M 90 2	30	Ingen här som dej	/watch?v=9Ewk6hRhdIM	Lani Mo M 467 17
31			Carmon M 155 6	31	Jet jet	/watch?v=D8wrEri5BYE	Lamix M 159 8
32			Danni M 145 6	32			Pato Pooh M 75 13
33	På Skejsen	/watch?v=TJNsBdSPABo	Stepz M 145 3	33			Jireel M 74 9
34			Benny Jamz M 222 5	34	Katching	/watch?v=vtzN0nI6CqWc	Blen F 192 4
35			Gilli M 397 1	35			Gee Dixon M 100 5
36			Branco M 118 4	36			Moms M 126 8
37	Pakker bar	/watch?v=nFL4BGGvOuM	NODE M 307 7	37	Knæpper mina	/watch?v=Ir2p8OvMn2k	Linda Pira F 335 26
38	Ram den mil	/watch?v=kYRUgs0foP0	Izzyy M 445 3	38	fingerar		Stor M 82 10
39			Danni M 155 4	39	Knæpper mina	/watch?v=CloPMxqW6A	Kumba F 72 7
40	Ren hygge	/watch?v=i4iLuXqWL70	AMRO M 388 6	40	fingerar remix		Rosh F 65 8
41			Sivas M 172 4	41			Cleo F 63 5
42	Ritualet	/watch?v=OwCIPa_26TQ	Sivas M 537 9	42			Sep F 44 1
43	Shotgun	/watch?v=YUrp8GoI8Do	J-Mix M 445 30	43			Linda Pira F 173 13
44			Hakeem M 139 12	44			Rawda F 60 9
45	Tidligt op	/watch?v=X6w1gvQgCTo	Gilli M 454 1	45			Joy F 76 5
46	Vi tales	/watch?v=8QTCtLYd64	Fouli M 280 10	46	Låt dom hata	/watch?v=FGdJ6wk65U	Linda Pira F 300 15
47			Carmon M 116 7	47	Nån Annan	/watch?v=i3Mq2DaAHZy	Dani M 299 11
48			Danni M 117 0	48			Jacco M 229 1
49	Vors	/watch?v=A4caJynySfw	Kesi M 108 4	49	Pang pang	/watch?v=AOzLW2Hto-M	Jacco M 403 6
50			Sivas M 282 1	50			Dajanko M 89 3
51			Gilli M 125 2	51			Aki M 88 2
			TOTAL: 13,086 301	52	Shouf remix	/watch?v=3vm6NQahqF8	Gee Dixon M 155 20
				53			Dani M M 116 12
				54			Moms M 111 11
				55			Linda Pira F 150 17
				56			Naod M 118 6
				57			Kaliffa M 96 15
				58	Si Ingenting remix	/watch?v=XQCbK61_to	Jireel M 272 6
				59			Pato Pooh M 160 14
				60			Denz M 120 11
				61			Lamix M 105 5
				62	Slösa min tid	/watch?v=UAbU1aoPugs	Ivory M 437 16
				63	Spontanitet	/watch?v=O7rEd-tKOZQ	Kaliffa M 399 10
				64	Svartsallar	/watch?v=wZRziAL1x9c	Stor M 326 20
				65	Tabanja	/watch?v=yhYPKRkXAPw	Cherrie F 231 3
				66	Tagga	/watch?v=EYtO6afhgdy	Jireel M 475 18
				67	Trakten	/watch?v=Lre14My9S5k	Yasin Byn M 357 15
				68	Vad du vill	/watch?v=MfTxSX2mM6A	Jireel M 467 13
				69			Lamix M 101 10
				70	Varje Dag	/watch?v=F0no1hi2azY&t=	Denz M 396 34
				71	Vart än jag går	/watch?v=HZ4rcpkiB30	Yasin Byn M 441 14
							TOTAL: 15,668 809

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