Arising plurals in Swedish:

A study of Swedish s-plurals

William Zetterberg

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General linguistics

Centre of language and literature

Supervisor: Arthur Holmer

Abstract

This thesis is a study of the use of s-plurals in Swedish in the formation of both indefinite and definite plurals. The topic is investigated using a quantitive method in the form of an online questionnaire. The study represents the largest research of this type on the topic, and provides the possibility of making generalizations that were not possible in previous studies. As such, it brings new important insight into the use and function of s-plurals in Swedish, including confirming the existence of a previously neglected plural. Furthermore, the study shows that several variables effect the use of s-plurals, including age, gender, and regional background. Differences between age groups suggest that s-plurals are becoming more productive in Swedish, and the current usage suggests that s-plurals have become, or are becoming, default plural markers, which are applied to novel nouns that are foreign or original in their character, and do not yet have a marked lexical entry for plural.

Acknowledgements

Contents

1. Introduction

Like many other Germanic languages (Standard German, Luxembourgish, etc.), Swedish is a language with a highly complex plural marking system. In Swedish, around 5 to 7 methods of inflecting plural are employed (Dammel & Kürschner 2008). In native words, three qualities of the noun largely determine the choice of plural marker: its assigned grammatical gender, its ending, and the placement of stress.

   As seen in other Germanic languages with similarly complex and specific plural allomorph systems, the plural marking system can be hard to implement on loanwords and other words that are phonologically deviant. In relation to this, it has also been noted that some of these Germanic languages, e.g. Standard German, have adopted a plural-s, presumably from English, which functions as a plural marker primarily with English loans or other nouns that are otherwise difficult to pluralize (Elgersma & Houseman 1999). A plural-s has also been adopted in Swedish, but there are many uncertainties surrounding the suffix, which appear to have outgrown its English roots and received its own seat in the language (Lavas 2007).

Hence, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate the use of plural-s in Swedish, and how Swedish speakers use it to form indefinite and definite plurals of novel nouns of different kinds. The investigation specifically focuses on, and aims to bring more insight into the several indefinite and definite s-plurals noted by previous authors, most importantly the indefinite plurals *-s* and *-sar*, and the definite plurals *-sen* and *-sarna*. To bring clarity into these questions, research was conducted using a quantitive method in the form of an online questionnaire.

2. Prior research

Some prior research has been done on the topic in Swedish, mainly in the 1980s, such as B. Söderberg (1983) and M. Ljung (1985, 1988). Some research has been done on the same phenomenon in Danish, e.g. M. Heidemann Andersen (2004). The most recent study of the topic in Swedish is represented by A. Lavas (2007).

3. Background

3.1. The Swedish plural allomorphy system

3.1.1. Forming indefinite plural

As mentioned above, Swedish has a highly complex plural allomorph system, akin to the plural allomorph systems found in other Germanic languages such as Standard German and Luxembourgish. In Swedish, around five-seven (for proposed seventh declension, see below) declensions are employed (Dammel & Kürschner 2008). The complexity of the Swedish plural marking system lies in what triggers the many plural allomorphs, where several factors are important. Firstly, the gender of the noun limits the choice of plural marker: the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth declension can only be used with common gender nouns, the fifth can only be used with neuter gender nouns, while the third and sixth declensions are applicable to both. Other important factors include whether the noun ends with a consonant or vowel, what vowel it ends with, and the placement of stress. The traditional six declensions of Swedish can be seen in the table below. The grey color marks areas where a given declension does not apply, hence examples in the grey slots are exceptions.

	First declension -or /ur, ɛr/	Second declension -ar /ar/	Third declension -er /ɛr/	Fourth declension -r /r/	Fifth declension -n /n/	Sixth declension -∅
Common (U)	flick-or 'girls'	hund-ar 'dogs'	park-er 'parks'	sko-r 'shoes'		lärare-∅ 'teachers'
Neuter (N)		fingr-ar 'fingers'	vin-er 'wines'	fängelse-r 'prisons'	rike-n 'realms'	hus-∅ 'houses'

Table 1.

The table below attempts to show the most important factors determining the choice of traditional plurals. The table is partly based on a chart presented by P. Holmes and I. Hinchliffe (2003, p. 27, henceforth H&H).

Common (U)					
Ends in vowel	Disyllabic	No stress on last syllable	Ends in -a	+or	flickor
			Ends in -e	+ar	pojkar
		Final stress	Ends in -V	+er (or +ar)	arméer
	Monosyllabic		Ends in -V	+r, +ar, +er	kor, byar, vyer
Ends in consonant	Disyllabic	No stress on last syllable	Ends in -C or -er, -el, -en	+ar	vintrar, cyklar, öknar
		Final stress	Ends in -C	+er	servetter
	Monosyllabic		Ends in -C	+er, +ar	hundar, parker
Neuter (N)					
Ends in vowel		No stress on last syllable	Ends in -V	+n	äpplen
		Final stress	Ends in -V	+er	genier
Ends in consonant			Ends in -C	+Ø	barn

Table 2.

3.1.2. Forming definite plural

The formation of definite plurals is less complex. When forming definite plural forms, the r-declensions (-*or*, -*ar*, -*er*, -*r*, alternatively "r-plurals") take the definite plural -*na*, the fifth declension -*n* takes the definite plural -*a*, and the unmarked plural takes the definite plural -*na* in common gender, and -*en* in neuter gender. See table 3 below.

First declension (U) -or	Second declension (U) -ar	Third declension (U/N) -er	Fourth declension (U) -r	Sixth declension (U) -Ø	Fifth declension (N) -n	Sixth declension (N) -Ø
-na /na/					-a /a/	-en /ɛn/
flick-or-na 'the girls'	hund-ar-na 'the dogs'	park-er-na 'the parks'	sko-r-na 'the shoes'	lärar-Ø-na 'the teachers'	rike-n-a 'the realms'	hus-Ø-en 'the houses'

Table 3.

3.2.   Additional plural markers

Because of the extremely specified nature of the plural marking system, it is easy to see that problems can arise. This problem mainly concerns nouns ending the unstressed vowels /i/, /y/, /u/, and /o/, which are almost exclusively represented by loans. For such nouns, neither the -or or -ar can be applied (see section **3.1.1** above). Using the -er or -r is illicit, as -er is mainly used for monosyllabic nouns and nouns with final stress, and -r is very limited in its usage, and mainly restricted to monosyllabic nouns. Unmarked plural is available, but is disfavored, both in a markedness relation, and as plural is generally marked in Swedish.

3.2.1. The plural-s

As an apparent solution to this problem, and which helps the speakers avoid an unmarked plural, a seventh plural marker may also be employed: the plural-s. The plural-s is undisputedly a grammatical loan from English[1], and previous authors, e.g. H&H (2003) and Söderberg (1983) have defined the it as the seventh plural declension in Swedish, though this view has not caught on. Instead, it is often viewed as a foreign element, and is reframed from by purists (I will return to this in section **3.4** below). Furthermore, it is often presented as an English etymological plural, i.e. one that is only applied to English loans (e.g. Gellerstam 2002, Arnstad 2011). Relatedly, though rarely, some regard it a result of bi- or multilingualism in English, much like a feature of code-switching.

   However, previous authors (H&H 2003) have suggested that the plural-s is not restricted to English loans, but that it is a general plural marker for nouns of foreign origin. Söderberg (1983) and Lavas (2007) note that phonology plays a major role in favoring the use of -s, and the plural marker thrives among (foreign) nouns with deviant phonological character, i.e. a character, or mainly ending, that is unusual or foreign from a Swedish perspective. This includes vocalic endings that are not found in indigenous nouns, such as final /i/, /y/, /u/, and /o/. Lavas (2007) further suggests that phonology seems to be more important than etymology, as the suffix is applicable to both non-English loans (e.g. *kimono* 'kimono', from Japanese), and indigenous compounds and abbreviations (e.g. *sambo* 'person whom one lives with but is not married to', from *sam* 'together' + *bo* 'resident'). Furthermore, it may be further favored among some nouns because incorrect or undesirable clusters arise if an indigenous plural is employed, i.e. nouns like *partner* 'partner' and *sprinkler* 'fire sprinkler

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[1] May have been borrowed from English through Standard German, or any other neighboring language that use the suffix. One should note that other European languages also have a plural-s, e.g. Spanish. In terms of language influence though, English appears as the most likely candidate for the ultimate origin of the Swedish plural-s.

system' would give rise to phonotactically unacceptable *partnr-ar* and *sprinklr-ar*, which contain the medial combinations /rtnr/ and /ŋklr/ that could in no way be syllabified in Swedish (H&H 2003, Lavas 2007).

Söderberg (1983) notes that though plural-s is often presented as a recent addition to Swedish, it has a relatively established history in Swedish. It has evidently been in use since at least the nineteenth century, exemplified by the Swedish author August Strindberg who used it in his 1879 novel *Röda rummet* ('The red room'). There, he forms a plural of the English loan *revolver* (same meaning) using plural/s, as seen in the extract below (Project Runeberg 2012, emphasis added).

> *Han reste sig ifrån bordet och lossade av ett par skott med sina mörka* **revolvers**. *Gustaf blev stum av fruktan och häpnad över uttrycket i skådespelarens ansikte.* 'He rose to his feet and fired a few shots from his dark revolvers [=eyes]. Fear and consternation at the expression in the actor's face kept Gustaf tongue tied.' (Translation by Ellie Schleussner 1913, p. 158).

One should note that in the present day, the most common indefinite plural of *revolver* is most likely *revolvr-ar*, i.e. using an r-plural, and not plural-s. This appears to support the claim that the plural-s will eventually be replaced, if possible, when the nouns to which it is applied become more familiar to the Swedish speakers. This view has been embraced by several authors, including H&H (2003), and Lavas (2007).

Lastly, Lavas (2007) suggested several variables that had some effect on the use of plural-s mainly the speakers' age, gender, and view towards the use of it. He suggested that younger speakers (aged 20-29) used more -*s* than older (aged 30-39), men used more -*s* than women, and that speakers who disapproved of the use of -*s* generally avoided it.

3.2.1.1.   *-es*

Like in English, a post-sibilant allomorph, -*es*, has been noted by previous authors (Lavas 2007). Lavas (2007, p. 28-9) showed that r-plurals (-*or*, etc.) often replaced -*s* in post-sibilant position, and that the post-sibilant allomorph was very rare. Lavas (2007) propose that -*es* is a so-called etymological plural, it is only restricted to English nouns, and appears to be used when speakers wish to stay true to the source language in question.

3.2.1.2.   *-sar*

Some authors (e.g. Ledin 2013-06-21) have noted another arising plural-s, which consists of combination of *-s* and *-ar*. This plural marker seems to co-occur with *-s*, e.g. the plural forms *duo-s* and *duo-sar* 'duos' both occur, but the latter is significantly less common than the former (Lavas 2007). It is possibly related to a creative definite plural form, *-sarna*, discussed in section 3.3 below, or a result of a reanalysis, in which the *-s* is regarded as part of the root (e.g. *keps* 'cap' from *cap-s*). Thus, distribution and distinction between *-sar* and *-s* is unclear, as no prior research has brought insight into the said plural marker.

3.3.   The central problem

While it appears that the use of plural-s is unproblematic, hence even bringing a solution for nouns with atypical (deviant) endings, the central problem in the formation of plurals and the use of plural-s lies not in the formation of the indefinite plurals, but in formation of the definite plurals, as previous authors have noted (H&H 2003, Lavas 2007). That is, none of the definite plural suffixes are directly compatible with *-s*: r-plurals take definite plural *-na*, n-plural takes the definite plural *-a*, and the unmarked plural takes the definite plural *-na* in common gender, and *-en* in neuter gender. Thus, if speakers wish to form a definite plural form using *-s*, they must provide creative solutions.

Several solutions to this problem have been noted by previous authors, including definite s-plurals *-sen* and *-sarna,* and the less common form *-serna*. It is unclear how these creative plurals should be analyzed. Lavas (2007) presents the following analysis of the definite plurals, as examples of doubly marked plurals: *-sarna* is *-s+arna,* *-serna* is *-s+erna*, and *-sen* is *-s+Øen*. Prior research has not been able to show any clear difference between the said markers, which seem to be used as free allomorphs of the same definite plural-s.

However, it is noticeable that the plural suffixes *-s* and *-sar* also occur as indefinite plural suffixes (as mentioned above), which *-ser* never appear to do. This leaves room for *-sar* as an independent plural marker, as well as a possible connection between *-sar* and *-sarna*.

The definite s-plurals seemingly free allomorphy has been suggested to be a result of unconventionality (H&H 2003, Lavas 2007). Many speakers seem unsure what definite plural to use, and the problem appears far from solved. Furthermore, there are other reasons to avoid using plural-s to form definite and indefinite plurals, which I will briefly introduce in the section below.

3.4. Current views on the subject

In the present day, there is a pressure on language correctness which discourages the use of plural-s (or s-plurals), which is regarded as a foreign and disruptive element in the language. This view is most prominently uphold by language cultivators and other speakers with a puristic and negative view towards the plural-s.

Language cultivators (e.g. SAOL[2] and Språkrådet) continuously discourage the use of plural-s (Almstad 2011, Gellerstam 2002). Their primary argument is the central problem of forming definite plurals (Almstad 2011, Gellerstam 2002). On behalf of SAOL, Gellerstam (2002) writes that the plural-s should be replaced when possible by traditional declensions, e.g. *reportr-ar* should be used instead of *reporter-s* 'reporters', and so on. If it is not possible to replace the plural-s, e.g. because of phonotactic constraints (*partner* and *sprinkler* mentioned in section **3.2.1** above), an unmarked plural is recommended. In a recent wordlist (SAOL 13), the plural-s is generally discouraged, as exemplified by their entries for the English loans *partner* and *zombie* (partner, zombie, SAOL 2006).

> **partner** [pa´] s. *-n*; pl. = hellre än *-s* • person som man bildar ett par el. samarbetar med, kompanjon, medspelare, moatjé
> 'partner [ˈpa] definite sg. *-n*; pl. unmarked rather than *-s* • person with whom one forms a couple or corporate with, *kompanjon, medspelare, moatjé*' (author's translation)

> **zombie** [såm´bi] s. *-n*; pl. *-r* [-ier] hellre än *-s* • levande kropp som förlorar sin själ och styrs av magi; slö och apatisk person
> 'zombie [ˈsom:bi] definite sg. *-n*; pl. *-r* [-ier] rather than *-s* • living body which looses its soul and is governed by magic; lazy and apathetic individual' (author's translation)[3]

Only in a few instances is plural-s the recommended plural declension, exemplified here by the English loan *smiley* (smiley, SAOL 2006).

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[2] *Svenska akademiens ordlista* 'wordlist of the Swedish academy'.
[3] Note that SAOL considers *-er* (the third declension) and *-r* (the fourth declension) the be phonetic alternants of the same plural declension.

> **smiley** [smajlˊli] s. *-n*; pl. *-s* • figur föreställande glatt ansiktsuttryck
>
> ’**smiley** [ˈsmajli] definite sg. *-n*; pl. *-s* • character denoting a happy facial expression’ (author's translation)

Of course, SAOL has a major normative role in Swedish, or at least, in the Swedish written language. This is important to keep in mind, as it was through the medium of writing that this research was conducted.

4. Research questions and hypotheses

The goal of this thesis is to bring more insight into the use of both indefinite and definite s-plurals in Swedish. As such, the study is repetition of Lavas (2007), but aims to, with a greater larger database, to compare the modern result to previous studies, and to strengthen or falsify any previously attested claims, as well as suggesting new. The following four hypotheses concerning the use of plural-s are stated and motivated below.

(1) Nouns with typical endings will favor r-plurals, while nouns with atypical endings will favor plural-s

Novel plurals are likely to be formed in analogy with already existing plurals. Analogy (rule generalization) is commonly used to adopt extant patterns to novel and existing items or constructions, present in both child language and in a process of grammaticalization (P. Hopper & E. Traugott 2003). However, in this context, it is only available as a tool for nouns showing typical characteristics, i.e. if the plural of *flicka* 'girl' is *flick-or*, the plural of *tortilla* 'tortilla' may, through analogy, be realized as *tortill-or*. Though the same process cannot be applied to nouns like *selfie* 'selfie', where there are no indigenous patterns to relate to. Thus, it is hypothesized that nouns with typical endings will favor r-plurals (traditional plurals), while nouns with atypical endings will favor plural-s.

  This includes the occurrence of final (main) stress, which may similarly favor r-plurals through use of analogy, as many established nouns with final stress take *-er* (the third declension), e.g. *servétt-er* 'serviettes, napkins', *foajé-er* 'foyers, lobbies', and so on (see section **3.1.1**).

(2) Phonotactic constraints will favor the use of plural-s

As mentioned in section **3.2.1** above, certain nouns favored the use of plural-s because phonotactically unacceptable medial sequences would arise if r-plurals were employed. It should be clear that this only concerns language specific phonotactic constraints. That is, the

plural form *partnr-ar* 'partners' shall be disfavored, as it violates the phonotactic rule in Swedish stating that medial sequences may only consist of acceptable codas and onsets (B. Sigurd 1965). Other, non-violating medial sequences could also be disfavored, if they are novel in their existence.

(3) Younger speakers will use more plural-s than older

Previous studies (Ljung 1985, Lavas 2007) have shown that younger speakers used more plural-s than older speakers. As this was consistent within both studies, it is hypothesized that a similar result should be seen.

(4) Men will use more plural-s than women

Previous studies (Ljung 1985, Lavas 2007) have shown that some difference could be noted in the use of plural-s between men and women. While Ljung (1985) showed that women used more plural-s than men, Lavas (2007) suggested the opposite. On the same note, previous studies of both Swedish and English has shown that women of the same social status as men tend to use more prestige forms, while men aim for a "reversed prestige", at least in terms of pronunciation (J. Einarsson 2009, p. 179-93). Thus, using the latest study as a starting point, and following the reported difference found in men and women's speech, there is a foundation for which one can hypothesize that men will use more plural-s than women, if plural-s is indeed regarded as an undesirable or non-prestige linguistic feature.

5. Method

A questionnaire was used to investigate Swedish speakers' use of plural-s in both indefinite and definite plural form. The questionnaire was developed using Google Forms[4] and was posted on Facebook in a message directed towards Swedish speakers. It was spread on Facebook by help of friends and family sharing and reposting the original post. Participants did not require a Google login to be able to fill the form.

5.1. Structure of questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of totally 45 questions, of which 38 were questions asking for the definite plural, indefinite plural, and in a few cases, indefinite singular form.

The questionnaire included six questions seeking to establish general demographics of the participants. Firstly, one question sought the age of the participant. The purpose of this

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[4] Google Forms is available to users with a Google login and G-mail.

question was to see if age provided any difference in the result (e.g. Ljung 1985, Lavas 2007). Secondly, the speakers were asked about their gender identity. The purpose of this was to see if there were any differences between gender groups (male vs. female, and possibly non-binary participants) (e.g. Ljung 1985, Lavas 2007). Thirdly, the participants were asked about their origin in Sweden or abroad and their place of residence in Sweden or abroad for the major part of their life. The purpose of this was to see if there was any difference between speakers of different Swedish varieties. Fourthly, the participants' relationship to Swedish (if it is first or second language), and if they spoke any other languages (e.g. English) was questioned, for which the purpose was to determine that the participants' linguistic abilities in English were not a factor determining or affecting their use of plural-s. Apart from these questions, participants remained completely anonymous, and did not require to state their name, or any other personal information that could be used to identify or contact them. These questions were partly employed to gain insight into the group of people who participated in the questionnaire, as well as to be able to exclude or consider any factors that could provide a difference in the result, which constitute an important part in explaining the use of plural-s in Swedish.

For the remaining questions participants were provided with instructions where they were encouraged to read the example sentences and corresponding options out loud, and to choose the option that they considered sounded the best (i.e. most correct), and the one that they thought they would use themselves in speech. The word 'correct' (Swedish *korrekt*, *rätt*) was avoided because of its prescriptive connotations (see section **3.4** above).

The questionnaire contained 38 questions asking for definite plural, indefinite plural, and in a few limited cases, indefinite singular forms of 38 selected nouns. The purpose of asking for the indefinite singular form, which was done very sparsely, was to conclude whether the participants regarded the *-s* as part of the singular form or not, and how this affected their choice of plural marker. In length, this could bring insight into the *-sar* plural suffix, by concluding that its usage only corresponded to the use of singular-s, or if it existed as an independent plural.

Every question had the form of a description or comment about either a noun (when the singular form could be mentioned), or referent (when the singular form could not be mentioned), which was followed by two or three example sentences, which contained a gap missing the wanted word (indefinite and definite plural forms, occasionally indefinite singular forms). The participants were to fill out this gap with a word provided on the right side of the

example. Several options were stated, of which the participants could only choose one. If they were unsure, or had never heard the word before, they could choose the option *Vet inte* 'do not know'. The questions were often written in a slightly humoristic and informative tone, and some had accompanying images that interacted with the questions. These images played a central part in introducing nouns when the singular form could not be stated (because it was asked for later in the same question). Because participants were only able to select one alternative, they were "forced" to choose an alternative. That is, if several alternatives were used or deemed possible, the participants could have chosen many or all alternatives, which would deem it impossible to determine which alternative was most favorable. Furthermore, participants were not able to write their own plural form. This was because certain problems would arise if a great number of speakers (100+) participated in the questionnaire, such as problems of different spellings for the same or different plural forms, and the possibility of participants leaving other (related or unrelated) comments, all of which would make it difficult to classify and count the plural forms, and make percentual calculations. On the other hand, this gave rise to the possibility of missing any plural forms that were unknown to the author.

5.2. Input

For the study, a selection of 38 words was chosen to be tested in the questionnaire. This selection was formulated with two primary factors in mind. First, the nouns' phonological form, i.e. what sound they ended in, and secondly, their respective origins. For every phonological grouping, i.e. in every group of nouns that had a certain ending, nouns with different origins were, if possible, included. The purpose of this was to investigate how speakers would deal with nouns that had different endings (deviant and non-deviant, see section **4** above), as well as nouns with different origins. The respective phonological groupings are summarized below. Almost every noun included in the questionnaire were common gender nouns, with a few notable exceptions.

The author's linguistic intuition[5] was used as a basis for choosing the input, as well as locating the alternatives provided in each question. Only nouns that were known to or had the possibility of taking plural-s were included, i.e. nouns that were of interest to this study. Besides relying on linguistic intuition, the alternatives for each question was confirmed

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[5] For a more detailed description and definition of intuition in language, see E. Itkonen (2008).

through simple Google searches. Participants also had the possibility to write their own comment at the end, leaving a complaint, praise, or suggesting any missing plural form.

5.2.1. Final /i/ (*-i*)

With nouns ending in /i/, the loans *smajli*, *zombie*, *emoji*, *selfie*, and *paparazzi* were also tested for the indefinite singular. One of them, *emoji*, could occur in both common and neuter gender. Final /i/ is a deviant ending, and there are no traditional plural markers directly matching this ending. SAOL recommends that *-er* (the fourth declension) should be used with final /i/ (see section **3.4** above). All nouns are summarized in table 4 below.

English	smajli/smiley, zombie, emoji, selfie
Italian	paparazzi
Japanese	hikikomori
Suburban Swedish	gäri[6]

Table 4.

5.2.2. Final /y/ (*-y*)

With nouns ending in /y/, only two nouns were included, which were both English loans. Since these are English loans, they may be pronounced with a final [i] instead of [y], following the English pronunciation. Nevertheless, /y/ represents another deviant ending for which SAOL recommends that *-er* should be used. The two nouns are shown in table 5 below.

English	jury, lobby

Table 5.

5.2.3. Final /u ~ o/ (*-o*)

Nouns that ended in final /u/ or /o/ were the richest group in terms of origin. The Swedish lexicalized compound *sambo* /-bu/ 'person with whom one live together (from *sam* 'together' + *bo* 'resident')' and possibly the Suburban Swedish noun *shono* /-no/ 'guy, dude (presumably from *person* 'person')' are not loans. *Sambo* has been lexicalized, and lost the revealing di- or multisyllabic stress pattern of a Swedish compound, and may not necessarily be interpreted as such. See table 7 for all nouns ending in *-o*.

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[6] The etymology of *gäri* is uncertain, but may possible be from English *girlie* or Turkish *karı* 'wife'. The word has nevertheless entered Swedish through Suburban Swedish varieties.

English	video
Spanish	avokado, burrito
Italian	cello
Japanese	kimono
Suburban Swedish	shono/shonå
Swedish	sambo

Table 7.

5.2.4. Final /ɛ/ (-*e*)

Only one word with a final short /ɛ/ was included, the loan *ukulele*. Though ultimately from Hawaiian, it has likely been borrowed through a contact language (e.g. English). Naïve Swedish speakers are most likely unfamiliar with Hawaiian, and the noun is most likely not perceived as such. Nevertheless, final /ɛ/ is a non-deviant ending, that provides a typical environment for employing -*ar* (e.g. *pojke* → *pojk-ar* 'boy(s)'), and a less typical environment for -*r* (e.g. *fängelse* → *fängelse-r* 'prison(s)'). See section **3.1.1** above.

Hawaiian	ukulele

Table 8.

5.2.5. Final /a/ (-*a*)

Two nouns ending in short /a/ were included. Final /a/ is a non-deviant ending, that represents typical environment where -*or* (the first declension) can be employed (e.g. *flicka* → *flick-or* 'girl(s)'). See section **3.1.1** above.

Spanish	tortilla
Arabic	burka/burqa

Table 9.

5.2.6. Final long vowel (-*V:*)

Two disyllabic words that ended in a long vowel were included, which were both indigenous abbreviations. The noun *behå* /-hoː/ 'bra' is an abbreviation of the compound *bysthållare* 'breast carrier', and the noun *PT* /-teː/ is an abbreviation of the phrase *personlig tränare* 'personal trainer'. A final long vowel represents a non-deviant ending that can take both the -*ar* (the second declension) and -*er* (the third declension).

Swedish	behå/BH, PT

Table 10.

5.2.7. Final consonant (*-C*)

Ten nouns that ended in a consonant were included. Three of them ended in nasals (*muffin, dumpling, gaijin*), one in a lateral (*pitbull*), four in plosives (*skateboard, hoverboard, shot, hijab*), and one in a sibilant (*douche*). Final consonants represent non-deviant endings, and the disyllabic nouns have the possibility of taking *-ar*, while the monosyllabic nouns (*shot, douche*) have the possibility of taking both *-ar* and *-er*. Furthermore, two nouns, *muffin* and *shot*, could occur in both common and neuter gender. One of these, *muffin* was also tested for the indefinite singular form.

English	muffin, dumpling, goblin, pitbull, skateboard, hoverboard, shot, douche
Japanese	gaijin
Arabic	hijab/hidjab

Table 12.

One noun with final main stress was included, the Arabic loan *hijab*, pronounced [hiˈjab] or [hiˈdʒab]. The final stress provides a typical environment for employing *-er* (see section **3.1.1** above). The point of interest with this noun was therefore to see whether the loan would favor *-er* over *-s* because of the final stress.

 Furthermore, one noun that ended in a sibilant was included, the English loan *douche* 'douche' (pronounced [duːɕ] or [duːʃ]). The purpose here was to see if speakers would apply post-sibilant *-es*, or if traditional plurals *-er* and *-ar* would be favored instead.

5.2.8. Final /ɛr/ (*-er*)

Seven nouns ending in /ɛr/ were included. These were mainly English loans, apart from the Standard German loan *streber* 'careerist'. These nouns provided typical environments for employing *-ar* (see section **3.1.1** above). Of these, *blinker* 'turn signal', was also tested for the indefinite singular form.

Standard German	streber
English	stalker, jumper, blinker, partner, designer, mixer

Table 13.

5.2.9. Phonotactic constraints

As mentioned in section **3.2.1** above, nouns ending in /ɛr/ provide a typical environment for applying *-ar* (see section **3.1.1** above). This process causes the vowel of the final syllable to be deleted and /r/ to form the nucleus of the added syllable, e.g. *vintr-ar* /vin.trar/ 'winters' from *vinter* /vin.ter/. However, some of these loans already contain complex medial sequences, and employing *-ar* would give rise to phonotactically unacceptable or novel sequences. The three nouns included in the questionnaire where *partner* /paːrt.nɛr/ 'partner', *designer* /dɛ.saj.nɛr/ 'designer', and *mixer* /mik.sɛr/ 'blender'. For *partner*, employing *-ar* would give rise to the phonotactically unacceptable medial combination /rtnr/, which violates the phonotactic rule in Swedish stating that medial sequences may only consists of acceptable codas and onsets. *Designer* and *mixer*, on the other hand, would give rise to the sequences /jn.r/ and /ks.r/, which can clearly be syllabified in Swedish. These sequences are, however, absent from Swedish (Sigurd 1965). As hypothesized, the prediction here is that the phonotactic constraint shall favor another plural, such as plural-s or unmarked plural.

5.2.10. Older and younger loans

Within four phonological groupings (*-o*, *-V:*, *-C*, and *-er*), word pairs of younger (i.e. less established) and older (i.e. more established) nouns were pitted against each other for comparison. This was to see whether older nouns would be more "integrated" into the language system, and therefore less entitled to take plural-s compared to younger nouns. The older nouns in question were *video*, *behå*, *skateboard*, and *jumper*, and the younger nouns *burrito*, *PT*, *hoverboard*, and *stalker*. The older nouns were all borrowed or formed in the early or second half of the 20th century, while the younger loans were all borrowed or formed in the early 21st century.

5.2.11. Lavas' words

Of the 38 nouns tested in the questionnaire, eight nouns were tested in Lavas (2007). The following nouns could therefore be used for comparison within a time-gap of ten years. These were the nouns *jury*, *avokado*, *kimono*, *sambo*, *tortilla*, *streber*, *partner*, and *jumper*.

6. Results

The following section summarizes the results of the questionnaire. In the following section, the r-plurals (*-or*, *-ar*, etc.) will continuously be labeled collectively as *-(V)r*, unless noted otherwise. The various realizations of r-plurals are phonologically motivated and predictable

from the context, it is therefore not of interest what r-plurals occur, but only that they do occur (for reference see section **3.1.1** above). On the other hand, the s-plurals will continuously be differentiated throughout the section. These are of great interest since the study aims to uncover any differences between the said markers.

6.1. General demographics

The questionnaire was made available for participation for a period of nine days. When the questionnaire was closed for participation, it had received a total of 242 responses. This was a group with great variety in terms of gender, age, and origin. The great number of informants makes this research the biggest modern research on the topic and provides the possibility of making generalization not possible in previous studies (e.g. Lavas 2007).

6.1.1. Gender identity

Women made up the largest portion of the participants, 162 out of 242 (67%) answered that they identified themselves as women. The following 77 identified themselves as male (32%), and only 3 participants (1%) answered that they identified themselves as other or non-binary gender.

6.1.2. Age

The participants varied greatly in age. The largest age group was between 20-29 years old (97, 45%). Other large age groups were: 30-39 years old (40, 19%), and 50-59 years old (29, 14%). Only six participants were over 70 years of age, while only eight were below 20 years of age.

6.1.3. Geographical origin and place of residence

In terms of origin the participants made up a diverse group. The most common place of origin was most clearly Scania, from which 60 of 242 participants originated. Thus, no specific place of origin was in majority. However, most of the participants were from Sweden. The seemingly largest group of participants from outside Sweden came from Finland, but consisted only of 18 participants.

6.1.4. Linguistic abilities

Most participants were multilingual, of which English was the most common second language. Only three participants were not bi- or multilingual in English. These were a woman past 70, a woman aged 30-39, and a man aged 20-29.

6.2. Possible reanalysis

Indefinite singular forms were tested for seven nouns: *smajli*, *emoji*, *selfie*, *zombie*, *paparazzi*, *muffin*, and *blinker*. A possible and ongoing reanalysis, in which the *-s* is reinterpreted as being part of the root, was most relevant for *smajli* (*smajlis*: 26%), *muffin* (*muffins*: 47%), and *blinker* (*blinkers*: 50%), and less relevant for the nouns *emoji* (*emojis*: 2%), *selfie* (*selfies*: 1%), *zombie* (*zombies*: 2%), and *paparazzi* (*paparazzis*: 0%).

6.3. Results by phonological groupings

In the following section, I will present the results in indefinite and definite plural for each phonological grouping.
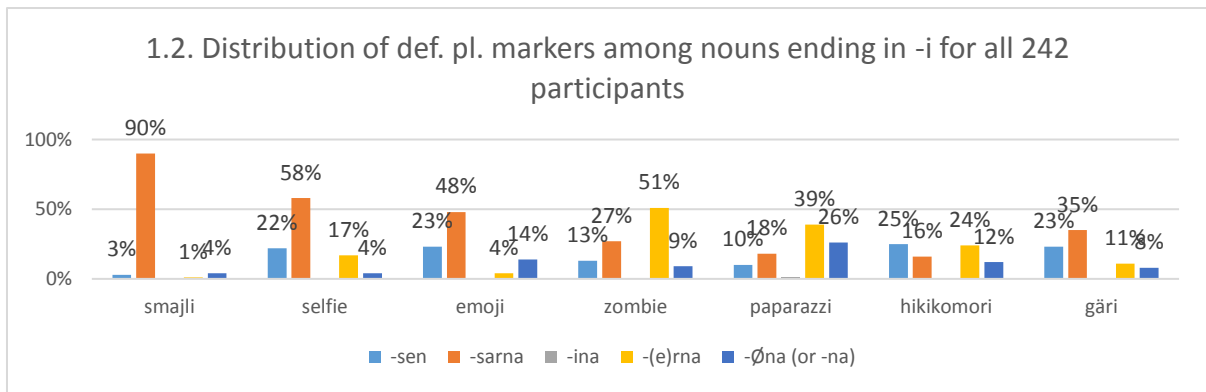
6.3.1. Final *-i*

Nouns ending in *-i* generally had a high percentual distribution of *-s*, and a low percentual distribution of *-(V)r*. *-sar* occurred with all words but the Japanese loan *hikikomori*, but was only more common than *-s* with the English loan *smajli* (*-s*: 39% vs. *-sar*: 58%). Notably, *smajli* was a noun with a relevant distribution of singular-s (see section **6.2** above). Furthermore, some participants perceived *paparazzo* as the singular form of *paparazzi*, and continued to use the Italian etymological plural *-i* (5%). Lastly, *zombie* had a comparably high distribution of *-er* (17%). See diagram 1.1 below.
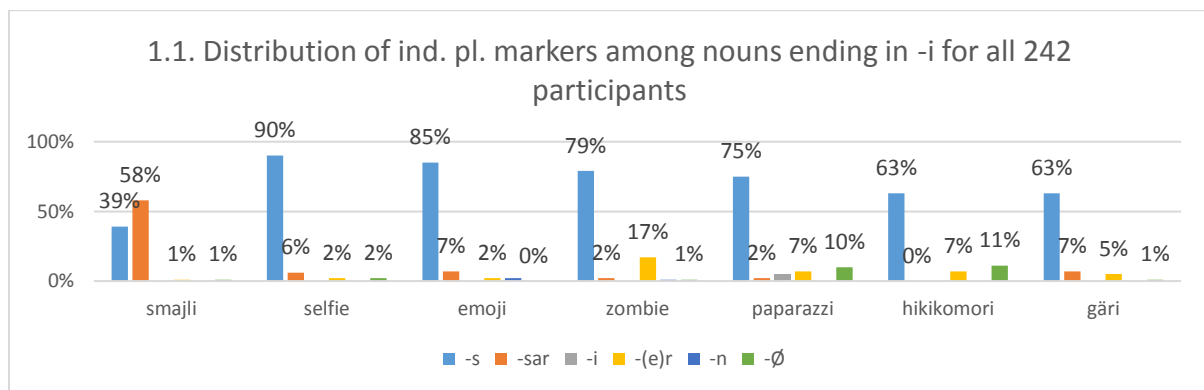

In the definite plural, *-sen* and *-sarna* were generally more common than *-(e)rna*, excluding *zombie* and *paparazzi*. *-sarna* on the other hand, was generally more common than *-sen*, excluding *hikikomori*. Again, based on the singular form *paparazzo*, few participants used an Italian based definite plural form *-ina* (*-i-Ø-na*) with the Italian loan *paparazzi* (1%). Lastly, for two nouns, *zombie* and *paparazzi*, *-erna* was the most common alternative. See diagram 1.2 below.

1.2. Distribution of def. pl. markers among nouns ending in -i for all 242 participants

-sen ■ *-sarna* ■ *-ina* ■ *-(e)rna* ■ *-Øna (or -na)*

6.3.2. Final *-y*

Nouns ending in *-y* had a similarly high percentual distribution of *-s*. It is notable that both nouns had a relatively higher distribution of *-Vr* (here only *-er*) compared to many nouns ending in *-i*.

2.1. Distribution of ind. pl. markers among nouns ending in -y for all 242 participants

■ *-s* ■ *-sar* ■ *-er* ■ *-Ø*
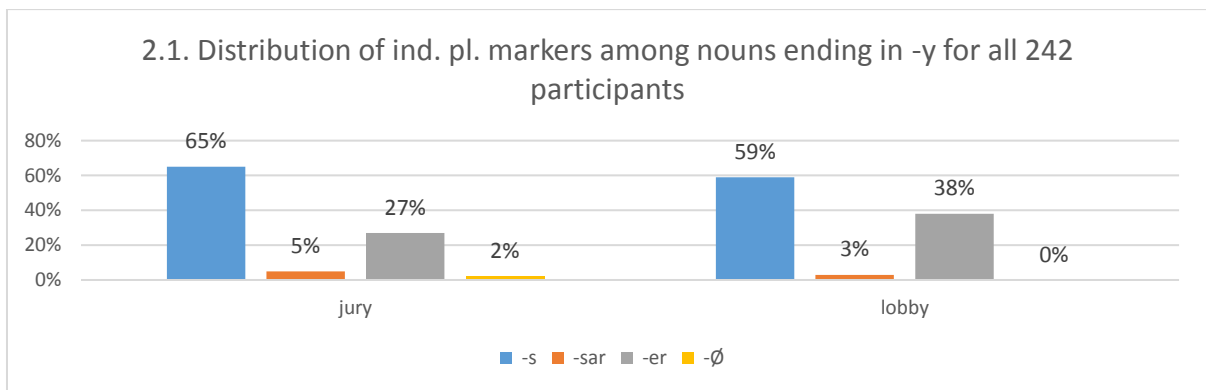
In the definite plural form, *-erna* was the most common alternative for both nouns. *-sarna* was a more common alternative than *-sen* for both nouns. See the diagram below.


2.2. Distribution of def. pl. markers among nouns ending in -y for all 242 participants

■ *-sen* ■ *-sarna* ■ *-erna* ■ *-Øna*
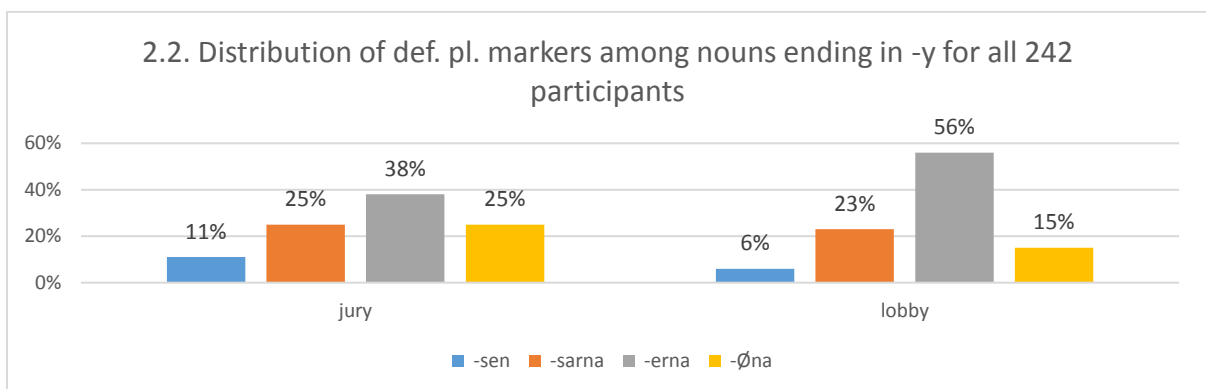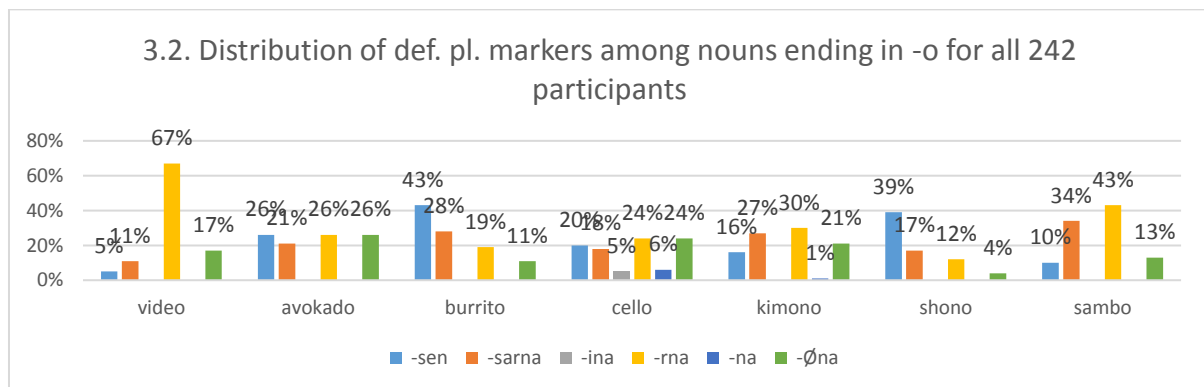
6.3.2.1. Lavas' word

The noun *jury* was also tested in Lavas (2007). It showed no important difference compared to the previous study.

6.3.3. Final -*o*

In the indefinite plural form, -*s* was the most common alternative for all nouns ending in -*o*.

3.1. Distribution of ind. pl. markers among nouns ending in -o for all 242 participants
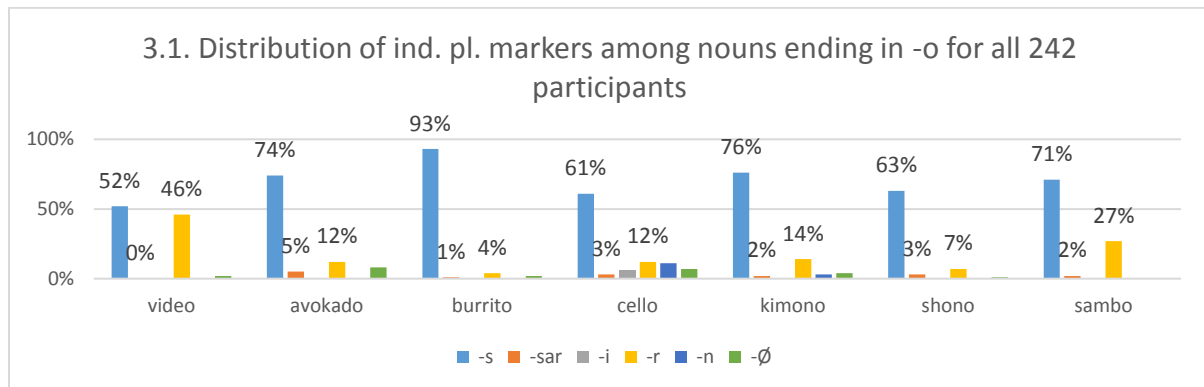
In the definite plural, there was a great deal of variety, and -*rna* was the most common alternative for four nouns: *video*, *cello*, *kimono*, and *sambo*. The alternatives -*sen* and -*sarna* were common alternatives for most words, excluding *video*, where -*rna* was solely in majority. For the loans *cello* and *kimono*, the definite plural -*na* (-*n-a*) occurred. Like with *paparazzi*, the Italian based definite plural form -*ina* also occurred with the Italian loan *cello*. See diagram 3.2 below.

3.2. Distribution of def. pl. markers among nouns ending in -o for all 242 participants
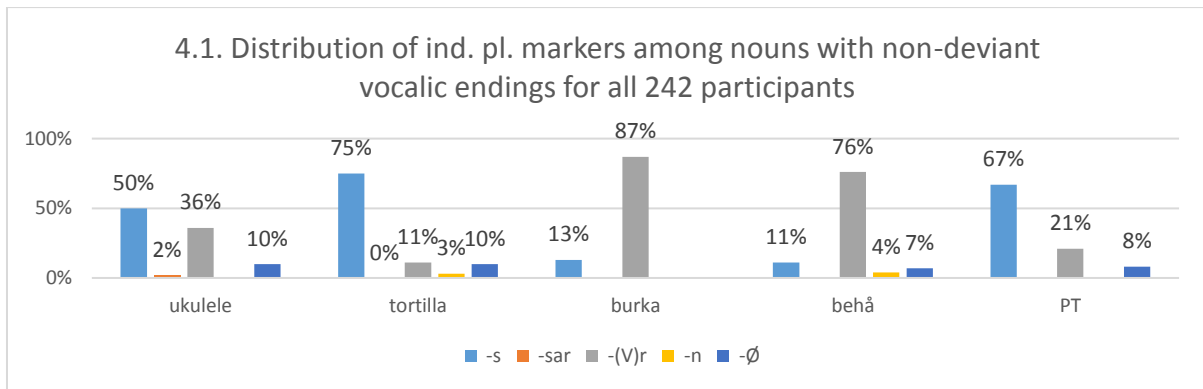
6.3.3.1. Lavas' words

The nouns *avokado*, *kimono*, and *sambo* were also tested in Lavas (2007). None of the words showed any significant difference in the present result compared to the previous study, apart from that there was a greater number of plural markers used in the present study, e.g. *sambo-r* did not occur in Lavas (2007). As greater deal of variation is expected when a higher number of informants are conducted (more than 10 times as many, 22 vs. 242).

### 6.3.3.2.   Younger and older nouns with final *-o*

The two words in question were the older English loan *video*, and the younger Spanish/English loan *burrito*. In the indefinite plural, the older loan had a much greater percentual distribution of *-r* (34 percent units more), and a slightly lower percentual distribution of *-s* (22 percent units less). In the definite plural, *video* again had a much greater amount of *-rna* (41 percent units more), while *burrito* had a much greater amount of both *-sen* and *-sarna* (38 and 17 percent units more respectively).

6.3.4.   Non-deviant vocalic endings (*-e, -a,* and *-V:*)

Nouns ending in non-deviant vowels *-e*, *-a*, and long vowels had a lower percentual distribution of *-s* compared to other groupings (only three were above 50%). Furthermore, two nouns (*burka* and *behå*) had *-(V)r* in majority (87% and 76% respectively).

4.1. Distribution of ind. pl. markers among nouns with non-deviant vocalic endings for all 242 participants

In the definite plural form, *-(V)rna* was the most common alternative for all nouns, as seen in diagram 4.2 below.

4.2. Distribution of def. pl. markers among nouns with non-deviant vocalic endings for all 242 participants
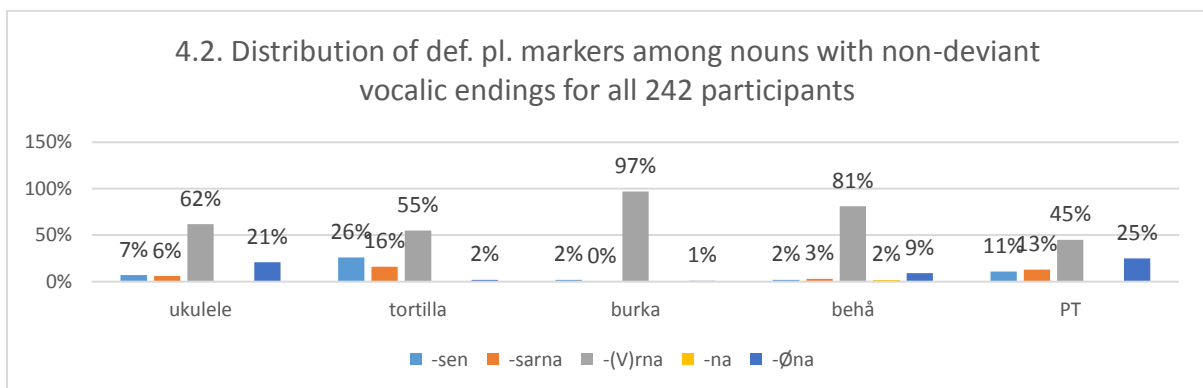
6.3.4.1.   Lavas' word

One noun, *tortilla*, was also used in Lavas (2007). Then, *-s* was the only plural marker used with *tortilla*, but in the presents study there was a decrease in the use of *-s*, and more variation

in terms plural markers was seen (*-s*, *-or*, *-n*, *-Ø* were all used). As mentioned above, the result may be partially attributed to the greater variation following the greater number of informants conducted (10 times as many), but may also be explained by the fact that the loan might have been more recent at the time of the previous study, which can have given rise to a larger percentual distribution of *-s* (c.f. *video* and *burrito* presented in section **6.3.3.2** above).

6.3.4.2.   Older and younger nouns with final -*V:*

The two nouns of importance were the older noun *behå*, and the younger noun *PT*. As can be seen from diagram 4.1 above, the older loan had a lower percentual distribution of *-s* (56 percent units less), and a higher percentual distribution of *-(V)r*, (55 percent units more). In the definite plural form, *behå* again had a lower distribution of *-sen* and *-sarna* compared to *PT* (9 and 11 percent units less respectively), and a higher distribution of *-(V)rna* (36 percent units more).

6.3.5.   Final -*C*

Nouns ending in consonants generally had a high percentual distribution of *-s*. The only nouns among which *-s* was not in majority were the Japanese noun *gaijin*, and the English loan *douche*. The Japanese noun was clearly unknown to many participants, 21% answered that they did not know the plural form. It had a comparably high distribution of unmarked plural (27%). Hence, many participants treated it as a foreign word, avoiding the use of any native morphology. Furthermore, *-sar* occurred with five of ten nouns, and was most common with *muffin*, another noun that had a relevant distribution of singular-s (see section **6.2** above).

5.1. Distribution of ind. pl. markers among nouns ending in consonant for all 242 participants
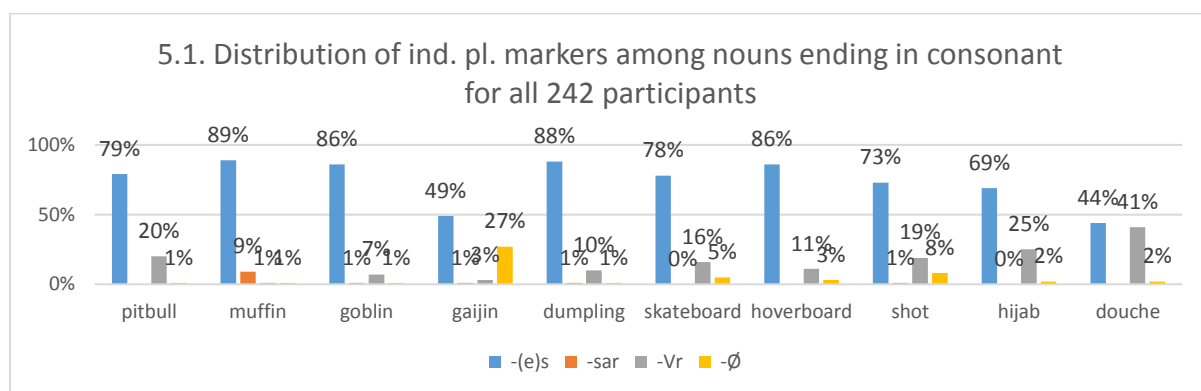
In the definite plural form, *-sen* was the most common alternative for all nouns but *muffin*, *hijab*, and *douche*. For *muffin*, *-sarna* was the most common alternative (51%). In connection, *muffin* also had the highest distribution of *-sar* (9%) among the nouns ending in consonants. For *hijab* and *douche*, *-Vrna* was the most common alternative. Generally, *-Øna* was a less

common alternative than among nouns with final consonant compared to other phonological groupings (see above) and had a percentual distribution of 0-5%. See diagram 5.2 below.

5.2. Distribution of def. pl. markers among nouns ending in consonant for all 242 participants
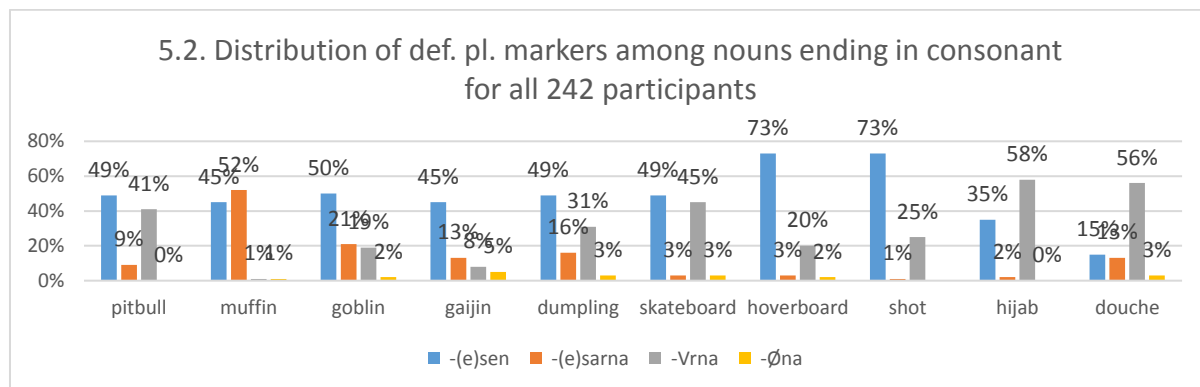
6.3.5.1.   Final stress

One noun with final stress, *hijab*, was tested. In the indefinite plural, *hijab* had a lower amount of *-s* (69%) compared to other nouns, excluding *gaijin* (see above) and *douche*. It had the next to highest amount of *-Vr* (25%), only lower than *douche* (41%). In the definite plural, *-Vrna* was the most common alternative (58%), compared to *-sen* (35%) and *-sarna* (2%). The occurrence of final stress does seem to have some effect on the result in favoring traditional plural over s-plurals.

6.3.5.2.   Final sibilant

The noun *douche* represented the only environment in the questionnaire where *-es* could occur. In the indefinite plural, *douche* had a nearly equal distribution of *-es* and *-Vr* (44% vs. 41% respectively). In the definite plural, *-Vrna* was favored over *-esen* and *-esarna* (56% vs. 15% and 13% respectively). As can be seen from diagram 5.1 above, less participants used *-es* compared to *-s*.

Two speakers who were not bi- or multilingual in English also choose the post-sibilant allophone, another one answered that they did not know what plural marker to use. The post-sibilant allophone was also used in the definite form (*-esen*) by the younger speaker (20-29), while the older speaker (70+) used *-erna*.

6.3.5.3.   Older and younger nouns with final *-C*

The two nouns of relevance here are the older English loan *skateboard* and the younger English loan *hoverboard*. In the indefinite plural, the older loan had a lower percentual distribution of *-s* compared to the younger (8 percent units less), and a higher percentual distribution of *-ar* (5 percent units more). In the definite plural form, the older loan had a

lower distribution of *-sen* (24 percent units less), and a higher distribution of *-ar* (25 percent units more).

6.3.6. Final *-er*

In the indefinite plural, *-s* was in majority with the nouns *partner*, *designer*, *mixer*, *blinker*, and *stalker*. *-ar* had a relatively high distribution with the nouns *mixer* (37%), *streber* (33%), and *jumper* (50%). *-sar* was only used with the nouns *blinker*, *stalker*, and *jumper*, and was most common with *blinker* (6%), another noun with a high distribution of singular-s (see section 6.2 above).

6.1. Distribution of ind. pl. markers among nouns with final -er for all 242 participants
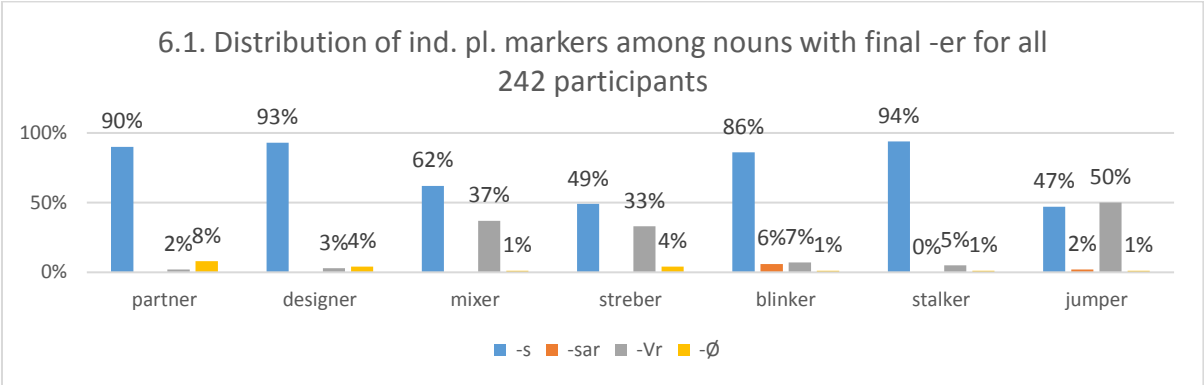
In the definite plural, there was a considerable amount of variety. *-Øna* was the most common alternative for two words: *partner* and *designer*, *-arna* was the most common alternative for three words: *mixer*, *streber*, *stalker* and *jumper*, and *-sen* was the most common alternative only for *blinker*. For *streber* and *stalker*, *-arna* was the most common alternative, but it was not in majority (40% and 33% respectively). See diagram 6.2 below.

6.2. Distribution of def. pl. markers among nouns with final -er for all 242 participants
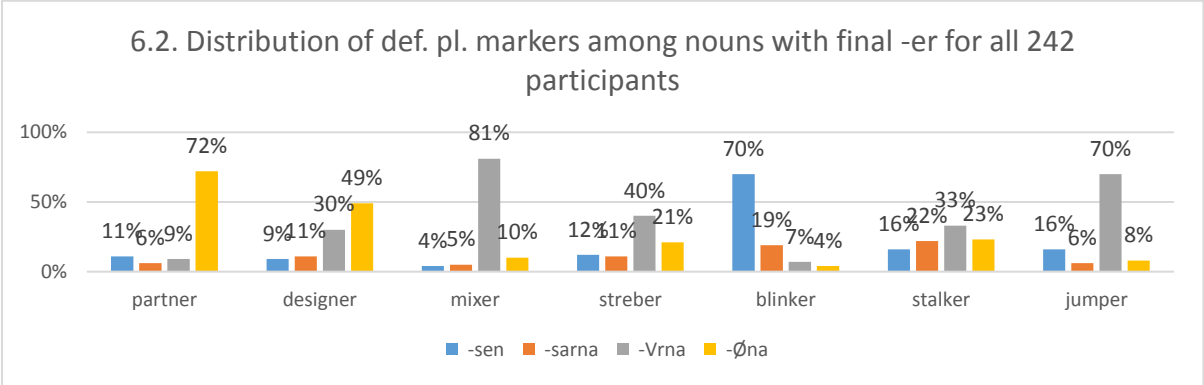
6.3.6.1. Lavas' words

The loans *partner*, *streber*, and *jumper* were also used in Lavas (2007). Only *jumper* showed any important difference, which consisted of a 20% increase of *-s*, and a 23% decrease of *-ar*.

### 6.3.6.2. Phonotactic constraints

The phonotactic constraints appeared most relevant for the loans *partner* and *designer*. Both had a -*s* in majority (90% and 93% respectively), and a minor distribution of -*ar* (2% and 3% respectively) in the indefinite plural. In the definite plural, -*Øna* was the most common alternative for both nouns, and -*arna* was more common with *designer* than *partner* (30% and 9% respectively). *Partner* clearly presented the most fatal phonotactic constraint of the two. It is however notable that they did not have any higher distribution of plural-s in the definite plural (-*sen* and -*sarna*) compared to other nouns within the same grouping.

6.3.6.3. Older and younger nouns with final -*er*

The two words of concern here are the older English loan *jumper* and the younger English loan *stalker*. In the indefinite plural, the older loan had a much lower percentual distribution of -*s* (47 percent units less), while having an equally higher distribution of -*ar* (45 percent units more). In the definite plural, the distinction was less dramatic, -*arna* was still more common with the older loan (37 percent units more), while -*sarna* was more common with the younger loan (16 percent units more).

6.4. Summary of younger and older loans

In the following section I present a summarized percentual distribution of indefinite and definite plural markers used for the older and younger word pairs. Both groups included four words each, each belonging to different phonological groupings. The following diagrams emphasizes the results discussed above: older nouns had a greater amount of traditional plural than younger loans, and a lesser amount of plural-s. This pattern recurred in both indefinite and definite plural, as seen in diagrams 7.1-2 below.

7.1. Compared distribution of indefinite plural markers for older and younger nouns

7.2. Compared distribution of definite plural markers for older and younger nouns
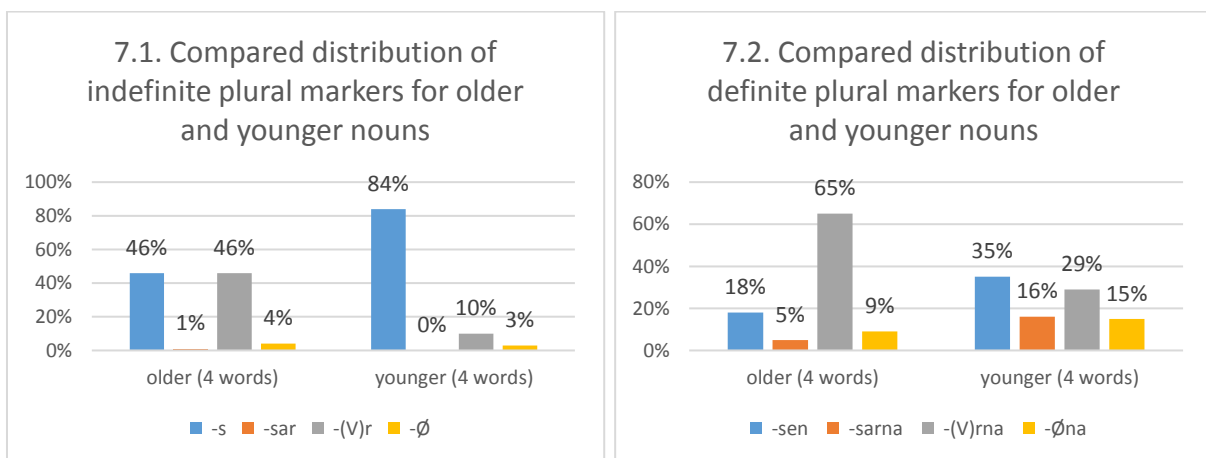
6.5. Tracing the movement from ind. singular to ind. plural

To examine what effect the use of singular-s had on the plural form, and investigate the status of the *-sar* plural suffix, the results from three nouns with a relevant amount of singular-s was analyzed. These were the nouns *blinker*, *muffin*, and *smajli*. Thus, the difference between what indefinite plurals a bare root (no singular-s) lead to compared to a reanalyzed root (singulars-) is presented below.

Thus, diagram 8.1 shows what indefinite plural markers participants who did not use singular-s continued to use in the indefinite plural form, while diagram 8.2 shows what indefinite plural markers participants who did use singular-s continued to choose in the indefinite plural form. As can be seen from diagram 8.1, a bare root lead to a variety of plural markers, mainly *-s*, but also *-sar*, *-Vr*, *-n*, and *-Ø*. The use of singular-s (see diagram 8.2) leads mainly to *-s*, and secondly to *-sar*. Hence, most speakers did not differ between the reanalyzed singular form (*muffins*) and its corresponding plural form (*muffins*). On the other hand, a reanalyzed root lead to a greater amount of *-sar*. On the other hand, both a bare root and a reanalyzed root could give *-sar*. This suggests that there are two different *-sar* plurals. The first is a doubly marked plural, and appears to be free allomorph of *-s*. The other is *-ar* attached to a singular-s (c.f. *muffin-sar* vs. *muffins-ar*). Evidence to support is seen by the fact that *-sar* does not only occur after a bare root with the nouns shown below, but with nouns of nearly every phonological grouping tested, of which most have no known occurrences of singular-s (examples include *jury*, *avokado*, etc.).
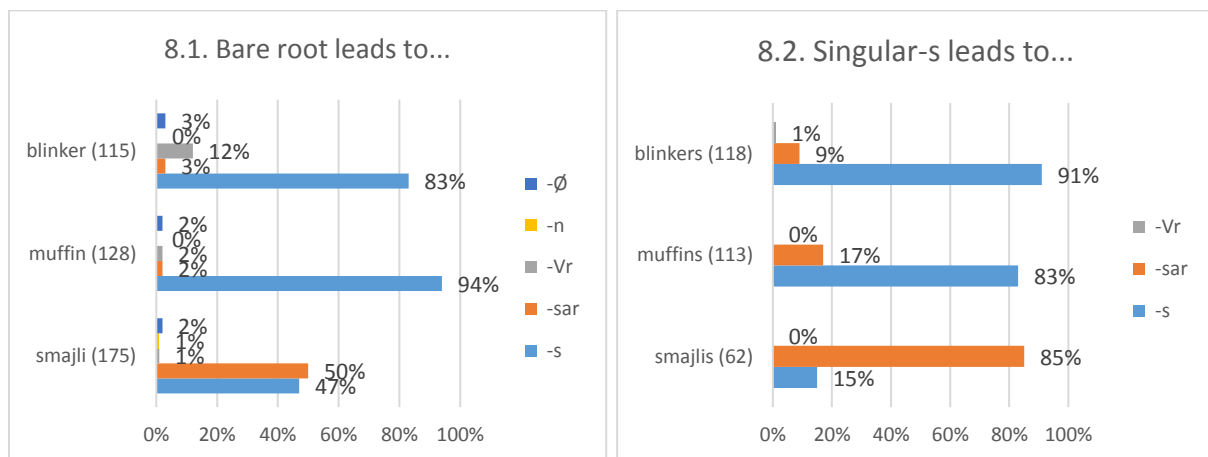

6.6. Tracing the movement from ind. singular to def. s-plurals

To investigate the relationship between the indefinite s-plurals *-s* and *-sar* and their respective definite plural forms *-sen* and *-sarna*, the results of five nouns belonging to five different phonological groupings, which had a larger distribution of *-sar* compared to other nouns in

their respective groupings were analyzed. These were the nouns *blinker*, *muffin*, *avokado*, *jury*, and *smajli*. Traditional plurals are not of interest here, because it is already known what indefinite plurals lead to what definite plurals, e.g. *-or* leads to *-orna*, *-n* leads to *-na*, and so on (for full table, see section **3.1.2** above).

Diagram 9.1 shows what definite plurals followed the use of *-s*, while diagram 9.2 shows what definite plurals followed the use of *-sar*. What is of great importance here is that the following diagrams show that both *-s* and *-sar* could lead to *-sen* and *-sarna*, as well as *-Vrna* and *-Øna*, though the latter two were less common among those who used *-sar*. On the other hand, *-sar* clearly lead more often to *-sarna*.
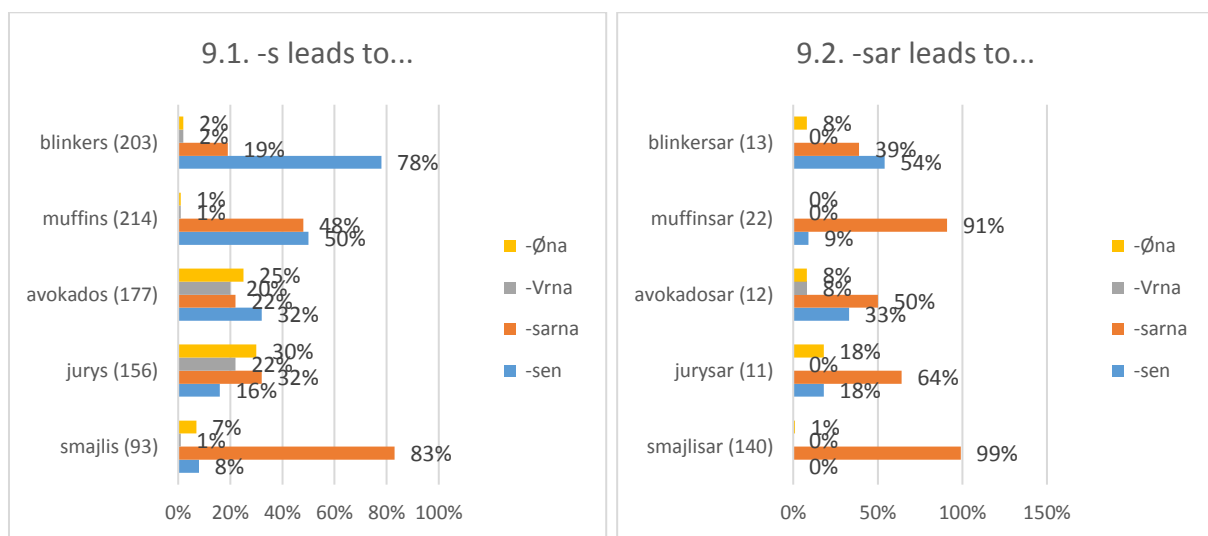

6.7.   General distribution within all phonological groupings

The following section present the summarized result of indefinite and definite plural forms by phonological groupings.

6.7.1. Indefinite plural by phonological groupings

From diagram 10 below one can see that *-s* was most favored among nouns with final *-er*, *-C*, *-i*, *-y*, and *-o*. On the other hand, *-(V)r* was most favored among nouns with non-deviant vocalic endings *-e*, *-a*, and *-V:*, as well as being slightly more common with *-y*. *-(V)r* was only more common than *-s* among nouns with final *-V:* and *-a*. Other plural markers with minor distribution, such as *-n* and *-Ø*, are not relevant to the point and are therefore excluded from the table. Furthermore, *-i* appears to represented the most deviant grouping: it showed a high percentual distribution of *-s*, and the lowest percentual distribution of *-(V)r*.

10. Distribution of ind. pl. markers for all 242 participants by phonological groupings
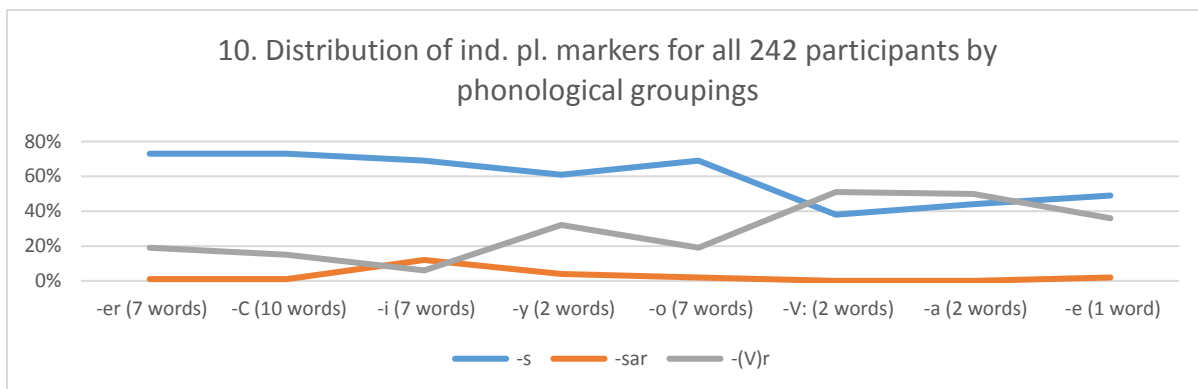
6.7.2. Definite plural by phonological groupings

There appeared to be a much greater deal of variation in the definite plural, and r-plurals were more common than in the indefinite plural. As shown in diagram 11 below, the application of r-plurals mirrored the one found in the indefinite plural (see diagram 10 above), but was of a greater percentual distribution. The only groupings in which *-(V)rna* did not have the greatest percentual distribution were nouns ending in consonants and *-i*. The other definite plurals, *-sen* was most common with nouns ending in consonants, *-sarna* was most common with nouns ending in *-i*, *-y*, *-o*, and *-Øna* was most common with nouns ending in *-er*.

11. Distribution of def. pl. markers for all 242 participants by phonlogical groupings
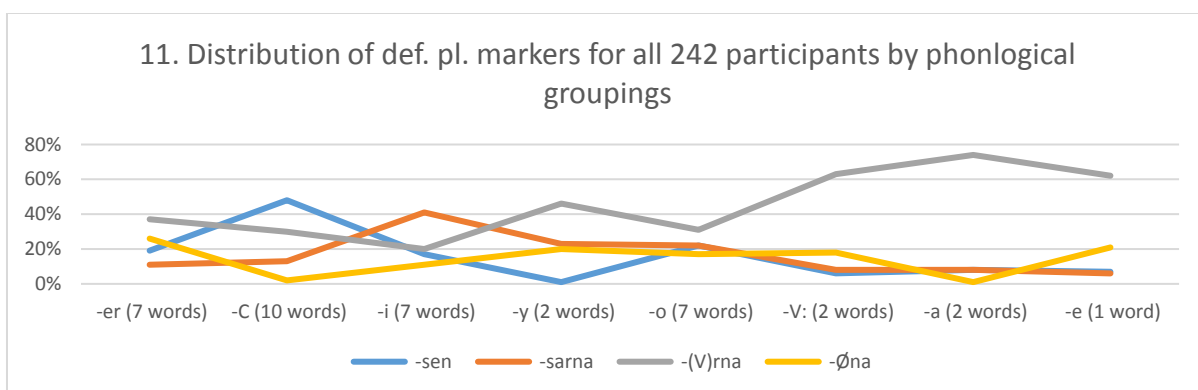
6.8. Age and gender variable

To compare the results of different age and gender groups, selected words from each phonological grouping were analyzed, which were deemed to be good representatives of their respective groupings. With nouns ending in *-i*, *-V:*, *-C*, and *-er*, younger loans were chosen. The difference between younger and older nouns is presented in section 5.3 above. The following nouns were *selfie* (*-i*), *jury* (*-y*), *avokado* (*-o*), *ukulele* (*-e*), *tortilla* (*-a*), *PT* (*-V:*), *dumpling* (*-C*), and *stalker* (*-er*).

6.8.1.   Age

An age split was cut between participants aged 14-39, and participants aged past 40. This split was made so to mirror Lavas' split between participants aged 20-29 and 30-39, moved ten years onward. The respective age groups were not equal in number: participants aged 14-39 consisted of 151 participants, while participants aged past 40 consisted of lesser 84 participants.

6.8.1.1.   Indefinite plural per age

In diagram 10.1, one can see that younger speakers (14-39) used more -*s* than older (apart from *tortilla*). On the other hand, older speakers (40+) used more -*(V)r* than younger with words of all phonological groupings. It is unclear why older speakers used more -*s* with *tortilla*. Suggestively, older speakers may perceive the loan as more recent or unfamiliar than younger speakers, which may motivate a greater use of -*s*.

12.1. Compared distribution of -s by age

12.2. Compared distribution of -(V)r by age
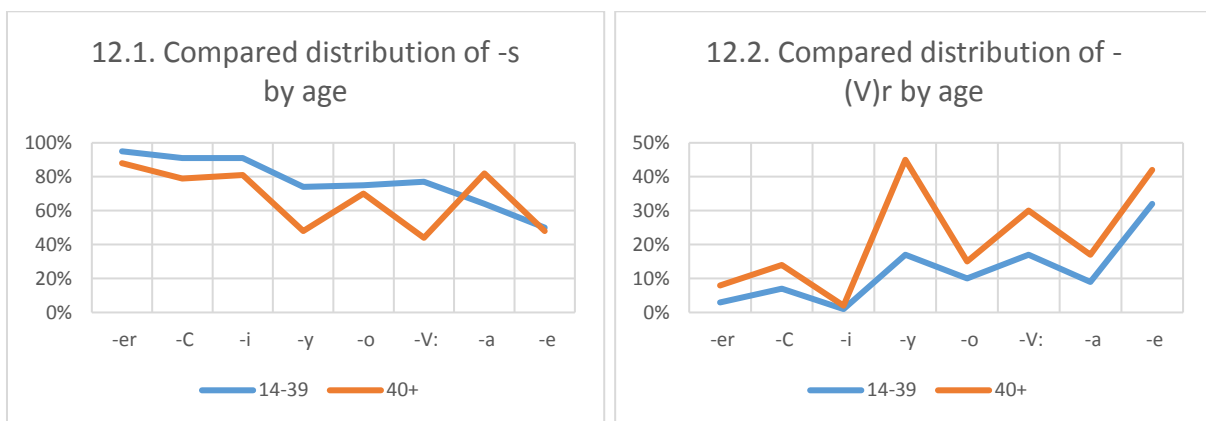
6.8.1.2.   Definite plural by age

In the definite plural, younger speakers generally used more -*sen* than older. There was no recurring difference in the use of -*sarna* between the two age groups. Older speakers did, on the other hand, use more -*(V)rna* with all words except for *stalker*, *tortilla*, and *ukulele*, were the two groups had a roughly equal distribution. Older speakers used slightly more -*Øna* than younger, the percentual difference was minor and mainly restricted to *avokado*. See diagrams 13.1-4 below.

13.1. Distribution of -sen

13.2. Distribution of -sarna

13.3. Distribution of -(V)rna
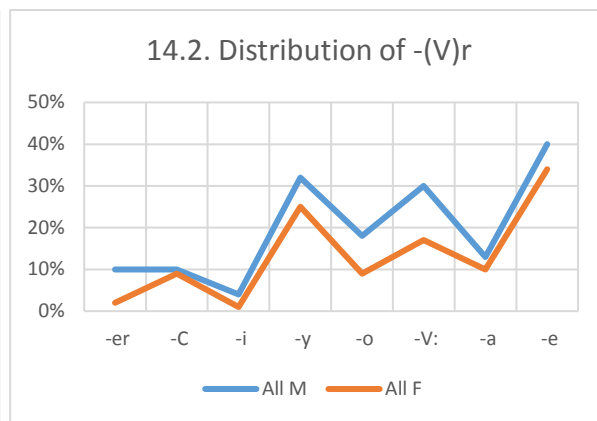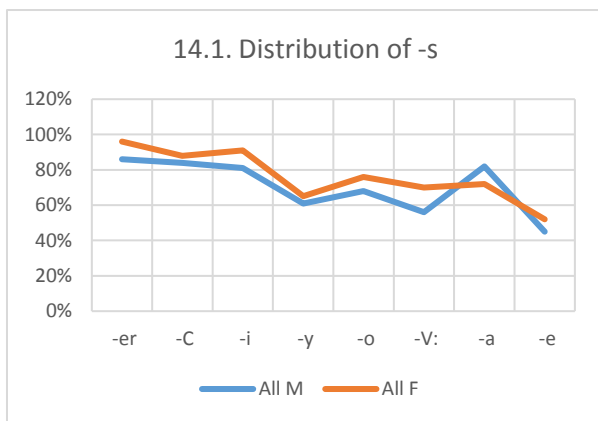
13.4. Distribution of -Øna
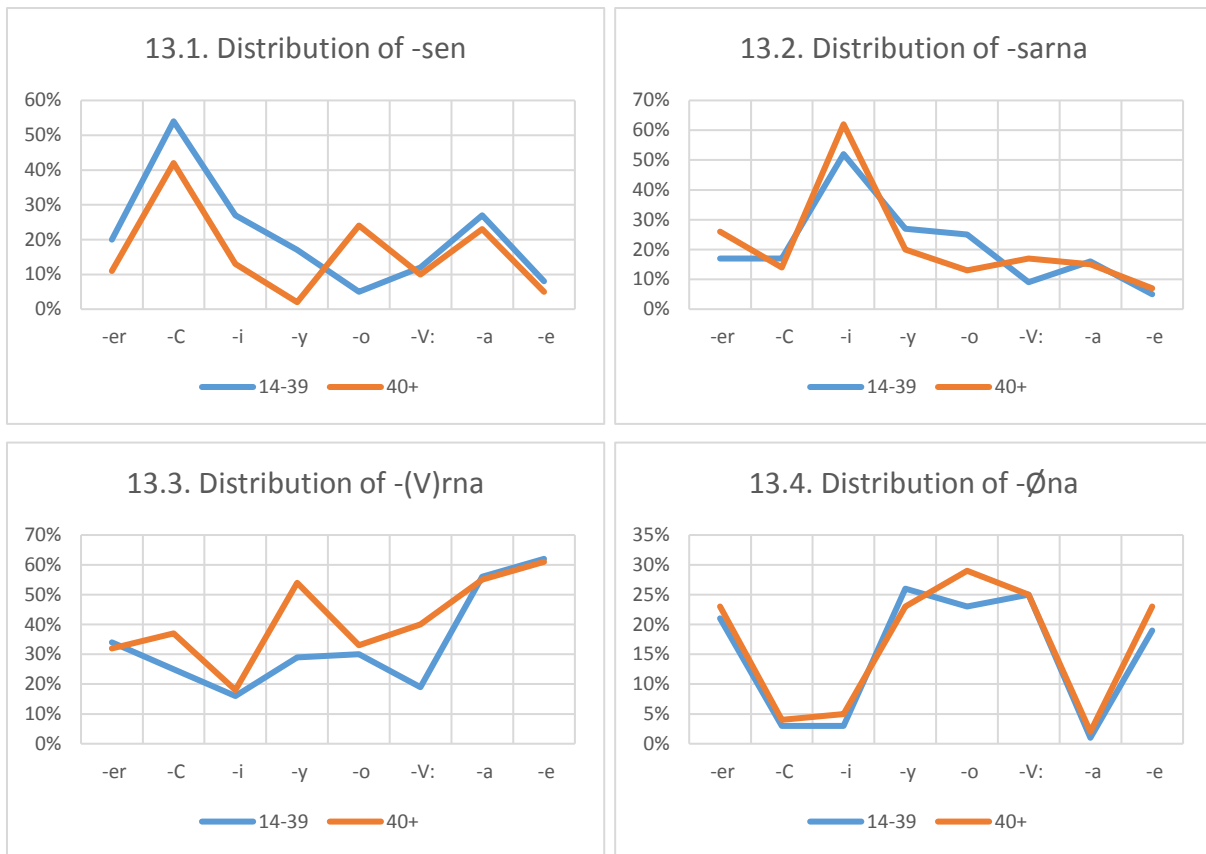
6.8.2. Gender

In the following section I will compare the results of male and female participants irrespective of age difference. All male participants consisted of 77 participants, while all female participants consisted of 162 participants. The groups were not equal in number, the female participants consisted of more than twice as many as the male.

6.8.2.1. Indefinite plural by gender

In diagrams 10.1-2 below, one can see that female participants irrespective of age had a higher percentual distribution of -*s* (apart from *tortilla*), while male participants had a percentually higher distribution of -*(V)r* with words belonging to all phonological groupings. The male participants result for *tortilla* is a result of the difference between younger and older speakers, see section **6.8.3.1** below.

14.1. Distribution of -s

14.2. Distribution of -(V)r

6.8.2.2. Definite plural by gender

In the definite plural, female speakers had a greater percentual distribution of *-sen*, but no clear difference could again be seen in the distribution of *-sarna* and *-Øna*. In diagram 15.3 one can see that male participants used more *-(V)rna* than female, but only with *dumpling*, *selfie*, *jury*, and *avokado*, while female participants used more *-(V)rna* than male, but only with the remaining words *stalker*, *PT*, *tortilla*, *ukulele*.

15.1. Distribution of -sen

15.2. Distribution of -sarna

15.3. Distribution of -(V)rna
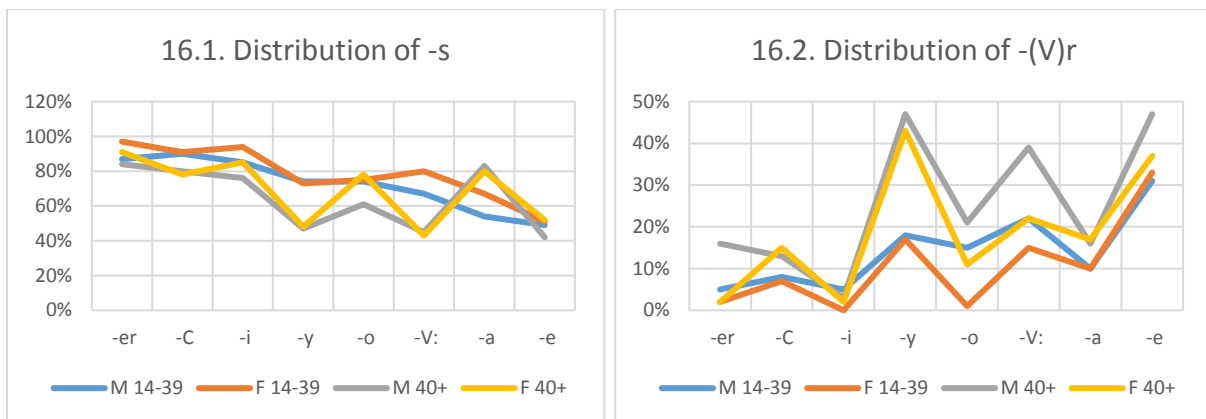

15.4. Distribution of -Øna
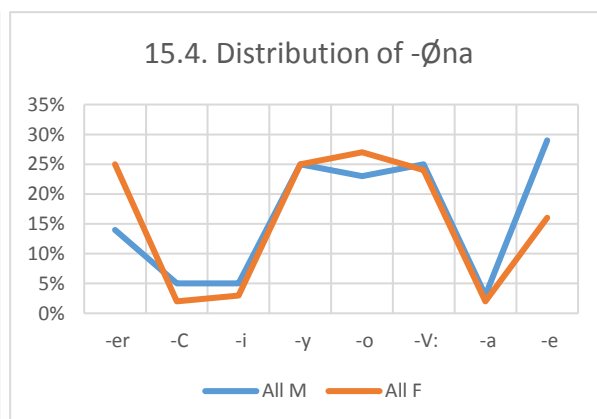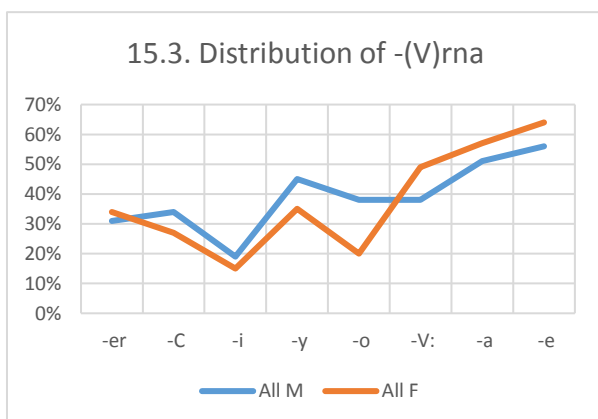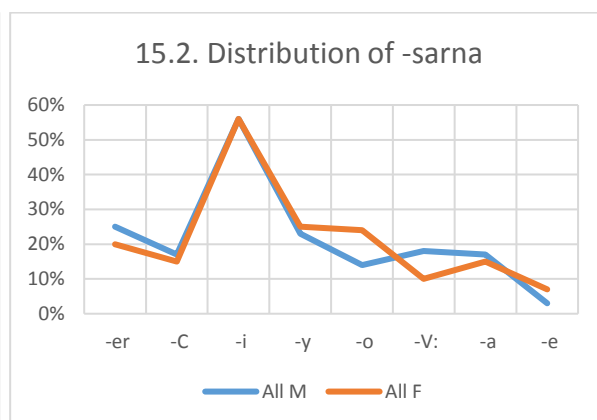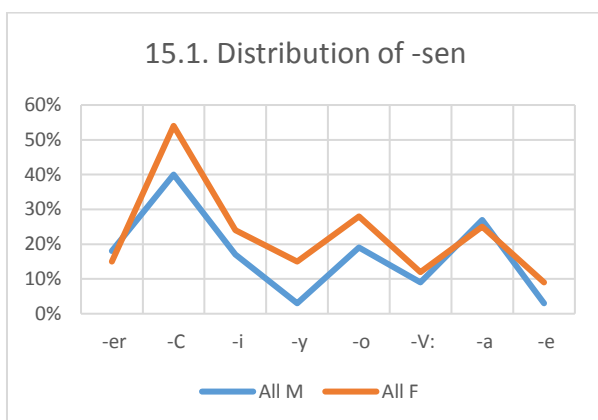
6.8.3. Age and gender

In the following section I present the results of younger and older male and female participants. Men aged 14-39 consisted of 39 participants, men aged past 40 consisted of 38 participants, women aged 14-39 consisted of 112 participants, and women aged past 40 consisted of 46 participants. The groups were largely comparable in number except for younger women, who consisted of more than twice as many participants as any of the other groupings.

6.8.3.1. Indefinite plural by age and gender

In the indefinite plural, the age distinction was largely consistent within the age groupings. The group expected to use most -*s*, i.e. younger women, were at the top, followed by younger men. The group expected group to use least -*s*, i.e. older men, could be seen at the bottom, preceded by older women. This is shown in diagram 16.1 below. A reversed result was seen in the distribution of -*(V)r* in diagram 16.2 below, with older men using most -*(V)r*, and younger women using least -*(V)r*. The gender difference was thus intact also within the age groups. Furthermore, in diagram 16.1, one can see that older speakers (irrespective of age) used a larger amount of -*s* with *tortilla* than younger (irrespective of age).

16.1. Distribution of -s

16.2. Distribution of -(V)r

6.8.3.2. Definite plural by age and gender

The differences were less clear in the definite plural, but younger women generally had the greatest percentual distribution of -*sen*, while older men and women generally the lowest. This can be seen in diagram 17.1 below. The other definite plurals provided less clear differences.

17.1. Distribution of -sen

17.2. Distribution of -sarna

17.3. Distribution of -(V)rna
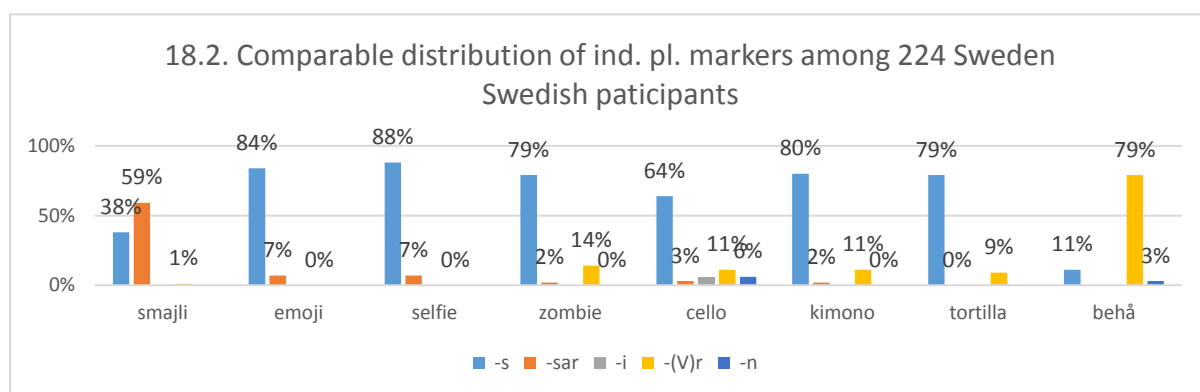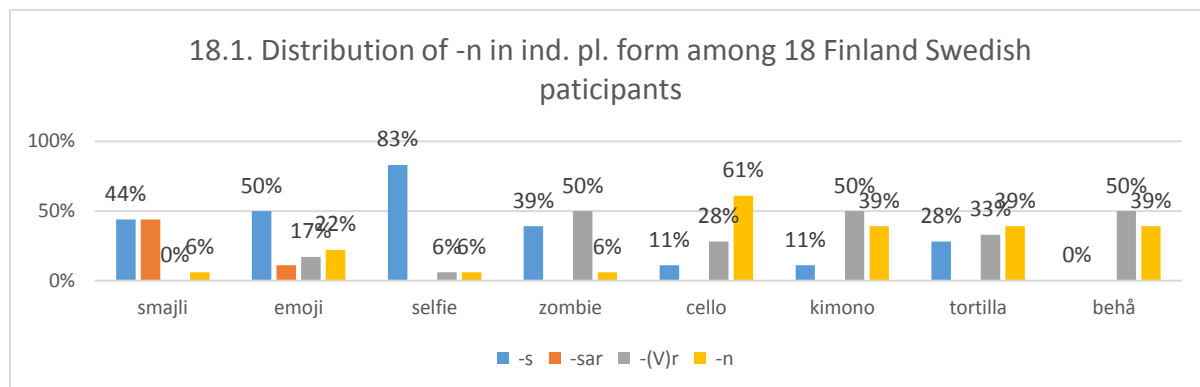
17.4. Distribution of -Øna
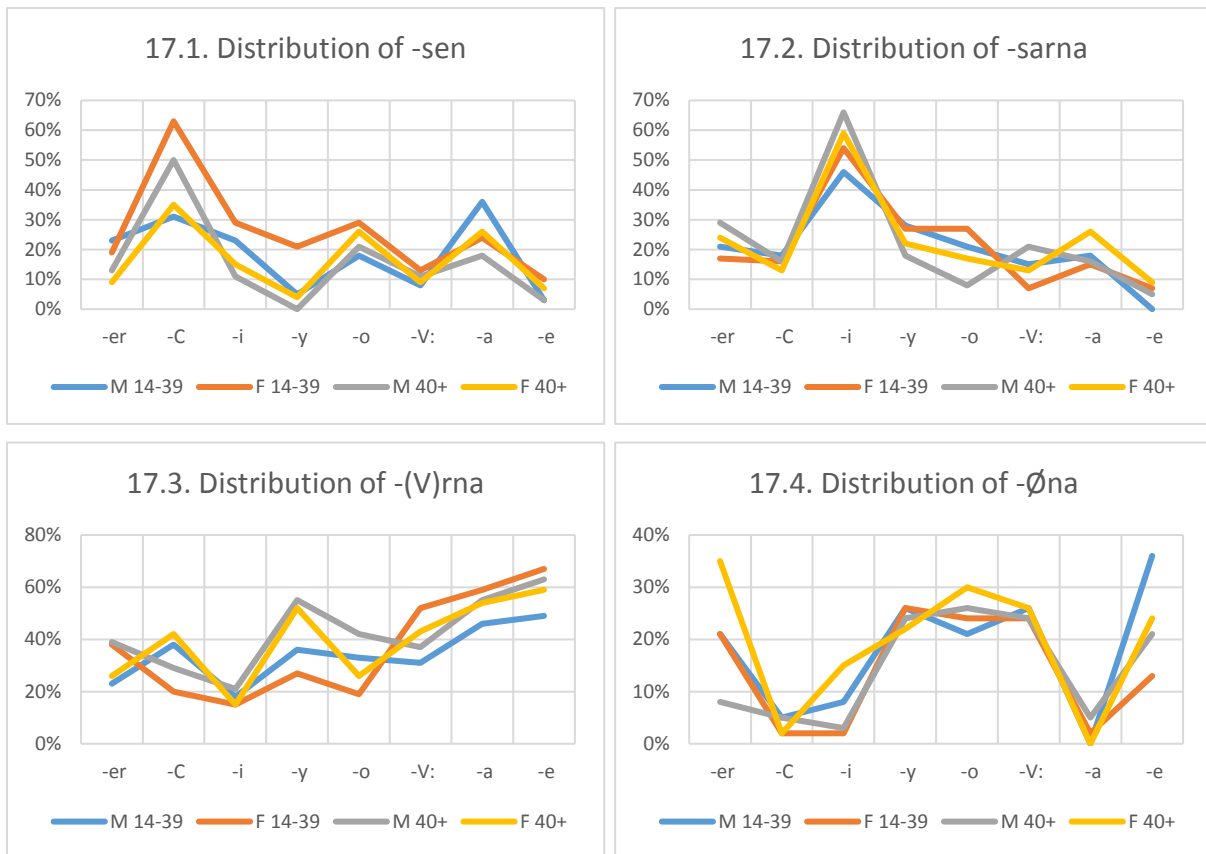
6.9. Regional variable

A regional difference was noticed among the Finland Swedish participants, which will be presented below. The Finland Swedish group consisted of 18 participants, of which three were men, and the remaining 15 women. 13 participants were between 20-29 years old, four between 30-39 years old, and one between 60-69 years old.

The most noticeable difference in the Finland Swedish group was their use of plural marker -*n* (the fifth declension) with vowel final nouns. The Finland Swedish group provided all the usage of -*n* for *smajli* (1 occurrence), *tortilla* (7 occurrences), *emoji* (4 occurrences), and *selfie* (1 occurrence). They provided most usages of -*n* for *kimono* (7 of all 8 occurrences), *behå* (7 of all 10 occurrences), and *zombie* (1 of all 2 occurrences). *Cello* was an exception, where the they only provided a portion of -*n* (11 of all 25 occurrences). The occurrence of -*n* can be seen in the table below, compared to the same words, following the result of the Sweden Swedish speakers. Definite plural provides a similar result, and is not necessary to include. Note that only marked plurals are included in the diagrams below. In the two diagrams below, one can see that traditional plurals (-*(V)r* and -*n*) were more common among the Finland Swedish participants for all words, while -*s* and -*sar* were only common among the Finland Swedish

participants among the more recent loans *smajli*, *emoji*, and *selfie*, compared to the Sweden Swedish participants (see diagram 18.2), were *-s* was common among all nouns but *behå*.

18.1. Distribution of -n in ind. pl. form among 18 Finland Swedish paticipants

Data by noun (markers: -s, -sar, -(V)r, -n):
- smajli: 44%, 44%, 0%, 6%
- emoji: 50%, 17%, 22%
- selfie: 83%, 6%, 6%
- zombie: 39%, 50%, 6%
- cello: 11%, 28%, 61%
- kimono: 11%, 50%, 39%
- tortilla: 28%, 33%, 39%
- behå: 0%, 50%, 39%

Legend: ■ -s ■ -sar ■ -(V)r ■ -n

18.2. Comparable distribution of ind. pl. markers among 224 Sweden Swedish paticipants

Data by noun (markers: -s, -sar, -i, -(V)r, -n):
- smajli: 38%, 59%, 1%
- emoji: 84%, 7%, 0%
- selfie: 88%, 7%, 0%
- zombie: 79%, 2%, 14%, 0%
- cello: 64%, 3%, 11%, 6%
- kimono: 80%, 2%, 11%, 0%
- tortilla: 79%, 0%, 9%
- behå: 11%, 79%, 3%

Legend: ■ -s ■ -sar ■ -i ■ -(V)r ■ -n

As seen in diagram 18.2 above, among Finland Swedish speakers, *-s* was mainly restricted to younger nouns, nouns with deviant endings, and nouns that disfavored r-plurals because of phonotactic constraints (e.g. *partner*). *-s* was in majority among the words *selfie* (100%), *emoji* (50%), *paparazzi* (56%), *hikikomori* (67%), *jury* (50%), *burrito* (78%), *muffin* (50%), *goblin* (61%), *dumpling* (78%), *hijab* (61%), *streber* (56%), *partner* (94%), *stalker* (83%), *blinker* (50%), and *designer* (89%).

6.10. Bi- or multilingualism in English

Out of 242 participants, three answered that they were not bi- or multilingual in English (see section **6.1.4** above). These were a woman past 70, from Scania but living in Denmark, a woman, 30-39 years old, from and living in Scania, and a man, 20-29 years old, from and living in Stockholm. These participants showed no clear differences in their answers, and used plural-s in both indefinite and definite form, with nouns of English and other origins. All three of them also used the *-s* with the indigenous word *sambo*, one used *-s* with *behå*, and two used *-s* with *PT*.

6.11. Italian plural

A handful of participants used an Italian based plural marker *-i* and *-i-Øna* with the Italian loans *paparazzi* (sg. *paparazzo*) and *cello*. Only one Italian speaking participant used *-i*, but with *paparazzi*. The same speaker did not continue using it in the definite plural. This means that most of the participants who used *-i* and *-ina* did not speak Italian. Notable, the use of *-i* greatly resembles the use of *-es*.

7. Analysis and discussion

The following section provides an analysis of the result.

7.1. Indefinite and definite plural per phonological groupings

In section **4** it was hypothesized that, through analogy, non-deviant endings would favor the use of r-plurals, while deviant endings would favor s-plurals. Though s-plurals occurred with nouns within every phonological grouping, s-plurals were clearly more favored among nouns with deviant vocalic endings, particularly after *-i*, while r-plurals were more favored after nouns with non-deviant vocalic endings. However, *-s* was favored among nouns ending in *-er* as well as among nouns ending in consonants. Furthermore, definite *-sen* was particularly favored among nouns ending in consonants, and slightly less among nouns ending in *-er*. This was a highly unexpected result, as neither of the endings are examples of deviant endings. Hence, only nouns with non-deviant vocalic endings were, to a large extent, formed in analogy with established nouns that take traditional plurals.

Prior research (Lavas 2007) showed that s-plurals were more favored among nouns with deviant vocalic endings and *-er*, and less favored among nouns with non-deviant vocalic endings and consonants. The present result suggests differently, but the s-plurals' frequency after *-er* and final consonants may be partly attributed to some additional factors. Their frequency after *-er* may be partly attributed to the presence of phonotactic constraints that favored the use of s-plurals (e.g. *partner*). Their frequency after consonants may have been strengthened by the fact that 6 out of 9 nouns (excluding *douche*) within the same grouping were relatively recent loans, as recent loans have been shown to take more s-plurals (see section **6.4**). Lastly, one shall mention that all nouns within these two groupings were loans, hence it would be interesting to see if indigenous neologisms (e.g. abbreviations) ending in consonants would behave similarly.

The phonological groupings were clearly not comparable in number. Nouns ending in consonants consisted of 10 items, nouns ending in *-i*, *-o*, and *-er* consisted of 7 words, nouns

ending in *-y, -a, -V:* consisted of two items each, while final *-e* consisted of a single item. A more reliable and fair comparison would be possible if the groupings would have been equal or comparable in number.

Furthermore, some word turned out to be unfortunate choices of input. For example, *gaijin* turned out to be such a word, as a large portion of the participants were unfamiliar to the word, and either answered that they did not know how to pluralize it, or treated it like a foreign word, avoiding the use of any morphology.

7.2. Final stress

In section **4** it was hypothesized that final stress would favor the use of r-plurals over s-plurals through analogy. This study showed that the occurrence of final stress was not a highly important factor, and only give rise to a slightly larger frequency of r-plurals compared to other nouns ending in consonants with initial stress. However, more words must have been tested to provide a more stable conclusion.

7.3. Phonotactic constraints

It was further hypothesized in section **4** that phonotactic constraints would favor the use of s-plurals. This was clearly seen in the formation of indefinite plurals, where *-s* was favored with both *partner* and *designer*, showing no statistically important difference. On the other hand, *-ar* was not disfavored with *mixer*. While one expected *-ar* to be disfavored with *partner* (refused syllabification), it was startling to see that *designer* performed similarly, while *mixer* did not. According to Sigurd (1965, p. 120), both /jn.r/ and /ks.r/ are absent medial sequences in Swedish, which leads one to suspect that the two sequences should be equally unfavorable. However, it is notable that while /ks/ is a common syllable final cluster (e.g. *lax* 'salmon', *sax* 'scissor', etc.), /jn/ is not well established in Swedish (Sigurd 1965, p. 82). Speakers may therefore have felt more comfortable forming a novel medial sequence using /ks/ than with marginal /jn/.

When forming definite plurals, *-Øna* was the most favorable method. In general, *-Øna* was the most common alternative among nouns ending in *-er* (26%). This is most likely attributed to the fact that the said nouns contain a pseudosuffix resembling the third declension *-er*, meaning that the definite plural *designer-Ø-na* 'the designers' (with unmarked plural) is identical to *desing-er-na* 'the designs' (with *-er*).

7.4. Phonology vs. etymology

Etymology seemed to have no effect on the use of *-s*, suggested by the fact that all etymologically restricted differences correlated with phonological differences. Whether a loan was from English, Japanese, or any other external language did not have any effect on the use of s-plurals. This held true for non-loans as well, though the Swedish nouns *behå* and *PT* acquired slightly less *-s*, it can solely be attributed to the fact that they ended in non-deviant vowels, as other loans ending in other non-deviant vowels showed similar results, e.g. *burka* (Arabic loan). Another Swedish noun, *sambo*, showed no important difference in its distribution of both *-s* and *-r* compared to other nouns in the same phonological grouping. Off course, a possibly perceived foreign origin cannot be excluded for any noun, as the speakers were not questioned on that matter. It is nevertheless highly unlikely that any speaker would regard all tested nouns as loanwords, and it is unclear how much a naïve speaker would reflect on the matter.

7.5. Older and younger nouns

When comparing the four older-younger word pairs, it was clear for all words pairs that in both in the formation indefinite and definite plurals, s-plurals were more common with younger nouns, while r-plurals (or n-plural) were more common with older nouns. The same result was suggested by Lavas (2007) to point to the fact that s-plurals will eventually be replaced, if possible, by traditional plurals. The present result agrees with this analysis, but showed that even an older noun ending in *-o*, a seemingly deviant ending, could favor traditional plural over plural-s. In this sense, plural-s appears as a temporary plural, though this development may discontinue in the future, as there appear to be a growing productivity in the use of s-plurals, shown by the difference in usage found between younger and older speakers, which will be discussed below.

7.6. Age and gender differences

As with previous studies, the result showed that some differences existed, both between younger and older participants, as well as between men and women.

7.6.1. Age difference

The results show clearly that there was a distinction in both the formation of indefinite and definite plural between younger (14-39) and older participants (40+). It is commonly known that speakers of different ages maintain characteristics from different diachronic stages of the language (Einarsson 2009, p. 194). Hence, the fact that older speakers used less s-plurals can

be interpreted as reflecting an earlier stage in the use of s-plurals, suggesting that s-plurals are becoming exceedingly more productive in Swedish. This is further suggested by the fact that the results mirrored Lavas' (2007), as well as Ljung (1985).

7.6.2. Gender difference

The result suggest that women used more -*s* and less -*(V)r* than men, which was largely consistent among both younger and older participants. The difference was most clear in the formation of indefinite plural. This result suggests the opposite of Lavas (2007), and falsified the hypothesis stated in section **4** above. On the other hand, Ljung (1985) showed that women used more -*s* than men. It may therefore be possible that a change in usage has occurred within the time span of ten years measuring between the two studies. However, this study investigated the use of s-plurals among more than 10 times as many speakers compared to Lavas (2007). The present study is therefore of much greater significance, and provides the possibility of generalizing in a way that was not possible in Lavas (2007). It may therefore not be necessary to propose a change in usage. Nevertheless, the question remains as to why women used more s-plurals than men. Though the use of s-plurals is regarded as undesirable or disruptive by purists, which suggests that it should have attracted usage among male speakers ("reversed-prestige", see section **4**), but that was clearly not the case in the present study. However, previous studies on differences between men's and women's language in Sweden has shown that women are more keen to adopt to the current norms in language (Einarsson 2009, p. 183). As a novelty in language, this can provide an explanation for why women are at the forefront in the use of s-plurals.

Comparing age and gender differences, it was clear that age gave rise to a more significant difference than gender. However, both age and gender differences were much clearer in the formation of indefinite plurals. When forming definite plurals, any differences could only be noted in the use of -*sen* and -*(V)rna*, while no clear differences could be noted in the use of -*sarna* and -*Øna*. There may have been too much variety in the use of the latter definite plurals between the nouns in question for any recurring difference between the age and gender groups to manifest itself.

7.7. Regional difference

The only regional difference uncovered in this investigation concerned Finland Swedish participants. Among Finland Swedish participants, -*s* appeared less productive, and traditional plurals were more commonly used compared to Sweden Swedish participants. This may

suggest that s-plurals are a more recent addition to Finland Swedish, compared to other Swedish varieties. Among traditional plurals, particularly *-n* (and *-na*) had a much more widespread usage among Finland Swedish speakers. Of all the words with which it was used, only one word (*emoji*) could possibly be in the neuter gender, at least in Sweden Swedish varieties. It is therefore unclear if the Finland Swedish speakers displayed an extended use of *-n(a)*, or if all the words have been reanalyzed as neuter gender nouns.

There was however a problem that *-n(a)* was initially not included as an option in the questionnaire for every noun that ended in a vowel, as the situation in Finland Swedish was largely unknown by the author at the time. It was later added to many nouns on the request of Finland Swedish participants, but there is a possibility that it would have received an even greater distribution among them if it had been included from the very beginning.

One should mention that this was the only regional difference that was investigated. The thesis did not, e.g. look for differences between speakers of urban and rural environments, where differences could possibly be encountered.

7.8. Additional factors

The most important additional factor that may have influenced the participants' answers in the questionnaire is a pressure on language correctness (see section **3.4** above), which becomes most pronounced in formal contexts and in the written medium. Off course, the speakers' judgment and honesty was fully relied upon, and the participants' answers were trusted to be representatives of their speech, as they were asked to answer in a way that was honest to their intuitions and representative of their spoken language. A possible effect from the written language can, however, not be excluded.

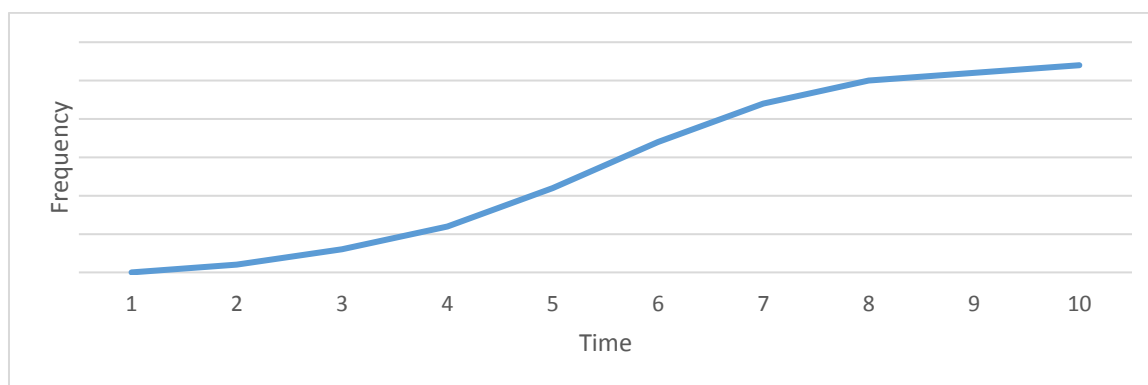## 7.9. Etymological plurals (*-i* and *-es*)

In the results, two additional non-traditional plurals could be noted. These mainly occurred in the indefinite plural, and were the Italian plural *-i*, used with Italian loans that end in *-o*, and the English loan *-es*, used with English loans than end in a sibilant. Both plural markers can be labeled etymological plurals, since they are restricted solely to Italian and English loan, as well as to certain phonological context (Lavas 2007). Both plural markers seem highly unproductive in Swedish. It was noted that more speakers used *-es* than *-i*, which is likely related to the fact that more speakers are familiar with English than with Italian. These plural markers may, however, bring insight into the early days of plural-s in Swedish.

7.10. S-plurals (*-s*, *-sar*, *-sen*, and *-sarna*)

The result showed that it was clear that any nouns' specific etymology had no effect on the use of plural-s, nor was the use of s-plurals solely restricted to loans (applied to indigenous *sambo*, *behå*, *PT*). On the other hand, nouns that sound similar to or remind the speakers of indigenous nouns, appear to be pluralized as such. This is exemplified by the Arabic loan *burka/burqa* /ˈbɯːka/, which resembles the indigenous noun *burk* /ˈbɯrk/ 'jar'. Though it is a very recent loan, it received a surprisingly low number of s-plurals (*-s*: 13%, *-sen*: 2%, see section **6.3.420**). This points to, as the author interprets it, that the s-plurals have become, or are becoming, default plurals, which are applied to all novel nouns that are either of original or foreign character (including abbreviations), and do not yet have a marked lexical entry for plural. However, it is unclear if speakers perceive them as such. The general view among purists and language cultivators is still that of plural-s as an etymological plural (c.f. *-es* and *-i*) (e.g. Gellerstam 2002). Naïve speakers may not hold the same view, however.

7.10.1. The s-curve of diffusion

As mentioned in section **7.6.1** above, the result showed that younger speakers used more s-plurals than older, which was reflected in both previous studies as well as the present study, therefore suggesting that the use of s-plurals is becoming more productive in Swedish. This process appears to fit rather well the theory of diffusion introduced by M. Chen (1972), stating that the spread of a certain linguistic feature (generally a sound change) in a given population follows a typical s-shaped curve, reflecting a general observation that "changes begin at a slow rate, progress rapidly in midcourse, and slow down in their last stages" (W. Labov 1994, p. 65). An abstract curve of that type is illustrated in the diagram below, where the y-axis indicates the amount of words affected, or number of speakers that adopt the feature, while the x-axis indicates the time period, with numbers indicating different time intervals.

Using such a curve to illustrate, the earliest stages should reflect the time of the adoption of s-plural into Swedish, where it was likely only applied to English loans (c.f. etymological plurals *-es* and *-i*). The rapid increase in midcourse should reflect a reanalysis of the plural marker as a default plural. This stage must already have begun more than 30 years ago, reflected by studies conducted at that time (Söderberg 1983, Ljung 1985).

7.10.2. -sar

Firstly, *-sar* was shown to largely correlate with singular-s, which showed that some indefinite and definite plural forms like *muffinsar* and *muffinsarna* were not examples of *-sar* and *-sarna*, but of *-ar* and *-arna* following a singular-s (c.f. *muffinar* and *muffinarna*). On the other hand, *-sar* was shown to occur with nouns that could have singular-s, but were not interpreted as such by some speakers (e.g. *smajli*), as well as with nouns that never had singular-s (e.g. *jury*). Thus, with some nouns one may interpret its presence as the result of an influence from a possible singular-s, though this analysis is not possible with all nouns, as only a handful are known to appear with singular-s. This suggests that *-sar* is an independent plural marker. The exact function of this combinational plural is unclear, however. It does appear as a free allomorph of *-s*, and only occur in instances where *-s* occurs. I suggest, though there is nothing to support my claim in this research, that its function may be to emphasize the plurality of a given noun, as *-ar* represents a typical plural ending, and by combining it with *-s* one is given a plural form that cannot be interpreted as a singular form. In that sense, its function is clearly related to *-ar(na)* following singular-s, but I maintain that *-sar* is a distinct plural marker. Furthermore, one must not forget that it may also have arisen under influence of definite plural *-sarna*.

7.10.3. Definite s-plurals

The area of usage for both definite s-plurals and r-plurals greatly matched that seen in the formation of indefinite plurals, but in agreement with prior conclusions (e.g. Lavas 2007), there was greater variety in the definite plural, and a greater occurrence of r-plurals and lesser occurrence of s-plurals compared to the indefinite plural.

The larger variety seen in the formation of the definite plurals largely related to the change of plural declensions, e.g. many speakers used s-plurals when forming indefinite plurals, and r-plurals when forming definite plurals. The change of plural declensions seems most clearly to point towards a greater deal of unconventionality in the formation of definite plurals, and that many speakers felt uncomfortable forming definite plurals using s-plurals. On the other

hand, it was seen that *-s* and *-sar* both lead to *-sen* and *-sarna*, though *-sar* more commonly lead to *-sarna* compared to *-s*, suggesting a relation between the two. All in all, the evidence suggests that the "central problem" of forming definite plurals is far from solved.

Lavas (2007) analyzed *-sen* and *-sarna* as *-s+Øen* and *-s+arna*. Such an analysis suggested that many speakers did not perceive the definite plurals (*-arna*, etc.) as compositional and analyzable elements. A development of that type follows a typical direction of morphological change, where agglutinative markers (affixes) become reduced to fusional markers (Hopper & Traugott 2003, p. 16-7). However, with the appearance of *-sar*, which was almost absent from Lavas (2007), the former analysis may not be the preferred one. The fact that *-sar* occurred in free allomorphy with *-s*, and only occurred in instances where *-s* occurred, suggested that *-sar* is a free allomorph of *-s*. The following conclusion suggests that all instances of *-sarna* can be analyzed as *-sar+na*, and not *-s+arna*. Similarly, *-sen* may well be an extension (reanalysis) of the definite plural *-en*, and not a case of doubly marked plural (*-s+Øen*).

As was briefly mentioned in section **3.3** above, *-serna* is another definite s-plural that has been noted (e.g. Lavas 2007). It was unfortunately not included as an option in any question, because it was unknown to the author at the time of the development of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, it seems to be less common than *-sen* and *-sarna*, as suggested by Lavas (2007). There was a possibility to leave a comment at the end of the questionnaire, which many participants did, asking for any missing plural markers. The definite plural *-serna* was never sought after in those comments, however, suggesting that it was not missed by many.

8. Summary

In this thesis, it is suggested that the Swedish s-plurals function as default plural markers which are applied to novel nouns that are foreign or original in their character, and do not yet have a marked lexical entry for plural. Phonology was shown to play some role, and s-plurals were favored among nouns with deviant (=atypical) vocalic endings, as well as among nouns ending in consonants. As hypothesized, phonotactic constraints was a strong factor that favored the use of s-plurals. Only nouns with non-deviant (=atypical) vocalic endings were, to a large extent, formed in analogy with established nouns that take traditional plurals. Neither did final (main) stress appear to be a strong factor that favored the use r-plurals.

It was also shown that nouns with a more established history in Swedish favor traditional plurals, sometimes at the cost of s-plurals. In addition, the use of s-plurals appeared more conventionalized in the formation of indefinite plurals than definite plurals, suggested by

larger variation, attributed to a shift of plural declension seen in the formation of definite plurals.

To conclude, the thesis has brought new important insight into the use of s-plurals, as well as establishing the existence of another indefinite s-plural, the combinational "sar-plural". The motivation for the usage of this plural is unclear, and provides an interesting topic for future research.

Lastly, the thesis has shown that several variables effect the use of s-plurals, including age, gender, and regional background. The results showed that s-plurals were more commonly used among younger speakers than older speakers, among women than men, and among Sweden Swedish speakers than Finland Swedish speakers. A difference between younger and older speakers, which was also noted in previous studies, suggests that the use of s-plurals is becoming more productive in Swedish. The gender difference indicated the opposite of Lavas 2007, but stood in agreement with Ljung (1985). It is possible that a change in usage has occurred, but considering that more than 10 times as many speakers took part in this study compared to Lavas (2007), the present result is of greater significance, and a change must not necessary be postulated. However, the fact that s-plurals were more commonly used among women than men, regardless of age, seems to suggest that women are more keen in adopting to current norms in language, as s-plurals greatly represent a linguistic novelty.

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Appendix

The questionnaire used in the study is included below.

Enkät om ordböjning

Hej och välkommen!

Tack för att du valt att delta i denna enkät! Enkäten innehåller 40 frågor, och tar ungefär 20-30 minuter att svara på. Du som deltagare förblir fullt anonym, och behöver inte uppge några personuppgifter som namn, personnummer, mejladress, eller liknande.

*Required

1. **Hur gammal är du som deltar?** *
   Mark only one oval.

   ( ) 6 år.

   ( ) 7-13 år.

   ( ) 14-16 år.

   ( ) 17-19 år.

   ( ) 20-29 år.

   ( ) 30-39 år.

   ( ) 40-49 år.

   ( ) 50-59 år.

   ( ) 60-69 år.

   ( ) 70+ år.

2. **Vad har du för könsidentitet?** *
   Mark only one oval.

   ( ) Kvinna

   ( ) Man

   ( ) Annat/Icke-binär

3. **Var i Sverige växte du upp? Ange ett eller flera landskap. Är du inte uppväxt i Sverige, uppge istället det landet du växte upp i.** *

   _____

4. **Var i Sverige har du bott större delen av ditt liv? Ange ett eller flera landskap. Alternativt uppge annat land (se ovan).** *

   _____

5. **Vad är din relation till svenska?** *
Mark only one oval.

    ( ) Jag lärde mig svenska som barn, ung. innan 6 års ålder.

    ( ) Jag lärde mig svenska senare i livet, som ungdom eller vuxen.

6. **Talar du något annat/några andra språk?**
I så fall vilket/vilka? Uppge en eller flera,
t.ex. "svenska, engelska". *

_____

Instruktioner

Frågorna nedanför har följande utformning: Längst till vänster kommer det finnas en exempelmening, och i varje mening kommer det att saknas ett ord. De saknade ordets plats markeras i exempelmeningen med understreck (___). Till höger om meningen kommer förslag på det saknade ordet finnas. Du svarar på frågorna genom att klicka på det ordet du tycker saknas. Välj då det ordet som du tycker låter bäst och som du själv skulle säga. Var inte heller rädd för att svara fel, för det är enbart du som vet bäst hur du själv säger orden.
   Ifall du absolut inte känner igen något av orden i frågorna, kan du välja alternativet "Vet inte". Men jag vill ändå uppmana dig att ha det som en sista utväg. Slutligen vill jag också uppmana dig att läsa orden högt för dig själv, eftersom det blir betydligt lättare då.

7. **(1) Vi börjar med en fråga som handlar om en slags symboler som används i skriven text. Svara genom att klicka på det ordet du tycker saknas.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	smajli	smajlis	smajlisar	smajlier	smajlin	Vet inte.
=) och :-) är båda exempel på glada ___.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

8. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	smajlina	smajlisen	smajlisarna	smajlierna	Vet inte.
=) och :-) är några av de glada ___.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

9. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	smajli	smajlis	smajlo	Vet inte.
:< är å andra sidan exempel på en ledsen ___.	( )	( )	( )	( )

10. **(2) En tortilla är ett typ av tunnbröd från Centralamerika.**
    Foto: Renee Comet. Public domain.

Mark only one oval per row.

	tortilla	tortillas	tortillasar	tortillor	tortillan	Vet inte.
Bilden ovanför innehåller två ___.	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭

11. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	tortillana	tortillasen	tortillorna	tortillasarna	Vet inte.
De två ___ på bilden är bakade i vetemjöl eller majsmjöl.	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭

12. **(3) På bilden nedanför syns en kimono, som är ett traditionellt Japanskt klädesplagg.**

Foto: Ichiro Wada, Uchikake. Bilden är licensierad under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported.

Mark only one oval per row.

	kimonona	kimonosen	kimonosarna	kimonorna	kiminina	Vet inte.
Det är i Japan man kan köpa de finaste ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

13. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	kimono	kimonos	kimonosar	kimonor	kimini	kimonon	Vet inte.
I en del butiker kan man köpa både kavajer och ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

14. **(4) En jury är en grupp människor som har som uppdrag att bedöma och behandla något mål, vilket kan vara i en rättegång eller ett tävlingssammanhang av något slag.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	jury	jurys	jurysar	juryer	Vet inte.
TV-programmet Idol har genom tiderna haft många olika ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

15. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	juryna	jurysen	jurysarna	juryerna	Vet inte.
Det finns en del återkommande medlemmar i de olika ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

16. **(5) Bilden nedanför visar två bakverk.**
Foto: William Zetterberg.

Mark only one oval per row.

	muffinsen	muffinsarna	muffinarna	muffinna	Vet inte.
De två ___ på bilden ovanför,	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

17. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	muffin	muffins	muffinsar	muffinar	Vet inte.
föreställer choklad__.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

18. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	muffin	muffins	Vet inte.
Och vem gillar inte en/ett choklad__?	◯	◯	◯

19. **(6) En dumpling är ett slags degknyte med en varierande fyllning.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	dumpling	dumplings	dumplingsar	dumplingar	Vet inte.
Oftast får man inte en dumpling, utan flera ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

20. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	dumplingna	dumplingsen	dumplingsarna.	dumplingarna	Vet inte.
Självklart ska ___ serveras varma.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

21. **(7) Skateboarden (stavas också skejtboard) är väl inte den senaste uppfinningen.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	skateboardna	skateboardsen	skateboardsarna	skateboardarna	Vet inte.
Det var surfare i slutet av 50-talet som utvecklade de första ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

22. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	skateboard	skateboards	skateboardsar	skateboardar	Vet inte.
Nuförtiden finns det många olika typer av ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

23. **(8) En shot är en liten alkoholdryck som ofta serveras på barer och fester.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	shotsen	shotsarna	shotarna	shotna	Vet inte.
De flesta ___ är bara några cl stora.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

24. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	shot	shotar	shots	shotsar	Vet inte.
Barer brukar ha sina egna signatur___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

25. **(9) Att vara i samboförhållande innebär att man lever tillsammans med någon, men är inte gift.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	sambo	sambos	sambor	sambosar	sambi	Vet inte.
För ___ gäller särskilda bestämmelser.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

26. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	sambona	sambosarna	sambosen	samborna	sambina	Vet inte.
De nyblivna ___ får ingå avtal om vad som ska vara gemensam egendom.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

27. **(10) En douche är vad man kallar en otrevlig och ohyfsad person.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	douche	douches	douchar	doucher	Vet inte.
Vissa människor är riktiga ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

28. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	douchesen	douchesarna	doucharna	douchena	doucherna	Vet inte.
De som enbart är elaka är de värsta ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

29. **(11) En streber är en person som är väldigt engagerad i sina uppgifter och helt inriktad på sin karriär.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	streber	strebrar	strebers	strebersar	Vet inte.
Både i arbetslivet och skolan kan man stöta på ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

30. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	streberna	strebersen	strebersarna	strebrarna	Vet inte.
Helt inriktade på sina karriärer är vad ___ är.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

31. **(12) Nu ska det handla om ett slags fotografiskt självporträtt, som också kallats för 'egobild'.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	selfiena	selfiesen	selfiesarna	selfierna	Vet inte.
En del tävlar om att ta de mest svårfångade ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

32. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	selfie	selfies	selfiesar	selfier	selfien	Vet inte.
Det har blivit omåttligt populärt att ta ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

33. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	selfies	selfie	selfo	Vet inte.
En del kan inte gå en dag utan att ta en ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯

34. **(13) En burka (stavas också burqa) är ett slags klädesplagg som bärs av muslimska kvinnor i vissa kulturer och inriktningar inom islam. Det är ett plagg som täcker hela kroppen, inklusive ögonen.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	burka	burkor	burkas	burkasar	Vet inte.
De är oftast ljusblå, men det finns även vita ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

35. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	Burkana	Burkorna	Burkasen	Burkasarna	Vet inte.
___ är gjorda i tunna och lätta tyger.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

36. **(14) En burrito är en mexikansk maträtt som består av en tortilla (ett slags tunnbröd) med fyllning.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	burritona	burritosen	burritosarna	burritorna	burritina	Vet inte.
Det är i Mexiko och USA man kan hitta de godaste ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

37. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	burrito	burritos	burritosar	burritor	burriti	Vet inte.
Men det går nog att hitta goda ___ även i Sverige.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

38. **(15) Gaijin kommer från japanskans ord för utlänning, och syftar på turister eller icke-japaner som besöker eller lever i Japan.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	gaijin	gaijins	gaijinar	gaijinsar	Vet inte.
De är oftast västerlänningar som betraktas som ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

39. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	gaijinsen	gaijinna	gaijinsarna	gaijinarna	Vet inte.
Egentligen är de flesta ___ från länder som Kina, Sydkorea, och Brasilien.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

40. **(16) En hoverboard är en slags eldriven balansbräda.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	Hoverboard	Hoverboards	Hoverboardar	Hoverboardsar	Vet inte.
___ har visat sig vara väldigt lättantändliga.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

41. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	hoverboardna	hoverboardsen	hoverboardsarna	hoverboardarna	Vet inte.
Det verkar som om ___ inte är lika roliga som i filmvärlden.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

42. **(17) En stalker är en person som förföljer eller smyger på någon annan.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	stalker	stalkers	stalkrar	stalkersar	Vet inte.
En stalker kan man klara av, men två ___ är bara för mycket.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

43. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	stalkersen	stalkerna	stalkersarna	stalkrarna	Vet inte.
I så fall bör man polisanmäla de ___ som förföljer en.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

44. **(18) Kändisar är ofta jagade av skandalfotografer.**
    Mark only one oval per row.

	paparazzina	paparazzisen	paparazzisarna	paparazzierna	Vet inte.
De verkar aldrig riktigt kunna komma undan ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

45. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	paparazzi	paparazzis	paparazzisar	paparazzier	Vet inte.
En del kändisar har problem med ständigt följande ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

46. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	paparazzi	paparazzo	paparazzis	Vet inte.
Att fota kändisar är den typen av yrke en ___ har.	◯	◯	◯	◯

47. **(19) På bilden nedanför syns en mogen avokado delad itu.**
    Foto: Okänd. Public domain.
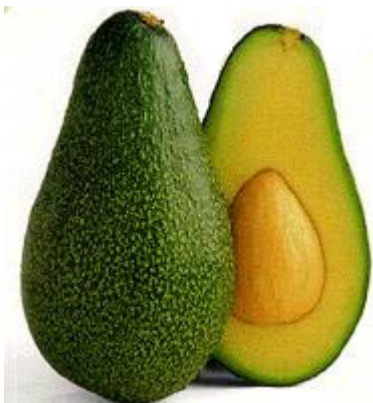
Mark only one oval per row.

	avokado	avokados	avokadosar	avokador	avokadi	Vet inte.
Färska ___ mognar ofta väldigt fort.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

48. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	avokadona	avokadosen	avokadosarna	avokadorna	avokadina	Vet inte.
För att de ska hålla sig lite längre kan man lägga ___ i kylen.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

49. **(20) En goblin är en slags mytologiskt väsen och ett återkommande skurk i fantasygenren.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	Goblin	Goblins	Goblinsar	Goblinar	Gobliner	Vet inte.
___ är ofta små, gröna monster.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

50. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	goblinna	goblinsen	goblinsarna	goblinarna	goblinerna	Vet inte.
Ofta arbetar ___ åt en större och elakare skurk.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

51. **(21) En hijab (stavas också hidjab) är en typ av slöja som täcker håret, nacken, och ibland också halsen och axlarna.**

Foto: Dick Elberts. Bilden är licensierad under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported.

Mark only one oval per row.

	hijab	hijabs	hijaber	hijabsar	hijabar	Vet inte.
På bilden ovanför syns ___ till salu i en butik.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

52. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	Hijabna	Hijaberna	Hijabsen	Hijabsarna	Hijabarna	Vet inte.
___ i bilden ovanför skiljer sig åt på många sätt.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

53. **(22) En partner är en person som ingår i någon typ av förhållande eller relation med någon annan.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	partner	partners	partnersar	partnrar	Vet inte.
Två personer som samarbetar kallas för samarbets___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

54. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	partnerna	partnersen	partnersarna	partnrarna	Vet inte.
De två samarbets___ arbetar ihop p.g.a gemensamma intressen.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

55. **(23) En hikikomori är en ungdom som avskärmar sig från samhället och isolerar sig i sitt hem.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	hikikomori	hikikomoris	hikikomorisar	hikikomorier	Vet inte.
Det är mest i Japan och Korea det förekommer ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

56. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	Hikikomorina	Hikikomorisen	Hikikomorisarna	Hikikomorierna	Vet inte.
___ lider ofta av utbrändhet.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

57. **(24) Youtube är en hemsida där man kan ladda upp och titta på videoklipp.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	videona	videosen	videorna	videosarna	Vet inte.
Nästan alla de mest sedda ___ på Youtube,	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

58. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	video	videos	videor	videosar	Vet inte.
___ är musik___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

59. **(25) Gäri är ett annat ord för 'tjej' eller 'flicka'.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	gäri	gäris	gärisar	gärier	Vet inte.
En gäri, flera ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

60. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	gärina	gärisen	gärisarna	gärierna	Vet inte.
Vill man peka ut en grupp tjejer kan man säga "de där ___ därborta".	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

61. **(26) En cello är en typ av musikinstrument.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	cello	cellos	cellor	celli	cellosar	cellon	Vet inte.
Precis som fioler är ___ så kallade stråkinstrument.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

62. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	cellona	cellosen	cellorna	cellina	cellosarna	Vet inte.
Men jämfört med fiolerna är ___ ganska stora instrument.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

63. **(27) Shono (stavas också shuno) betyder kille eller snubbe.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	shono	shonos	shonosar	shonor	Vet inte.
Är man på stan ser man ofta mycket ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

64. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	shonona	shonosen	shonorna	shonosarna	Vet inte.
De värsta ___ är de som bara är allmänt otrevliga eller ignoranta.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

65. **(28) Följande fråga handlar om de blinkande ljusen som sitter på ett fordons högra och vänstra sida och signalerar att fordonet ska svänga. På bilden nedanför blinkar de på bussens vänstra sida.**

Foto: Papper. Public domain.

Mark only one oval per row.

	blinkersarna	blinkersen	blinkerna	blinkrarna	Vet inte.
Om ___ går sönder,	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

66. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	blinker	blinkers	blinkersar	blinkrar	Vet inte.
måste man snabbt byta ut sina ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

67. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	blinker	blinkers	Vet inte.
Även om bara en ___ är trasig.	◯	◯	◯

68. **(29) En pitbull är en typ av hundras.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	pitbull	pitbulls	pitbullar	pitbullsar	Vet inte.
Det finns flera länder där ___ är förbjudna.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

69. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	pitbullna	pitbullsen	pitbullsarna	pitbullarna	Vet inte.
Många hävdar att de flesta ___ är farliga.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

70. **(30) En otaku kan jämföras med en nörd, men syftar på en person som är väldigt intresserad eller besatt av japansk populärkultur.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	otaku	otakus	otakusar	otakur	Vet inte.
De som är besatta av japanska spel betraktas som ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

71. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	otakuna	otakusen	otakusarna	otakurna	Vet inte.
Man kan därför tro att de största ___ kommer från Japan.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

72. **(31) En ukulele är ett slags musikinstrument.**
   Foto: Kollektives Schreiben. Public domain.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Ukulele	Ukuleles	Ukulelesar	Ukulelar	Ukuleler	Vet inte.
___ är väldigt små instrument.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

73. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	ukulelena	ukulelesen	ukulelesarna	ukulelarna	ukulelerna	Vet inte.
Precis som gitarrerna är ___ stränginstrument.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

74. **(32) En PT är en personlig tränare.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	PT	PT:s	PT:sar	PT:ar	PT:er	PT:r	Vet inte.
Nuförtiden leter många efter bra ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

75. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	PT:na	PT:sen	PT:sarna	PT:arna	PT:erna	PT:rna	Vet inte.
De bästa ___ kan leva på yrket.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

76. **(33) En/ett bastu är ett uppvärmt rum som används för bad.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	Bastu	Bastus	Bastusar	Bastur	Bastun	Bastuar	Vet inte.
___ är ofta rum i andra byggnader,	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

77. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	bastuna	bastusen	bastusarna	basturna	bastuarna	Vet inte.
Men ibland kan ___ vara fristående byggnader.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

78. **(34) På bilden nedanför syns en behå.**

Foto: Steifer, Gytha. Bilden är licensierad under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported.

Mark only one oval per row.

	behå	behås	behåsar	behåar	behåer	behån	Vet inte.
Det finns massvis med olika typer av ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

79. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	behåna	behåsen	behåsarna	behåarna	behåerna	Vet inte.
Frågan är vilka som är det mest bekväma ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

80. **(35) På bilden nedanför syns en jumper.**

Foto: Joan Rocaguinard. Bilden är licensierad under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported.

Mark only one oval per row.

	jumperna	jumpersen	jumpersarna	jumprarna	Vet inte.
De snyggaste ___ är rundhalsade och långärmade.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

81. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	jumper	jumpers	jumpersar	jumprar	Vet inte.
Men snygga ___ kan också vara kortärmade.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

82. **(36) En designer (uttalas desajner) är någon som håller på med design eller formgivning.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	designer	designers	designersar	designrar	Vet inte.
Flera ___ kan tillsammans bilda en designgrupp.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

83. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	designerna	designersen	designersarna	designrarna	Vet inte.
När nya material dyker upp ges ___ nya möjligheter att skapa.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

84. **(37) En mixer är en typ av köksredskap som används för att mixa eller blanda mat.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	mixer	mixers	mixrar	mixersar	Vet inte.
Det finns både stora och små ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

85. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	mixerna	mixersen	mixrarna	mixersarna	Vet inte.
De bästa ___ är de som kan ta lite motstånd.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

86. **(38) 😄 och 😂 är en annan typ av symboler som används i skriven text.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	emoji	emojis	emojisar	emojier/emojir	emojin	Vet inte.
😄 och 😂 är två ___.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

87. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	emojina	emojisen	emojisarna	emojierna/emojirna	Vet inte.
De mest kända ___ är mänskliga ansikten, men det förekommer även djur, redskap, osv.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

88. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	emoji	emojis	emojo	Vet inte.
😺 är en/ett ___ som föreställer en katt.	◯	◯	◯	◯

89. **(39) En lobby är det första rummet man kommer in i när man träder in i en byggnad. Det kan liknas vid en foajé.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	lobby	lobbys	lobbysar	lobbyer	Vet inte.
Hotell inreder ofta sina ___ väldigt fint för att ge ett gott intryck.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

90. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	lobbyna	lobbysen	lobbysarna	lobbyerna	Vet inte.
De största ___ ska ge det bästa intrycket.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

91. **(40) Avslutningsvis ska det handla om en slags levande döda.**

Mark only one oval per row.

	zombie	zombies	zombiesar	zombier	zombien	Vet inte.
Döda som kommer till liv igen kallas för ___.	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭

92. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	zombiena	zombiesen	zombiesarna	zombierna	Vet inte.
De äckligaste ___ är de som är skadade.	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭

93. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	zombie	zombies	zombo	Vet inte.
Man brukar säga att en ___ är en hjärndöd varelse.	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭

94. **Hur gick det? Vad det lätt eller svårt att svara på frågorna?**

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	
Dåligt/svårt	⬭	⬭	⬭	Bra/lätt

95. **Har du några andra kommentarer eller frågor?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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