



# Globalisation and Crosslinguistic Slang: A Phonetic Investigation of *fuck* in Dutch

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**Abstract:** The English loanword *fuck* is often used in Dutch speech as an interjection (an exclamation or filler word), although vowel pronunciation variations have been observed. This study investigated the phonetical integration of a popular crosslinguistic swear word in a prolonged language contact situation. Dutch L1 native speakers in two age categories were recorded using the word in a naturalistic Dutch sentence and the vowel was analysed using PRAAT. This study found that Dutch native speakers predominantly use either the high front vowel /y/ or the low back vowel /a/ with the former being three times as common. Since /y/ is phonetically less similar to the English source vowel /ʌ/ than /a/ is, it is inferred that most Dutch speakers do not attempt to approximate the English pronunciation, indicating that the word has been nativised. This process likely happened generations ago, since no significant difference could be found between older and younger speakers.

**Keywords:** Sociolinguistics, Slang, Crosslinguistic, Codeswitching, Dutch-English, Loanwords

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## Introduction

How do first language (L1) speakers of Dutch pronounce the word *fuck* in a Dutch linguistic context? This question explores the intersection of three subfields of sociolinguistics, namely language contact, phonetic variation, and the study of profanity (swear words). Language contact occurs when speakers of two or more languages or varieties interact closely, it is typical that their languages influence each other<sup>1</sup>. According to Hickey<sup>2</sup> and Lutz<sup>3</sup>, they might adopt semantic, phonetic, or syntactic features of the contact language, depending on their socio-economic networks and language prestige hierarchy, which may lead to long-term language change. Phonetics is a branch of linguistics that deals with the classification and production of sounds in speech made by the human voice. Additionally, phonetic variation can also shed light on the speakers' various social and language attitudes, e.g., their self-identification with certain social groups. This concept was as famously explored by William Labov, for example, in his studies on Martha's Vineyard<sup>4</sup> and New York City.<sup>5</sup> Labov used recordings of natural or near-

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<sup>1</sup> Matras, *Language Contact*.

<sup>2</sup> Hickey, *The Handbook of Language Contact*.

<sup>3</sup> Lutz, "Language Contact and Prestige," 94–122.

<sup>4</sup> Labov, *The Social Motivation of a Sound Change*, 273–309.

<sup>5</sup> Labov, *The Effect of Social Mobility on Linguistic Behavior*.

natural speech to investigate the relationship between how people speak and how they fit into their sociolinguistic community. First, Labov noted that islanders on Martha's Vineyard pronounced certain vowels differently, particularly those found in words like 'mouth' and 'price' and assumed that this showed their identification with Martha's Vineyard. He also investigated the correlation between this particular pronunciation of words and the factors age and gender, finding that younger men used the pronunciation more than older women. On the other hand, Labov's study in New York investigated the social stratification of New York and how this is presented within certain vowel pronunciations in neighbourhoods that varied based on socioeconomical factors, also showing the influence of speaker characteristics on language use.

The study of profanity, or swear words, reveals various cultural assumptions and values of a society and their influences on the speech habits of the speakers from that culture. In the current time of rapid globalisation, language contact is common, especially where English serves as a second language in many domains of life in various parts of the world.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, swearing habits are also changing in the Netherlands.<sup>7</sup> Globalisation is bringing people in contact with various systems of values. In Western societies, gradual secularisation and changes in values have led to the loosening of many taboos—both socially and linguistically.<sup>8 9</sup>

The English loanword *fuck* seems to be widely used in Dutch speech as an interjection but its pronunciation seemed to vary a lot in terms of the vowel, as confirmed by existing sources.<sup>10</sup> are words used in everyday speech that come between or within sentences and are often used as exclamations, continuer words, or filler words.<sup>11</sup> This led to the question of how integrated it is in the Dutch language as either a codeswitched word or a loanword.



**Figure 1.** The lexeme *fuck* in the wild<sup>12</sup>

Several research studies have proposed that *fuck* has been nativised in modern Nordic languages both by wide usage and phonetic adaptation (see following literature review). In addition, the phonetics of loan swearwords in Dutch is an understudied subject, with the

<sup>6</sup> Van Herk, *What Is Sociolinguistics?*.

<sup>7</sup> Van Sterkenburg, *Veranderingen in de lexicale onderwereld van het Nederlands: vloeken*.

<sup>8</sup> Fairman, "Fuck," 1711.

<sup>9</sup> Svordomar et al., *On Swearing in TIME a Corpus-Based Diachronic Study*.

<sup>10</sup> van der Meulen et al., *Het Groot Nederlands Vloekboek*.

<sup>11</sup> Dingemans, *Interjections at the Heart of Language*, 257–277

<sup>12</sup> Photos taken by authors.

exception of Rassin and Murriss' study on Dutch women's swearing habits.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, this study can specifically contribute to testing the results of the Nordic studies in the Dutch context, which may be comparable in terms of socio-economic status. If the results turn out to be similar, generalisations can be proposed within the contextual constraints.

Researcher and participant-recorded elicitation was used as the research methodology for this study. Although linguistic data produced in this way might not be as naturalistic as data produced by observed speakers or when collected from corpora, it was judged adequate in an initial survey because of its ease of implementation, as well as the effectively controlled linguistic context. This ensured that sufficient data of good quality could be collected for comparison.

Initially, the authors of this study suspected that the variation in the pronunciation of the English loan interjection *fuck* in native spoken Dutch might correlate with the age of the speaker.. This hypothesis was inferred due to the fact that younger generations have greater exposure to spoken English in a more globalised world.<sup>14</sup> If that were true, that would indicate an ongoing language change. Even though it is limited to this one lexical item, it will still be a confirmation of the mechanism of language contact-induced linguistic change. Therefore, the non-linguistic variable that was focused on in the present research was the speakers' current age and the linguistic variable was the vowel used in pronouncing the word *fuck* as an interjection in their Dutch speech.

## Literature review

Previously, there has been a study focusing on the use of *fuck* in six world languages (Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, Amharic, Russian, Hindi), with a particular focus on the integration of the lexeme in Nordic languages.<sup>15</sup> This study found that it has been particularly integrated into the Nordic countries, where the use of *fuck* is easily traceable through well-established corpora and media searches. In Norway, *fuck* was first noticed in use just after World War II, however, it was not used until much later after 1985. "There are two versions of *fuck* in Norwegian, a citation form with English pronunciation and orthography and a Norwegianized version *føkk*"<sup>16</sup>. In Norwegian, *fuck* is considered to be a loan word, both spoken and in written form, typically more often by men than women, as well as more often by younger people than older people. In Denmark, the word *fuck* has been used in the Danish language since the 1970s, "but the English orthography and pronunciation have been preserved with one exception, the final consonant is pronounced voiced [g] in Danish and not unvoiced [k] as in English".<sup>17</sup> It is typically used more often by young males. As for Swedish, Berndt quotes Veturlidi Oskarsson: "'U' in English becomes a short 'a' in Swedish. Although Swedes might think it sounds like English, an Englishman hears the difference."<sup>18</sup>

The first occurrences of use in Icelandic were found around 1970. *Fuck* was first cited with English spelling after 1980 when it initially showed up as the "written forms *fokk* (noun and

<sup>13</sup> Rassin and Muris, "Why Do Women Swear?" 1669–1674.

<sup>14</sup> Smakman, *Discovering Sociolinguistics*.

<sup>15</sup> Vatvedt Fjeld et al., "Use and Meaning of the F-Word," 85–111.

<sup>16</sup> Vatvedt Fjeld et al., "Use and Meaning of the F-Word," 85–111.

<sup>17</sup> Vatvedt Fjeld et al., "Use and Meaning of the F-Word," 85–111.

<sup>18</sup> Berndt, "The fuck expletive is spreading across the world," 2019.

interjection) [...] reflecting pronunciation with [ɔ].”<sup>19</sup> Óskarsson explains in his article that Icelandic phonotactics and phonology should “require the short vowels /ʌ/ and /ə/ in English loanwords be represented by the phoneme /œ/” but that in *fokk* it is “nearly always pronounced and spelt differently from what is expected.”<sup>20</sup> Óskarsson expected that the Icelandic *fuck* would be adapted to Icelandic vowel systems since in loans “English short [ʌ] or [ə] are always identified as [œ] in Icelandic.” However, it is seen that the vowel changes to [ɔ] and the lexeme is spelt *fokk*. He suspects this is due to the influence of a previous potentially Danish loanword, “a verb which in Icelandic took the form *fokka* and later gave rise to a noun, *fokk*” p.126. Therefore, “the English *fuck* should have become *fökk*, if it had followed the usual path with English loanwords, but it became *fokk*.”<sup>21</sup>

The literature review showed that the Nordic countries have embraced using *fuck* as part of their cursing vocabulary, especially in the younger generations by tending to adapt it to the phonetics of their own language, e.g., the vowels in Norwegian and Icelandic, and the final consonant in Danish. It is expected that the Dutch situation will be similar based on the assumption that the Dutch speakers have a similar linguistic attitude because of their social, economic and sociolinguistic similarities, for example, a relatively secular lifestyle, affluent post-industrial economy, a native language with a lower global speaker population and a high level of English proficiency. It has been noted that *fuck* is indeed widely used in Dutch speech, as proposed by existing literature.<sup>22 23</sup>

The fact that highly proficient second language (L2) speakers of English adapt the pronunciation of *fuck* while speaking their native language to their native phonetics may appear contradictive to the mainstream assumptions. The academic study of borrowing also accepts the possibility: “If the donor language is well-known and/or the loanword is recent, recipient-language speakers may choose not to adapt the word in pronunciation.”<sup>24</sup> However, when the source phonetics does not fit that of the borrowing language, it is indeed often adapted: “In such situations of lack of fit (which are the rule rather than the exception), loanwords often undergo changes to make them fit better into the recipient language<sup>25</sup>.”

## Research Questions

General studies on swearing in Dutch have been conducted, which included *fuck*, e.g. Rassin and Muris which investigated the perception and situational usage of swearing among Dutch female students.<sup>26</sup> However, it was noticed that the phonetics of loanword profanity in Dutch was understudied. Therefore, the aim of this study was to examine the phonetics of *fuck* in Dutch to help fill this research gap. The phonetic outcome was compared with the speakers’ age in an attempt to uncover any ongoing language contact-induced linguistic changes through an apparent-time research methodology.<sup>27</sup> To structure this research, the following research questions were investigated:

<sup>19</sup> Vatvedt Fjeld et al., “Use and Meaning of the F-Word,” 85–111.

<sup>20</sup> Óskarsson, “Two Loanwords Meet: When Fuck Met Fokk in Icelandic,” 122.

<sup>21</sup> Berndt, “The fuck expletive is spreading across the world.”

<sup>22</sup> van der Meulen et al., *Het Groot Nederlands Vloekboek*.

<sup>23</sup> Rassin and Muris, “Why Do Women Swear?” 1669–1674.

<sup>24</sup> Haspelmath, II. *Lexical Borrowing: Concepts and Issues*, 42.

<sup>25</sup> Haspelmath, II. *Lexical Borrowing: Concepts and Issues*, 42.

<sup>26</sup> Rassin and Muris, “Why Do Women Swear?” 1669–1674.

<sup>27</sup> Smakman, *Discovering Sociolinguistics from Theory to Practice*.

1. What are the different ways that Dutch native speakers pronounce the vowel in the interjection *fuck* in the context of a Dutch sentence, and does the variation correlate with the speakers' age?
2. Does either younger or older Dutch speakers' pronunciation more closely resemble the English source pronunciation of the word and is there a trend towards convergence with the English pronunciation, or more towards naturalisation into Dutch?

By answering these questions, one will be able to better quantify the phonetic variation in the realisation of the interjection *fuck* in Dutch, as well as identify if this variation may index a sociolinguistic generational identity for the speakers. In addition, under the assumption that the older speakers still pronounce the word as they used to in their youth, this can uncover if there is a changing trend in the pronunciation. This method is called apparent-time study. Additionally, by studying how closely the English pronunciation is approximated in Dutch, the degree of adaptation of the loanword can be evaluated.

## Methodology

### Participants

The survey involved 62 participants. To look at the age effect on pronunciation, two groups of speakers were focused on and separated by roughly one generation in age. Therefore, the two age groups 15 to 25 as younger speakers ( $N = 27$ ) and the age group above 40 as the older speakers were chosen ( $N = 25$ ). The 15-year gap was chosen to try to ensure a clear distinction between age groups. Consequently, these two groups were focused on during the data collection.

### Material

The research approach was to use elicited language, partly researcher-recorded and partly participant-recorded. Elicitation was required to ensure that all the tokens produced by the speakers occurred in an identical linguistic environment. All participants were provided with the same sentence to read (see example sentence (1)), written on a piece of paper for researcher-recorded samples or sent as a message in WhatsApp for the participant-recorded samples. Multiple native Dutch speakers confirmed that this was a natural-sounding sentence for the interjection *fuck* to appear in Dutch. The sentence (1) was used:

(1) Christiaan zei: “fuck, nu gaan we eraan!”

There were several reasons why samples of just one sentence were recorded including the word under investigation. Initially, it was considered to use a longer text to make sure the participants would not know the essence of our research beforehand, so it would not influence their pronunciation of the word. In addition, since the research team consisted of Dutch speakers and non-Dutch speakers, the authors also wanted to ensure they were not influenced by the language in which they were asked to participate. However, an expert in the field of Sociolinguistics, dr. D. Smakman, was consulted, who advised the research team to use a single sentence. Due to the reduction in the text length, it was less complicated to collect data and splice out the word that would be investigated. Moreover, informing the potential participants

beforehand that they would only have to read one single sentence encouraged more participation. They were also informed that their age and the region where they grew up would be noted and that the data would not be used for other purposes than this research project. Only after the participant had given their free prior informed consent to the study, did the data collection process begin.

## Procedure

There were several ways utilised to choose participants. The approach included approaching people on the streets or at and around the university. In addition, a member of the research team cycled to a more remote region of Lelystad (Flevoland).<sup>28</sup> It was aimed to have a diverse mix of people from cities, towns, and a variety of regions in the Netherlands. Moreover, samples from Dutch-speaking acquaintances were collected through WhatsApp. A request was also posted on online forums asking for participants for this study, without informing beforehand about its exact nature or the exact sentence to be read. Unfortunately, nobody volunteered through this channel.

It was always ensured that the participants interviewed in person were not able to see the piece of paper with the sentence before the recording was started so that they were not able to practice saying it before, which could potentially affect their pronunciation. The voice recording was always made on their initial reading. It was also requested that those who sent the sample via WhatsApp recorded the sentence on their initial reading. Subsequently, the participants' age and the region where they grew up were recorded. The participants' age and location information was used to name the saved audio file so that it would be clearly linked to the audio when analysing the samples. Furthermore, only after having recorded the participants' utterance were participants provided with more information on the research question of the investigation, if they were curious about the research project. It was important that they went into the study unaware of the exact objective to ensure consistency.

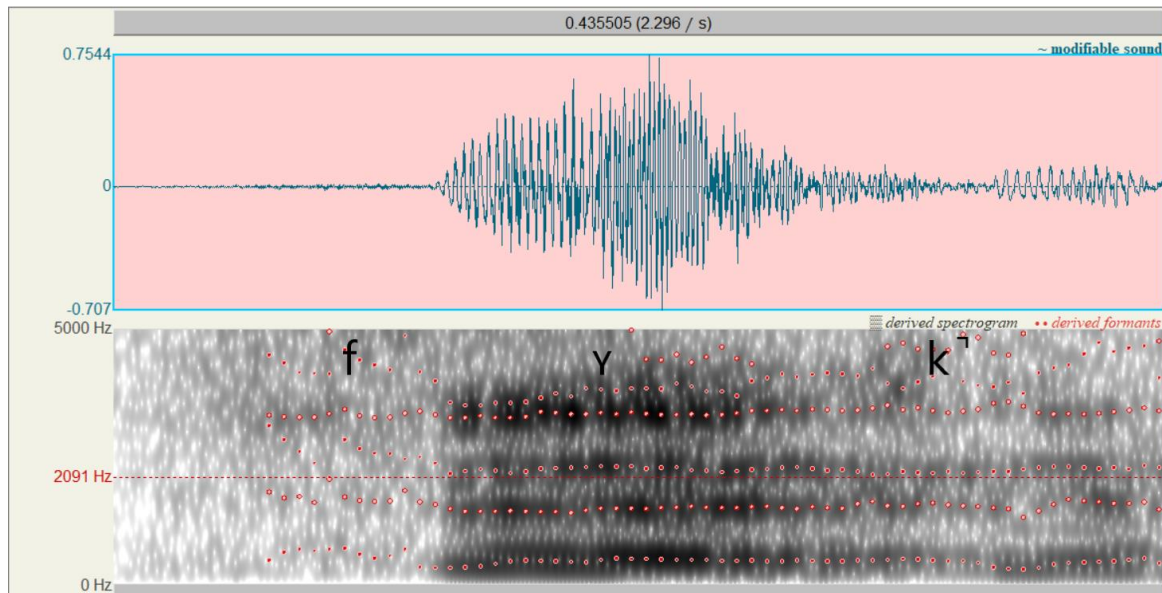
## Coding and Analysis

To analyse the gathered data, the native Dutch researcher first listened to all the recordings with a focus on the lexical item under investigation and classified the tokens into categories according to the perceived vowel quality. The other researchers then reviewed the samples to provide a second opinion to confirm that the classification was consistent. A folder was created with all the voice recording samples, including a master file in Excel with the participants' age and region information and the classifications in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). After the perceptual classification in IPA categories, the speech analysis programme PRAAT was used to analyse the voice-recorded samples further. This acoustic analysis was important to be

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<sup>28</sup> An overview of speakers by age group can be found in Figure 3.1.

able to quantify the perception of the vowels. In particular, the first two formants of the vowel – F1 and F2 were investigated.



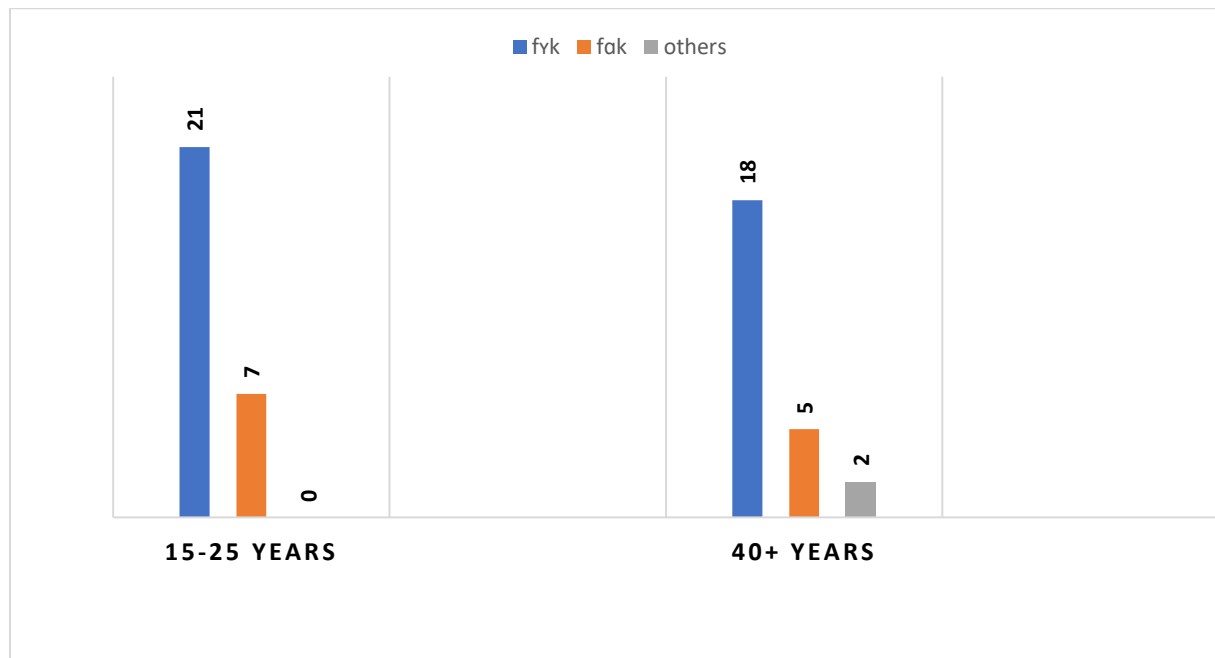
**Figure 2.** PRAAT spectrograph of [fʏk̚], a typical Dutch realisation of fuck

Each of the samples were uploaded into PRAAT and the realisation of the word was separated by zooming in on it (see **Figure 2**). When looking at the spectrogram and formant tracks, the settings for each of the participants were confirmed to make sure that the sample fell within the formant ranges. This was very important because the automatic settings for formants were set to the range typical for male voices. The formant range for females or younger people was typically higher. It was also observed that the formant ranges varied for elderly people. Therefore, it was important to ensure that the speaker's voice fell within the range so that the top range of the formants was not cut off. The number of formants was also adjusted where necessary to ensure that the formants were within the range. The resulting formant values were recorded in Excel. A scatterplot of F1 vs. F2 was created to better visualise and compare the formants. These values were colour-coded by the perceived vowel quality to establish a correlation between the perception and the measured formants. Subsequently, a second F1-vs-F2 scatter plot of the sample was created and colour-coded by the age groups, adding the typical F1-F2 information for the English /ʌ/ vowel encountered in the source English pronunciation of *fuck*.

## Results

As mentioned in the previous section, the survey involved 62 participants, and they produced 63 tokens of the word *fuck*. One 24-year-old participant produced two tokens, as she self-corrected her initial pronunciation. Both tokens were taken in the further analysis. Of the 62 participants, 27 were in the age group 15–25 years, yielding 28 tokens, and 25 were in the 40+

age group. The remaining 10 participants lay in the 26–39 age group, outside of the study’s focus area’s scope. By categorising the tokens based on acoustic perception and correlating them to their focus age groups of 15–25 years and 40+ years, the following results were obtained:

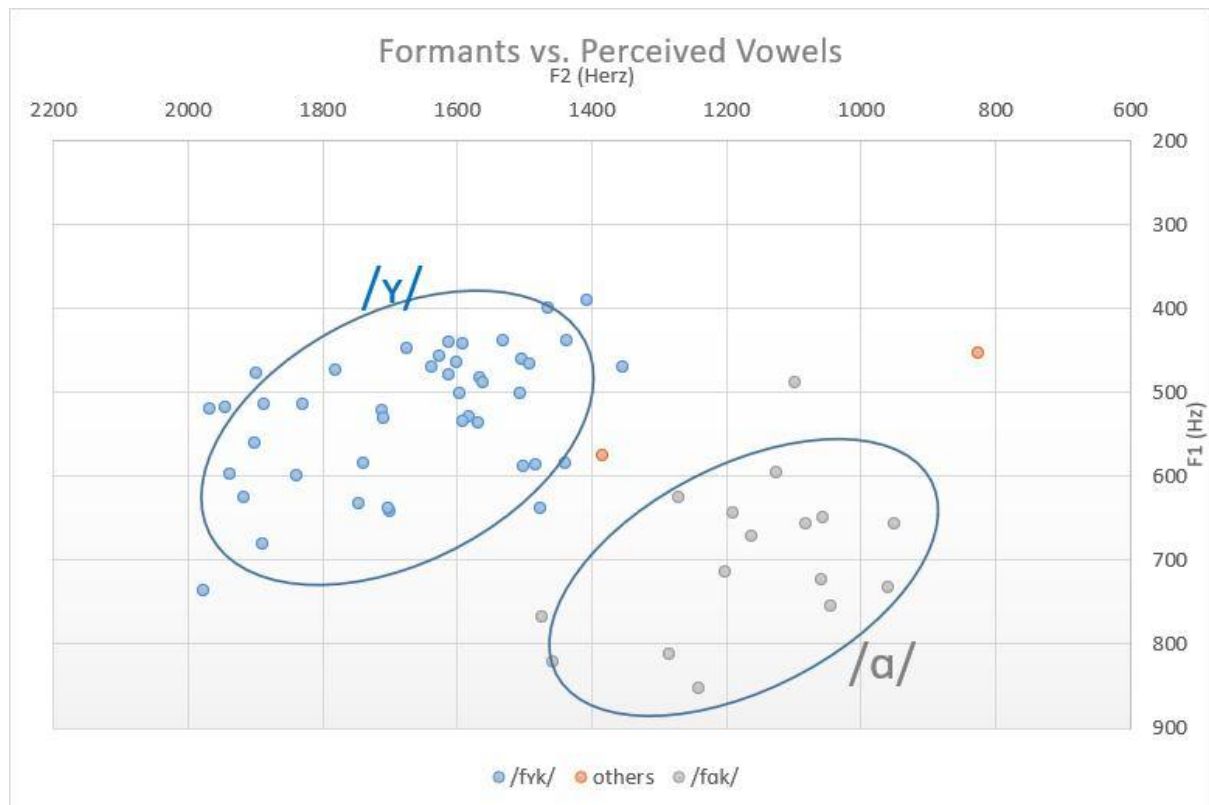


**Figure 3.1.** The variation of the word pronunciation by age groups

It was observed that the pronunciation had predominantly two variants of the vowel – one high front rounded vowel that we categorised under /y/ and a low back vowel that we categorised as /a/. However, in each of the age groups, there was one low back vowel token with perceptible rounding, which would be better represented as [ɔ], but such variation was treated as sub-phonemic since [ɔ] is not a separate phoneme in Dutch from /a/, and therefore we included it with /a/. In addition, two tokens in the 40+ age group occurred which perceptually did not belong to either /y/ or /a/. One of them was perceived as [ø] and the other as possibly a more centralised and lower variant like [ɛ]. It was decided to include both of the variants together in the data presentation in **Figure 3.1** under the ‘others’ category.

In order to answer the second research question concerning whether one of the attested pronunciation variants was closer to the English pronunciation, the vowel-tokens were analysed using PRAAT. Since the two dominant variants /y/ and /a/ can be reliably distinguished by the first two formants—F1 and F2—the investigation was limited to these two formants only.

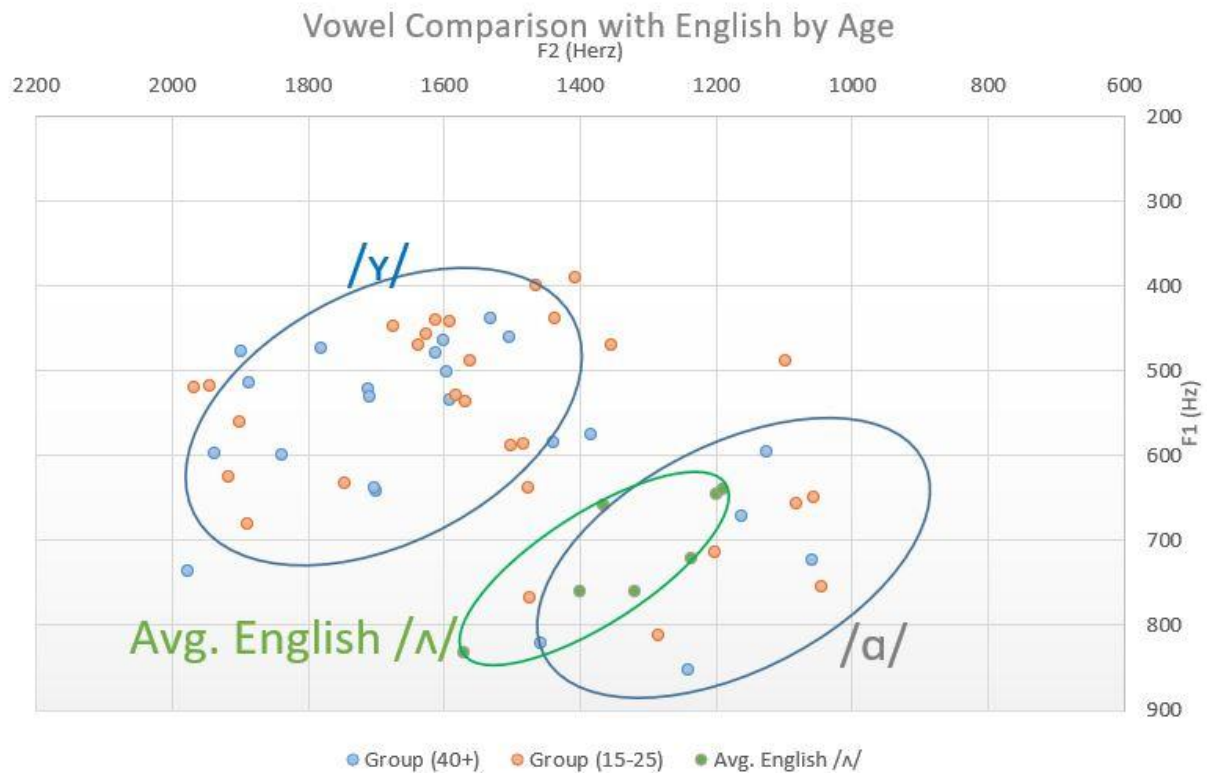




**Figure 3.2.** Correlation of perceptual vowel categories and formant analysis

The blue dots in **Figure 3.2** represent the tokens that were categorised perceptually as containing /y/. Similarly, the grey dots represent the tokens containing /a/, and those in orange are the other tokens. Note that **Figure 3.2** shows 62 tokens from 61 participants, including those in the non-focus 26-39 age group. However, one 63-year-old participant happened to produce a (partially) devoiced or whispered vowel, which was difficult to analyse in PRAAT. Therefore, it was excluded from the formant analysis.

At the next stage, the observed vowels in the Dutch realisations of *fuck* were compared with the English pronunciation of /fʌk/ based on the typical F1 and F2 formants reported for /ʌ/ in English as shown in **Figure 3.3**. Note that in this figure only the two focus groups, namely 15–25 years old and 40+ years old are shown.



**Figure 3.3.** Comparison of observed realisations and English source pronunciation

In **Figure 3.3** the blue dots represent the pronunciation of the older age group (40+) and the orange dots represent that of the younger group (15–25). The green dots are the average F1 and F2 values reported for Received Pronunciation English /ʌ/ in another study<sup>29</sup>. It can be observed that the English pronunciation /ʌ/ seems to be more closely approximated by the /a/ vowel found in our samples. However, interestingly, this pronunciation—though not uncommon—is still clearly not preferred to the more prevalent /y/ in Dutch.

## Discussion

The findings indicate that native Dutch speakers in the age ranges 15–25 years and the above 40 years age group pronounced the English loanword *fuck* in their Dutch speech with the close front vowel /y/ in 39 tokens out of 53, which is about 73% of the times. The next most common pronunciation was the open back vowel /a/ - in our sample 12 tokens, which is 23% of the time. Only a negligible proportion—4% or 2 tokens—of the sample was judged to use a different vowel. Considering only the two main pronunciations, the following distribution of the variants by the age groups under study was found:

<sup>29</sup> Bauer, “Tracing Phonetic Change,” 61–81.

Vowel variant	Younger Speakers (15–25 years)		Older Speakers (40 years+)	
	Number of tokens	Percentage	Number of tokens	Percentage
/y/	21	75%	18	78%
/ɑ/	7	25%	5	22%
Total=	28	100%	23	100%

**Table 1.** Distribution of the two main pronunciation variants by age-groups

This data does not suggest any significant difference in pronunciation preference between the two groups. Therefore, the research questions can be answered in the following way:

**1. What are the different ways Dutch native speakers pronounce the vowel in the interjection *fuck* in the context of a Dutch sentence, and does the variation correlate with the speakers' age?**

This study found that Dutch native speakers are three times more likely to pronounce the lexeme with the high front vowel /y/, than with the low back vowel /ɑ/. No other significant variant was recorded. The choice of the vowel does not seem to correlate with the speaker's age. This also rules out the possibility of its functioning as a generational identity marker.

**2. Does either younger or older Dutch speakers' pronunciation more closely resemble the English source pronunciation of the word and is there a trend towards convergence with the English pronunciation or more towards naturalisation into Dutch?**

An apparent-time study was performed by using two different age groups in this study.<sup>30</sup> It was noticed that the dominant pronunciation, /y/, is acoustically different from the source English pronunciation, /ʌ/, and the minority pronunciation, /ɑ/ [Cf. **Figure 3.3**]. However, since no significant difference or correlation was observed between the older and the younger speaker groups, it can be concluded that nativisation of the word had been achieved a few generations ago. This suggests that the word has probably been nativised into the Dutch speech pattern. Generally, the results were found to agree with the Scandinavian studies.<sup>31</sup> In both cases, the English loanword *fuck* seems to have been nativised by wide circulation and various adaptations to the native phonetics. It was also observed in both cases that the nativisation is potentially a few generations old. This indicates a generalisation that in secular post-industrial English-proficient societies, a phonetic adaption of long-established English slang and swearwords can be expected.

## Limitations

This research study was constrained by the given resources, in particular regarding the accessibility of participants and the time frame of the study. The sample was composed mostly of Dutch speakers who were easily accessible, such as acquaintances and those who were

<sup>30</sup> Smakman, *Discovering Sociolinguistics from Theory to Practice*.

<sup>31</sup> Óskarsson, "Two Loanwords Meet," 121–157.

available in the given university city, as the researchers did not have time to travel to conduct research in every region. This introduced the risk of the sample being potentially biased regarding social and regional factors. Another potential limitation was the use of elicitation with a written stimulus. This could potentially lead to two kinds of interferences: (1) Observer's Paradox, which means that the participants were aware that they were being observed, which might have altered their natural speech pattern, and (2) Script Interference, which means that the participants' production might have been unconsciously influenced by the phonetic aspects of the Dutch orthography. Since the vowel letter 'u' normally represents the phoneme /ʏ/ in Dutch and that happened to be the dominant realisation in our sample, the script interference could be a potential issue.

## Future research

Potential future research should mitigate the limitations of the current project. Ideally, it should first identify all the potential non-linguistic variables that may be relevant to the variation in the pronunciation of the English loanword and perform a multivariate analysis to find out if there is a correlation with any of those variables, for example, the speaker's region of origin, gender and socio-economic class. To solve the Observer's Paradox and script interference, it may also be preferable to use a corpus of spoken natural Dutch speech for the analysis rather than using elicitation. This will provide the added possibility of performing a real-time study. Alternatively, a study may be formulated based on unobtrusive observation of the speakers. Moreover, the script interference with the vowel quality may be avoided by using the widespread alternative spelling f\*ck in the written prompt.<sup>32</sup>

Another area of research could be to compare the usage of the interjection in the source language, English, and the recipient language, Dutch. This may provide us further evidence of nativisation if Dutch uses the word in ways that are unexpected from the point of view of English. A corpus study may be useful as well for this investigation. In the future, the research team can also broaden the research scope to other slangs borrowed from English into Dutch and investigate the pattern of their nativisation to derive a clearer picture of how the forces of globalisation affect the Dutch slang culture. Studying the pronunciation adaptation of the loan slang words into Dutch from other languages, such as Sranan Tongo or Papiamentu, may provide further insight into how slang words are adapted and if the prestige-differential of different languages exerts influence on this process.

## Implications and Applications

The current investigation suggests the possibility that the forces of English-centric globalisation on Dutch have been active for longer than what may be expected. As a result, it may be possible that age can be ignored as a relevant variable in investigating the effects of globalisation on Dutch informal language. It also helps to form a qualitative idea of how globalisation may affect other languages in the future. This can facilitate the general understanding of the associated phenomena, but also to formulate language policies if any are deemed required. However, it might be possible that while the nativisation of the pronunciation of the word by younger speakers may reflect the word's integration into their native vocabulary, the same surface phenomenon in the speech of the older speakers may, on the contrary, reflect a different societal

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<sup>32</sup> We thank an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

role of English in their youth. For example, it may be possible that the pronunciation of older speakers is a reflection of the Dutch spelling rules.

## Conclusion

In the modern situation of enhanced accessibility and mobility in a globalised world, languages are coming in contact frequently both in the physical and the cyber world. This prolonged contact situation leads to crosslinguistic exchange between cultures, as well as linguistic negotiations among them in the shared space. The current investigation on the influence of language contact on Dutch revealed insights about the potential nativisation of an English slang word in Dutch speech with a phonetic adaptation. Similar studies can provide a better understanding of how languages change and adapt loan words in occurrence with modern globalisation, especially in the context of slang and daily language.

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