

A Suntanned Swede and a Ball-Skilled Croat: A Study of Mutual Perceptions and Stereotyping in Croatian and Swedish Language Resources

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses mutual perceptions and stereotyping of Swedes and Croats as they are attested in language resources – dictionaries and text corpora. The descriptions of selected words related to Swedes and Croats in dictionaries and the context in which they appear in the corpora were analysed. The analysis included semantic domains, value (positive/negative), and elements of stereotyping. Additionally, the circumstances that may have influenced the emergence of stereotypes were discussed. While dictionary descriptions proved to be mostly neutral, examples of positive and negative stereotyping about both ethnic groups were found in the corpus material. Negative stereotypes about Croats as immigrants in Sweden were particularly pronounced.

Key words: ethnic stereotypes, national stereotypes, linguistic anthropology, lexicography, text corpora, Croatian, Swedish

Introduction

This paper aims at casting light on the mutual perceptions and stereotyping of Swedes and Croats as they appear in Croatian and Swedish language resources. Stereotypes have been recognized as important cognitive means for organizing and processing information on the world surrounding us. They also have a prominent social character – they are (usually, but not necessarily) collective perceptions, social and cultural constructs formed, inherited, and maintained within a certain community¹. Stereotypes have been an interesting research object within various disciplines such as sociology, psychology, ethnology, anthropology, linguistics, etc., and thus many definitions of the term can be found.

In the Croatian dictionary *VRH*², a stereotype is defined as “conventional, usually very simplified opinion, concept, or belief” (*konvencionalno, obično vrlo pojednostavljeno mišljenje, koncepcija ili uvjerenje*). In the database of Croatian Special Field Terminology *Struna*³, the anthropological definition of a stereotype is as follows: “a belief about generalized characteristics of social groups or their members” (*uvjerenje o uopćenim obilježjima društvenih skupina ili njihovih članova*). Stereotypes that have a specific social group as their object, e.g. group based on

gender, ethnicity, religion, age, appearance, health condition, etc., are sometimes referred to as social stereotypes, and stereotypes about ethnic groups / nations, which this paper focuses on, are called ethnic or national stereotypes. In stereotypes, specific characteristics are generalized and attributed to all group members. These characteristics can be positive, negative, or neutral³. The notion of stereotype is tightly related to prejudice. While a stereotype is a belief or a set of beliefs about presumed characteristics, a prejudice is an attitude that a (negative) stereotype can cause. It involves an affective response to someone or something⁵. Prejudice is usually regarded as a negative attitude^{5,6}, but some research has also been done on benevolent prejudice⁷.

The emergence of stereotypes, their content, preservation, or change can be influenced by various factors, both subjective (e.g. a value system within a community) and objective, external circumstances such as political, social, cultural, etc.⁴ For national stereotypes, geographical proximity and contact are important factors contributing to forming attitudes and stereotypical notions. However, intensified contact and experience can change stereotypes, but they can also confirm them. As Törnquist-Plewa⁴ states: “It [contact] does not guarantee that negative stereotypes will be altered, but it still gives individuals a

chance to ‘de-stereotype’ each other, and the groups a chance to get positive stereotypes of each other.” (*Den [kontakten] ger ingen garanti för att negativa stereotyper rubbas, men ger ändå individerna en chans att ‘avstereotypisera’ varandra och grupperna en chans att få positiva stereotyper av varandra.*). Various circumstances have been recognized as possible stimuli for the formation of national stereotypes. For example, it is common for them to arise when conflict situations such as war, rivalry, or competition between two groups, exist⁴. Other possible causes can be alliances, similar fates, positive or negative experience (e.g. support or indifference), the feeling of cultural, religious, ideological, linguistic similarity, etc.⁸

Croatia and Sweden are not geographically close, nor have they had much contact during history until recently. Thus, the relationship between the two nations is not perceived as friendly or hostile. During the last decades, the contact between Croats and Swedes has intensified as many Croats and members of other ethnic groups from the former Yugoslavia have emigrated to Sweden. In this way, Swedes came into direct contact with Croats. Croats in the homeland learned about aspects of the Swedish mentality and culture indirectly from compatriots who emigrated to Sweden. In the second half of the 20th century, significant emigration to Sweden began due to economic development after World War II⁹. For many countries, it resulted in a labour shortage. Most immigrants from the former Yugoslavia moved to Sweden from the early 1960s to the late 1970s. Although they came as migrant workers, planning to return to their homeland after some time, they mostly stayed in Sweden. The next significant wave of immigration took place in the 1990s due to the breakup of the former Yugoslavia resulting in the Yugoslav Wars, and immigration from Croatia to Sweden continues, primarily for economic reasons⁹. In recent years, it has been further encouraged by Croatia’s accession to the European Union in 2013¹⁰. Moreover, Croatia, as a tourist destination, attracts many foreigners, including Swedes, allowing for direct contact with Croats in Croatia, reconsideration of established ideas, and creating new ones.

Language and stereotypes are tightly interrelated. Stereotypes are reflected in the language (e.g. in its vocabulary, denotations and connotations of words, idioms, proverbs, expressions), and they are communicated through language to other members of the community¹⁰. In this paper, mutual perceptions and stereotyping of the two nations will be studied as they are attested in language resources – dictionaries and text corpora. Previous research on the topic is scarce, and it mainly regards broader groups of Scandinavians and people from the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. Attitudes towards Croats and neighbouring nations have, for the most part, been examined in media discourse about immigrants and refugees in Sweden¹², and to a lesser extent within research on national stereotypes in sport¹³. An article published in 2015¹⁴ analyses the representations of Scandinavia primarily in Croatian but also in Bosnian and Serbian media and literary works.

Corpus and Methodology

The analysis presented in this paper was conducted on the following language resources:

- 1) dictionaries:
 - a. Croatian: *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* compiled by J. Šonje (RHJ¹⁵), *Hrvatski jezični portal*, a dictionary portal (HJP¹⁶), and *Veliki rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (VRH²)
 - b. Swedish: *Svensk ordbok utgiven av Svenska Akademien*, available online on the dictionary portal *svenska.se* (SO¹⁷)
- 2) text corpora:
 - a. Croatian: *hrWaC: Croatian web corpus*¹⁸, which was built by crawling the .hr top-level domain in 2011 and 2014 and comprises texts from news portals, blogs, discussion forums, etc. (approximately 1,2 billion tokens); *Hrvatska jezična riznica (Riznica)*¹⁹, which is smaller (about 100 million tokens) and contains texts from newspapers, literary works, handbooks, etc. published from the beginning of the 20th century until 2010
 - b. Swedish: a compilation of Swedish corpora available through the corpus infrastructure *Korp*²⁰; for this study, a standard selection of the corpora (containing texts from newspapers, journals, literary works, parliamentary reports, spoken language transcripts, Swedish Wikipedia, etc.) has been extended with two additional corpora: *SVT nyheter* (Swedish television news) and *Social Media Corpus*; although the corpora include some older texts, e.g. newspapers and literature from the 2nd half of the 20th century, most sources are from the 90s on; even texts from recent years are represented, e.g. Swedish television news 2004–2021, texts from the news portal *Dagens Arena* 2007–2021, blog posts 1998–2017, Twitter posts 2013–2017, and some corpora are being updated regularly.

The following words were searched for in language resources to gain insight into the notions about Swedes and Croats and possible stereotypes:

- in Croatian resources: *Švedska* (‘Sweden’); *Švedanin*, *Švedanka* (‘Swede, male; Swede, female’); *švedski* (‘Swedish’); related words: *Skandinavac*, *Skandinavka* (‘Scandinavian, male; Scandinavian, female’, noun); *skandinavski* (‘Scandinavian’, adjective); *Nordijac*, *Nordijka* (‘a person from a Nordic country’, male, female); *nordijski* (‘Nordic’)
- in Swedish resources: *Kroatien* (‘Hrvatska’); *kroat* (‘Croat, male/neutral’); *kroatiska* (‘Croat, female’); *kroatisk* (‘Croatian’); related words: (*ex-*, *före detta*, *form*) *jugoslav*, (*ex*)*jugge* (‘a person from (the former) Yugoslavia’), (*ex-*, *före detta*, *form-*) *jugoslavisk*, (*ex*) *jugge-* (‘(former) Yugoslavian’); *Balkan-* (‘Balkan-’, in compounds); *balkansk* (‘Balkan’); *sydösteuropeisk* (‘Southeast European’).

As is evident from this list, in addition to words exclusively related to Sweden and Croatia, the words denoting areas and groups of people that Swedes and Croats are culturally associated with were also included in the study. For Swedes, words referring to Scandinavia and Nordic countries were included. In Sweden, persons of Croatian origin are usually perceived as members of a broader group originating from any of the former Yugoslav countries (I find it difficult, almost impossible to determine whether an ex-Yugoslav is a Serb or a Croat. – *Tycker själv det är svårt, näst intill omöjligt att avgöra om en exjugoslav är serb eller kroat.*) and are commonly referred to as Yugoslavs (*jugoslaver*) or former Yugoslavs (*exjugoslaver, före detta jugoslaver, forna jugoslaver*), colloquially, potentially derogatively²¹ as *juggar* (singular *jugge*), etc. Some online resources, such as Swedish Wiktionary²¹ and Slangopedia²², document the usage of the word *jugge* for a person originating from both Yugoslavia and the present-day former Yugoslavian countries. It can be assumed that the words *jugoslav, exjugoslav, etc.*, are used in the same sense even though we have not found explicit information confirming this in reference sources or in previous studies. Some research has been done on the identity of the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia²³, and as expected, it has been shown that some of them continue to identify themselves as Yugoslavs, whereas others consider themselves members of individual ethnic groups. On the contrary, little information can be found on the Swedish perception. In research from 1992²⁴ on dance and music culture among Yugoslavian immigrants in Stockholm, it is stated that “For Swedes and others, they have first and foremost been ‘Yugoslavs’, a term which is often used as a simplification and shortening of a complicated system of national and ethnic terms.” (*För svenskar och andra har man först och främst varit “jugoslav”, en beteckning som ofta används som förenkling och förkortning av ett komplicerat system av nationella och etniska beteckningar.*); however, since it is 30 years old, the observation cannot be regarded as a proof of the usage today. Nevertheless, some newer examples from the corpora suggest that the words *jugoslav, jugoslavisk, etc.* can be used as generic terms for ethnicities of the former Yugoslavia: “I worked with a Croat who got pissed every time Swedes said ‘so, you are a Yugoslav’ when he said ‘Croat.’” (*Jobbade med en kroat som blev förbannad varje gång svenskar sa att så du är jugoslav när han sa kroat.*; example from 2011), “He is not a Finn, he is some kind of Yugoslav (Bosniak, Croat, or the like).” (*Han är inte finne, han är någon sorts jugoslav (bosnier, kroat el dyl.)*); example from 2005).

Another term related to Croatia and other former Yugoslavian countries is the Balkans. In Sweden, they are often referred to as the Balkan countries, and it is encountered that social and political events and phenomena in individual countries are interpreted based on the idea of the Balkans as a culturally homogeneous area opposed to Europe and the West. For example, this has been observed in Swedish media discourse²⁵. It is also evident

from the book titles such as *Balkans historia: Jugoslaviens uppgång och fall* (History of the Balkans: Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia, Sanimir Resic, Lund: Historiska media, 2013). Moreover, there are some recent examples in the corpora in which Croatia is associated with the Balkans, e.g. “Your girlfriend is from the Balkans, apparently a Croat (maybe a member of Serbian minority from Croatia)” (*Din flickvän är från Balkan, kroat tydligen (kanske serbminoritet från Kroatien)*; example from 2019), “Secondly, many people think that I am from Bosnia/Croatia (i.e., the Balkans)” (*För det andra så tror många att jag är från Bosnien / Kroatien (dvs Balkan)*; example from 2010). Although the names Croat, Yugoslav, and the Balkans cannot be equated, and the focus is on the perception of Croats, the other names will be explored as well, given that they are cultural circles which Croats are sometimes associated with by the Swedes.

In the analysis of the dictionary material, different elements of dictionary entries (such as definitions, collocations, examples) were searched for stereotypical notions about the ethnic group. The analysis of the presentation of ethnic groups in text corpora focused on two types of information: 1) collocations; a list of collocates sorted by frequency (and score, i.e., typicality) and syntactic type (e.g. for nouns: adjectives, verbs when the noun is a subject of the sentence, verbs when the noun is an object, etc.; for adjectives: nouns, etc.) was generated by the tools Word Sketch in SketchEngine (for Croatian Corpora) and *ordbild* (‘word picture’) in *Korp* (for Swedish corpora), and in SketchEngine, the Word Sketch Difference tool was also used to compare collocates of different words; 2) sentences (concordance lines) in which the word appears; for this purpose, concordance tools in SketchEngine and *Korp* were used, and a random sample of at least 300 sentences (if the number of hits exceeded 300) was analysed for each searched word. For Croatian corpora, randomization was achieved by generating a random sample of a certain number of concordance lines and by shuffling lines, so that they appear in a random order, and not in the order in which they appear in the corpora; this was done with tools available in SketchEngine. In *Korp*, concordances are listed for each corpus separately, and the order in which the search results appear can only be randomized within a single corpus; therefore, for Swedish corpora, a certain number of lines from different corpora was studied; the corpora were selected so that different types of sources (e.g. news, social media) and periods (e.g. the 1990s, 2010s) are covered, if applicable. Moreover, certain word combinations were searched for which have the potential of revealing generalizations and stereotypes such as typical Swede/Croat (*tipičan Švedanin, typisk kroat*), typical Swedish/Croatian (*tipičan švedski, typisk kroatisk*), real Swede/Croat (*pravi Švedanin, riktig kroat*), all/most/many Swedes/Croats (*svi/mnogi Švedani, većina Švedana, alla / de flesta / många kroater*). The research focused on the semantic domain, value (positive/negative, if applicable), and stereotypical notions.

Results of Analysis

Dictionaries

In addition to linguistic data, dictionaries also contain cultural data as language and dictionaries are tightly connected to the social context they have arisen from and in which they are used. Dictionaries can thus often testify to the worldview of a specific time, community, or the compiler himself. A study of dictionary material can reveal stereotypical views of certain social groups, in this case, ethnic. Stereotypes can be reflected in different elements of a dictionary entry such as definitions, collocations, or examples.

The issue is commonly discussed within contemporary lexicography and especially in dictionaries of bigger languages. Steps are taken to avoid unnecessary coding of stereotypical views and elements which could be perceived as insulting by certain dictionary users²⁶. In contemporary Croatian dictionaries, many examples which can be regarded as controversial in this regard can still be found^{26,27}. However, some domains are approached more cautiously than others. Vocabulary related to ethnic groups is particularly sensitive²⁸, so it is usually described neutrally. For example, in contemporary Croatian dictionaries, words denoting ethnicity are for the most part defined by geographical origin and no collocations or usage examples are given^{26,27}.

The insights mentioned are mostly accurate for the lexicographic treatment of words related to Swedes in contemporary Croatian dictionaries. For example, in *HJP*¹⁶, a Swede (*Šved*, *Švedanin/Švetkinja*, *Švedanka*) is defined as “an inhabitant or citizen of Sweden” (*stanovnik ili državljaniin Švedske*), and the adjective Swedish (*švedski*) is defined as “which is related to Sweden and Swedes” (*koji se odnosi na Švedsku i Švede (Švedane)*). At the same time, the definition of Sweden (*Švedska*) is encyclopaedic: “a country on the Eastern part of the Scandinavian peninsula, with access to the Baltic Sea, 449.964 km², 8,7 million inhabitants, capital Stockholm” (*država na I dijelu Skandinavskog poluotoka s izlazom na Baltičko more, 449.964 km², 8,7 mil. stan., glavni grad Stockholm*). In *VRH*², only the adjective Swedish appears as a headword and is defined as “which is related to Sweden, a country in the North of Europe, and its inhabitants” (*koji se odnosi na Švedsku, državu na sjeveru Europe i njezine stanovnike*). No additional information, such as collocations or examples, is given in the dictionaries.

The entries denoting Scandinavia and Nordic countries are also mostly defined neutrally if included in the dictionary. However, in *RHJ*¹⁵ and *VRH*², for the ethnonym *Nordijci* (‘Nordic people’), two definitions are given: 1) “members of North Germanic nations (Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Icelanders, Faroese)” (*pripadnici sjevernogermanskih naroda (Danci, Švedani, Norvežani, Islandani, Farerci)*), and 2) “anthropology, Northern European racial type characterized by tall stature, elongated head, blue eyes and hair, and white or reddish skin” (*antr sjevenoeu-*

ropski rasni tip karakteriziran visokim rastom, izduženom glavom, plavim očima i kosom te bijelom ili crvenkastom kožom). Even if it is marked as a specialized use of the word, the definition can be regarded as outdated even from the anthropological perspective. The notion of race is regarded as controversial today, and most anthropologists¹⁷ reject race as a biological category featuring certain physical traits. Although such a description can coincide with the stereotypical notion of Nordic people in other parts of Europe and the world, it does not correspond to the actual situation. It is questionable whether it can even be regarded as typical considering the growing multiculturalism of Nordic societies. A well-known perception of the difference in mentality and behaviour between people living in northern and southern regions is documented in *RHJ*¹⁵ and *VRH*²: in the entries *sjevernjački* (‘which is related to northerners’) and *južnjački* (‘which is related to southerners’), the examples “northern cold-bloodedness” (*sjevernjačka hladnokrvnost*) and “southern temperament” (*južnjački temperament*) are given.

In the Swedish dictionary *SO*¹⁷, the words *kroat* (‘Croat, male’), *kroatiska* (‘Croat, female; Croatian, language’), and *kroatisk* (‘Croatian’) are listed as headwords. They are also defined neutrally with regard to the country or the nation they refer to. Interestingly, the entry *Croat* includes a remark that the word often appears as a constituent in compounds denoting “a person from other parts of the former Yugoslavia” (*person från andra delar av det forna Jugoslavien*), and the example Bosnian Croat (*bosnienkroat*) is given. Likewise, *Croatian* is defined as “which has to do with Croatia or about Croat-related parts of the former Yugoslavia” (*som har att göra med Kroatien el. om kroatrelaterade delar av det forna Jugoslavien*). It will be evident from the results of the corpus analysis below that the ethnic background is often thematized, and immigrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia are often perceived as a single group.

The perceived cultural and political characteristics of Nordic countries and countries in Southeast Europe (Balkans) have been lexicalized in expressions scandinavization and balkanization. Only the word balkanization (*balkanisering*) is listed in *SO*¹⁷, defined as “division of ethnic groups into smaller, mutually hostile units” (*uppdelning av folkgrupper i mindre, inbördes fientliga enheter*). Both expressions are included in Croatian dictionaries as well as many derivatives from the word *Balkan* (*Balkanac*, *balkanski*, *balkanština*, *balkanizam*...). Most of these derivatives refer to something unpolished, crude, deceptive, etc., on the one hand, or ethnic intolerance on the other, in one or all of their senses. However, unlike the Swedish dictionary, in some entries, the underlying stereotype is commented on as based on the perspective of Western Europe (e.g. *VRH*²: *balkanština* – primitivism and dishonest practices in public, cultural, and political life, which according to prejudices in Western European are considered typical of the Balkans – *primitivizam i nečasni postupci u javnom, kulturnom i političkom životu što se prema predwjerenjima u Zapadnoj Europi smatra tipičnim za*

Balkan). However, many derivatives indicate that awareness of differences in mentality compared to (Western) Europe (in Croatian dictionaries, Europe and Western Europe are sometimes listed as antonyms of the term Balkans and its derivatives) is also present among the inhabitants of this area.

Corpora – collocations

Collocations are words that are often used together; in this research, words that appear together with words related to Swedes and Croats were studied. Although several syntactic types of collocations were listed, adjectives (and sometimes verbs) as collocates of nouns and nouns as collocates of adjectives were the most interesting. The most relevant results will be presented.

Swedes and Sweden

Among collocations with the structure ‘adjective + *Sweden*’, the adjective most frequently used with the noun Sweden (in *hrWaC*) is distant (*daleka*), indicating that from a Croatian point of view, Sweden is perceived as geographically remote, but also culturally unfamiliar, a place where the circumstances are significantly different than in the home country. Other adjectives are primarily neutral, while a few more specifically show the perceived characteristics of the country: cold (*hladna*), rich (*bogata*), liberal (*liberalna*), strong (*jaka*; in the context of sport), developed (*razvijena*).

Among the collocations with the structure ‘noun + *Sweden* as a determiner in the genitive case’, e.g. citizens of Sweden (*državljeni Švedske*), many belong to the domain of sports, e.g. national team (*reprezentacija*), team manager (*izbornik*), victory (*pobjeda*). Others are mostly general (south, north, prime minister, ambassador, citizens, etc.). Interestingly, the collocation the example of Sweden (*primjer Švedske*) is relatively common – it is listed as the 7th most frequent collocation in this group, with 44 occurrences. If a closer look is taken at the concordances containing this collocation, the context is usually positive, e.g. “The example of Sweden shows that high taxes are not necessarily a bad thing.” (*Da visoki porezi ne moraju biti nužno loši pokazuje primjer Švedske*). However, sometimes problems of the contemporary Swedish society are mentioned, e.g. “professor of political philosophy Žarko Puhovski ... recalls the example of Sweden, where the far right has gained strength since joining the EU” (*profesor političke filozofije Žarko Puhovski ... podsjeća na primjer Švedske gdje je od ulaska u EU došlo do jačanja ekstremne desnice*).

Collocates listed for the word Swede are predominantly from the domain of sports (e.g. *Riznica*: legendary (*legendaran*), young (*mlad*), second-ranked (*drugoplasiran*), playful (*razigran*); *hrWaC*: x years old (*x-godišnji*), young (*mlad*), legendary (*legendaran*), excellent (*sjajan*), average (*prosječan*), leading (*vodeći*), second-ranked (*drugoplasiran*)). More collocates are listed in *hrWaC* (in line with the fact that it is more extensive, and the word appears in a larger number of examples). Here, a few of them even in-

dicate physical appearance and strength (blond (*plavokos*), tall (*stasit*), robust (*robustan*), handsome (*zgodan*)) and mental features (cold (*hladan*)). Most of the examples where these collocations appear also refer to sports.

Even the female ethnonym – *Švedanka* – appears most frequently in the examples from the domain of sports, which is evident from the list of collocates. However, when compared to the male counterpart, collocates from the domain of physical appearance and character are more common. Even in the smaller corpus *Riznica*, among the neutral collocates like second-ranked (*drugoplasirana*), silver (*srebrna*), famous (*slavna*), leading (*vodeća*), invincible (*nepobjediva*), those indicating physical traits (blond (*plavokosa*)) or character (bombastic (*bombastična*), dynamite (*dinamitna*)) are found. This is more prominent in *hrWaC*, where adjectival collocates such as pretty (*lijepa*), blond (*plavokosa*), nice (*simpatična*), chesty (*prsata*), beautiful (*prelijepa*), sexy (*seksi*), black-haired (*crnokosa*), youthful (*mladahna*), attractive (*atraktivna*) are listed. Interesting results were found when the collocates for a male and a female Swede were compared by the Word Sketch Difference tool: in *hrWaC*, collocates that appear exclusively with the word for a male Swede are predominantly from the domain of sports, while most of the collocates which are used only about a female Swede indicate attractiveness and sexual appeal, e.g. pretty (*lijepa*), attractive (*atraktivna*), sexy (*seksi*), youthful (*mladahna*), chesty (*prsata*). It can be concluded that even if Swedes of both sexes are perceived as physically appealing based on collocations attested in the corpora, it is more prominent for women, whose sexual attractiveness is often stressed.

The Word Sketch Difference showed that the collocates which appear only with the word Swede or are more typical for it are some adjectives from the domain of sports and some denoting appearance or character (blond (*plavokos*), cold (*hladan*)). The collocates of the word Croat are, as expected, more varied, and some collocates specific to Croatian circumstances and history such as those denoting Croats outside of Croatia (*gradišćanski*, *bosanskohercegovački*), *izbjegli* ‘who has escaped as a refugee’, *prognan* ‘exiled’, etc. When the adjectives Swedish and Croatian are compared, the first mostly appears with nouns denoting companies and business (Saab, Ericsson, chain (*lanac*), brand (*brend*)) and international politics (presidency (*predsjedništvo*)). At the same time, the domains are more varied for the collocates of the adjective Croatian. Naturally, internal political and social matters are better represented (parliament (*sabor*), defender / war veteran (*branitelj*), nation/people (*narod*), market (*tržište*), economy (*gospodarstvo*), etc.).

The lists of collocates used with related words also confirm characteristics commonly attributed to Nordic people, e.g. *Skandinavac* (‘Scandinavian, male’): rich (*bogat*), cold (*hladan*), calm (*miran*); *Nordijac* (a (male) person from a Nordic country): blue-eyed (*plavook*), blond (*plavokos*), polished (*ugladen*), fine (*pristao*), cold (*hladan*); *Skandinavka* (‘Scandinavian, female’): long-legged (*dugonoga*), middle-aged (*sredovječna*), blond (*plavokosa*),

free-spirited (*otkačena*), skinny (*mršava*), energetic (*energična*). Even here, attractiveness and free spirit are frequently attributed to Scandinavian women. However, when used in the plural, *Skandinavac* and *Nordijac* can refer to both genders. It should also be noted that most of these collocations appear only in one or a very few examples, which is in accordance with the fact that the words *Nordijac*, *Skandinavac*, etc. occur less frequently in the corpora than *Švedanin* and *Švedanka*.

The nouns used with the adjective Swedish belong to more diverse domains. Despite being a relatively small country geographically distant from Croatia, Sweden is mentioned in various areas such as industry, e.g. a Swedish (car, furniture, truck) producer (*švedski proizvođač (automobila, namještaja, kamiona)*), commerce and business (firm (*tvrtka*), company (*kompanija*), chain (*lanac*), brand (*marka*), (technological, fashion, security) giant (*tehnološki, modni, zaštitarski div*)), science and research (scientist (*znanstvenik*), expert (*stručnjak*), research (*istraživanje*)), arts (movie (*film*), director (*redatelj*), writer (*pisac*)), social organisation (society (*društvo*), model (*model*)), sports (attacker (*napadač*), national team (*reprezentacija*), team manager (*izbornik*), football-player (*nogometaš*), tennis-player (*tenisač*), club (*klub*)). No positively or negatively loaded words are discerned in the list of collocates.

Some of these domains also appear in collocates of the adjectives Scandinavian and Nordic in the corpora, e.g. *skandinavski*: model (*model*), transparency (*transparentnost*), simplicity (*jednostavnost*), coldness (*hladnoća*), society (*društvo*), democracy (*demokracija*), capitalism (*kapitalizam*); style (*stil*), design (*dizajn*); firm (*tvrtka*), company (*kompanija*); movie (*film*), author (*autor*), band (*band*), literature (*književnost*), crime story (*krimić*); *nordijski*: model (*model*), firm (*tvrtka*), company (*kompanija*), etc.

Croats and Croatia

The collocates of the word Croat in the Swedish corpora indicate that origin and religion are often mentioned with regard to Croats, as many of the collocates are from these domains, including the most frequent, e.g. Bosnian (*bosnisk*), ethnic (*etnisk*); half (*till hälften*); from Croatia/Bosnia/Herzegovina (*från Kroatien/Bosnien/Hercegovina*); Catholic (*katolsk*), Orthodox (*ortodox*), Christian (*kristen*), Muslim (*muslimsk*); to convert (*att konvertera*). Some collocates from the domain of sports (to win (*att vinna*), to lose (*att förlora*), to play (*att spela*)) and crime (e.g. the verbs to arrest (*att gripa*), to suspect (*att misstänka*), can be discerned. Moreover, there are a few collocates that denote looks or character (swarthy (*svartmuskig*, offensive), dinaridic (*dinaridisk*), dark (*mörk*), tall (*lång*), light (*ljus*); proud (*stolt*), nationalistic (*nationalistisk*).

The nouns which frequently appear with the adjective Croatian are, in addition to general such as parliament (*parlament*), inhabitants/people (*befolkning*), national anthem (*nationalssång*), from the domain of sports (first league (*högstaligan*), national team (*landslag*), supporter (*supporter*), water polo player (*vattenpolospelare*)), related

to historical events, mainly war (war of independence (*självständighetskriget*), army (*armé*), general (*general*)). Coast (*kust*) also appears among the ten most frequent nominal collocates.

The collocates that appear with related words denoting broader areas of the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans reveal phenomena commonly associated with immigrants from Croatia and its neighbouring countries and attitudes towards them:

- Balkanic (*balkansk*): history (*historia*), music (*music*), folkmusic (*folkmusik*), dance evening (*dansaf-ton*), specialty (*specialitet*), politics (*politik*), brass music (*blåsmusik*), food (*mat*)
- Balkan- (*Balkan*): countries (*länder*), peninsula (*halvön*); war (*krig*), conflict (*konflikt*), Romani people (*romer*), gypsies (*zigenare*), slut (*luder*), immigrant (*blatte*, offensive), idiots (*idioter*), mentality (*menalitet*), chicks (*brudar*), mafia (*maffia*)
- Southeast European (*sydösteuropeisk*): music (*musik*), fastfood (*snabbmat*), culture (*kultur*)
- ex-Yugoslavian (*exjugoslavisk*): 100 kg guy (*100-kg polare*), undermaffioso (*undermaffioso*), film villain (*filmskurk*), war criminal (*krigsförbrytare*), gangster (*gangster*), novel (*roman*)
- *jugge*: criminal (*kriminell*), fucking (*jävla*), crazy (*galen*), mentally ill (*psyksjuk*), swetty (*svettig*), beefy (*biffig*), petty criminal (*småkriminell*), big (*stor*), proud (*stolt*)
- *jugge*:- mafia (*maffia*), parent (*föräldern*), maffioso (*maffioso*), girl (*tjej*), music (*musik*), chick (*brud*), boy (*kille*), party (*fest*).

Immigrants from these areas seem to adhere to a certain immigrant subculture, with music, food, and parties as prominent features. They are sometimes also associated with organized crime. From the collocates, it can be concluded that they, especially men, can be perceived as bulky, aggressive, violent, etc., while women are compared to prostitutes in a few examples. Some offensive words also appear in the lists, suggesting a negative attitude towards this group of immigrants.

Corpora – concordances

Swedes and Sweden

Concordances containing the lemma *Swede* reveal a similar picture as collocations. The sports domain occurs most frequently in *hrWaC* and *Riznica*, especially in the examples from news portals. In addition to sports, a common topic is the Swedish society, which is usually mentioned in an affirmative context, as progressive, innovative, liberal, a role-model, etc. (It is also fascinating that civil servants and health workers attend communication courses. Rudeness of these workers is unknown to Swedes – *Fascinantno jest i to da državni službenici, kao i zdravstveni djelatnici prolaze tečaj komunikologije. Neljubaznost ovih djelatnika je nepoznanica za Švedane*); Another interesting fact about gender equality and openness of Swe-

den is that Swedes have been striving more and more for an everyday family life lately. – *Još jedna zanimljivost vezana uz ravnopravnost spolova i otvorenost Švedske jest ta da Šveđani u posljednje vrijeme sve više teže zajedničkom, obiteljskom životu*; at the end of that list is Sweden, only five percent of Swedes have not accessed the Internet – *na kraju te liste je Švedska, samo pet posto Šveđana nije pristupilo internetu*; The Swedes have abolished the legal retirement age for regular pensions and left it up to individuals to decide when to retire. – *Šveđani su ukinuli zakonsku dob umirovljenja za redovne mirovine i prepustili pojedincima odluku o tomu kada će u mirovinu.* In *hr-WaC*, there are relatively many examples that contain expressions meaning ‘like Sweden’ – *poput Švedske* (more than 100 examples), and *kao Švedska* (approximately 50 examples). A similar picture emerges from these examples. Sweden is mostly mentioned in an affirmative context, as a leading country, role model for the social system, economy, technological development, etc. (Wealthier countries, like Sweden, purify wastewater and use it for industrial purposes – *Bogatije države, pak, poput Švedske, pročišćuju otpadne vode i koriste ih u industrijske svrhe*; countries with the most liberal regulations, like Sweden, have a very low crime rate, says a lawyer from Split – *države s najliberalnijim propisima kao Švedska imaju vrlo nisku stopu delikata ističe splitski odvjetnik*).

World-famous Swedes are also mentioned such as authors, directors, artists (The young Swede Adrian Lux has been a guest at world’s leading festivals and party destinations in recent months, and he is coming to Zagreb for the first time on October 26 – *Mladi Šveđanin Adrian Lux posljednjih mjeseci gostuje na vodećim sujetskim Festivalima i party destinacijama, a u Zagreb 26. listopada dolazi prvi put*; The Swede Lukas Moodysson, who has gained many admirers for his keen but subtle sense of social satire and incredibly well-created and likeable characters, has also published several books of poetry and a novel. – *Šveđanin Lukas Moodysson, koji je stekao brojne poklonike zbog svog izoštrenog, ali suptilnog osjećaja za društvenu satiru te nevjerojatno dobro stvorenih i simpatičnih likova, objavio je i nekoliko knjiga poezije te jedan roman.*), supermodels (This Swede has conquered the fashion world with both his looks and personality. – *Ovaj Šveđanin osvojio je modni svijet kako izgledom tako i osobnošću.*), innovators (A Swede Dr. Emil Vodder has shown through experiments that gently smoothing different parts of the skin helps patients, and based on this knowledge, the technique of manual lymphatic drainage has been developed as an effective means of combating lymphatic syndrome. – *Šveđanin dr. Emil Vodder pokusima je pokazao da lagano glađenje različitih dijelova kože pomaže pacijentima i na temelju tih saznanja razvila se tehnika ručne limfne drenaže kao učinkovitog sredstva u suzbijanju limfatičnog sindroma.*), etc. as well as Swedish companies (In 1950s, Åke Nordin, a Swede, started his own company Fjällräven, which produces special equipment and clothing for hikers, adventurers, and other nature lovers. – *1950-ih Šveđanin Åke Nordin pokrenuo je vlastitu kompaniju*

Fjällräven, koja proizvodi specijalnu opremu i odjeću za planinare, avanturiste i ostale ljubitelje boravka u prirodi..) A few examples where Swedes are mentioned in a negative context originate from reports on crime and law violations committed by Swedes which have reached international media, including Croatian (A 34 years old Swede Anders Hoegstroem, accused of stealing the metal sign “*Arbeit macht frei*” above the entrance to the Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz in December, has finally agreed to speak out. – *34-godišnji Šveđanin Anders Hoegstroem, optužen da je u prosincu iznad ulaza u nacistički logor Auschwitz ukrao metalni natpis “Arbeit macht frei”, konačno je pristao progovoriti.*).

The multinationalism of the contemporary Swedish society is also reflected in the examples – sometimes ethnic origin is indicated together with the ethnonym *Swede*, especially when it regards Croatia’s neighbouring countries (The Swede of Macedonian descent not even remotely meets the criteria of professional football. – *Šveđanin makedonskog roda niti približno ne udovoljava kriterijima profesionalnog nogometa.*.) As expected, in a few examples, Croatian immigrants in Sweden are mentioned, but not vice versa, expressions like a Croatian Swede (*hrvatski Šveđanin*) and a Swedish Croat (*švedski Hrvat*) both refer to persons of Croatian origin living in Sweden; moreover, expressions like a Swede with Croatian roots (*Šveđanin hrvatskih korijena*) and a Croat from Sweden (*Hrvat iz Švedske*) are attested, unlike the expressions a Croat with Swedish roots or a Swede from Croatia.

Croatia has in recent years become a popular tourist destination for Swedes (and Scandinavians in general), which is reflected in a few examples from the corpora (Paul Šikić was especially pleased with the response, and he stressed that this presentation also confirms that an increasing number of Swedes will come to Dalmatian summer resorts in the coming summer as well. Namely, Croatia is becoming more and more interesting and attractive for tourists from the Scandinavian countries. – *Odazivom je posebno bio zadovoljan Paul Šikić koji je istakao kako i ova prezentacija potvrđuje da će i u nadolazećem ljetu sve veći broj Šveđana dolaziti u dalmatinska ljetovališta. Hrvatska, naime, za turiste iz Skandinavskih zemalja, postaje sve zanimljivija i sve atraktivnija; Don’t tell me that in our country, all women are “served” exclusively by atheists, liberal leftists, and suntanned Swedes, while good Christian husbands sit at home with their legs crossed? – *Nemoj mi reći da kod nas sve žene opslužuju isključivo ateisti, liberalni ljevičari i preplanuli Šveđani, dok dobri kršćanski muževi sjede doma prekrštenih nogu?*).*

Many of the examples above originate from news portals. A subcorpus containing texts from discussion forums and blogs was searched to see whether a different picture appears in a more informal context. In these sources, criticism towards Swedish mentality, society, or perceived level of advancement is more prominent. In some examples, the authors are allegedly speaking from their own experience with Swedes (Swedes have a dominant and

arrogant approach to work, at least in my experience, which means that they do not accept suggestions, and in general, they are quite conservative and inert. – *Šveđani imaju dominantan i goropadan pristup poslu, bar po mojim iskustvima, što znači da ne prihvaćaju sugestije i općenito su dosta konzervativni i inertni.*) Still, it is also credible that in some cases, simple jealousy is at work, especially in those with a mocking or disparaging overtone (Swedes are supposed to be intelligent, nonsense. Their brains have frozen and shrunk in that harsh winter. They don't receive enough sunlight and heat, so they are angry, frustrated, and defiant. – *Oni da su inteligentni Šveđani, pih. Njima se mozak smrza i smanjija na onoj ljutoj zimi. Ne primaju dovoljno sunčevog svitla i topline, pa su ljuti i frustrirani i rade dišpete.*) Swedes appear stern, dominant, prejudiced (They also have prejudices against other nations that are not at their level of development, and in general, Swedes can be expected to take the lead. – *Imaju i predrasude prema ostalim narodima koji nisu na njihovom stupnju razvoja, i općenito se od Šveđana može očekivati da vode glavnu riječ.*), and sometimes even impolite, frustrated, and angry (as in the example above), depressed and prone to alcoholism and suicide (people are happier in the sun and warmth. No wonder all Swedes and Norwegians I know are depressed, dysfunctional, prone to alcohol, and have the highest suicide rate in Europe – *čovjek je sretniji na sunčanom i toplom. Nije ni čudo da su svi Šveđani i Norvežani koje znam depresivni, disfunkcionalni, skloni alkoholu, a imaju i najveći postotak samoubojstava u Europi*). They are sometimes accused of exploiting foreign workers (They hope that a bright future awaits them there, and there Slovenes, Germans, Swedes, and others are making them work their guts out for 300 euros. – *Nadaju se da ih tamo čeka svijetla budućnost, a tamo ih Slovenci, Njemci, Šveđani i drugi nabijaju sa noge na nogu za 300 eura.*), in other cases, they are seen as naive, and their social system as unsustainable and unable to cope with challenges such as immigration (In Sweden, which Muslims call the most Muslim country in the world, every fool who is not Swedish does what he wants, even the things he would not dare to do in his country of origin. – *U Švedskoj, koju muslimani zovu najmuslimanskijom zemljom svijeta, svaka budala koja nije Šveđanin radi što hoće, pa i ono što se ne bi usudio u svojoj zemlji podrijetla.*). However, even in this group of texts, Swedes are often portrayed positively, as role models, they are associated with desirable personality traits such as responsibility and uprightness (it would be good if HEP was state-owned if Croats had the diligence of the Japanese and the responsibility of the Swedes – *bilo bi dobro kad bi HEP bio državni da Hrvati imaju radinost Japanaca i odgovornost Šveđana*; Swedes have a decent standard of living and politicians who are exemplary citizens because they don't steal. – *Šveđani imaju pristojan životni standard i političare koji su uzorni građani jer ne krađu.*) and described as smart, sporty, and likeable (not all Swedes are blue-eyed and blonde, but generally speaking, they are fit, charming, elegant, and they speak foreign languages – *nisu baš svi Šveđani plavooki i plavokosi, ali*

općenito govoreći, fit su, šarmantni, elegantni i govore strane jezike).

The examples above are gender-neutral, referring to persons regardless of gender. In many of the examples containing the word *Šveđanka* ('Swede, female'), Swedish women are depicted as attractive and as sexual objects (Here is another Swede on the list of the bustiest women. – *Evo još jedne Šveđanke na listi najprsatijih.*), even when the topic is something else, for example sports (the attractive Swede triumphed at the Australian Ladies Masters on the Gold Coast with four strokes less than the English Karen Stupples – *atraktivna Šveđanka je na Australian Ladies Mastersu na Gold Coastu trijumfirala sa četiri udarca manje od Engleskinje Karen Stupples*).

Croats and Croatia

The concordances with the words *Croat* (male and female), *Croatian*, and *Croatia* support the conclusions of the analysis of collocations. Even here, dominant topics are sports (When a ball-skilled Croatian got a sore leg, Redknapp simply picked up another. – *När en bollskicklig kroat fick ont i benet så plockade Redknapp helt enkelt upp en annan.*; Comparing me with *insert any Croatian from EC '96 * makes my eyes water. – *Att jämföra mig med *insert valfri kroat från EM '96 * får ögonen att vattnas.*) and historical events related to Yugoslavia and the war following its disintegration. Moreover, a few examples bear witness to Swedes' experience with Croatia and Croats as tourists. The examples are usually affirmative, and the excellent food, atmosphere, friendliness of people, etc., are mentioned (The food is usually good, and the atmosphere is cosy in Croatian restaurants. – *Maten är oftast god och atmosfären gemytligt på kroatiska restauranger.*; We met fun guys, went to crazy Croatian full-moon parties, partied with the locals, and lived in a fantastic apartment a stone's throw from the sea. – *Vi träffade roliga killar, var på galna kroatiska fullmånepartys, festande med lokalbefolkningen och bodde i en fantastisk lägenhet ett stenkast från havet.*)

Among the examples that regard Croats in Sweden, many show mixed relationships or mixed origin (My youngest sister comes on Thursday with her Croat.). Examples where Croats are involved in illegal activities can be found (how a Croat with a long criminal record could be allowed to work there – *hur en kroat med långt brottsregister kunde tillåtas arbeta där*). When it comes to physical appearance, Croats are generally perceived as physically appealing (By the way, one of the most beautiful women I have ever seen is a Serb / a Croat, so in the future, I will keep an eye on people from that area. – *För övrigt är en av de vackraste kvinnor jag någonsin sett serb / kroat, så i framtiden lär jag hålla ett öga på folk från det hållet.*; If I have children, I would like to have children with a beautiful Greek, Serb, Croat, or Bosniak ... he is more than welcome to have dark hair and light eyes! – *Ska jag ha barn, vill jag gärna ha barn med en vacker grek, serb, kroat, eller bosnier ... han får mer än gärna ha mörkt hår och ljusa ögon!*), even though some counter examples

can be found (She can't be pretty when she is an Albanian / a Croat. – *Snygg kan hon heller inte vara när hon är alban / kroat.*). In some examples, prejudices against Croatian immigrants are reflected (Have you seen a sane Serb, Croat or Bosnian Muslim here or? – *Har du sett en sansad serb, kroat eller bosnisk muslim här eller?*), while in others, they are perceived as “better”, more integrated, culturally closer, etc. than immigrants from some other parts of the world (For me, it is easier to feel connected to, for example, a Croat than an Arab. – *För mig är det lättare att känna samhörighet med tex en kroat än en arab.*). Among the perceived cultural differences between Swedes and Croats are attitudes toward sexuality, religion, and relations, e.g. partnerships and families. Their Catholic religion and traditional values are often emphasized (a young Croat, strong in her Catholic faith and almost completely inexperienced in terms of more intimate love – *en ung kroatiska stark i sin katolska tro och närmast helt oerfaren vad gäller intimare kärlek*; I just think it's so ridiculous, I'm Croatian and did not have sex until I was 18 and have had a very hard time because I was not allowed by my parents to go out – *tycker bara det är så löjligt, jag är kroat och hade inte sex förrän jag var 18 och har haft det väldigt svårt då jag inte fick gå ut för mina föräldrar*; My grandmother, who will soon turn 80, who is Croatian and Catholic if it has anything to do with it, patted my partner on the head because he was so good that he did laundry ALL BY HIMSELF once. – *Min mormor, som snart fyller 80, som är kroat och. Katolik om det har med saken att göra, klappade min sambo på huvudet för att han var så duktig eftersom han tvättade HELT SJÄLV en gång.*). However, even here some counterexamples can be found (Marijana is not a good-natured Croatian woman with guardian instincts but a fierce opponent. – *Marijana är inte den godmodiga kroatiskan med vårdnadsinstinkter utan en hårdfjällad motspelare.*). In some examples, Croats are considered to be conservative and xenophobic (the vast majority of Croats is right-oriented, and they are against Muslims, Negros, Arabs, and the rest of the pack – *de allra flesta kroater är åt höger samt är emot muslimer, negrer, araber och övrigt pack*) as well as proud and nationalistic, even though their home-country is an unattractive place to live (Regarding Croats, most Croats see no future in Croatia and want to leave it. – *Vad gäller kroater så ser de flesta kroater ingen framtid i Kroatien och vill lämna det.*), which is understandable given the number of Croatian immigrants in Sweden. However, personal encounters with Croats and life in Croatia can challenge such impressions: “For most Croats today, homosexuality is accepted, nudist beaches have been around for a long time, and pride parades are held everywhere and all the time in Croatia.” (*Hos de flesta kroater idag är ju homosex accepterat, nudist stränder har funnits under lång tid och pride parader arrangeras överallt och hela tiden i Kroatien.*).

An analysis of concordances containing nouns and adjectives related to the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans in Swedish corpora revealed a somewhat stereotyped and

often negative perception of immigrants from these areas. In numerous examples, the Yugoslav mafia is mentioned, or the Yugoslav people engage in illegal activities such as smuggling, theft, etc. However, even in these examples, “Yugoslavs” are viewed as “good immigrants” or at least more integrated into the Swedish society and thus more desirable than the newcomers from more culturally distant countries.

Several examples regard (ex-)Yugoslav women; they are often depicted as attractive, alluring, sensual, and sometimes even slutty, libertine (My childhood friend is a Yugoslav (born in Sweden) and I have lost count after 40 how many boys she had “felled” when she was 20 (now she is 39). – *Min barndomsvän är jugoslav (född i Sverige) och jag har tappat räkningen efter 40 hur många killar hon hade “avverkat” när hon var 20 (nu är hon 39).*). This is opposed to a construct of prudent Catholic women found in some examples containing the words Croat and Croatian.

Some examples refer to (ex-)Yugoslav women entering relationships with Swedish men: Swedish men are allegedly attracted to them due to their good looks and sensuality mentioned above as well as their willingness to please men, while women value Swedish men as they seem to be better to have a relationship with than Yugoslav men in Sweden, they are more decent, mature, situated, etc. On the contrary, Yugoslav men like to show off, for example, driving around in expensive cars, but they have not much to offer, have worse jobs than Swedish men, etc. (The other culture clash is that as a man you should have a good car ... this subculture among Yugoslav men, I think it is because after the war they wanted to show that they still owned something – *Den andra kulturkrocken är att som man ska du ha en fet bil ... denna subkultur bland juggemän tror jag beror på att man efter kriget visade att man fortfarande ägde nånting*; A girl who would rather take a Yugoslav who sells stolen goods than a Swede with a future cannot be playing with a full deck. – *En tjej som hellre tar en stöldgösförsäljande jugge framför en svenske med framtid kan ju inte ha alla hestar hemma.*). The descriptions are based on a traditional, patriarchal standpoint, according to which the primary role of a man is to support a woman financially. At the same time, she must be good looking and is perceived as a sexual object. However, there are even examples in which women, especially Swedish, prefer Yugoslav men as partners and find them attractive and more masculine than Swedes (One constantly reads how wimpy Swedish men are and that women – Swedish and Yugoslavian alike – prefer more “masculine” Yugoslav men. – *Ständigt läser man ju hur mesiga svenska män är och att kvinnor – svenskor som juggor – föredrar mer “manliga” juggemän.*).

Examples regarding the appearance and behaviour of (ex-)Yugoslav immigrants which are perceived as non-Swedish and socially undesirable or deviant were also found (And non-veil-wearing teenagers from the same areas as the Muslim girls mentioned – definitely more often with an ex-Yugoslav, Finnish, or Lebanese background

than Swedish – often have just as tight synthetic pants, the same perfume clouds, the same stiletto heels, and the same war paint on their faces. – *Och icke slöjbärande tonåringar från samma områden som de muslimska tjejerna i resonemanget – för allt i världen kanske oftare med exjugoslavisk, finsk eller libanesisk bakgrund än svensk – har ofta lika tajta syntetbyxor, samma parfymmöln, samma stilettklackar och samma krigsmålning.*; All *jugge* men marry to get good food, care, and service in the home. – *Alla juggemän gifter sig för att få god mat, ompyssling och service i hemmet.*; People do not understand that when a *jugge* dad says something, it's a law. – *Det folk inte fattar är när en juggefarsa säger något är det lag.*; She can't understand at all why I do not stand by the stove and produce all kinds of Balkan dishes, as a real *jugge* mom should do when there is a party. – *Hon kan inte alls förstå varför jag inte ställer mig vid spisen och producerar alla-handa balkanrätter som en riktig juggemamma borde göra när det är kalas.*

Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis of Croatian and Swedish language resources has shown the common perceptions of Swedes about Croats (and Yugoslavs, former Yugoslavs) and Croats about Swedes, some of which, due to their simplicity and generality, can be considered as stereotypes. While descriptions in the dictionaries are mostly neutral, examples of positive and negative stereotyping about both nations were found in the corpora. However, negative stereotypes and prejudices are particularly pronounced in Swedish corpora, which is understandable given that many Croats and people from neighbouring countries have come to Sweden as immigrants. Mutual perception could have been influenced by various factors such as contact in the form of immigration or tourism, the fact that Croats as an immigrant group participate in Swedish society and compete with the local population both in the labour market and in the private life, the fact that Swedish society is economically and in other ways more advanced than Croatian, but also that these nations are culturally relatively similar compared to, for example, some other groups of immigrants in Sweden.

The image of the countries depends on the type of the source text. In more formal sources, such as journalistic texts, Sweden is commonly mentioned as advanced and a role model in various fields. This corresponds with the findings from a study on representations of Scandinavia in Croatian media discourse¹⁴, which proved to be highly positive, with common topics such as social security, human rights, desirable culture and lifestyle. The positive perception is not specific for Croatia; international interest in Sweden and other Scandinavian countries has a long history, and, for example, positive images of Sweden, its social and political system, economic progress, etc., have been present in foreign media since the 1930s³⁰. Today, Scandinavian countries have become an internationally successful brand¹⁴.

On the contrary, in the Swedish corpora, Croatia often appears in the context of war and relations between the nations of the former Yugoslavia. Both nations are mentioned in the context of sports and stand out as good athletes. However, in Croatian sources, Swedes are mentioned in more domains than Croats in Swedish sources, from science and art to technology and business. Well-known stereotypes about the appearance and mentality of Swedes as blond, handsome, cold, or restrained northerners and Croats as dark and temperamental southerners are confirmed in the corpora to a certain extent, especially in the case of Swedes. In less formal sources, such as blogs and forums, personal views are expressed, and established stereotypes are confirmed or questioned. Even here, Sweden is generally seen as advanced, liberal, prosperous, and a contrast to the less favourable circumstances in the own country can be inferred. However, some scepticism and disapproval are also encountered: the Swedish social system is unsustainable, and the immigration policy is a threat to the society and identity; in some examples, negative traits such as arrogance, emotional reticence, excessive alcohol consumption, etc. are emphasized. It can be assumed that such perceptions are generally transmitted by people with a bad experience as immigrants in Sweden, which is in accordance with the research on the representation of Swedes in the Croatian media and literature¹⁴. The notion of the Croatian mentality is also mostly encountered in informal sources. It mainly refers to the immigrants in Sweden and is often negatively coloured. Their differences from Swedes are emphasized such as (excessive) religious and traditional upbringing contrasted with Swedish modern and predominantly secular society. However, a different, largely positive, picture emerges from the impressions of Croats in Croatia, usually obtained through tourism. There are many negative stereotypes and prejudices regarding people (immigrants) from the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. Although Swedes associate Croats with these groups, it is impossible to determine to what extent they are relevant for Croats based on the fragmentary corpus material. It should also be noted that such prejudices are found in informal sources such as discussion forums, they represent personal attitudes and aversion, and it is usually not possible to determine whether those who express them are Swedes or members of other ethnic groups. In terms of physical appearance, the data suggest that members of these nations are considered physically attractive to each other. This is especially true for women, who are perceived as attractive, flirtatious, and often depicted as sexual objects to a greater extent than men.

This research sought to provide an insight into the mutual perceptions of the two nations, the existing stereotypes, and the complex relationship between notions created by direct contact or lack thereof in their own or a foreign country. It can contribute to the knowledge of stereotypes, their creation and communication through language, and the insights gained can be useful to those who use text corpora as a source of linguistic and social data

such as lexicographers. In addition, the results can hopefully contribute to the knowledge of relations between the two countries or in Europe in general. Finally, it is important to raise awareness of the existence of stereotypes and prejudices, so that they can be relativized or even eliminated.

The limitations of this research stem from the nature of the material on which it was conducted. Examples from the corpora are fragmentary, a broader context is not available, information about the speakers is usually not known, etc. In addition, most examples where Croats are mentioned regard immigrants in Sweden, while evidence for the perception of Croats outside Sweden is limited. For example, even a cursory search of the texts on the internet reveals different topics than those that prevail in the corpora such as a significant number of texts on Croatia and Sweden as tourist destinations, their traditions, useful

expressions in Croatian and Swedish, tourist attractions, etc. Thus, it would be interesting to complement the results from this study with further research which could provide more information on the speakers, referents, and the context, e.g. questionnaires, interviews, or contents analysis of texts from the internet, media, etc. Additional ideas for future research could be to analyse the names of cities in Croatia and Sweden and the words derived from them (e.g. *Stockholm*, *Štokholmljanin*, *Štokholmljanka*, *štokholmski*; *Zagreb*, *Zagrebba*...) as well as perceptions of other Nordic countries.

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PREPLANULI ŠVEĐANIN I HRVAT KOJI JE VJEŠT S LOPTOM: ISTRAŽIVANJE O MEĐUSOBNIM PREDODŽBAMA I STEREOTIPIZACIJI U HRVATSKIM I ŠVEDSKIM JEZIČNIM IZVORIMA

SAŽETAK

Tema su rada međusobne predodžbe i stereotipizacija Šveđana i Hrvata u jezičnim izvorima – rječnicima i tekstnim korpusima. Analizirani su rječnički opisi odabranih riječi koje se odnose na Šveđane te Hrvate te kontekst u kojemu se pojavljuju u korpusima. Analiza je uključivala semantičke domene, vrijednosne sudove i elemente stereotipizacije, a navedene su i okolnosti koje su mogle utjecati na nastanak stereotipa. Dok se pokazalo da su rječnički opisi uglavnom neutralni, u korpusnome materijalu pronađeni su primjeri pozitivne i negativne stereotipizacije o obama narodima. Osobito izraženi bili su negativni stereotipi o Hrvatima kao doseljenicima u Švedskoj.