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## ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

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### SWEDISH SIMILES DESCRIBING A PERSON'S MOVEMENT AS PART OF THE LINGUISTIC WORLDVIEW (IN COMPARISON WITH THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE MATERIAL)

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The article deals with the analysis of Swedish similes which describe a person's movement as part of the linguistic worldview against the Russian language material. The aim of this article is to determine a place and role of Swedish similes characterizing a person's movement and displacement in the Swedish culture as compared to the Russian culture. The material for the research includes the data from Swedish dictionaries, illustrative contexts of usage of analyzed units in Swedish literature, journalism and the Internet (the Swedish National Corpus), results of a survey of Swedish speakers, as well as of the data from dictionaries of stable comparisons (similes) of the Russian language. The paper contains an ideographic classification of units of the category considered, an analysis of quantitative content of ideographic groups of Swedish similes as compared to the Russian language ones and a detailed linguoculturological analysis of the standards and basis for comparisons. As a result of the analysis, it becomes obvious that the ideographic category of similes occupies different places in the Russian and Swedish linguistic worldviews. Swedish similes mainly represent appearance, disappearance and fast movement of a person, that is, the Swedes focus primarily on the general displacement of a person caused by movement. In the Russian linguistic worldview displacement and movement are far more detailed, which indicates a greater attention to this

fragment of reality in the Russian linguoculture and greater movement differentiation, expressed in similes, denoting slow, reluctant or lazy movements.

**Keywords:** Swedish similes, comparison standard, comparison basis, linguoculturological analysis, ideographic group, national-cultural specificity, linguistic world-view.

Similes take a special place in the phraseological system of any language, since they constitute one of the most numerous categories of phraseological units with formally expressed comparative semantics. Currently, there is an increasingly active study of similes in the linguoculturological aspect as a fragment of a language picture of the world of a nation [Lamakina, 2010, Yu Fenin, 2016, etc.]. The language picture of the world in this study is understood as “a scheme of perception of reality fixed in the language and specific for a given language collective” [Yakovleva, 1996, p. 47].

The purpose of this article is to determine a place and role of Swedish similes characterizing a person's movement and displacement in the Swedish culture against the Russian background.

The material for the research was data from Swedish dictionaries, illustrative contexts of usage of analyzed units in Swedish literature, journalism and the Internet (the Swedish National Corpus), results of a survey of Swedish speakers, as well as data from dictionaries of stable comparisons (similes) of the Russian language.

Ideographic Field (IF) ‘Movement, displacement, immovableness’ includes 51 units, according to Swedish Phraseological dictionaries. It is possible to conditionally allocate two ideographic categories (IC). One of them includes units that express movement and displacement, the other — immovableness.

In this article, we will be interested in the first category. Similes of this category can be combined into several ideographic groups (IG): ‘To move quickly’, ‘To make fast, erratic movements, to fuss’, ‘To make senseless movements’, ‘To appear somewhere suddenly’, ‘To leave quickly, to disappear from somewhere’, ‘To go ahead’, ‘To go, trying to be unnoticed’, ‘To walk without noticing the surrounding’, ‘To move back’ and ‘To disappear without a trace’.

The IG ‘To move quickly’ includes 6 units: *gå/fara fram som en furie* [to rush like a fury], *komma farande/fara fram som ett jehu* [to rush like Jehu], *dra/gå fram som en lavin* [to rush like an avalanche], *fara*

*fram/köra/springa/åka som en vettvilling* [to go / to drive / to run like a madman], *gå som käpp i hjul* [to go like a spoke of a wheel], *springa som om man haft eld i hämlarna* [to run as if the heels are burning].

The standards of similes of this group are represented both by the names of traditional objects and realities for many cultures — samples of speed — *en lavin* [an avalanche], and by lacunary in relation to the Russian language *en furie* [a Fury] and *ett jehu* [Jehu]. The standard *en furie* has a great originality with respect to its Russian counterpart. In the Swedish language consciousness, this standard characterizes neutral, as in similes of this group, or even positive human behavior. The simile *ga/fara fram com en furie* [to rush like a fury], according to the survey and analysis of Internet contexts, is actively used in Swedish. It turned out to be known to most of the informants interviewed and is often found both in blogs and in journalism: *Vi visste att Rasmus Elm egentligen är för bra för sånt här [...] och att Emil Johansson kan fara fram som en furie längs kanten*. “We knew that Rasmus Elm was too good for such a thing [ ... ] and that Emil Johansson could be worn as a fury along the edge (DN 2009)”; *Då åker dammsugaren fram och jag far fram som en furie i huset* “Then the vacuum cleaner starts to work, and I wear like a fury around the house (madworld-bitten.blogspot.fi)”.

Russian similes with *a fury* as a standard always characterize a negatively evaluated behavior and, in addition, are used only in relation to a woman: *бросаться/броситься (наброситься, накидываться/накинуться)* на кого как [разъяренная] Фурия [rush/rush (attack, throw up/throw) at someone like a [enraged] Fury — Disapprovingly. About an angry woman who fell on smb. with fists, curses, furious reproaches, accusations. Cf. *бросаться/броситься как собака; врываться/ворваться (бросаться/броситься)* куда как Фурия [to rush like a dog; to break in/rush in somewhere like a Fury]. Disapprovingly. About a woman who impulsively, angrily and viciously ran in somewhere [Mokienko, 2003, p. 461].

The standard of the simile *fara fram som ett jehu* [to rush like Jehu] is biblical. It goes back to the name of the Israeli king Jehu, who rode his chariot at great speed. But from the middle of the XIX century the noun *Jehu* ceased to be perceived by Swedes as a proper name and began to be used with an indefinite article of neuter gender — *ett jehu* [Bevingat 2005, p. 204]. This simile is also among the most common units of the group under consideration: *Den här duktiga husmodern startade sin*

städdag med att fara fram som ett jehu “This good housewife, starting to clean up, ran around like Jehu (tofflan.wordpress.com)”;

Det vet vi som sett honom halta in i omklädningsrummet ett par timmar för att sedan fara fram som ett jehu på isen “We, who saw how he limped into the locker room, and after a couple of hours he scampered like Jehu on the ice, we know this (GP 2003)”.

Completely identical in Swedish and Russian should be recognized the following similes: *fara fram/köra/springa/åka som en vettvilling* and *нестись, бежать как сумасшедший (полоумный)* [to rush, run like a madman], *dra/gå fram som en lavin* and *нестись как лавина* [to rush like an avalanche]. The above-mentioned Swedish units also belong to the active stock of Swedish speakers and are quite frequent in Internet contexts, journalism and fiction. The similes *springa som om man haft elden i hälarna* (to run as if the heels are burning) and *лететь/нестись как наскипидаренный* [to fly / to rush like with turpentine inside] are of similar imagery which allows to attribute them to the partially matching. It should be noted that the simile *springa som om man haft eld i hälarna* apparently got into Swedish phraseological dictionaries in an euphemized form. The results of the survey of native speakers clearly indicate that in folk speech this simile functions with the replacement of the *hälarna* [heels] component with *baken* [back]. It is presented in the Internet contexts in the same form: *Och när man går ut för att hämta honom så springer han som om han hade eld i baken* “And when you go to take him, he runs away as if his butt is Burning” (minbebis.com)”.

There are no Russian equivalents for such Swedish simile of the considered group as *gå som käpp i hjul* [to go as a spoke in a wheel]. The simile *gå som käpp i hjul* turned out to be unknown to most informants, there were no contexts for its use, which makes it possible to consider this unit obsolete in modern Swedish. Lacunar regarding the Swedish language are Russian similes as follows: *лететь/нестись как вихрь* [to fly / to rush like a whirlwind], *лететь/нестись как метеор* [to fly / to rush like a meteor], *бежать/мчаться/нестись как на пожар* [to run like to a fire], *бежать/лететь/мчаться как оглашенный* [to run / to fly / to race like a catechumen], *бежать/нестись/мчаться как ошпаренный* [to run / to rush / to race like a scalded], *лететь/мчаться как птица* [to fly / to rush like a bird], *лететь/нестись как пуля* [to fly / to rush like a bullet], *лететь/мчаться как ракета* [to fly / to rush

like a rocket], *помчаться/побежать как с цепи сорваться* [to rush headlong as if one has been let off the lead], *бежать/нестись/мчаться как угорелый* [to run/to rush like one possessed (frenzied)].

The IG ‘To make fast, erratic movements, to fuss’ is also represented in Swedish by 7 units. Standards of similes in this group are animals *flänga som en skållad råtta* [to rush like a scalded rat], *springa som yra höns* [to run around like crazy chickens], *fara/springa/sno som en tätting* [run/scurry/scamper like a sparrow], economic and household realities — *flänga omkring som en skottspole* [to move as a shuttle], *fara/flänga/rusa/sno omkring som ett torrt skinn* [to run/to scamper/to scurry around like dry skin], chemical elements — *vara/fara fram som ett kvicksilver* [to run as mercury], names of persons — *jäkta/köra som en vansinnig* [to fuss like a madman].

All units with animal standards were known to most of the informants interviewed. They are also frequent in Internet contexts and journalism: *Två tvättider var inbokade och jag sprang som en tätting upp och ner för trapporna* “There were planned two laundry visits, and I ran like a sparrow up and down the stairs (lps.blogg.se)”; *Servitrisen för som en skållad råtta mellan borden och hade inte riktigt tid för oss* “The waitress was worn like a scalded rat between tables, and she practically did not have time for us (www.ragazze.se)”; *Eller sitta på spårvagnen när den kör längs Avenyn och se alla dessa människor som springer som yra höns över spåren framför vagnarna* “Or sit in the tram as he walks along the Avenue, and see how all these people run like crazy chickens across the ways in front of the wagons (GP 2005)”. It is worth noting that the simile *flänga som en skållad råtta* occurs in contexts with the replacement of the component — *fara* instead of *flänga*, and the simile *springa som yra höns* is constantly used in situations when it involves the disorderly movement of a large number of people at stations and public transport stops.

Similes with standards — economic and domestic realities, according to the conducted research, are also actively used in modern Swedish. In the simile *flänga omkring som en skottspole* [to move as a shuttle], the constant replacement of the *flänga* component by *fara* is also typical: *Han för som en skottspole fram och tillbaka i skogen* “He was running like a shuttle through the woods back and forth (theblogformerknownas-deppspret.wordpress.com)”. This is probably due to the low frequency of the verb *flänga* in modern Swedish speech. However, the simile *fara/*

*flänga/rusa/sno omkring som ett torrt skinn* [still running around like dry skin] still occurs in contexts with both the *fara* component and the *flänga*: *I gammal god Ruby-stil for hon omkring som ett torrt skinn och pratade obekymrat i munnen på alla som råkade komma i närheten* “In the old good style Rubi rushed around like dry skin and spoke carefreely at the same time to all who were nearby (GP 2004)”; *Jag skall flänga runt som ett torrt skinn och intervjuar folk hela dagen* “I will scurry around the area like dry skin and interview all day long” (henrikalexandersson.blogspot.fi).

The simile *vara/fara fram som ett kvicksilver* [to run like mercury] was reported by most informants as unknown, and it was not found in Internet contexts. Apparently, this expression can be attributed to the number of obsolete. The simile *jäkta/köra som en vansinnig* [to fuss/to drive like crazy] occurs in the contexts examined only when it comes to a driver of a vehicle, most often about a chauffeur: *Förare i Ferrarin körde som vansinnig, körde på kvinna* “The Ferrari driver drove like a madman, knocked down a woman” (www.flashback.org)

In the Russian language, this ideographic group is represented mainly by similes with standards-names of animals and persons: *метаться/носиться как угорелая кошка* [to rush like a mad cat], *сновать/копошиться как муравьи* [to scurry/to swarm like ants]; *носиться/метаться как вор по ярмарке* [to rush about like a thief at a fair]; *метаться как на пожаре* [to rush as on a fire]; *метаться/носиться как очумелый* [to rush like a madman]. This group is one of the few in the ideographic category under consideration, where Swedish units are more widely represented than Russian ones. There are no complete equivalents in two languages among the units of this group. Partly coincident in terms of imagery, one can recognize the similes *flänga som en skällad råtta* [to rush like a scalded rat] — *метаться/носиться как угорелая кошка* [to rush like a mad cat] and *jäkta/köra som en vansinnig* [to fuss/to drive like a madman] — *метаться/носиться как очумелый* [to rush like a madman].

To the considered group adjoins in meaning the simile *trängas som boskap* [to shove like cattle] which can be allocated in the separate IG ‘To make senseless movements’. The status of this simile in terms of usage in the modern Swedish language is ambiguous. Half of the informants interviewed said they had never heard of it, but it still appears in Internet contexts, although it does not have a high frequency: *Men att*



behöva köpa biljetter flera dagar i förväg och sen trängas som boskap i foajen “But imagine, being forced to buy tickets for a few days and then to stand and *be shoved like cattle* in the foyer” (magnuskolsjo.se).

Two more Swedish similes of the ideographic category under consideration form separate groups. The simile *gå fram/fara fram som en ångvält* [to go like an asphalt roller] represents the ideographic group “To go ahead”. This expression is well known to interviewed informants, most of whom use it in their own speech, and quite often in Internet contexts and journalism: *Isa har precis repat första gången idag och hon imponerar ordentligt när hon far fram som en ångvält på scenen fylld av energi* “Isa has just rehearsed for the first time today, and she makes a wonderful impression when she rushes like an asphalt roller on the stage, full of energy” (bloggar.ekuriren.se). This unit is used not only in describing the movement in the literal sense, but also, for example, to describe human actions in the social and political context: *Utan minsta hänsyn till lagar eller domstols dom har Palmér närmast gått fram som en ångvält och krossat allt vad rättvisa heter* “Without the slightest respect for the law or the court’s verdict, Palmer practically walked like an asphalt roller and broke everything that is called justice” (www.sapereau.se). The considered IG is lacunary with respect to the Russian language.

The simile *gå baklänges som en kräfta* [to move back like a crayfish] is also the only one in Swedish expressing a backward movement. This unit turned out to be unknown to half of the respondents, and in contexts it was encountered only in fiction, and for the characterization not of movement, but of human behavior: *Inom mig tänkte jag emellertid, att jag med tillfredsställelse skulle se honom anta utmaningen, för att en enda gång kunna visa att han ej gick baklänges som en kräfta utan trotsade sitt öde, för att kanske kunna besegra det* “I thought to myself that I would gladly see how he would accept the challenge to show at least one single time that he did not back off like a crayfish, but struggled with fate in order to possibly defeat it” (Arenander B. Lorenzas dagbok). In Russian, there is a complete equivalent of the simile — *пятиться как рак* [to move back like a crayfish], also used for both the characterization of movement and human behavior.

The topic of the appearance and disappearance of a person occupies a significant place in the considered category of similes. This topic combines several groups of similes in this category — “To appear some-

where suddenly', 'To leave quickly, to disappear from somewhere', and 'To disappear without a trace'. In total, the composition of these groups includes 15 Swedish similes. The internal thematic relationship of these groups is manifested in the presence of common standards among the units included in these groups, as well as the typological similarity of standards — for example, by the large number of standards-participles.

Most of the standards of similes in these groups relate to the military sphere and natural phenomena. The standard *skjuten ur en kanon* [shot from a cannon] is present in comparisons expressing a rapid appearance and rapid disappearance — *komma som skjuten ur en kanon* [coming as shot from a cannon] and *fara iväg som skjuten ur en kanon* [to run away like a shot from a cannon]. Both similes were known to all interviewed informants and were equally frequent in Internet contexts. It is noteworthy that the vast majority of the use of both units falls on the sports theme: *Jätten Sol Campbell kommer som skjuten ur en kanon på en hörna och England leder efter 22 minuter* "The giant Sol Campbell appears as shot from a cannon at the corner, and England leads after twenty-two minutes" ([www.dn.se](http://www.dn.se)); *Klävnasten och Wiksell startade framför och han for iväg som skjuten ur kanon* "Lovastin and Wiksell started before him, and he fled like shot out of a cannon" ([rallyfogel.se](http://rallyfogel.se)). The simile *komma som en raket* [to appear as a rocket] is used mainly in the sports context: *Jag har en känsla av att Henrik kommer att hålla sig kvar där i toppen och att Daniel kommer att komma som en raket efter sin skada* "I have a feeling that Henrik will stay on top, and Daniel will appear as a rocket after his injury" ([bloggar.aftonbladet.se](http://bloggar.aftonbladet.se)). The tendency of borrowing of military terminology and phraseology in sports sphere has long been inherent in many languages, that is caused by aggressiveness and expressiveness of military sphere, as well as similarities in tactical constructions, for example, when fighting in a war and a match in game sports. Obviously, in Swedish it is possible to speak about deepening this trend and its spreading to the level of thematic standards of similes. In the Russian language there is also the comparison *появиться как из пушки* [to appear as out of a cannon], equivalent to the Swedish simile in question. Analogous to the simile *komma som en raket* can be recognized the Russian expression *вылететь как пуля* [to fly out like a bullet].

*En oljad blix*t [oiled lightning] is another standard used in similes expressing a rapid appearance and disappearance. This standard is present in the similes *fara fram/flyga fram som en oljad blix*t [run up/fly up like

oiled lightning] and *fara iväg som en oljad blix*t [run away like oiled lightning]. The first of these similes is very common both in colloquial speech, according to the survey, and in fiction and on the Internet. The second is much less common in contexts. Apparently, this standard gives comparisons some paradox, thereby strengthening their expressive function.

Similes expressing rapid appearance and movement contain also patterns — natural phenomena: *dra in/fara fram/komma in som en virvelvind* [enter/fly like a whirlwind], *komma som ett yrväder* [come as a blizzard]. The simile *dra in/fara fram/komma in som en virvelvind* occurs in contexts with all variants of the base of comparison specified in the dictionary, both literally (expressing a physical movement) and figuratively: *Han far fram som en virvelvind på isen* “It rushes on the ice like a whirlwind” [Press, 98]; *Oppositionsledaren Carin Jämtin drog in som en virvelvind efter den socialdemokratiska valförlusten* “Opposition leader Karin Emtin appeared as a whirlwind after the defeat of the Social Democrats in the elections” (blog.svd.se). In the Russian language, along with the simile *налететь как вихрь* [to fly like a whirlwind] there are synonymous units *налететь/пронестись как смерч* [to swoop/sweep like a tornado] and *ворваться как ураган* [to break into like a hurricane].

Among the similes of this group it is necessary to select the simile *komma som ett yrväder* [to come as a blizzard]. This expression gained popularity in the Swedish language due to its use by A. Strindberg in the famous novel “The people of Hemsö”: *Han kom som ett yrväder en aprilaf*ton och hade ett höganäskrus i en svängrem om halsen “One April evening he has appeared suddenly as a blizzard, with a flask of Swedish tin tied over his shoulder on his belt”. This sentence, which is the beginning of the first chapter of the novel, became a precedent text in Swedish culture, and its precedence is often played out in one way or another in contemporary journalism: *Han kom som ett yrväder en höst*dag, dock utan höganäskrus runt halsen men med spisen bokstavligen i resväskan “He has appeared as a blizzard in the autumn evening, though without a flask of Swedish tin, but with a stove literally in a suitcase” (www.dn.se); *Hon kom som ett yrväder en april*dag och visade att hon är en världsstjärna “She has appeared as a blizzard on April day and has shown that she is a world star” (www.dn.se); *Statsrådet kom som ett yrväder en september*afton “The minister has appeared as a blizzard in the autumn evening” (www.svd.se).

As already noted above, a significant number of similes of the groups in question has standards-participles: *komma som efterskickad* [to appear as though they have sent for him], *komma som kallad* [to appear as if you called], *vara som försvunnen från jorden* [as if has disappeared from the face of the earth], *vara som bortblåst* [as if blown away by the wind], *vara som uppslukad av jorden* [as if it is absorbed by the ground]. The simile *komma som efterskickad* turned out to be unknown to most informants, however, it is quite frequent in fiction: *Han kom som efterskickad, och det var bestämt i tidernas gryning att han och ingen annan skulle bli hennes frälsare* “He appeared as if he had been sent for, and from the beginning of time it was decided that he, and no one else, would become her savior” (Höijer B.-E. Rallarens ros); *Du kom som efterskickad, säger tant Alma till tant Märta* “You came as if someone had sent for you,” said Aunt Alma to Aunt Murte” (Thor A. Öppet hav). Apparently, this expression should be recognized as literary one.

The simile *dyka upp som gubben i lådan* [to appear as an old man in a box] is actively used in modern Swedish speech and in Internet contexts, both for describing the sudden appearance of a particular person and for a group of people making up some unity, for example, of a sports team that suddenly came to the leading positions, or even a political party in the election race: *Och Stellan gör en grandios show han med, dyker upp som gubben i lådan på det ena efter andra stället!* “And Stellan, he also makes a grand show, appears as an old man in a box somewhere from one place to another!” (Regionteater.blogspot.fi); *Personligen oroar jag mig för att Miljöpartiet plötsligt ska dyka upp som gubben i lådan, det vore ett rejält slag mot (S) och (V)* “I’m worried that the environment party will suddenly appear as an old man in a drawer, it will be a tangible blow to the Social Democrats and the Left” (jinge.se). This unit requires a culturological comment. *Gubben i lådan* (an old man in a box) is a famous toy in Sweden consisting of a box with a lid and a doll with a spring inside. When the lid opens, the doll pops out of the box. In Russian, the same and in many ways similar in imagery unit is *выскочить как чертик из табакерки* [to jump out like a devil out of a snuffbox], which, however, is not recorded by modern Russian dictionaries of similes (stable comparisons).

Among the similes that characterize the traceless disappearance, only the simile *vara som uppslukad av jorden* [as if absorbed by the earth] is active in speech. The simile *vara som försvunnen från jorden*

[as if it disappeared from the Earth] occurs only in classical fiction, and *vara som bortblåst* [as if blown away by wind] has not met in contexts and is not used in speech of interviewed native speakers.

In the Russian language, according to the dictionaries of stable comparisons, there is a simile that can be considered equivalent to the Swedish *vara som uppslukad av jorden* — *как сквозь землю провалился* [someone disappeared as it fell through the earth]. In addition to this simile with the earth-standard, the Russian language has a simile with the name of another element as a standard — *как в воду канул* [someone disappeared as sunk in water].

Both in Swedish and in Russian, there is one more IG within the ideographic category under consideration — ‘To walk without noticing the surrounding’. In Swedish, it includes *gå som i ett rus* [to walk as with drunkenness], *gå som i ett töcken* [walk as in a fog], *irra omkring som en osalig ande* [to wander like a restless spirit]. The last two similes are found only in literary contexts, which allows them to be classified as literary: *Hon går som i ett töcken. Hon gråter sig till sömns varje natt* “She walks like in a fog. She cries every night until she falls asleep” (Nordberg M. Lovisa); *Som en osalig ande irrar jag omkring på landsvägarna* — “As a restless spirit I wander along country roads” (Bjerne U. Livet väntar dej). The Swedish simile *irra omkring som en osalig ande* partly coincides with the Russian one *ходить/бродить как неприкаянный* [to walk / to wander about like a lost soul]. Other standards of similes with such a basis in the Russian language are *лунатик* [a sleepwalker], *сомнамбула* [a somnambulist] and *тень* [a shadow]. It should be noted that this ideographic group can equally be attributed to the IR ‘Emotional states’, but the examples of the use of the units in question indicate that the movement aspect itself is manifested rather clearly in them.

The IG ‘To go, trying to be unnoticed’ is presented in Swedish in three words: *smyga/komma som en tjuv på natten* [to sneak / to arrive like a thief at night], *smyga sig bort som en annan tjuv (precis som en tjuv)* [to disappear as some thief (just like a thief)]; *smyga sig undan som en våt hund* [to walk away quietly like a wet dog]. From the mentioned similes only *smyga/komma som en tjuv på natten* is recognized by native speakers as active in speech. The simile *smyga sig bort som en annan tjuv* was unknown to anyone surveyed informants. Apparently, this phrase is obsolete, and even the Swedish phraseological dictionary provides its interpretation in parentheses immediately after a header unit. Among

the Russian units of this group there is also a simile equivalent to the Swedish *smuga/komma som en tjuv på natten* — *красться как тать в ночи* [to sneak like a thief in a night], but this comparison is obsolete in the Russian language and also partly coincides with the Swedish simile *to sneak like a thief*.

This ideographic category is represented in Russian by twice as many units and ideographic groups than in Swedish. So, lacunary in Swedish are such IGs, present in Russian, as ‘To go slowly’ (*идти/плестись/тащиться как черепаха* [to go/to trail/to tug like a turtle], *как водовозная/обозная кляча* [like a water-waggon/a baggage nag], *как на похоронах* [like at a funeral]), ‘To go somewhere reluctantly’ (*идти как на <смертную> казнь* [to go as on <death > penalty], *как на костер* [as on a bonfire], *как на пытку* [as on torture], *как на эшафот* [as on a scaffold]), ‘To move lazily, sluggishly’ (*ходить/бродить как вареный* [to walk/wander as worn out], *как сонный* [as a sleepy], *как сонная/осенняя муха* [as a sleepy/autumn fly]; *брести как угорелый, как неживой* [to roam like mad, as inanimate]), ‘To go from side to side’ (*ходить, шагать, метаться как <дикий> зверь в клетке* [to go, to walk, to rush like a <wild> beast in a cage], *как затравленный/загнанный зверь* [like a hunted beast]; *метаться как лев/тигр/тигрица в клетке* [to rush in like a lion/a tiger/a tigress in a cage]; *бродить/ходить как маятник* [to wander/to walk around like a pendulum]; *сновать как челнок* [to scurry as a shuttle]), ‘To move easily’ (*идти/двигаться как по асфальту* [to go/to move as on asphalt]; *лететь/двигаться как по воздуху* [to fly/to move as if by air]), ‘Appear in large quantity’ (*посыпаться как горох* [to sprinkle like peas]; *слетаться как мухи на мед* [to fly like flies to honey]; *налететь, нагрянуть как саранча* [to fly in, to come like locusts]; *выползать/вылезать откуда-л. как тараканы <из щелей>* [to crawl out/to get out like a cockroaches from cracks]; *двигаться/надвигаться как чума* [to move/to approach like a plague]), ‘To crawl’ (*ползти/извиваться как змея/змейка* [to crawl/to squirm like a serpent/snake, like a coluber]; *ползти/извиваться как червяк* [to creep/to squirm like a worm]; *ползти как ящерица* [to crawl like a lizard]), ‘To flee’ (*бежать/разбежаться как крысы <с тонущего корабля>* [to escape/to flee like rats <from a sinking ship>; *разбежаться/разбредаться как овцы* [to disperse/to scatter like sheep]; *разбежаться/расползаться как тараканы <из щелей>* [to scatter/to

spread like cockroaches <from cracks>]), 'To fall' (*лететь / падать как камень* [to fly / to fall as a stone]; *упасть / свалиться как мешок* [to fall down as a sack]; *упасть / свалиться как сноп* [to fall down as a sheaf]).

As a result of the analysis, it becomes obvious that the ideographic category of similes occupies a various place in the language picture of the world of Swedish and Russian. Swedish similes mainly represent appearance, disappearance and fast movement of the person, that is, Swedes pay attention primarily to the global displacement of the person caused by movement. In the Russian language picture of the world, depicted by similes, displacement and movement are presented in much more detail, which indicates a greater attention to this fragment of reality in Russian linguoculture and greater movement differentiation, expressed in similes, denoting slow, reluctant or lazy movement.

The same thematic groups of standards (zoonyms, economic and everyday realities, names of natural phenomena and persons) are involved mostly in ideographic groups of similes coinciding in the Swedish and Russian languages. However, in the presence of several fully equivalent similes ((*sätta av som en pil* and *лететь / мчаться как стрела, vara som uppslukad av jorden — как сквозь землю провалился*, etc.), these groups have a large number of only partially equivalent and non-equivalent units, which will require special attention in a compilation of educational phraseological dictionaries of the Swedish language and in a presentation of these similes in the Russian-speaking audience. Such units as *dyka upp som gubben i lådan, fara fram som ett jehu* and *komma som ett yrväder* will require an etymological, historical and cultural comment.

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**УСТОЙЧИВЫЕ СРАВНЕНИЯ ШВЕДСКОГО ЯЗЫКА, ХАРАКТЕРИЗУЮЩИЕ  
ДВИЖЕНИЕ ЧЕЛОВЕКА, КАК ФРАГМЕНТ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ КАРТИНЫ МИРА  
(НА ФОНЕ РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА)**

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Статья посвящена анализу устойчивых сравнений шведского языка, характеризующих перемещение человека, на фоне их аналогов в русском языке. Работа содержит идеографическую классификацию единиц рассматриваемого разряда, анализ количественного наполнения групп устойчивых сравнений шведского языка на фоне русского, а также детальный лингвокультурологический анализ эталонов и оснований шведских устойчивых сравнений. В результате анализа определена национально-культурная специфика шведских устойчивых сравнений данного разряда на фоне русского языка. Целью статьи является определение места и роли устойчивых сравнений шведского языка, характеризующих перемещение человека, в шведской лингвокультуре на фоне русской. Материалом для исследования послужили данные фразеологических словарей шведского языка, иллюстративные контексты употребления анализируемых единиц в шведской художественной литературе, публицистике и Интернете (на материале Шведского национального корпуса Корп), результаты опроса носителей шведского языка, а также данные словарей устойчивых сравнений русского языка. В результате проведенного анализа становится очевидно, что рассматриваемые



мый идеографический разряд устойчивых сравнений занимает различное место в языковой картине мира шведского и русского языков. В устойчивых сравнениях шведского языка представлено главным образом появление, исчезновение и быстрое движение человека, т. е. шведы обращают внимание в первую очередь на глобальные перемещения человека, вызываемые движением. В русской языковой картине мира, отображаемой устойчивыми сравнениями, перемещение и движение представлены гораздо более детально, что говорит о большем внимании к данному фрагменту действительности в русской лингвокультуре и большей дифференциации движения, выраженной в устойчивых сравнениях, обозначающих медленное, неохотное или ленивое движение.

**Ключевые слова:** устойчивые сравнения шведского языка, эталон сравнения, основание сравнения, лингвокультурологический анализ, тематическая группа, идеографическая группа, национально-культурная специфика, языковая картина мира.

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### **WHEN THE WORLD MEETS THE SUBURBS: MULTIETHNIC YOUTH SLANG IN SWEDEN**

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The following article deals with a relatively new variety of the Swedish language, the so-called multiethnic youth language spoken by young people in multicultural and multilingual urban settings in Sweden. Due to several waves of immigrants and refugees, this country has become incredibly ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse, which, in turn, has led to the fact that young people growing up in multicultural areas of big cities, such as Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö, hear and use a variety of different languages and styles every day. This melting pot of languages has reflected in a rather unusual variety of Swedish called the multiethnic youth language, which differs from common Swedish vernacular in such aspects as pronunciation, grammar, syntax and vocabulary, more specifically, slang. The following article analyzes the multiethnic youth slang in comparison to the common Swedish one and describes it in terms of vocabulary, various sources of loanwords and ways of using its elements in the so-called “immigrant literature” and song lyrics written by the Swedes with an immigrant background. It also deals with some of the concepts that are richly represented in the multiethnic youth slang, as well as some morphological aspects of this variety. Such sociolinguistic factors as reasons for young people using this particular style of the Swedish language are also considered in this article.

**Keywords:** slang, multiethnic youth language, style, sociolinguistic variation.

One of the most distinctive features of any language variation is slang words because they instantly allow the audience to distinguish it from a variety of different language styles and make it stand out from the rest. In his work *Svensk språkstil: stil & stilanalys* («Swedish language style:

style and stylistic analysis”) K. Möijer defines slang as a *partially creating new elements, highly informal and nonnormative group language, that can often be found among young people, especially in big cities, or people with similar professional interests* [Möijer, 1989, s.60]. According to one of the most acclaimed researchers of Swedish slang, U.-B. Kotsinas, slang words are *not always appropriate in the written language, and are not a part of a literary language* [Kotsinas, 2003, s.7].

Slang can also act as disguise for something a speaker wants to address or as a way of expressing one’s creativity. Most importantly, it allows a speaker to identify with a certain group, be it a social, ethnic, age or any other one. Sometimes a person can feel like a slang word is a better fit for something he or she wants to express and choose it instead of something that is typical for the common vernacular. Slang can even be used when a speaker feels strongly about something or is emotional, it can also express irony or criticism. Last but not least, slang can be a way to protest against society and its norms, something that allows an individual to use language as a tool.

The Swedish language is no exception, and although its vernacular is very rich in slang, the following article deals with the slang that is a part of a specific language variation used by young Swedes in multilingual and multicultural urban settings. This variation can be heard in the areas densely populated by first and second generation immigrants, mainly in such Swedish cities as Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö.

Throughout the years Sweden has become a home to several waves of immigrants and refugees, which has resulted in the fact that this country is incredibly ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse, especially when it comes to big cities. This, in turn, has led to an emergence of a variety of different variations of Swedish that many people in such areas hear and use every day. Their speakers have different native languages, backgrounds and levels of language proficiency, ranging from various stages of interlanguage to native speakers using different styles. As a result, some young people that live in urban areas densely populated by first and second generation immigrants have developed a specific variation of Swedish that is often called “multiethnic youth language” in modern linguistics. Common Swedes may know it as “Rinkeby Swedish” or “immigrant Swedish”, and even “blatte Swedish”, which is a derogatory term for a person with an immigrant background.

Various features of the multiethnic youth language (hereinafter referred to as the MYL) can also be found in some works of the so called immigrant writers, poets and artists, whose texts act as a source of material analysed in this article. These include literary works and songs produced by the first or second generation immigrants that mainly focus on the immigrant experience and identity issues in Sweden and contain many examples of multiethnic slang words and expressions. Slang elements for the analysis given below were taken from the following works of Swedish writers and songwriters:

- 1) Khemiri J. H. *Ett öga rött* (“One eye red”): a novel about adolescence written from a perspective of a young boy with an immigrant background;
- 2) Anyuru J. *Det är bara gudarna som är nya* (“Only the gods are new”): a collection of poems about modern Sweden and life in the urban multicultural settings;
- 3) Bakhtiari M. *Kalla det vad fan du vill* (“Call it whatever the hell you want”): a novel about multiculturalism and various ethnic and cultural identities in modern Sweden;
- 4) Sattarvandi H. L. *Still* (“Still”): a novel about life in modern urban settings from perspective of young people with different ethnic backgrounds;
- 5) Wenger A. L. *Till vår ära* (“In our honor”): a novella about double identity issues experienced by a young boy with an immigrant background;
- 6) Lundin E. *Abiat* (“Abiat/Cocaine”), *Annie Lööf* (“Annie Lööf”), *En dag* (“One day”), *Suedi* (“Suedi/Swede”): songs that mainly focus on the immigrant experience in modern Sweden.

Before going into the actual analysis of the examples of slang found in the texts listed above it can be worth giving an overview of the MYL and its key linguistic features. The MYL cannot be called a dialect, because it is not used by a vast majority of inhabitants of a specific area. Nor is it a sociolect, because young people often use it as a register, which means that it is only a temporary switch between variations caused by the same motives as speech accommodation (change of situation, audience etc.). In this article the MYL will be therefore defined as style — a way the speaker constructs his or her identity by choosing specific language features. The following definition of style given by N. Coupland in his

work *Style: language variation and identity* appears to be very useful for defining such kind of variation as the MYL: "...semantic organization of linguistic choices taking account of communicative purposes or circumstances" [Coupland, 2007, p.13].

Defining the MYL as style can be additionally supported by the reasons as to why young Swedes choose to use it. First and foremost, it is their way to express their identity and identify with a certain group, it being a multicultural and multilingual one that often includes individuals with an immigrant background. The MYL can also be used for the following reasons:

- 1) To express linguistic creativity and create new words and expressions;
- 2) To hide or disguise information from individuals, whom the speaker does not consider as recipients;
- 3) To show how cool, tough and modern the speaker is, how different he or she is from the "ordinary" or "boring" people;
- 4) To express how proud the speaker is of his or her background, it being culture, language, ethnicity etc.
- 5) To show solidarity and respect to the parents or peers who may have recently immigrated to Sweden and have not yet acquired a high level of proficiency in the Swedish language;
- 6) To express irony or sarcasm in relation to stereotypes towards linguistic features of the varieties of Swedish spoken by immigrants in multicultural and multilingual urban settings;
- 7) To show protest against society that does not identify the speaker as a Swede because of his or her appearance, ethnicity, name or background, even if the speaker was born and raised in Sweden. This ties in with the fact that society can sometimes view these young people as members of a specific group ("others"), no matter what variety of Swedish they speak, even if it is common vernacular.

Some studies have shown that the communicative situation can also be a contributing factor when it comes to the frequency of usage of the MYL features. According to N. Ganuza, it tends to be higher in informal conversations with peers or long monologues [Ganuza, 2008, s.70], and it can also sometimes be caused by a lack of concentration or tiredness [Ekberg, 2013, s.262].

The MYL has a number of phonetic, grammatical, syntactical and lexical features that distinguish it from common Swedish vernacular. When it comes to phonetics, it can be a “choppy” prosody and a different kind of pronunciation of loanwords ([*tʃ*] instead of a fricative [*ʃ*] and [*z*] instead of [*s*]), because those sounds are traditionally absent in most Swedish dialects).

The MYL grammatical features include various deviations from the formal rules of the Swedish grammar, such as confusion between neuter and common gender (that includes both feminine and masculine genders); definite and indefinite forms of nouns and adjectives; plural forms; conjugation of regular and irregular verbs; pronouns, especially possessive; prepositions etc.

One of the most distinctive features of the MYL is the subject-verb order variation that can occur in young people’s speech. From a syntactic point of view Swedish has a so called V2 word order, which means that the finite verb in a main clause is placed on the second position, so whenever a main clause begins with something other than the subject, an inversion occurs (which results in a XVS word order). This feature has traditionally been rather difficult for second language learners and can indeed be used incorrectly by young people using the MYL when they do not apply the inversion where needed and use the XSV word order instead.

Other linguistic features of the MYL include code-switching, since many speakers have more than one native language; various partially modified conventionalised word combinations and novel word combinations; and, finally, some of features that can also be found in more “traditional” Swedish vernaculars. These include common slang words, prefixes and suffixes; discourse particles; excessive use of emphatic words; swearwords; ellipses, repetitions, pauses, corrections etc.

As stated above, the MYL slang is a very outstanding part of this variation. It is extremely rich and includes loanwords from a variety of languages, such as Arabic, Turkish, Spanish, Greek etc., which makes it different from the common Swedish slang that traditionally loans words from dialects, widely spoken languages and the so called “secret languages” like *knoparmojet* (chimney sweepers’ language), Romani, argot languages and *månsing* (Swedish merchants’ language). The fact that the MYL speakers use slang words from a much bigger variety of languages (including not the most spoken ones) stems from linguistic diversity

surrounding these young people in their everyday life. Sometimes it can be difficult, or even impossible, to determine from which language the word was taken from, however, it is not always the case.

One of the most famous slang words loaned by the MYL from Turkish is *guss*, which means “girl” or “chick”: *Varken gussen eller aina synes* [Khemiri, 2006, s.179]: “Neither the chick, nor the cops could be seen”<sup>1</sup>; *Nu guzzarna kallar mig baklava* [Lundin, 2015, Annie Lööf]: “Now the chicks call me baklava”. *Shunne*, *shuno* or *shino* is another example of a word loaned from Turkish to define something that slang generally refers to very often — a “guy”:

- 1) *Shuno kutade efter oss en bit* [Wenger, 2015, s.17]: “This guy was running after us for a bit”;
- 2) *Valfri solig dag, trettio shunos rullar upp som Tour de France* [Lundin, 2015, Suedi]: “Any sunny day, thirty guys come cycling like it’s Tour de France”;
- 3) *Blev testad, shuno var tunnväxt* [Lundin, 2016, Abiat]: “Was tested, the guy was thin”.

Arabic has given the MYL such words as *habibi* (“friend, pal”) or *jalla* («hurry up, come on”): *Jalla, det är dags att gå hem* [Khemiri, 2006, s.34]: “Come on, it’s time to go home”.

Just like almost any other slang, the MYL one is no exception when it comes to hiding information from potential listeners. That is why it includes a variety of different words connected with different illegal things like drugs, theft and criminality in general:

- 1) *Här fans grällmish och braj och vårt pris var ajaib* [Lundin, 2015, Suedi]: “There was weed and cannabis and our price was sweet”;
- 2) *Typ medans andra gick och baxade och zuttade* [Wenger, 2015, s.15]: “Like when everyone else was going around stealing stuff and smoking weed”;
- 3) *...en jävla småtjuv som går runt och becknar skit* [Sattarvandi, 2008, s.38]: “...this damn little thief going around and selling shit”;
- 4) *Tabanjan den är fet som en blåval* [Lundin, 2016, En dag]: “The cap (“gun”) is as fat as a blue whale”.

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<sup>1</sup> All of the quotations in this article were translated from Swedish into English by its author.

Police is also something a speaker would prefer to call differently — such words as *aina* or *gris* are very common in the MYL:

- 1) ...*och sen hon står redo med aina i kuliss och arresterar?* [Khemiri, 2006, s.175]: “... and then she’s gonna stand backstage with the cops and arrest me?”;
- 2) *Så fort det luktade gris, blev hela stämningen stel* [Lundin, 2015, Suedi]: “As soon as we felt the pigs coming, everything went still”;
- 3) ...*men Bollen sprang inte så snabbt, två grisar bakom honom...* [Wenger, 2015, s.17]: “... but Bollen wasn’t running so fast, two pigs on his tail”;
- 4) *Det gjorde till och med aina helt sjösjuk* [Lundin, 2016, Abiat]: “It even made the cops completely seasick”.

Money is also something that can be expressed differently in the MYL, with loanwords from Turkish (*para*), Romani (*lover*), Spanish (*pesetas*) etc.:

- 1) ...*Vi säljer dem till skitbra pris och sen — när vi har tillräckligt med lover...* [Sattarvandi, 2008, s.50]: “We’ll sell them for a fucking great price and then, when we have enough dough...”;
- 2) *Fatta len, sen kan vi beckna och få fett para jao* [Wenger, 2015, s.20]: “Look dude, we can sell it and get a ton of cabbage”;
- 3) ...*och får feta respekten och maxade flousen* [Khemiri, 2006, s.104]: “... and get real respect and a ton of cash”;
- 4) *Jagade para från sommar till sommar* [Lundin, 2015, Annie Lööf]: “Hunting for dough from summer to summer”.

The MYL slang also includes various forms of compellation, such as *len*, *län*, *bre*, *jao*, *mannen* etc., used towards male recipients:

- 1) ...*fan är det jao, har du blivit fin?* [Wenger, 2015, s.12]: “What the hell is this, dude, are you posh now?”;
- 2) ... *ey, lyssna mannen, sa Foggy skrattande...* [Sattarvandi, 2008, s.13]: “Ey, listen, man, Foggy said laughing”;
- 3) *Ey Fällan, vakna len* [Wenger, 2015, s.10]: “Ey Fallan, wake up, dude”.

A word *abou* can be used in the beginning of an utterance to draw the listener’s attention: ...*abou, armarna rätt ut, ansiktet en svart kny-*



*näve*... [Anyuru, 2003, s.34]: "...about, hands right up the sides, face as a black fist"; *Abou, du dödar min skalle toooooootalt* [Sattarvandi, 2008, s.83]: "Abou, you toooooootally fuck up my brain".

Just like every other slang, the MYL one includes various words that are used to express something very positive (like *soft*) or negative (*keff*, *beck* or *bull*):

- 1) *Jag försökte tänka allt som fanns runtomkring var soft*... [Khemiri, 2006, s.99]: "I tried to imagine that everything around was cool";
- 2) *Och han sa att jag skulle be om cigg... Han va helt bull* [Bakhtiari, 2012, s.203]: "And he said I should've asked for a cigarette... He was totally lame";
- 3) *...sängen var keff baddad* [Wenger, 2015, s.21]: "...the bad was made quite shitty";
- 4) *...ni är inte ihop och du vet ju redan hur keff hon är* [Sattarvandi, 2008, s.115]: "You're not together and you already know that she sucks".

It can be worth mentioning that *keff*, just like the Turkish word *guss* ("girl, chick") mentioned above, have become so popular that they were included in the thirteenth edition of the *Svenska Akademiens ordlista* (2006) — "The Swedish Academy glossary" that traditionally includes words currently used in the Swedish language.

The majority of Swedish obscene slang words and swearwords are based on the concept of religion, but the MYL, on the other hand, loans such words and expressions from other languages, where they are often connected with sexuality and genitalia. Words like *fibra* or *koto* are used as derogatory terms for female genitalia, *kahpe* or *putana* — for women involved in prostitution: *Du ställer dig bakom en jävla putana*... [Sattarvandi, 2008, s.119]: "You're protecting this fucking whore". Some of the expressions are used to offend the recipient by insinuating a sexual intercourse with his or her mother: *mamagende*, *mammaknullare*, *gå och knulla din mamma/din mamma*, *anani sikejam*: *...mammaknullare, vad säger du nu?* [Wenger, 2015, s.21]: "What are you saying, motherfucker?"

Some loan translations or calques can also be used for such emotionally loaded expressions as *jag svär på min mammas död/jag svär* («I swear on my mother's death/I swear»):

- 1) *Men jag svär, de e övergott* [Bakhtiari, 2012, s.202]: “I swear, it’s super good”;
- 2) *Jag svär på mammas död, du vet att jag menar allvar när jag svär på henne...* [Sattarvandi, 2008, s.21]: “I swear on my mother’s death, you know I’m serious when I say so...”;
- 3) *Jag sa jag svär på min mamma är hemma nu det är här jag vill stanna* [Lundin, 2016, Välkommen hem]: “I said I swear on my mom I’m home now and that’s where I wanna stay”;
- 4) *Din mader gende, jag svär på allt, ska ta revansch* [Lundin, 2015, Annie Lööf]: “You motherfucker, I swear on everything I’m gonna take my revenge”.

When it comes to slang affixes, the MYL has developed a unique one, which is quite similar to the slang suffix used in the common Swedish slang, *-is*. In the MYL, it has taken a form of *-ish* and can be added at the end of the word:

- 1) *Här fanns grällmish och braj ...* [Lundin, 2015, Suedi]: “There was weed and cannabis...”;
- 2) *...så direct jag väckte alkot och sa han skulle gittish* [Khemiri, 2006, s.98]: “... so I woke this drunk up and told him to get lost”;
- 3) *Jalla abi låt oss ta en snurrmish, brorsan var botaniker han cutta upp skurrmish, hitta oss i garaget dom cornish över en bubblish* [Lundin, 2016, En dag]: “Come on, dude, let’s smoke, bro was a botanist, he made real good shit, find us in the garage smoking real good weed”;
- 4) *Eh shu len, vad händish...* [Wenger, 2015, s.12]: “Hey dude, what’s up...”.

Slang is indeed something that is rich, creative and interesting to study, it can also be a reflection of the current social and cultural environment in the society. The multiethnic youth slang gives linguists an opportunity to research quite a unique variety of Swedish that is relatively new and includes words from an extremely big amount of languages, both widely spoken and not. Among languages that have massively contributed to the MYL slang one can name Turkish, Spanish, Arabic, Greek etc., however it can sometimes be impossible to define the source of a particular loanword because of the sheer amount of languages spoken in multicultural urban settings in Sweden.

Just like almost any other slang, the MYL one includes a number of words to define people, various illegal things, different forms of compellation and ways to draw the listener's attention, words that are used to express positive and negative attitudes, swearwords (mostly connected to sexuality), slang affixes (like *-ish*) etc.

The MYL analysis reveals the reasons why young people may feel the desire to use this particular register, their wish to show pride in their cultural or ethnical background, express creativity, sarcasm or even protest against society. It also reflects various ways of incorporating these words and phrases into vernacular speech and using its features in real life, fiction and songs — something that truly depicts modern multicultural and multilingual Sweden.

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## МИР НА ОКРАИНАХ: ШВЕДСКИЙ МУЛЬТИЭТНИЧЕСКИЙ СЛЕНГ

**Для цитирования:** *Aseeva N. A. When the world meets the suburbs: Multi-ethnic youth slang in Sweden // Скандинавская филология. 2018. Т. 16. Вып. 2. С. 208–218. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2018.202>*

Описывается относительно новый вариант шведского языка — так называемый мультиэтнический язык молодежи, на котором говорят молодые люди из мультикультурных и многоязычных районов шведских городов. Наличие нескольких волн иммиграции и потоков беженцев сделали эту страну крайне разнообразной в этническом, культурном и языковом отношении; данное обстоятельство, в свою очередь, привело к тому, что многие молодые люди, проживающие в мультикультурных районах таких крупных городов, как Стокгольм, Гётеборг и Мальмё, каждый день слышат и используют в своей речи различные языки и стили. Подобная языковая среда нашла отражение в достаточно необычном варианте шведского — мультиэтническом языке молодежи, отличающемся от традиционного разговорного стиля в области произношения, грамматики, синтаксиса и сленговой лексики. Проводится анализ мультиэтнического сленга в сравнении со шведским и анализируется его словарный состав, источники заимствований и способы использования элементов данного варианта в так называемой «иммигрантской литературе» и текстах песен, авторами которых являются носители шведского языка иностранного происхождения. Отражены некоторые понятия, для обозначения которых в сленге используется большое количество лексических единиц, а также отдельные морфологические особенности данного варианта. В качестве социолингвистического аспекта приводятся причины, по которым молодые люди используют в своей речи шведский мультиэтнический язык.

**Ключевые слова:** сленг, мультиэтнический язык молодежи, стиль, социолингвистическая вариативность.

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## DANISH IMPERATIVE FORMATION: A PROBLEM FOR THE PHONOLOGY/MORPHOLOGY INTERFACE

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The formation of imperatives (IMP) in Danish has for centuries been a challenge, both to native speaker-hearers and for language policy, and it has been discussed in grammars since the 17th century. The best way to state the principle of IMP-formation in Danish is: IMP is formed by subtracting a final e-schwa (/ə/) from INF; if INF does not end in e-schwa (/ə/), IMP = INF. In many cases, the IMP thus constructed is not, or does not end in, a well-formed syllable, e.g. *hæk!* [hæç] ‘crochet!’, *sam!* [samʔ] ‘collect!’. Such forms do not obey sonority or strength hierarchies, and there are different ways to cope with that challenge. Danish IMP-formation represents several types of conflicts with respect to the morphology/phonology interface, and it illustrates several descriptive and theoretical problems in accounting for them: both between morphology and phonotactics (sections 1 and 5), and between morphology and prosody (sections 6 on vowel quantity and section 7 on the *stød*, a laryngeal syllable rhyme prosody with a complex grammatical distribution). This paper proposes a coherent account, based upon Basbøll’s Sonority Syllable Model — a non-circular cross-linguistic model of sonority or strength — (section 4), and his Non-Stød Model. The latter model involves a general procedure for the integration of suffixes in word structure (section 8) and its application to modern Danish (section 9). Throughout the paper, methodological and theoretical problems are in focus, but finally, the need for empirical investigations of Danish IMP-formation is emphasized, concerning the question how Danish speaker-listeners, and also foreign learners of Danish, cope with the challenging IMP-forms.

**Keywords:** imperative, Danish, phonotactics, prosody, phonology, morphology, *stød*.

## 1. THE INTERFACE PROBLEM IN DANISH IMPERATIVES (IMP)

In the comprehensive scientific grammar of Modern Standard Danish the imperative (IMP) form of verbs (in the active) is described thus:

**Suffix -0**, i.e. identical to the stem [Hansen, Heltoft, 2011, s. 731];

the authors add: for verbs [i.e. stems] ending in C + liquid l/r/n, e.g. *handle* ‘trade’, *padle* ‘paddle’, *fjumre* ‘bungle’ [...] *ytre* ‘utter, express’, *åbne* ‘open’, *kølne* ‘cool’, a supporting vowel [a schwa] is always inserted between C and l/r/n, corresponding to (unauthorized) written forms like *handel!* *paddel!* *fjummer!* [...] *ytter!* *åben!* E. Hansen and L. Heltoft do not quote the IMP of *kølne* here *which would actually be a counter-example to their rule since the form køln!* (*homophonous to the Danish pronunciation of the German city Köln*) *is a perfect monosyllable*. I return to this kind of example in section 5.

There is a *conflict* here, they say (p. 266, cf. [Hansen, 1990]) between a *morphematic* principle (IMP = STEM) and a *graphotactic* principle (‘insert *e* to prevent a final consonant cluster that only occurs in IMPs’). E. Hansen and L. Heltoft claim that in the pronunciation of IMP-forms such as those mentioned above, schwa is inserted “unproblematically” (p. 266); but in fact, there are also pronunciations of e.g. *ytr!* ‘utter!’ *hamstr!* ‘hoard!’ *raft!* ‘dice!’ *cykl!* ‘go by bike!’ which resolve the conflict in a different manner, viz. by devoicing the final consonant (cf. section 5).

The interface between phonotactics and morphology belongs to *morphonotactics*, in the terminology of Dressler & Dziubalska-Kołodziej (2006). Danish is not alone among the Scandinavian languages to present such a morphonotactic interface problem. In the Norwegian “bokmål”, or its conservative variant “riksmål”, i.e. in the forms historically derived from Danish — which Haugen (1976) aptly terms *Dano-Norwegian* — a related challenge occurs, analyzed in a modern phonological framework by Kristoffersen [Kristoffersen, 2000, p. 139, 220–221], in his *Urban East Norwegian* norm (as spoken in the Oslo region and beyond). But IMP is not a similarly phonotactically problematic form in e.g. Standard Swedish, New Norwegian, or Icelandic.

There are further interface problems between morphology and phonology in Danish IMP-formation, viz. between morphology and prosody (morphoprosody, if you like): regarding vowel quantity (section 6) as well as the *stød* — the famous Danish laryngeal syllable rhyme prosody with a complicated grammatical distribution — (section 7).

## 2. HOW LINGUISTS HAVE DEALT WITH THE PROBLEM

Already Pontoppidan [Pontoppidan, 1668, p. 288] noticed a(n orthographical) problem here and proposed to subtract *r* from the present tense forms, e.g. *vakle!* ‘stagger!’ (from present *vakler*). But more importantly, Danish IMP-formation was discussed by the greatest Danish linguist before Rask, namely *Jens Høysgaard* (1698–1773), 3<sup>rd</sup> university caretaker (out of three), and later bell-ringer at the University Church Trinitatis (see [Basbøll, 2014a, 2016, 2018]). He was *the discoverer of Stød*, and also wrote an influential, very original 500-page Methodical Complete Danish Syntax (1752). Høysgaard (1747) proposed to write *stèmpel!* ‘stamp!’ [or *stémpel!* with ‘a very slight *e*’, i.e. a syllabic *l*] but *de stèmple* ‘they stamp’ (in IMP PL, a verbal form extinct to-day); the accents (acute: ´ ; and gravis: ` ) indicate *presence vs. absence of stød* (see section 7).

In Mikkelsen’s important handbook of the Danish language (1894), IMP (sg.) is said to be identical to the stem, and he mentions, for IMP forms like *ofr!* ‘sacrifice!’, that, sometimes, a schwa is inserted in the pronunciation [Mikkelsen, 1894, s. 209]. Aage Hansen also says that IMP has form as the INF-stem, and he states [Hansen, 1967, s. 32] that the pronunciation of problematic forms like *ofr!* is normally solved unproblematically, by inserting an *e* (like E. Hansen & L. Heltoft, cf. section 1). Diderichsen, in his standard grammar *EDG* (1946/1962), claims that INF is *formed from* IMP [Diderichsen, 1946, s. 64], which in my view is a problematic statement, in particular with respect to the spoken language. *Retskrivningsordbogen* has a better formulation [Retskrivningsordbogen, 2012, s. 972–973], viz. that IMP is formed from INF by subtracting a final “unstressed *-e*” (if there is no such *-e* in INF, IMP equals INF). Finally, a very detailed account of the phonetic/phonological aspects of IMP formation in Danish is found in the comprehensive Danish pronunciation dictionary, by Brink [Brink et al., 1991, s. 1647–1649].

Hans Jørgen Uldall (co-founder of Glossematics with Louis Hjelmslev, cf. [Basbøll, 2017a]), in his ‘Phonematic’ analysis of Danish (1936, based upon the principles of Hjelmslev’s (1936) proposal), concluded, from IMP forms like *slubr!* ‘slurp!’, *klatr!* ‘climb!’, *vikl!* ‘disentangle!’, that the “*imperative is normally formed by subtraction*” [viz. from the INF], and he therefore *excluded all IMP-forms*, as did later Martinet

(1937) and Vestergaard (1968). But the problem is that *the final clusters of IMP-forms are phonotactically quite heterogeneous*: some are actually occurring, other clusters are accidentally not occurring — called accidental holes or gaps — and the rest represent several different types of phonotactical conflicts (see section 5).

In a generative phonological framework, Stephen R. Anderson [Anderson, 1975, p. 48–50] — based upon data and analyses of Rischel (1969) and Basbøll (1970, 1971, 1972) — discusses and re-analyses Danish imperative formation as an interplay between morpholexical and phonological rules. Anderson argues that Danish IMP is one of several examples that a phonological rule should precede a morpholexical rule (contrary to conventional rule application). Anderson's account of Danish phonological structure is partly mistaken, since he claims stressed syllables to have either a long vowel or a long consonant (or consonant cluster), but Danish does *not* have long consonants in types like *spille* — erroneously transcribed by Anderson with geminate consonant (here [ll]) before [ə] — as do most forms of Swedish and Norwegian. But in my view Anderson is correct in claiming — in his framework of the early 1970s and in agreement with Basbøll (1970) in particular — that the lengthening of the vowel in e.g. the noun PL *bade* [ˈb̥æːðə] (very distinct, normally [ˈb̥æð]) and the homophonous INF *bade*, compared to the basic sg. *bad* with short vowel (without stød): [b̥að], should be due to a phonological rule, and that the IMP *bad!* — with stød-vowel and the quality of long /aː/: [b̥æː?ð] (very distinct) or [b̥æðʔ] — would then be derived from the INF by subtracting schwa. This must be a morpholexical rule in Anderson's framework, even though, still according to his 1975-article, it should apply after the vowel lengthening rule. See sections 6–9 for my analysis of such forms.

In many frameworks, IMP is analysed as being expressed by a zero morpheme. An interesting recent contribution to the discussion of zero signs, in Danish and in general, is given by Juul Nielsen [Juul Nielsen, 2016, p. 192–251]. I cannot discuss this complex issue here (cf. [Basbøll, 2009] for a summary of my own position, and 2005, e.g. 352f, 369, and 2014b), but see section 6 below.



### 3. DIFFERENT PROPOSALS TO ACCOUNT FOR PHONOTACTICS

Five different approaches to phonotactics, in particular to sonority or strength hierarchies, have been distinguished in my earlier work (e.g. [Basbøll, 2005, p. 173–177]):

- (i) *Language-specific inductivism* (e.g. [Sigurd, 1965, Vestergaard, 1968]: one tries to find generalizations from phonotactic patterns observed in a given language.
- (ii) *Cross-language inductivism*; this is a common approach e.g. in structuralist linguistics, where one generalizes from observed phonotactic patterns in a variety of different languages (in principle, in as many and as typologically different languages as possible).
- (iii) *Phonetic primitivism*: sonority is believed to be an objective phonetic property which can be observed, and measured e.g. acoustically (of course, the great phonetician and general linguist Otto Jespersen cannot be called primitive in any way, but he refers to O. Wolf whom I would categorize as such, according to Jespersen, note 1 [Jespersen, 1897–99, s. 524]).
- (iv) *Nativism/innatism*: this term can be applied, I think, to many works in the Chomskyan tradition (Generative phonology and its offsprings like Metrical etc. phonology); the central tenet is that prosodic patterns are derived from complex — innate — formal structures (belonging to the *faculté du langage*, or Universal Grammar).
- (v) *General-phonetic deductivism*: The *Sonority Syllable Model* which is the topic of the next section.

### 4. THE SONORITY SYLLABLE MODEL IS DEDUCTIVE AND BASED UPON GENERAL PHONETICS

#### 4.1. *The vocoid is the prototypical peak of a syllable.*

All languages have vocoids as peaks, only some have non-vocoids = contoids as peaks (as in the Czech word for ‘wolf’ *vlk*); all languages have contoids as non-peaks, only some have vocoids (“glides, semivowels”); thus *vocoids are prototypical peaks*; since the peak-function is central in the notion of the syllable, the point of departure here is the vocoid, not the vowel in a functional sense, including the peak-function of a syllable: this would be circular (cf. [Ohala, Fukumori, 1997, Ohala, 1992, 2008]).

Ladefoged aptly says about his feature *Consonantal* [Ladefoged, 1971, p. 91]:

“This feature has a different status from all other features in that it can be *defined* only in terms of the intersection of classes already defined by other features. Thus nonconsonantal sounds are nonlateral and sonorant [and also oral/HB]. They correspond largely to what Pike (1943) called vocoids, which he defined as central resonant orals”.

In my view, *cover features* (as Ladefoged calls them) *are preferable* to independently defined features, other things being equal (if we adhere to Occam’s razor principle of simplicity); this is particularly true for Major class features.

#### 4.2. Definition of the vocoid

$[vocoid] =_{DEF} [sonorant, -stop, -lateral]$

The features used here are all strictly binary, with no use of “ambiguous zeroes”. The marked (phonetically homogeneous) member of the opposition has no ‘+’, i.e. the ‘+’ is implied. Thus [vocoid] means exactly the same as [+vocoid], because vocoids constitute a phonetically homogeneous class; their opposite member — contoids in Pike’s terminology — do not constitute a similarly homogeneous class, since they include plosives and fricatives as well as sonorant laterals, for example. In the following, I write feature names — regardless of their specification with plus or minus — without square brackets but starting with a capital letter (e.g. Vocoid).

Sonorants are defined acoustically (following [Ladefoged, 1971, p. 58]: “a comparatively large amount of acoustic energy within a clearly defined formant structure”, cf. p. 93: “greater acoustic energy in the formants”); they are — as their complementary class (obstruents), by the way — phonetically homogeneous.

#### 4.3. Sonority-hierarchical features and segment types

- 1) The point of departure is the prototypical syllabic peak, which is a vocoid (a phonetic — as against “functional” — vowel, to avoid circularity), cf. above.
- 2) All vocoids are, necessarily, sonorant: this follows from the definition.

- 3) But some sonorants are not vocoids, viz. prototypical (sonorant) laterals, which are [sonorant, lateral], and nasal contoids — in Pike’s (1943) terminology, i.e. phonetic consonants — which are [sonorant, stop].

*ERGO: [vocoid] IMPLIES [sonorant] (and not the other way round)*

Furthermore, the following implications apply:

- 1) All sonorants are, *necessarily*, voiced: this follows from the definition applied here [Ladefoged, 1971, p. 58, 93] combined with the phonetic (articulatory and acoustic) fact that in order to achieve sufficient acoustic energy in the spectrum, the vocal chords must vibrate.
- 2) On the other hand, there are non-sonorant sounds — called obstruents — that are voiced.

*ERGO: [sonorant] IMPLIES [voiced] (and not the other way round)*

The implications of the argument given so far in this section can be depicted by means of a set of (concentric) Euler’s circles as seen in Fig. 1 [Basbøll, 2005, p. 182].

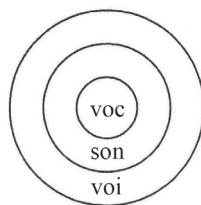


Fig. 1. [Basbøll, 2005, p. 182]. Three (concentric) Euler’s circles representing the implications [vocoid] > [sonorant] > [voiced]

Furthermore, all [voiced] segments are *necessarily* [–spread glottis]: a widely spread glottis cannot vibrate (this claim is challenged below in the present section, however). The full set of implications — up to this point — can be depicted by adding a circle specified as [–spread glottis] outside the circle specified as [voiced], as seen in Fig. 2 [Basbøll, 2005, p. 195]. The outermost *circle ring* of Fig. 2 — or more technically: the outermost annulus in the mathematical (geometric) sense — represents what is outside the *circle* with [–spread glottis] segments, viz. the segments that are *not* [–spread glottis], i.e. they are [spread glottis].

There is a problem, however, in the full set of Euler’s circles represented in Fig. 2, viz. that it *presupposes* that [voiced, spread glottis] be an (in the logical sense) excluded segment type. Here, it is relevant to consid-

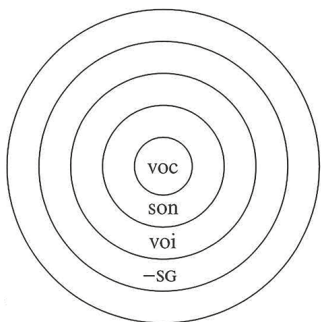


Fig. 2. [Basbøll, 2005, p. 195]. Five (concentric) Euler's circles representing the implications [vocoid] > [sonorant] > [voiced] > [-spread glottis]. The outermost circle ring represents the complementary set to the set of [-spread glottis] segments, viz. those that are [spread glottis].

er the so-called voiced aspirated plosives (oral stops) in many languages, as in e.g. Hindi, and also breathy or murmured vowels. I shall take the position here that [voiced, spread glottis] is *not* an impossible segment type. This means that [voiced] and [-spread glottis] cannot be part of the same version of the Sonority Syllable Model. I take Spread glottis to be a more important sonority-hierarchical feature than Voiced, in fact as important as Vocoid and Sonorant; there is no doubt in my mind that the following implication does hold:

*[sonorant] IMPLIES [-spread glottis]*

Thus, if breathy or murmured vowels are classified as [spread glottis], they cannot be [sonorant] in the definition used here. I do not deny, however, that they have some of the characteristics of sonorants, but they are only atypically sonorant — with a weaker first formant and overall less well-defined formant structure — and I would not classify them as vocoids. In the remainder of this paper, I shall consider two versions of the Sonority Syllable Model, one with [voiced], the other with [-spread glottis], with a preference for the latter, at least for languages with prototypical aspirated stops (i.e. voiceless).

#### 4.4. Introduction of time: order classes

Now comes the crucial step of the modelling: by introducing the time dimension into a model which so far has been completely static — representing just the logical and empirical relations between segment types, with nothing at all about order or sequencing — *we obtain a syllable model*, see Fig. 3 and 4:

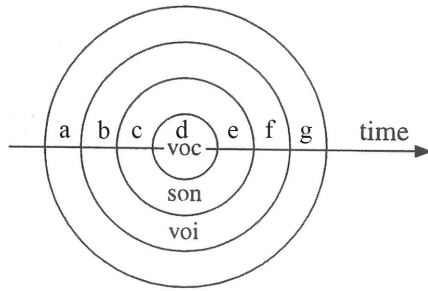


Fig. 3. [Basbøll, 2005, p. 184]. This figure is the same as Fig. 1 (with an outermost circle added) but with the dimension of time introduced and hence it is a syllable model. The letters a — b — c — d — e — f — g represent order classes

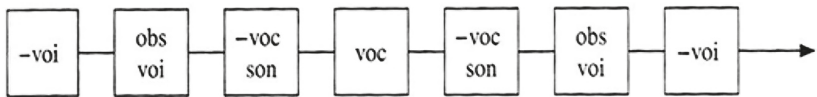


Fig. 4. [Basbøll, 2005, p. 185]. This is a notational variant of Fig. 3, where the order classes are represented by boxes with distinctive features (thus representing segment types, more precisely sonority types). [sonorant] equals [-obstruent] by definition (and by implication: [obstruent] equals [-sonorant] as well)

#### 4.5. Major classes defined by the Sonority Syllable Model

As said, I depart from Basbøll's definition (e.g. 2001, but in fact already 1973):

[vocoid] =<sub>DEF</sub> [sonorant, -lateral, -stop]

which (cf. section 4.2) is inspired by Ladefoged's use of *cover features* [Ladefoged, 1971, p. 91, cf. 58, 93] drawing upon Pike's definition of *vocoids* (1943).

Departing *only* from this definition of vocoids, one can derive the five Major classes in Table 1 by means of only the three features Vocoid, Sonorant and Stop. The remaining three logical possibilities ( $2^3$  minus 5) from these three binary features are excluded by the very definition which is a considerable simplification (according to Occam's razor principle).

*Table 1.* [Basbøll, 2005, p. 89]. Major classes defined by the features Vocoid, Sonorant and Stop. Redundant feature values, given the definition of [vocoid], are parenthesized

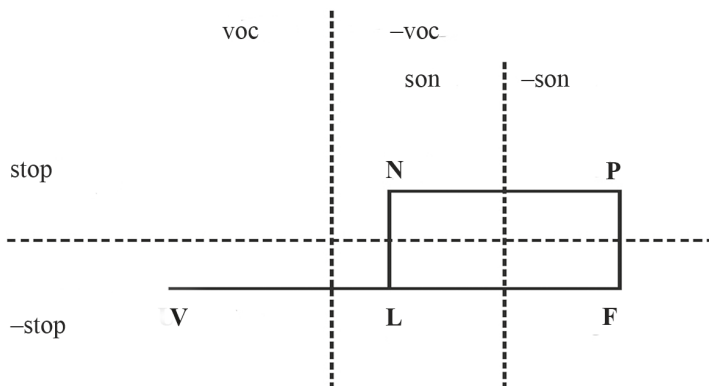
	V	L	N	F	P	*	*	*
vocoid	+	-	(-)	(-)	(-)	+	+	+
sonorant	(+)	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
stop	(-)	-	+	-	+	+	-	+

Note that the classes (segment types) L and N only encompass sonorant members — even though voiceless nasals and laterals do occur — which are those occupying a well defined position in sonority hierarchies.

The category “liquids” is particularly ill defined in this respect, cf. that l-sounds and r-sounds may be widely different with respect to “sonority”, and one should therefore be suspicious towards claims that “liquids” constitute a natural class, phonetically and phonologically.

#### 4.6. Modeling Major classes in a two-dimensional plane

Fig. 5 illustrates how the three features Vocoid, Sonorant and Stop define five possible areas for the Major classes (segment types) of Table 1:



*Fig. 5.* [Basbøll, 2005, p. 91]. The five Major classes of Table 1 depicted in a two-dimensional graph with [vocoid] segments in the lefthand column, [-vocoid, sonorant] segments in the middle column, and [-sonorant] segments (obstruents) in the righthand column. [stop] segments occur in the upper row and [-stop] segments in the lower row

*Sonority-hierarchical features* are [vocoid] and [sonorant] as employed here (the only further sonority-hierarchical features are [voiced] and [–spread glottis]). *Sonority-hierarchical features are horizontal*, other features (here only Stop) are vertical. *The modeling departs from the [vocoid] in the bottom left corner. The figure is fully determined by the principles stated.* Table 2 is a notational variant of Fig. 5.

Table 2. [Basbøll, 2017b, p. 75]. A notational variant of Fig. 5. Redundant feature values are parenthesized (all features are fully specified); furthermore [–stop] is redundant for V (all redundancies follow from the definition of [vocoid])

	+ vocoid	– vocoid	(– vocoid)
	(+ sonorant)	+ sonorant	– sonorant
<b>+ stop</b>		<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>
<b>– stop</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>F</b>

#### 4.7. Measuring distances between Major classes

In the Sonority Syllable Model, Stop is different from the two other features in that it cannot enter into any unidirectional implication chain with [vocoid] in the center — i.e. [vocoid] implies [sonorant] implies [voiced]; or [vocoid] implies [sonorant] implies [–spread glottis] — since it is not true, e.g., that [sonorant] segments are necessarily [stop] (cf. sonorant laterals), nor that [stop] segments are necessarily sonorants (cf. plosives).

The distances are measured in a “binary” way, i.e. a Major class (segment type) is either in a particular field, or it is not, *tertium non datur*.

It makes sense to count in two different ways, see Table 3:

in *sonority-steps strictly speaking* (the horizontal dimension in Fig. 5);

or in *distance from V* (since nasals and plosives (both [stop]) are clearly more distant from V than L or F, respectively, since V, by definition, is [–stop]).

The *sum of these two measures of distance* seems to capture an intuitive notion of “strength” as often employed in the literature (as well as of “sonority”, whose values are inversely proportional to those of “strength”).

Table 3. [Basbøll, 2001, p. 91). Calculations of sonority-steps and distance-from-V, and of their sum, for the five Major classes of Table 1 (and Fig. 5 and Table 2)

Major class in Table 1, Fig. 5 and Table 2	V	L	N	F	P
sonority step	0	1	1	2	2
distance from V	0	1	2	2	3
<b>Their sum</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>

#### 4.8. A hierarchy with seven steps defined by the Sonority Syllable Model

The optimal sonority hierarchy for languages with aspirated (voiceless) plosives — such as Danish, as presented in this paper — is illustrated in Table 4. As argued above, the other viable sonority hierarchy compatible with the Sonority Syllable Model, viz. the one that includes [voiced] but not [–spread glottis], is relevant for languages with a pure voice contrast, but no relevant aspiration, such as Russian, for example (I am taking the methodologically strong position that [voiced, spread glottis] is *not* an excluded segment type, cf. section 4.3).

Table 4. [Basbøll, 2017b, p. 76]. Seven Major classes in four columns (with [vocoid], [–vocoid, sonorant], [–sonorant, –spread glottis] and [spread glottis], respectively). Same conventions as for Table 2

	+ vocoid	– vocoid	(– vocoid)	(– vocoid)
	(+ sonorant)	+ sonorant	– sonorant	(– sonorant)
	(– spread glottis)	(– spread glottis)	– spread glottis	+ spread glottis
+ stop		<b>N</b>	<b>P unasp</b>	<b>P asp</b>
– stop	<b>V</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>F voiced</b>	<b>F unvoiced</b>

When the seven Major classes of Table 4 are represented in terms of *sonority-steps* and *distance from V*, the result is a strength hierarchy that in my opinion is the phonologically optimal table for languages with aspirated (voiceless) stops, see Table 5:



Table 5. [Basbøll, 2017b, p. 76]. Calculations of sonority-steps and distance-from-V, and of their sum, for the seven Major classes of Table 4

	V	L	N	F voiced	P unasp	F unvoiced	P asp
sonority step	0	1	1	2	2	3	3
distance from V	0	1	2	2	3	3	4
<b>Sum of these</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>

## 5. FINAL IMP-CLUSTERS IN DANISH AND A PROPOSED METRIC FOR PHONOTACTIC DEVIATION

The seven-step-hierarchy of strength (or sonority) of section 4.8 furnishes an empirically adequate model for many languages with complex phonotactics, e.g. modern Danish. For initial position (which is not the focus here), the order of all initial consonant clusters is predicted by the model, with the sole reservation that initial /r/ is to be considered a sonorant contoid (like /l/); I cannot go into that here (see [Basbøll, 2005, p. 203–210] for discussion and data, espec. Table 7.2). It is noteworthy that the order of /s/ + (unaspirated) plosive is *predicted* (and not an exceptional case demanding special treatment, as in many other sonority or strength hierarchies).

For IMP-formation, the final clusters are relevant. Here I take the *isolated monomorphemic monosyllable* as my point of departure, which means that the final segments tend to have [spread glottis] (cf. [Basbøll, 2012] for the nature of monosyllables in this context). The contrastive segments are classified according to order classes in [Basbøll, 2005, p. 215] (but in that version, there was no distinction within the voiceless segments). According to the seven-step model used in the present paper, the classification of final consonants in clusters in modern Danish is as follows (with the sums of Table 5):

- 0    ʔ Ɂ (ɪ) (ʊ)
- 2    l
- 3    m n ŋ
- 4    v j
- 5    ɸ ɸ̥ ɸ̥̊
- 6    f s (ɛ)
- 7    (p<sup>h</sup>) (t<sup>s</sup>) (k<sup>h</sup>)

The segments in parentheses are not considered phonemes in the final analysis [Basbøll, 2005], but they are the relevant segments in the phonotactic analysis (as against the abstract phonemes of [Vestergaard, 1968], for example, see [Basbøll, 2005, e.g. 176]). *All sequences of segments in final clusters of the isolated monomorphemic monosyllable are predicted by the model*, with the sole exception of the cluster  $\text{ɥ} \text{ɥ}$  which is neither predicted nor excluded, but merely permitted (in e.g. *bjerg* [bʝæɣʔɥ] ‘mountain’ and *djærv* [dʝæɣʔɥ] ‘bold’, the latter also with a very distinct pronunciation ending in [ɣv]: [dʝæɣʔv] — which is predicted).

Very many IMP-forms have final clusters (including zero or one consonant) which also occur in other words, e.g. *føl!* [fø:ʔ] ‘feel!’, *se!* [se:ʔ] ‘look!’, *kæmp!* [kʰɛmʔb] or [kʰɛmʔpʰ] ‘fight!’, and so forth. Other IMP-forms end in clusters which do not occur in other words, but nevertheless are not aberrant at all, i.e. they are *accidental holes or gaps*: e.g. *skeln!* [sɣɛlʔn] ‘distinguish!’ is pronounced as a true monosyllable — not presenting problems to Danish speakers — even though no other monosyllables are found that end in [ln]; but there are monosyllables ending in the phonologically similar cluster [lm], e.g. *halm* [halʔm] ‘straw’. Also IMP-forms with final clusters consisting of  $\text{ð}$  followed by a sonorant, e.g. *vidn!* [viðʔn] ‘witness!’, *padl!* [pʰaðʔl] ‘paddle!’, can be pronounced as true monosyllables, even though no other monosyllables are found that end in [ðn] or [ðl].

But other IMP-forms do present problems to Danish speakers, their final clusters being aberrant, i.e. structurally deviant. Whereas *skeln!* as noted above is a perfect monosyllable, this is not the case for the reverse final cluster [nl]: *handl!* ‘trade!’ is normally pronounced as a disyllable (with syllabic [l]): [ʰanʔl]. When an /l/ follows a voiceless consonant, as e.g. in *rasl!* ‘rattle!’, the speaker has a choice between the disyllabic pronunciation in [s]: [ʔrasl], or a pronunciation with voiceless /l/, viz. in [s]: [ʔras̺l]; the former choice is undoubtedly the preferred one.

The following examples (not the analysis) are taken from E. Hansen [Hansen, 1981, s. 238–239]. The numbers (still) refer to Table 5 above. *Notice that final /r/ is a vocoid (a V)*, according to my analysis. Examples with final /r/ are considered after other final clusters. In the Sonority Syllable Model, a vocoid cannot be voiceless (see sections 4.1–4.2); this means that if a final /r/ is devoiced, it will be an obstruent, i.e. belong to step 6 (voiceless fricatives). Likewise a devoiced L and a devoiced N will belong to step 6. The reason that plosives in pre-final position in

these IMP-forms are classified as step 5, with [–spread glottis] — and not step 7 (with [spread glottis]) — is that we depart from the pronunciation of the INF-form where the plosives occur in prevocalic position (before schwa), and where in general only the unaspirated plosives are found (given the neutralisation between the two stop series in this position).

<b>N + L:</b> <i>fuml!</i>	3+2
<b>unasp P + N:</b> <i>åbn! slukn! tætn!</i>	5+3
<b>unasp P + L:</b> <i>knebl! vikl! stipl! betl!</i>	5+2
<b>unvoi F + N:</b> <i>visn!</i>	6+3
<b>unvoi F + L:</b> <i>rafl! rasl! veks!</i>	6+2
<b>Examples with final /r/:</b>	
<b>L + V:</b> <i>pylr!</i>	2+0
<b>N + V:</b> <i>hamr!</i>	3+0
<b>unasp P + V:</b> <i>sikr! kapr! klatr!</i>	5+0
<b>unvoi F + V:</b> <i>blafr!</i>	6+0

I propose that the numbers — from the strength or sonority hierarchy of section 4.8 — applied above can function as a *metric for deviation from the regular sonority slope of final consonant clusters* (and, mutatis mutandi, for sonority slopes in other positions as well). My hypothesis would be that increasing values (in strength) would be the expected (i.e. predicted) situation, that identical values would be possible (i.e. permitted, but not predicted), and that decreasing values would be unexpected (i.e. contrary to prediction). Furthermore, the hypothesis seems reasonable to me that the larger the number of steps in the non-expected direction, the greater the deviation (e.g. 5-3 would be a smaller deviation than 6-3 which again would be smaller than 6-2). But this is just a hypothesis — or only a suggestion — which should be tested and modified, partly by studying real speakers' behaviour (to what extremes do Danish speaker-hearers go in order to avoid the strange IMP-forms, for example?), partly by applying the system to other languages and modify it accordingly.

Lists of consonant clusters are given, among others, by Vestergaard (1968), based upon the 1955-edn. of *Retskrivningsordbog*. And Jespersen, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (1934) of *Modersmålets fonetik* (1<sup>st</sup> edn. 1906), added a “Phonological overview” (p. 162–175) covering the system of vowels, consonants and prosody, with a list of consonant combinations.

## 6. PROSODY OF DANISH IMP: VOWEL QUANTITY

We now turn to *verbs zero-derived from nouns* (native, simplex verbs): *bad* 'bath', noun with short /a/ and the approximant "soft d" (no stød) [b̥að], but *bade* 'baths', PL of the above-mentioned noun, with long vowel [ˈb̥æːðə] (this is *very* distinct — normally the vowel will be (stylistically) shortened, and /ə/ assimilated to the preceding vocoid ð: [ˈb̥æð]). The verb *bade* 'bathe' is zero-derived from the noun *bad*; the verb is pronounced just as the noun PL *bade*.

The vowel length (in the verb, derived from the (sg.) noun) is currently *not* due to a phonological process — lengthening in open syllables –, but a lexically restricted rule (details in [Basbøll, 1970]); IMP is expectedly *bad!* with long vowel (/V:/), with stød — which is retained even when the vowel is (stylistically) shortened — and with the quality of long /a:/ (regardless of stylistic shortening): [b̥æːːð] (very distinct) or [b̥æðʔ]. The IMP is thus, expectedly, formed by subtracting schwa from INF (see sections 7 and 9.3 for the stød in these IMP-forms).

The noun *spil* 'play (noun)' is pronounced with short /e/ and no stød: [s̥p̥el]. The verb *spille* 'play (verb)' (INF), which is (zero-)derived from the noun *spil*, also has short /e/: [ˈs̥p̥elə] (or reduced: [ˈs̥p̥el]). The IMP-form of *spille*, quite regularly, has short /e/ with stød in the syllable (on /l/): [s̥p̥elʔ]. The noun *spil* has an extraprosodic final consonant, according to Basbøll's (2008) Non-Stød Model — like many other nouns such as *ven* [ven] 'friend', *tal* [t̥al] 'number' — but still only a minority of monosyllables with short vowel followed by a single sonorant. This phonological structure — a short full vowel with a final extraprosodic sonorant consonant (resulting in Non-Stød) — is not possible for a verb, except the isolated IMP-forms *kom!* [kʰʌm] 'come!', *gør!* [g̊œɹ] 'do!', see below, and the present tense form *gør* [g̊œɹ] 'do(es)'.

## 7. PROSODY OF DANISH IMP:

### STØD (A LARYNGEAL SYLLABLE RHYME PROSODY)

The basic principle is (cf. [Hansen, 1943]): *Danish IMP-forms have stød if their phonological structure allows it.* In other words — according to Basbøll's Non-Stød-Model (e.g. 2008) — heavy (bimoraic) syllables (designated syllables with "stød-basis" in part of the literature) have stød as the unmarked case. There is both (1) a segmental and (2) a prosodic condition for a syllable being bimoraic: (1) it must have long sonority

in the syllable rhyme, i.e. either a long vowel or a short vowel followed by a sonorant consonant; *and* (2) it must have at least secondary stress (in a system of three degrees of stress in non-emphatic pronunciation, thereby excluding schwa as the vowel in question). The consequence of the above is that IMP-forms ending in a bimoraic syllable have stød. I only consider native verbs here (e.g. English loans generally have Lexical Non-Stød, see below). Danish *simplex verbs* are of two types according to the phonological structure of the INF-form:

- a) disyllables ending in (e-)schwa (/ə/)
- b) monosyllables ending in a (stressed) full vowel

a) is the general case, and as noted, they form the IMP by subtracting the (final) (e-)schwa (/ə/). There are two types of exceptions to the IMP-formation of verbs of a) as far as stød is concerned: First, two isolated verbal forms are exceptions, viz. *kom!* [k<sup>h</sup>ʌm] ‘come!’, *gør!* [g<sup>h</sup>œɾ] ‘do!’. They have LNS (Lexical Non-Stød), in words of this phonological structure resulting in extraprosodicity of the final consonant and thus Non-Stød according to the Non-Stød Model [Basbøll, 2005, p. 414–418]. Second, there is a residual of forms with older /r/ + /ptk/, like *spark!* ‘kick!’ where e.g. the author Karen Blixen (1885–1962) had voiceless /r/ and hence no bimoraicity in such syllables: [sɔ̥ʌɾk<sup>h</sup>]. After voiceless /r/ after vowels had disappeared in the favour of a “vocalic r” (realised as [ɾ], or as the lengthening of the vowel resulting in [ɑ:] or [ɔ:]), we get the following pronunciation: [sɔ̥ʌ:ɾ̥] (or ending in the aspirated [k<sup>h</sup>], before pause), cf. [Brink et al., 1991, s. 1580]. At this stage, the IMP — and sometimes also other forms, in this case the noun *spark* ‘kick (noun)’: [sɔ̥ʌ:ɾ̥] — must have a marking of LNS. In words of this phonological structure, extraprosodicity is irrelevant: it makes no difference whether the final consonant (here: plosive) is extraprosodic or not, the syllable will be bimoraic anyhow. According to the LNS-principle, the second mora will be marked [-stød], resulting in lack of stød on this syllable throughout the derivation. The final stage is the addition of stød: [sɔ̥ʌ:ɾ̥], i.e. the loss of the marking of LNS (Lexical Non-Stød). On the contrary, forms like *gør*, also marked LNS (see above), have an extraprosodic final sonorant consonant, and when e.g. a vowel-initial ending is added, the morpheme final sonorant

consonant is no longer extraprosodic: *gør'et* [ˈgʊɐ̯ʔəð] (or with ə assimilated to the ð) ‘do it!’ or ‘do(es) it’ (not standardised). Phonologically, this can be seen as a parallel to certain inflected forms of *ven*, *tal* above, e.g. *vennen* [ˈvɛnʔən] or [ˈvɛnʔn̩] ‘the friend’, *tallet* [ˈtʰalʔəð] (or with ə-assimilation) ‘the number’, that have stød-addition in the definite form. All this agrees with the Non-Stød Model [Basbøll, 2008], see section 9.3.

- b) The monosyllabic INF-forms ending in a (stressed) full vowel generally end in a *long* vowel. The IMP-form of these verbs are identical with the INF, and, quite regularly, both IMP and INF are thus monosyllables with stød, e.g. *se* [se:ʔ] ‘see’, *sy* [sy:ʔ] ‘sew’, *nå* [nɔ:ʔ] ‘reach’ (both INF- and IMP-forms). Most verbs — including those just mentioned — whose stem ends in a long vowel, have monosyllabic INF — thus identical with the IMP. But some verbs have an — obligatory or optional — INF ending in e-schwa (/ə/) (details in [Basbøll, 1970, p. 17–18]). Examples with obligatory e-schwa are some verbs with the stem vowel /i:/, e.g. *tie* [ˈtʰi:ə] or [ˈtʰi:i] ‘keep silent’, *die* [ˈd̥i:ə] or [ˈd̥i:i] ‘suck’. Other verbs with /i:/ have monosyllabic INF, e.g. *fri* [f̥ɹi:ʔ] ‘woo’, *si* [si:ʔ] ‘strain’. In addition to verbs with the stem vowel /i:/, there are two marginal examples with the stem vowel /a:/, viz. *æ* [ˈæ:ə] or [ˈæ:æ] ‘caress’ and *bejae* [b̥eːjæ:ʔə] or [b̥eːjæ:ʔæ] ‘answer in the affirmative’. Verbs ending in all other stem vowels have INF ending in schwa.

There are three completely isolated IMP-forms which end in a stressed *short* vowel: the forms *gi!* [g̥i] ‘give!’, *ha!* [ha] ‘have!’, *ta!* [tʰa] ‘take!’ (the orthographic forms are unauthorised). Such short-vowel forms are regular in unstressed position, and since these three verbs often occur in pre-stressed position, often in lexicalised verb phrases, this is probably the historical reason for their behaviour. They are stødless, their phonological structure excluding stød (since the syllables are light = monomoraic in my terminology). They have corresponding homophonous INF-forms: *gi*, *ha*, *ta* (also not authorised orthographically). They are doublet forms to the standard IMP-forms *giv!*, *hav!*, *tag!* (orthographically authorised), in very distinct pronunciation [g̥i:ʔv tʰæ:ʔ hæ:ʔv] (corresponding to the INF [ˈg̥i:və ˈtʰæ:ɪə ˈhæ:və]); they also have pronunciations ending in a long stød-vowel: [g̥i:ʔ tʰæ:ʔ hæ:ʔ], ho-

mophonous with a possible pronunciation of the INF. In all these cases, stød follows the general principles. This also applies to intermediate forms — as far as reduction is concerned — of *giv!* [ǰi:ʔǰ ǰiǰʔ] and *hav!* [hæ:ʔǰ hæǰʔ], and of *give* ['ǰi:ʊ 'ǰiʊ], *have* ['hæ:ʊ 'hæʊ].

## 8. INTEGRATION OF SUFFIXES INTO WORD STRUCTURE: GENERAL

Now we should temporarily forget all about the stød, it is not part of the argument of this section [Basbøll, 2005, p. 354–357]. We first propose a general model for the integration of suffixes into word structure, a model that can be applied to languages with grammatical — inflectional or derivational — morphological endings (suffixes). The procedure is as follows, with a small well-defined set of answers to each question (criterion). The procedure is general, but it will be illustrated with Danish examples in section 9.1.

*Basic assumption: The more independent a suffix is with respect to what precedes in the word, the more it will be expected to be integrated in the word structure*

*Criterion (primary): is the suffix added to NEW WORDS?*

- yes, as default
- well, to a subset of new words (only)
- no, it is not

This (primary) criterion should be supplemented by two further criteria, viz. the following:

*Criterion (supplementary): is the suffix ADDED TO A WORD rather than to just a stem?*

- yes, always
- no, not always

*Criterion (supplementary): is the suffix SIGNALLED phonotactically as an ending?*

- yes, it is
- no, it is not

This procedure results in a total of five different possible degrees of integration of a suffix into the word structure (integration with a stem), viz.:

- LEAST integration of a suffix with what precedes in the word:
  - default ending for new words

— AND always added to a word, not just to a stem

MOST integration of a suffix with what precedes in the word:

— NOT added to new words

— AND NOT phonotactically signalled as an ending

These are the two extremes, viz. least integration and most integration. This leaves us with three intermediate degrees of integration of a suffix with what precedes in the word; they are listed here in the order of *increasing integration of the suffix*:

— default but not always added to a word;

— added to SOME new words (only);

— not added to new words but phonotactically signalled as an ending.

## 9. GRAMMATICALISATION IN DANISH: SUFFIXES, WORD STRUCTURE, AND THE NON-STØD MODEL

### 9.1. *Integration of suffixes in Danish word structure*

Different languages can *grammaticalise* e.g. in numbers (in inflection or conjugation): some languages have a distinction between sg. and PL only, others also have a dual, others again have no distinction in number, etc. Similarly, I would say, the acoustic/articulatory vowel space can be divided phonologically in different ways, e.g. some languages have only three vowel phonemes, others (e.g. Danish) many more, and the boundaries between phonemes can be at different locations in the vowel space. This can be called *phonologisation*, but is, in my view, also a case of *grammaticalisation*. When the general linguistic analysis of section 8 is applied to Modern Danish, the result is as follows, following Basbøll [Basbøll, 2005, p. 357–363; Basbøll, 2014b]:

LEAST integration with what precedes in the word:

— default ending for new words

— AND always added to a word (not just to a stem)

MEDIUM integration with what precedes in the word:

— default but not always added to a word;

— OR added to SOME new words (only);

— OR not added to new words but phonotactically signalled as an ending

MOST integration with what precedes in the word:

— NOT added to new words

— AND NOT phonotactically signalled as an ending



I thus claim that there are three phonologically relevant suffixal positions for Danish, or three degrees of integration of suffixes into the stem; thus my *hypothesis* is that Danish has grammaticalised the two extreme degrees in the general framework (section 8), but not making any distinction between the three intermediate degrees *as far as phonology and prosodic morphology is concerned*. Now I give a few concrete examples of this analysis:

<i>Grammaticalisation in Danish: Examples:</i>		
<i>Least integration:</i>	PL -er ( <i>bil-er</i> ‘cars’)	<b>P3</b>
<i>Medium integration:</i>	INF -e ( <i>elsk-e</i> ‘love’)	<b>P2</b>
(only ONE phonol. category in Danish)	PL -Ø ( <i>nip-Ø</i> ‘sip’)	<b>P2</b>
	PT -te ( <i>men-te</i> ‘meant’)	<b>P2</b>
<i>Most integration:</i>	PL -e ( <i>dreng-e</i> ‘boys’)	<b>P1</b>

### 9.2. Danish word structure and phonological domains

These three positions for inflectional suffixes in the word structure for Danish each define a phonological domain, see Fig. 6:

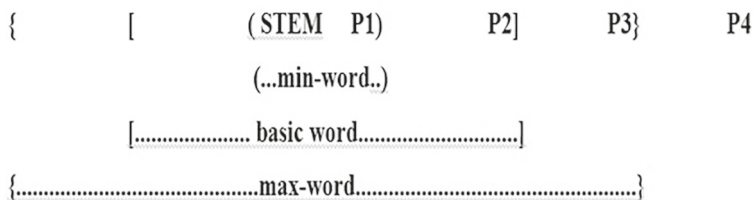


Fig. 6. [Basbøll, 2014b, p. 22, cf. Basbøll, 2005, p. 379]. Word structure in Danish based upon the three positions for the integration of suffixes established in section 9.1. P4 is the position of the clitic for POSS (|s|. P4 is outside the scope for stød.

Here are examples of the phonological consequence of the domains *min-word* and *basic word*. The phonological effect of the *max-word*, which includes P3 but not P4, is shown by the clitic |s| (for POSS) not contributing to the weight of the preceding syllable, e.g. *tals* [tʰals] ‘NUMBER+POSS’ having no *stød* like its non-inflected form *tal* [tʰal], whereas a corresponding monomorphemic syllable like *hals* [halʰs] ‘neck’ has *stød*, like other monomorphemic words of that phonological structure (they are bimoraic = heavy), cf. section 9.3.

*Positions and integration: Phonological domains.*

*Segmental phonology:*

Min-word (i.e. “( ... )”, incl. P1):

*Vowel shortening before CC*

Example: *lyst* [lysɔ] ‘light+NEU’ (/t/ [ɔ] on P1)

Basic word (i.e. “[ ... ]”, incl. P2 (regardless of what is inside)):

*Dropping of “soft d” (an approximant) before /t/*

Example: *født* [fø:ʔɔ] ‘born+PP’ (/t/ [ɔ] on P2)

*Word prosody:* the most fascinating phenomenon in Danish: *the Stød* (section 9.3).

### 9.3. Danish word structure and the Non-Stød Model

*The Non-Stød Model: word-structure*

There are two subcases of Word-structure Non-Stød:

the *penultimate syllable* of the min-word has Non-Stød

a *monosyllabic stem* before a syllable has Non-Stød (domain: basic word)

Examples:

*husenes* { [ ( *hus e* ) ] *ne* } *s* ‘House+PL+DEF+POSS’

[ ‘hu:sənəs ] or [ ‘hu:sɒnəs ]

**P1: e**

**P3: ne**

**P4: s**

*musenes* { [ ( *mus* ) ] *ene* } *s* ‘Mouse+PL&DEF+POSS’

[ ‘mu:ʔsənəs ] or [ ‘mu:ʔsɒnəs ]

**P3: ene**

**P4: s**

*tals* { [ ( *tal* ) ] } *s*, without stød [tʰals]

**P4: s**

*gulere* { [ ( *gul e* ) ] *re* } COMP of *gul* ‘yellow’

[ ‘gʉ:lɘvɘ ] or (very distinct) [ ‘gʉ:lɘvɘ ]

**P1: e**

**P3: re**

*mentes* { [ ( *men* ) *te* ] *s* } PT PASS of *mene* ‘mean’

[ ‘me:nɔs ]

**P2: te P3: s**

The difference between P1, P2, P3 and P4 is decisive for stød.

## 10. CONCLUDING REMARKS

- 1) Danish IMP has been a challenge to speaker-listeners for centuries, and it still is, — as well as to language policy.
- 2) There are different ways to solve the conflict between the morphological principle (*IMP=STEM*), and the phonotactical/phonological principle (*a monosyllabic word form should be a possible syllable*, is one way to frame it). The conflict is particularly strong if a final voiced segment would immediately follow a voiceless segment.
- 3) We need empirical investigations about: how do Danes react to this challenge? — both naturalistic and experimental data are

needed to study this question. And it is also an interesting question how foreigners learning Danish cope with the challenge of Danish imperative formation.

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**ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ ФОРМ ИМПЕРАТИВА В ДАТСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ:  
ПРОБЛЕМА ПРАВИЛ ВЗАИМОДЕЙСТВИЯ  
ФОНОЛОГИИ И МОРФОЛОГИИ**

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Вопрос образования императива (IMP) в датском языке на протяжении нескольких столетий представлял собой серьезную задачу как для носителей языка, так и для языковой политики. В грамматиках он затрагивается с XVII в. Правило образования IMP в датском языке можно сформулировать следующим образом: IMP образуется путем опущения конечного шва (/ə/) формы инфинитива; в случае если инфинитив не заканчивается на шва (/ə/) — IMP=INF. Во многих случаях IMP, сконструированный таким образом, не является или не заканчивается полноценным слогом, например *hæk!* [hæʃ] ‘вяжи крючком!’, *saml!* [samʔ] ‘собирай!’. Такие формы не подчиняются иерархии sonorности и интенсивности, и существуют разные способы преодоления этой проблемы. Образование датского императива демонстрирует несколько типов конфликтов в отношении связи морфологии и фонологии и иллюстрирует несколько относящихся к ним дескриптивных и теоретических проблем: во взаимодействии морфологии и фонотактики (см. разделы 1 и 5), морфологии и просодии (см. раздел 6 о количестве гласных и раздел 7 о «толчке», слоговом гортанном просодическом явлении, имеющем сложную грамматическую дистрибуцию). Представлено последовательное изложение, основанное на сонорной силлабической модели Басбёлля — кросслингвистической модели sonorности или интенсивности (раздел 4) и его модели Non-Stød. Последняя включает в себя общую процедуру интеграции суффиксов в текстовую структуру (раздел 8) и ее применение к современному датскому (раздел 9). Рассматриваются также методологические и теоретические проблемы, но в заключение подчеркивается необходимость эмпирических исследований датского императива с целью выяснения, как носители языка и иностранцы, изучающие датский язык, осваивают сложные формы инфинитива.

**Ключевые слова:** императив, датский язык, фонотактика, просодия, фонология, морфология, датский толчок.

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## **SCANDINAVIAN OR ENGLISH?**

### **THE LANGUAGES IN THE NORDIC CONTEXT**

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The article provides an overview of the use of the Scandinavian languages and English in the context of the Nordic Cooperation. The article provides an overview of the history and current status of using the Scandinavian languages and English is given, as well as the description of the current language situation. The study concentrates on the topic as viewed by researchers, performing artists, politicians, journalists and celebrities of the Nordic countries, which confirms the relevance of ongoing debate about pros and cons of using Scandinavian or English in academic, political and everyday contexts. The article examines, inter alia, the use of Scandinavian and English in the Nordic countries in close connection with the institutionalized political cooperation that took shape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This cooperation is carried out mainly within the framework of the Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers. The institutionalization of cooperation resulted, among other things, in adoption of a number of strategic documents on language cooperation, such as the Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy and Nordic Language Convention. Since the article is an overview rather than an empirical study, and taking into account the relevance of the topic, further empirical research is proposed to identify trends in the attitudes of a wide range of respondents from the Nordic countries to the use of the Scandinavian and English languages in professional, cultural and everyday activities.

**Keywords:** Nordic countries, Scandinavian languages, English, Pan-Scandinavism, language community, Nordic Council, Nordic Council of Ministers, Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy, Nordic Language Convention.

This article is not an exhaustive research, rather an overview of the status of using Scandinavian and English languages in the Nordic

context and an attempt to identify themes relevant for further research in the field.

While the term “Scandinavian” refers mostly to a North Germanic group of languages sharing the same origin, the term “Nordic” is widely used in order to describe languages spoken in a broader Nordic region, which also include a Finno-Ugric Finnish language and others.

According to Daniel Lindmark, “as a rule, the Nordic region (Norden in Scandinavian languages) refers to the nation-states of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland, and territories with varying degrees of political autonomy, including the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Sápmi and Åland” [Lindmark, 2015].

Cultural and historic proximity of the countries and autonomous territories of the Nordic region, rise of democracy and post-war economic growth in the 20<sup>th</sup> century contributed to establishing an official political Nordic cooperation in a format of the Nordic Council in 1952 and the Nordic Council of Ministers in 1971. The countries of the region were ready to act together both regionally and internationally in order to achieve common goals.

The paper of the International Peace Institute “The Case of the Nordic Councils. Mapping multilateralism in transition No 1.” quotes the following statement of Tom Schumacher: “Four factors were decisive for the emerging Nordic multilateral structures after World War II: first, the countries share common historical and cultural traditions, and their closely related languages enable transnational contacts on all societal levels; second, the division of labor within their joint institutions bears several advantages; third, the unequal power dynamics of several Nordic countries bordering major European military, economic, and cultural powers led to the solidification of a Nordic identity and a strengthening of Nordic cooperation; and finally, mutual support for a Nordic commitment to act independently in world politics” [Etzold, 2013].

The quoted statement and many other works point out that language identity and proximity were among decisive factors for solidification of the successful regional cooperation.

Evidently, the 20<sup>th</sup> century was especially successful in terms of using Nordic cultural and language affinity as a basis of a broad Nordic cooperation. It is important to note, however, that the question of Nordic cultural and language unity has been addressed since at least mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.



Thus, The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics provides an overview of how “Since 1840s, Scandinavian interstate relations were supplemented by a growing movement of cultural pan-Scandinavism inspired by similar movements on the European continent.” In accordance with the Handbooks’ authors, the Scandinavian approach was different from what we could witness in other European countries, because the language and culture were in focus, and not “the potential of the common state.”

The web-based Projekt Runeberg describes a story of interaction between a famous Scandinavian linguist Jakob Lökke with his Scandinavian colleagues which, inter alia, resulted in his report „Beretning om det nordiske Retskrivningsmöte i Stockholm 25.-30. juli 1869” in relation to the Scandinavian spelling meeting in 1869.

The language being one of the cornerstones of this cooperation, use of the region’s languages becomes an important focus area of strategic papers of the Nordic cooperation and is paid close attention to by researchers, public and the media.

The main strategic papers on the topic are the Nordic Language Convention (1981), signed on June 17, 1981 by plenipotentiary representatives of Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway and effective from March, 1<sup>st</sup> 1987, and the Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy [Deklaration om nordisk sprogpolitik, 2007] signed and effective from November, 1<sup>st</sup> 2006.

The Nordic Language Convention ensures the right of the citizens of the Nordic countries to use their mother tongue when contacting public authorities in all signatory countries. The list of the languages contains Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish. The Convention even provides for significant public spending for the language services guaranteed to the citizens.

The Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy identifies general priority areas of effort while national governments bear responsibility for how the Declaration is followed up. The Declaration covers such themes as “teaching the Scandinavian languages both as neighboring and foreign languages; parallel language use of English and the main Nordic languages; the multilingual society and multilingual citizens; and the language used by official agencies (plain language use)”.

Both documents highlight the importance of the region’s languages and promote their use in all spheres of life as an integral part of societal development.

The scope of political efforts on promoting the Nordic languages in the Nordic region seems to be second to none in Europe if not in the world.

It might therefore seem logical to assume that people in the Nordic countries do not face significant difficulties neither in free expression in their mother tongue all over the region nor in comprehension of spoken and written word in other neighboring countries.

First of all, it is important to note in this regard, that despite all efforts in order to promote equality of the regional languages and their broader use, there are three languages which are mostly referred to as languages whose speakers can understand each other without problems. These languages are Danish, Norwegian and Swedish.

Icelandic is considered too difficult to understand by many non-Icelandic speakers because of its well-preserved historical language pattern, while Finnish belongs to a Finno-Ugric group of languages which differs drastically from the Scandinavian group.

However, speakers of Icelandic and Finnish often demonstrate substantial knowledge of Danish and Swedish respectively because the Icelandic education system provides people with knowledge of a Scandinavian language, in most cases Danish, while Finnish school students attend compulsory Swedish classes because the second official language in Finland is Swedish.

Apart from the assumption about high level of understanding between the three major Scandinavian languages in the Nordic region, the Nordic countries are also famous for their good knowledge of English. As mentioned earlier, the Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy also encourages parallel use of English, especially in an academic context.

Good knowledge of English among Nordic citizens is often associated with its wide use in culture and education. It often surprises people from outside the Nordic region who try to explain this phenomenon. It is no coincidence that researchers, journalists and bloggers address this topic and express their views on how English became so popular and so well spoken in the Nordic countries.

Observations vary and include everything from traditional references to the Nordic people being willing to use English as an international language to high level of exposure to English inside the countries, like for example in Benny Lewis' "Here's why Scandinavians are so good at speaking English" [Lewis, 2017] and even a paradoxical conclusion that

modern English itself is a Scandinavian language in contrast to the Old, or Anglo-Saxon, English. The latter theory was described in the University of Oslo's publication "UiO linguist makes sensational claim: English is a Scandinavian language" [Nickelsen, 2012].

Equipped with this background information about the status of Scandinavian and English in the Nordic societies, let us have an overview of some opinions which may support or argue against certain assumptions or patterns of language use.

In his "Educational History in the Nordic Region: Reflections from a Swedish Perspective" Daniel Lindmark notes that Scandinavian languages are welcome at some academic events and in some journals while recently "English has become more prominent". According to Lindmark, English is often chosen with the topic of internalization in mind, and also because it is a second language for many scholars, while Scandinavian can be a second or third language for e.g. Icelanders and Finns.

Like many other views, Lindmark's observation highlights perceived importance of English for internalization and indirectly refers to extra effort a Nordic person with a mother tongue different from the three major Scandinavian languages must undertake in order to enjoy the region's language unity and benefit from it.

An analysis of Nordic language policies prepared by a *Norwegian Senter for internasjonalisering av utdanning* [<https://www.siu.no/>] provides an overview of language policies in all five Nordic countries. In this review the authors Kate Sevón, Eyrún Sigurðardóttir and Dag Stenvoll point out that at a Nordic level the parallel use of English and Nordic languages is promoted and that future prospects are with multilingualism in the Nordic region. It is worth mentioning that, in accordance with the analysis, the most protective language policy is implemented by Iceland whose language does not belong to the major trio of the languages which are expected to facilitate understanding all over the Nordic region.

Per-Åke Lindblom in "Are the Nordic Languages threatened as Academic Languages?" (2009) addresses the challenges the Nordic languages face in academic use. The author claims that "the Nordic national languages are on their way to be replaced as these languages by a new lingua franca, English". Lindblom uses some statistics in his paper to support his claim.

Lindblom attributes the recent “expansion of English” to development of information technology. At the same time, he suggests that “the Nordic governments have not taken any measures against the expansion of English at academic levels, but on the contrary adopted a laissez faire policy”.

Lindblom opposes the language parallelism promoted by the Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy and proposes some regulatory measures in order to preserve academic use of the Nordic languages and promote it. For example, he suggests the following with regard to Swedish language:

- “.....no course should be offered in English unless it is first offered in Swedish”.
- “.....a Swedish speaking student shall be entitled to examination in her or his own language — with the exception of distinct language subjects. Foreign students shall be entitled to examination in English or other languages if adequate examiners are available.”
- “ .....a publication of scientific articles and theses shall not be disfavoured through quantitative measurements like impact factors”.
- “.... a course books in Danish or Norwegian should always be preferred if they have the same scientific standard as the English ones”.

Lindblom expresses his fears that with no measures undertaken the situation can resemble the one in Sub-Saharan Africa, “namely that no endogenous language is functioning as language of instruction within higher education or as scientific language”.

Since Lindblom attributes this development to results of colonialism in Africa, he warns that a “self chosen colonialism” can play a central role in the similar process in the Nordic countries.

A broad overview of opinions of well-known Nordic citizens from different fields of activities is offered in the Nordic Council of Ministers’ publication “Does the Nordic region speak with a FORKED tongue?” [Arvidsson, 2012], whose author, Karin Arvidsson, uses her background as a journalist and communicator in order to introduce debate and reflection over the language issue.

In the preface of the book an important question is raised “How does the way we handle the language issue affect Nordic collaboration?”

The participants of the overview represent a wide spectrum of opinions and demonstrate different level of involvement into language-related activities. The selection brings together Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II of Denmark, popular TV people and politicians.

All interviewees of the publication have both personal and professional experience of using multiple languages in communication and they all happen to be educated people favouring use of the Nordic languages in communication both inside and between the Nordic countries.

Queen Margrethe II has personal experience of being raised in a multilingual family with her mother speaking English and Swedish as mother tongues. Despite her noble status, the Queen shares similar experience with many other Nordic citizens. She appears to be a supporter of learning each other's languages in the Nordic region and avoiding use of English in everyday communication between the Nordic countries.

In this context the Queen's attitude is presumably typical for both her generation of Nordic citizens, who attribute much importance to mutual understanding and unity, and her position as a monarch who is expected to promote her country's language and culture and contribute to maintaining friendship and peace among neighbours.

In the same publication a Norwegian journalist Fredrik Skavlan shares an interesting view on promoting Nordic cooperation: being a TV person, he uses a special mixed language in his shows, 'Swegian', which even annoys some people in Norway. He thinks that fight against English cannot bring any positive results. In his view, all Nordic languages should be modified in order to make them more understandable for people. Thus, he believes that "Danish pronunciation must be modified, Norwegian must be slowed down, and Swedish must be made clearer with a carefully chosen pan-Nordic vocabulary". His "Swegian", a mixture of Norwegian and Swedish, is a partial solution to this.

Even if Skavlan's solution of forcibly modifying the languages may seem way too radical, it is a common practice among Scandinavian speakers to adjust what they say taking into account who their listeners are: for example, Danes tend to start pronouncing some words closer to what they look like in written, Norwegians try to use some Swedish words etc. Queen Margrethe also referred to a similar example in her part, explaining that she uses "femti and seksti instead of halvtreds and tres" when communicating with Norwegians.

In the publication ex-president Ahtisaari represented a position of a politician who always puts law in the first place, and it was therefore clear to him that relevant provisions of the Finnish legislation should be followed and Swedish should be properly taught and used in Finland. Ahtisaari refused to admit any conflict between Finnish and Swedish in Finland and referred to media as a source of labeling the language situation as a conflict one.

It can be however supported by some observations that there are instances in Finland when Finnish speaking people avoid using Swedish and such avoidance can take different forms.

In general, this Nordic Council of Ministers' publication is a very good example of trying to address Nordic citizens and speakers of different Nordic languages and let them voice their views, as well as their considerations and their fears in relation to the languages they use every day in their private and professional lives.

Even if the publication refers merely to observations rather than empirical data, it is a very good basis for reflection which can result in a future full-fledged research where not only celebrities, but also people from all walks of life could be interviewed. Thus, extensive data could be collected for drawing convincing conclusions about how the Scandinavian languages and English behave in the context of real Nordic cooperation. Moreover, the publication reflects an emotional side of the topic of the language use in the Nordic countries: there are different opinions, but no one remains indifferent. It proves that the language is perceived as an important part of identity and society and there is space for further investigations of the issue.

Referring to a multitude of views and opinions expressed in different papers selected for this article as a source of the overview of the status of using Scandinavian and English languages in the Nordic context, and taking into consideration some personal observations of the author, who during many years contributed to the Nordic cooperation in her professional career, we believe that attitudes of people should be more thoroughly researched using representative groups of respondents. We believe that focus can be done on studying how people perceive their mother tongue in a broader Nordic context, how easy they find it to use one of the three "major" Scandinavian languages for communication and whether they see English as a threat or an opportunity. It is also of interest to study generational differences

between the mentioned attitudes, as well as between attitudes between Nordic citizens with foreign background or without it.

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### **СКАНДИНАВСКИЙ ИЛИ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ? ЯЗЫКИ В КОНТЕКСТЕ СЕВЕРНОГО СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВА**

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Дается обзор использования скандинавского и английского языков в контексте сотрудничества северных стран. Предлагается исторический обзор положения скандинавских и английского языков в северных странах, особенностей их использования, а также описание текущей языковой ситуации. Отмечается пристальное внимание к вопросу со стороны деятелей науки, искусства, политиков, журналистов, а также знаменитостей стран Северной Европы, что подтверждает актуальность продолжающихся дебатов о плюсах и минусах использования скандинавских или английского языка в академическом, политическом и бытовом контекстах. Рассматриваются среди прочего вопросы использования

скандинавских и английского языка в северных странах в тесной связи с институализированным политическим сотрудничеством, особенности которого формировались на протяжении XX в. Это сотрудничество осуществляется главным образом в рамках Северного совета и Совета министров северных стран. Институализация сотрудничества привела в том числе к принятию целого ряда стратегических документов по вопросам языкового сотрудничества, таких как Декларация языковой политики северных стран и Северная языковая конвенция. В связи с тем, что статья представляет собой обзор, а не эмпирическое исследование, и с учетом актуальности темы предлагается проведение дальнейших эмпирических исследований с целью выявления имеющихся трендов отношения широкого круга респондентов из северных стран к использованию скандинавских и английского языков в профессиональной, культурной и повседневной деятельности, в частности, исследование восприятия своего родного языка в широком скандинавском контексте, легкости или сложности использования одного из «основных» скандинавских языков в общении и оценки роли английского языка.

**Ключевые слова:** северные страны, скандинавские языки, английский язык, панскандинавизм, языковая общность, Северный совет, Совет министров северных стран, Декларация языковой политики северных стран, Северная языковая конвенция.

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## СОКРАЩЕНИЕ ИСКОННЫХ ДОЛГИХ КОРНЕВЫХ ГЛАСНЫХ В ДАТСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ\*

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Настоящая статья является продолжением статьи автора, посвященной сокращению долгих согласных в датском и западногерманских языках, в которой автор попытался показать, что долгие согласные потеряли свою слогоначальную и морфемоконечную часть (fal-l/a > falə), для того чтобы обеспечить совпадение слоговых и морфологических границ в корне. Следующим шагом в этом же направлении в германских языках было сокращение исконных долгих ударных гласных (и изменение типа примыкания — свободное примыкание > плотное примыкание). В предлагаемой статье это изменение рассматривается в датском, где оно происходит на наших глазах. Сокращение гласных и возникновение плотного или сверхплотного примыкания (толчок на согласном) в датском устанавливается путем сравнения данных трех словарей (ODS, DDO и DK), отражающих три разных этапа рассматриваемого процесса. Количество источников сокращения гласного и плотного примыкания в датском гораздо больше, чем в других германских языках, благодаря датскому передвижению согласных, в результате которого все исконные поствокалические сильные согласные превратились в слабые, а слабые — в аппроксиманты и компоненты дифтонгов. Причем датское /ð/ имеет такой же сокращающий эффект, как и аппроксиманты [w] and [j]. Изменения, сходные с датскими, происходили и в английском языке, где менялся тип примыкания и сокращались гласные (как в *bow*, *eye* и *book* и *dead*). Сокращение исконных долгих гласных в датском и английском, приводящее к увеличению количества слов с совпадением слоговых и морфологических границ, рассматривается как результат функционирования самонастраивающейся

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системы языка, которая преобразуется для выполнения определенной задачи. В нашем случае эта задача состояла в обеспечении лучшей сегментации корневой морфемы в потоке речи (чему способствует совпадение корня со слогом).

**Ключевые слова:** датский язык, историческая фонология, изменение типа примыкания, сокращение долгих гласных, становление слогоморфемности.

В 15-м томе «Скандинавской филологии» (вып. 2) вышла моя статья «Сокращение согласных в датском и западногерманских языках», в которой я связывал сокращение долгих согласных, выражавшееся в исчезновении их морфемоконечной и слогоначальной части, со стремлением самонастраивающейся системы германских языков достичь совпадения корня со слогом. В конце этой статьи я кратко перечислил и другие звуковые изменения в том же направлении, в том числе и сокращение долгих ударных гласных, которое характерно прежде всего для датского и английского языков [Кузьменко, 2017, с. 239–240]. В настоящей статье мне хотелось бы подробнее остановиться на этом изменении в датском языке.

Характерная черта датского языка последних нескольких столетий — сокращение исконных долгих гласных (с др.исл. *beygja* — совр. дат. *bøje/bwæjə*, др.исл. *tíðin* /tíðin/ — совр. дат. *tiden* /tíð'ən/ def.). Это изменение происходило и продолжает происходить в период существования в германских языках корреляции примыкания, при которой долгота и краткость гласного являются не самостоятельными признаками, как это было в древнегерманский период, когда они были показателями парадигматического моросчитания, а зависят от типа примыкания (подробнее об этом с указанием литературы см.: [Кузьменко, 1991 с. 59–79; 2017]). При плотном примыкании слоговая граница не отделяет поствокалический согласный от предшествующего (краткого) гласного, при свободном примыкании согласный после долгого гласного отходит к следующему слогу. Таким образом, сокращение гласного в датском и западногерманском языках является выражением смены типа примыкания (свободное > плотное).

Датская корреляция примыкания отличается, однако, от корреляции примыкания западногерманских языков тем, что она не двучленна, а четырехчленна. Здесь противопоставляются не только плотное и свободное примыкание, но и сверхплотное и сверхсвободное примыкание [Кузьменко, 1991, с. 76–79]. Эта четырехчленность обеспечивается датским толчком, который в своей пол-

ной форме представляет собой смычку голосовых связок (glottal stop), но в любой форме характеризуется сначала повышением интенсивности и тона, а затем резким сильным их падением при уменьшении глоточного потока [Fischer-Jørgensen, 1989, p.129]. Противопоставление типа *kilder* /ki'lʌ/ 'щекочет' — *kilde* /kilə/ 'источник' — *kile* /ki:lə/ 'вбивать' — *kiler* /ki'lʌ/ 'вбивает' традиционно, еще со времен Хойсгора [Høysgaard, 1747<sup>1</sup>], интерпретируется как четыре типа просодических структур, в которых в разных комбинациях сочетаются длительность и толчок: 1) краткий гласный + толчок на согласном (/ki'lʌ/), 2) краткий гласный + краткий согласный без толчка (/kilə/), 3) долгий гласный + согласный без толчка /ki:lə/ и 4) долгий гласный с толчком (/ki'lʌ/)<sup>2</sup>. Если же мы обратим внимание на отношение толчка к слогаделению, то увидим, что при толчке на гласном согласный звучит после паузы, вызванной гортанной смычкой, а при толчке на согласном согласный как бы прибавляется толчком к предшествующему гласному, ясно указывая на то, что слоговая граница в двусложном слоге проходит после согласного с толчком [Кузьменко, 1991, с.74]. Таким образом, толчок превращает корреляцию примыкания в датском в четырехчленную: 1) сверхплотное примыкание с четкой слоговой границей после согласного с толчком (гласный краткий) (/ki'l-ʌ/); 2) плотное примыкание с неотделением слоговой границы поствокалического согласного от предшествующего (краткого) гласного, но с неясной границей завершения слога (/kilə/); 3) свободное примыкание с открытым слогом (после долгого гласного), но с плавным завершением слога (/ki:-lə/); 4) сверхсвободное примыкание также с открытым слогом, когда толчок падает на глас-

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<sup>1</sup> Переиздано в 1920 и 1979 гг. в: *Bertelsen H. Danske grammatikere fra Midten af det syttende til Midten af det attende Aarhundradet*. Bd. IV. S.251–488.

<sup>2</sup> Хойсгор называл эти четыре типа просодических структур «четырьмя уложениями дыхания (åndelav)» и предлагал обозначать их знаками акцентов: знаком акута предлагалось обозначать краткий гласный + согласный без толчка, знаком грависа — краткий гласный + толчок на согласном, знаком циркумфлекса — долгий гласный с толчком и знаком апострофа после гласной — долгий гласный без толчка [Høysgaard, 1747]. Тем самым Хойсгор положил начало рассмотрению сочетания толчка и длительности в датском как особых слоговых структур, идеи, которая была разработана и дополнена Люнгбю с привлечением данных ютландских диалектов [Lungby, 1858], см. дальнейшую разработку этой идеи в: [Кузьменко, 1991, с. 118–128].

ный и резко отделяет согласный от предшествующего гласного (/ki'-lɔ/). И длительность гласного, и толчок оказываются в датском показателями типа примыкания.

Изменение типа примыкания при образовании дифтонгов началось в датском, вероятно, в XIII–XV вв. Хотя древнедатские памятники за редким исключением (написание с удвоением гласных) не указывают нам на длительность гласного, толчок, слоговоеделение или тип примыкания, считается, что спорадические написания типа *dræwæ* (*dræbe*), *giwæ* (*give*), *bay* (*bad*), *may* (*mad*), *løgh*, *lej* и *løw* (*løg*), *leybrothaer* (*legbroder*), *Jæiop* (*Jakob*) свидетельствуют о существовании дифтонгов [Brøndum-Nielsen, 1928, s. 141–185]. А рифмы типа *daghe* — *haffue*, появившиеся в XV в., и данные современных диалектов показывают, что исконные сочетания «задний гласный + γ» слились с исконными сочетаниями V+w (как в среднеанглийском), образовав дифтонг на -и [Brøndum-Nielsen, 1928, s. 183]. Однако, судя по письменным памятникам XV в., сказать о том, были ли эти дифтонги монофонемными, нельзя, поскольку письменность не дает нам возможность установить слоговоеделение. В современном датском мы наблюдаем большое количество дифтонгов, и их количество продолжает расти. Дифтонгизация сочетаний «гласный + w, γ» считается одним из самых значительных изменений в языке Копенгагена за последние сто пятьдесят лет [Brink, Lund, 1975].

Ведущие датские фонологи Нина Грённум и Ханс Басбёлль отмечают существование двенадцати дифтонгов на *j* и *w* в современной датской литературной норме [Basbøll, 2005; Grønnum, 2007, s. 146]. В диалектах дифтонгов может быть больше, ср., например, диалект острова Лангеланн, где Готфредсен отмечает 6 дифтонгов на [j], 11 дифтонгов на [w] и два глайда [ij] и [uw] [Gotfredsen, 1955, s. 10], или севернотландский диалект Вренстеда, где Сённергор находит два глайда [ij] и [uw] и 20 дифтонгов на [j] и [w]. Причем функциональная нагрузка дифтонгов в датской норме очень неравномерна. Некоторые дифтонги встречаются редко, а дифтонг [uj] в норме вообще возможен только в двух заимствованных словах: *huj* «стремительно» (< ср.н.нем. *huie*) и *huje* «галдеть»<sup>3</sup>. Однако многие дифтонги довольно частотны, в частности дифтонги [ai],

<sup>3</sup> В обоих случаях и в ODS (*hujе* [huiə], *huj* [hui'] ~ [hui]) и в DDO (*hujе* [hujə], *huj* [huj'] ~ [huj]) указано только плотное или сверхплотное примыкание.

[öi], [åu], [au]. Особенностью датских дифтонгов является то, что в некоторых словах или формах они могут чередоваться (или совсем недавно чередовались) с сочетанием «гласный + отделенный слоговой границей согласный». Таким образом, в одних словах второй элемент дифтонга никогда не отделяется слоговой границей от предшествующего гласного, как в английском *buy* — *buying*, а в других он в некоторых формах или стилях произношения отделяется от предшествующего гласного либо слоговой границей, либо типом контакта (в односложных словах), ситуация похожая на русское *бай* — *бая*. Басбёлль в 1977 г. писал о существовании только шести «истинных дифтонгов» («ægte diftonger») на *-i* и *-u*, т. е. тех дифтонгов, которые ни в одной форме слова не становятся сочетанием гласного с согласным и никогда не распадаются на два слога (*aj* как в *mig*, *åj* как в *møg*, *æv* как в *levn*, *av* как в *hav*, *öv* как в *støvle* и *åv* как в *skovl*) [Basbøll, 1977, s. 25–26]. Однако даже часть слов из этого списка вряд ли можно отнести по терминологии Басбёлля к истинным дифтонгам. Он включил в список слова, которые, вероятно, в его произношении уже в 1970-х годах могли быть дифтонгами во всех формах (см., например: *hav*, *havet*, *have*, *havene*), однако эти слова сохраняли возможность чередования дифтонга с сочетанием «гласный + согласный» в некоторых формах даже в словаре 2003–2005 гг. DDO, см.: *hav* [haw] — норл. *have* [hæ:-və], def. sg. *havet* [hæ'-vəð]. И в базе данных DK определенная форма существительного *hav* [haw] имеет сверхсвободный контакт *havet* [hæ'veð]. Такие чередования свидетельствуют о бифонемном характере датских дифтонгов (фонотактические аргументы бифонемности датских дифтонгов приводит Басбёлль [Basbøll, 2005]). Когда в 1985 г. я предложил интерпретировать те датские дифтонги, которые ни в одной форме слова не чередуются с сочетанием VC, как монофонемные и считать возможные чередования типа [au] — [av] в других словах как чередования монофонемного дифтонга /au/ с бифонемным сочетанием /av/ [Кузьменко, 1985], то немного забежал вперед. Несомненно, датские дифтонги находятся на пути к монофонемизации, поскольку вытеснение форм со свободным и сверхсвободным контактом формами с плотным и сверхплотным контактом очевидно, однако существование в группе слов возможности чередования дифтонга и сочетания гласного с согласным, относящихся к разным слогам (типа *hav* —

*havet* def. /hau/ — /hæʰ-veð/), свидетельствует о том, что и дифтонги, т. е. сочетания гласных с j, w, ð, с плотным примыканием бифонемны и фактически не отличаются по этому признаку от других сочетаний гласных и согласных с плотным и сверхплотным примыканием.

Однако чередований «дифтонг ~ гласный + согласный» становится в датском все меньше и меньше. Сопоставление датских словарей разного времени свидетельствует о том, что за последние 100–150 лет постепенно увеличивалось число форм с сокращением ударного корневого гласного и со сменой свободного и сверхсвободного контакта с ресиллабацией на плотный и сверхплотный контакт без ресиллабации и с совпадением слоговых и морфологических границ. Причем очевидно изменение и стилистической характеристики форм, и формы с плотным и сверхплотным контактом, считающиеся просторечными, вульгарными и диалектными в ODS, либо теряют свою стилистическую окраску, либо полностью вытесняют формы со свободным и сверхсвободным контактом. В словаре ODS (словоупотребления 1700–1950-х годов) часто указывается на просторечный характер вариантов с дифтонгами или на высокий стиль вариантов с сочетанием VC со свободным или сверхсвободным контактом (см. ниже). Грённум в 1995 г., основываясь на данных Бринка и Лунна (см. выше), отмечала, что в речи датчан, родившихся в конце XIX в., еще сохранялся долгий гласный с толчком (в моей терминологии — сверхсвободное примыкание), ср.: *bid!* [bið], *bed* [beð], *neg* [neʷ], *liv* [liʷ] и т. п., и только в некоторых словах (см., например: *lej* [laiʷ] и *tav* [tauʷ]) в речи представителей старшего поколения здесь был возможен краткий гласный с толчком на согласном [Grønnum, 1995, p. 218–219]. Тогда как в речи датчан, родившихся после 1970 г., во всех этих случаях распространилась форма с кратким гласным и толчком на согласном, т. е. тип примыкания, характерный для слов *lej* [laiʷ] и *tav* [tauʷ] языка старшего поколения (ср.: [biðʰ], [beðʰ], [neiʰ], [liuʰ] и т. п.) [Grønnum, 1995, p. 218–219] (см. также: [Grønnum, 2007, s. 145], где она говорит о возможности форм типа *bed* [beʰð] в высоком стиле произношения старшего поколения).

Грённум, несомненно, верно представила тенденцию развития (см. также: [Brink, Lund, 1975; Кузьменко, 1985]), однако сравнение ODS, DDO и DK позволяет увидеть более детальную картину

постепенного распространения форм с плотным и сверхплотным контактом. Моим материалом послужили 28-томный «Словарь датского языка» (ODS), который выходил с 1918 по 1956 г. и который отражает произношение периода 1700–1950-х годов, шеститомный «Датский словарь» (DDO), вышедший в 2003–2005 гг., и словарь 2013 г. (DK), составленный на основе корпуса датских текстов DanPASS (Danish Phonetically Annotated Spontaneous Speech), в котором дана транскрипция 67 285 словоупотреблений из монологов и диалогов 27 студентов и выпускников Копенгагенского университета (записи 1996 и 2004 гг.). Хотя некоторые слова и формы не попали в этот корпус, его большим плюсом является то, что в нем представлены все типы произношения (и нормативные, и ненормативные), причем указано количество употреблений соответствующих произношений. Сравнение новых современных источников (DDO, DK) с данными ODS дает возможность проследить, насколько быстро образование дифтонгов распространяется в датском.

### ДИФТОНГИ НА -I

Дифтонг [ɔi]. Источниками этого дифтонга были исконные сочетания /øɣ, yɣ/, часть слов с сочетанием /øɣ/ < /øk, yk/ и заимствования с сочетанием /øj, oj/. Причем во многих случаях уже в ODS в словах с первичными /øɣ, yɣ/ указаны только формы с сокращением гласной и дифтонгом, т. е. в этих словах нет чередования дифтонг ~ сочетание VC со свободным или сверхсвободным контактом в рамках одной и той же морфемы (см., например: *tøj* [twi] (др.дат. *tyg, tøy, tyw*) — def. *tøjet* [twi'æt] — pl. *tøjer* [twi'ær], *øje* [wiə] (др.исл. *auga*), *bøje* [bwiə] (др.исл. *beygja*) и т. п.). Только сверхплотный и плотный контакт указан в ODS и DDO в формах претерита и причастия II сильных глаголов второго класса типа *lyve* — прет. *løj* — прич. II *løjet* : ODS [lwi'] — [lwiət], DDO [lɔj'] — [lɔjəð] (др.исл. *ljúga* — *laug* — *logit*). В словах со вторичными /øɣ, yɣ/ (< øk, yk) дифтонг во всех формах указан в ODS в редких случаях (см., например: *møg* [mwi] (др.исл. *mykr*) — def. *møget* [mwi'æt]). В словах этого типа ODS часто приводит параллельные формы с дифтонгом и сочетанием VC со свободным и сверхсвободным примыканием. (см., например: (*smyge*) —

*smøg* — *smøget* [smwiʰ] — [smwiət] наряду со [smøʰq<sup>4</sup>], [smø:qæt]), *løg* ‘лук’ [lwiʰ] ~ [løʰq], др.исл. *laukr*. В некоторых случаях формы со свободным и сверхсвободным контактом определяются в ODS как формы высокого стиля, см.: *ryge* ‘курить’ — *røg* — *røget* ODS [rwiʰ] — [rwiət], выс. стиль [røʰq], [rø:qæt] (др.исл. *rjúka* — *rauik* — *rokit*). В современных словарях в данном случае уже указаны только формы с плотным и сверхплотным примыканием, см.: DDO [ʌjʰ] — [ʌjəð]. Сравнение существительных со вторичным /øg/ в ODS, который указывает параллельные формы со сверхплотным и сверхсвободным примыканием, с данными DDO, который фиксирует только формы со сверхплотным примыканием (*løg* [lɔjʰ], *røg* [ʌjʰ], *spøg* [sβɔjʰ]), указывает на то, что сокращение гласного и появление дифтонга /ɔi/ (</øg/ < øk/) утвердилось только за последние 50 лет.

[ai] — аналогичная картина наблюдается и при сравнении рефлексов исконных /eg/ и /eg/ из /ek/. И здесь исконное /eg/ часто имеет дифтонг не только в DDO, но уже и в ODS (см., например: *eje* [aiə] (др.дат. *eghæ*), *veje* [vaiə] (др.дат. *weghæ*). А превращение /eg/ < /ek/ в дифтонг происходит, судя по ODS, реже. Хотя иногда в словах с исконным /eg/ < /ek/ в формах существительных ODS отмечает возможность параллельных форм (см., например: *steg* [sdɛʰq] ~ [sdaiʰ] др.исл. *steik*, *streg* (гот. *striks*) [straiʰ] ~ [sdreʰq] и т. п.), во всех этих случаях DDO отмечает только формы с дифтонгом [sdaiʰ], [sdraiʰ] и т. п. Во многих случаях, судя по ODS, сокращения гласного не происходило, особенно в формах претерита (*sneg* (*snige*) [sneʰq], *steg* (*stige*) [steʰq] и т. п.). В DDO также в большинстве форм претерита сильных глаголов отмечен сверхсвободный контакт (см.: [sneʰj], [steʰj] и т. п.), и только в редких случаях дается форма претерита и причастия II со сверхплотным ([sgʌjʰ] *skreg*) и плотным ([sgʌjəð] *skreget*) примыканием.

Приведенные выше формы с очевидностью показывают, что вначале дифтонг образовался из исконного сочетания /eg/ (сп. формы *vej*, *sej* (др.исл. *vegr*, *seigr*), которые имеют плотный контакт и дифтонг и в ODS ([vaiʰ], [saiʰ]), и в DDO ([vajʰ], [sajʰ]), и лишь за-

<sup>4</sup> Знаком q в датской фонетической традиции конца XIX — начала XX в. обозначали звонкий заднеязычный щелевой.



тем сокращение гласного и изменение типа контакта происходит в словах с /eg/ (</ek/).

### ДИФТОНГИ НА -U

[ɔu]. Источником дифтонга [ɔu] были сочетания долгого или краткого /o/ с исконным /g/ (ср.: *skov* — др.исл. *skógr*, *lov* — др.исл. *lǫg*) и с озвончившимся исконным /f/, ср.: *sova* (др.исл. *sofa*), *hov* (др.исл. *hófr*). В DDO и особенно в DK почти все слова с исконными сочетаниями /og/ и /ov/ < /of/ имеют дифтонги и, соответственно, сверхплотное или плотное примыкание (см.: DDO *tov* [tɔw], *hov* [hɔwʷ], *rov* [rɔw], *skov* [sgɔwʷ], *doven* [dɔwən], *sove* [sɔwə] — прет. *sov* [sɔwʷ]). Однако для некоторых слов DDO дает варианты формы с плотным и свободным примыканием (см.: *lov* [lɔw]), но определенные форму *loven* [lɔʷən]~[lɔwʷən] и форму множественного числа *love* [lɔ:wə]~[lɔwə]. В ODS формы со свободным или сверхсвободным контактом указаны как формы высокого стиля наряду с обычными формами с плотным и сверхплотным контактом, в которых соответственно совпадают слоговые и морфологические границы, см.: инф. *sove* [sɔuə], но высокий стиль [sá:və], наст. время *sover* [sɔuʷər], но высокий стиль [sáʷvər]. В DDO и DK (все семь словоупотреблений) указаны только формы с плотным ([slawə] *sove*) и сверхплотным примыканием ([slawʷ] претерит *sov*, презенс. [slawʷv] *sover*), т. е. только формы с совпадением слоговых и морфологических границ. Как формы высокого стиля указаны формы существительного *skov* со свободным (множественное число *skove* [sgá:və]) и сверхсвободным примыканием (определенная форма *skoven* [sgáʷv(ə)n]), тогда как в DDO и в 33 (из 34) словоупотреблениях в DK указаны формы со сверхплотным примыканием ([sglɔwʷ] *skov*). И только в одном словоупотреблении в DK зафиксирована форма со сверхсвободным примыканием ([sglɔʷw]). В формах существительного *lov* в ODS указана только форма с плотным примыканием [lɔu], в двусложной форме множественного числа даны обе возможные формы без определения их стилистической характеристики (*love* [lâ:və]~[lɔuə]), тогда как в стилистически нейтральной форме с определенным артиклем указан сверхсвободный контакт (*loven* [lâʷv(ə)n]), а форма с дифтонгом и сверхплотным контактом ([lɔwʷən]) определена как диалектная. В сло-

варе современного датского языка DDO чередование типа примыкания [lʷən] ~ [lɔwʷən] (см. выше) дано уже без указания на диалектный характер формы [lɔwʷən].

[iu], [eu], [yu]. Источниками этих дифтонгов являются сочетания древнедатских долгих и кратких гласных /i/, /e/, /y/ с /v/ и /g/. Как и в других случаях, ODS приводит много форм только со свободным и сверхсвободным примыканием, см., например, все формы глагола *drive* (инф. [dri:və] — през. *driver* [dri:vər] — прет. *drev* [dre:v] — прич. II *drevet* [dre:vet]). В других случаях составители ODS, приводя наряду с формами со свободным или сверхсвободным контактом параллельные формы с дифтонгами, т. е. с плотным и сверхплотным примыканием, отмечают их просторечный характер, см., например, формы глаголов *rive* [ri:və] ~ [riuə] и *skrive* [sgri:və] ~ [sgriuə]. В некоторых случаях формы с дифтонгами в ODS характеризуются как вульгарные или диалектные (см., например: *liv* [liuʷ], но нейтральное [liʷv]). В словаре современного датского языка DDO указана уже только форма [liwʷ] со сверхплотным контактом, а в формах претерита сильных глаголов указаны уже только формы со сверхплотным контактом, причем не только в *rev* [vɛwʷ] и *skrev* [sgvɛwʷ], но и в *drev* [dvɛwʷ]. Среди 24 словоупотреблений формы презенса глагола *skriver* в DK нет ни одной формы со свободным или сверхсвободным примыканием: 14 словоупотреблений имеют сверхплотный контакт [sgviwʷv], а 11 — плотный контакт [sgviwv]. Таким образом, в формах претерита и презенса этих глаголов в современном датском уже полностью победили формы с совпадением слоговых и морфологических границ. ODS показывает и начало дифтонгизации исконного сочетания /yv/. Всего несколько слов в ODS имеют плотное или сверхплотное примыкание (см., например: *syv* [syuʷ], *syver* [syuʷər], *lyv* [lyuʷ]), в большем количестве слов зафиксированы параллельные формы (см.: *tyv* (др.исл. *þjófr*) [tyʷv] ~ [tyuʷ], *lyver* (др.исл. *ljúger*) [lyʷvər] ~ [lyuʷər]). DDO уже дает только форму [tywʷ] со сверхплотным контактом и, соответственно, все остальные односложные формы, однако обозначает только форму со свободным контактом у инфинитивов *lyve* и *flyve*, что вряд ли соответствует действительности, поскольку корень *flyv-* в DK имеет плотный контакт в 23 словоупотреблениях ([flyw-]) и свободный контакт [fly:v-] или [fly:u-] только в шести словоупотреблениях.

[au] в транскрипции ODS, [æu] в транскрипции DDO. Источником этого дифтонга являются сочетания /a/ с /v/ и /g/. Причем уже в ODS ряд слов во всех формах имеют только плотный и сверхплотный контакт (см., например: *lav* 1 [lau] ‘лишайник’ — опр. *laven/lavet* [lau’ən] / [lau’ət], мн. *laver* [lau’ər] и *lav* 2 [lau] или [lau’] ‘цех, команда’ (др.исл. *lag*), опр. *lavet* [lau’ət]). Однако во многих случаях дифтонгизация не отмечена ни в ODS, ни в DDO, см., например, прилагательное *lav* 3 ‘низкий’ (др.исл. *lágr*) ODS [la’v], DDO [læ’w]. Глагол *lave* (др.исл. *laga*) также имеет свободный контакт и в ODS [la:və], и в DDO [læ:wə]. Однако в DK в форме инфинитива *lave* из 11 словоупотреблений 5 имеют плотный контакт [læw], 4 свободный контакт (во всех 8 случаях с апокопой) и в двух случаях апокопа сочетается с появлением слогового [w]. А в форме настоящего времени этого глагола (26 словоупотреблений) в 15 случаях отмечен свободный контакт ([læ:wð] — 14 и [læ:v] — 1), а в 10 случаях — плотный контакт с сокращением гласного [læwð].

/øu/ — источником этого дифтонга являются исконные сочетания /øf/, /øb/ и вторичное /øb/ из /øp/. Эти сочетания реже других становятся дифтонгами. В ODS мы встречаем либо только свободный или сверхсвободный контакт со слогоначным /v/ (как, например, в словах *løve* [lø:və], *støve*, *sløve*, *prøve*, *døve*, *døv* [dø’v]), либо вариантное произношение со стилистическим различием, в котором формы с плотным и сверхплотным контактом определяются как просторечные или вульгарные, см., например: *løv* [lø’v] ~ [løu’ / løu], др.исл. *lauf*, опр. *løvet* [lø’vet], опр. мн. *løvene* [lø’vənə]; *købe* [kø:bə] ~ [kø:və] ~ [køuə] др.исл. *kaupa*; *søbe* [sø:bə] ~ [sø:və] ~ [søuə] ‘пить’, др.исл. *súpa*. В DDO наблюдается такое же положение, и многие слова сохраняют свободное или сверхсвободное примыкание (см., например: *løbe*, *døve*, *røve*, *prøve*, *røbe*, *søbe* со свободным примыканием и *løb*, *døv* со сверхсвободным примыканием). Причем авторы DDO оказываются в данном случае гораздо большими пуристами, чем авторы ODS, не включая в словарь многие варианты произношения с плотным или сверхплотным контактом, отмеченные в ODS (см., например, DDO — только свободное примыкание в *løbe* [lø:bə] и *købe* [kø:bə]). В редких случаях DDO указывает на варианты с разным примыканием, следуя ODS (как, например, *løw* [lø’w] ~ [løw]), еще реже отмечает полную смену типа примыкания, см.: ODS *sløv* [slø’v] — DDO [sløw’]. В ODS

мне удалось найти только одно слово с дифтонгом [øu] (*røv* [røu], др. исл. *rauf*), которое не чередуется с сочетанием гласного со слогоначальным согласным перед гласным или в конце слова. В DK мне удалось найти только несколько словоформ с исконным /øv/, которые показывают, что и в этом источнике часто сохраняется свободный контакт (см.: *røver* [vø:vø], *prøver* [pvø:wø]), хотя в некоторых словах преобладают формы с плотным контактом. Из шести словоупотреблений формы настоящего времени глагола *løbe* (*løber*) в DK только в одном свободный контакт — [lø:bø], в двух случаях плотный контакт, но с сохранением неаспирированного смычного — [løvbø], и в трех случаях плотный контакт с [w] — [løwø].

### СОКРАЩЕНИЕ ГЛАСНОГО И ИЗМЕНЕНИЕ ТИПА КОНТАКТА В СЛОВАХ С /Ð/

Изменение типа контакта и сокращение гласного можно зафиксировать в словах с исконным долгим гласным или исконным дифтонгом перед согласным /ð/. Этот согласный интерпретируется датскими фонетистами либо как альвеолярный щелевой, либо как альвеолярный аппроксимант, соответствующий другим аппроксимантам — /j/, /v/, /l/, /ʁ/ [Basbøll, 2005, p. 62–64]. В сочетаниях Vð происходят процессы, абсолютно идентичные процессам в сочетаниях Vj или Vw. Во многих словах произошло или происходит сейчас изменение типа контакта (свободный, или сверхсвободный > плотный или сверхплотный), что приводит к совпадению слоговых и морфологических границ. Наиболее очевидно сокращение гласного и изменение типа контакта можно наблюдать в тех словах, которые имели этимологический долгий гласный в древних скандинавских языках, см., например: *tíð* (др. исл. *tíð*) — ODS [tið] — DDO [tið'] — DK [tið'] (11 словоупотреблений); *ed* (др. исл. *eiðr*) — ODS [eð] — DDO [eð']; *led* (др. исл. *leiðr*) — ODS [leð] — DDO [leð']; *brøð* (др. исл. *brauð*) — ODS [brøð] — DDO [bvøð']; *søð* (др. исл. *sótr*) — ODS[søð] — DDO [søð'] — DK [søð']; *røð* (др. исл. *rauðr*) — ODS [røð] — DDO [vøð'] — DK [vøð'] (44 словоупотребления). В некоторых случаях уже в ODS даны варианты с сокращением гласной и с плотным или сверхплотным примыканием, а в DDO указаны только формы с плотным и сверхплотным примыканием, см.: *hud* (др. исл. *húð*) — [huð] ~ [huð], опр. форма. [huð(ə)n] ~

[huð'(ə)n] — DDO [huð']; *hvid* (др.исл. *hvítur*) — ODS [við~/við'] — DDO [við'] — DK [við'] (24 словоупотребления); *ud* (др.исл. *út*) ODS [uð] ~ [uð'] — DDO [uð'] — DK /uð'/(103 словоупотребления), /uð/ (3 словоупотребления). В некоторых случаях архаичным оказывается произношение не только у ODS, но и в DDO. Так, сверхсвободный контакт в односложной форме *blød* (др.исл. *blautr*) отмечают и ODS, и DDO (/bløð/), однако в DK во всех 12 словоупотреблениях отмечен сверхплотный контакт /bløð'. Подобным же образом *bred* (др.исл. *breiðr*) имеет сверхсвободный контакт в DDO (/breð/, но только сверхплотный (/breð') и плотный (/breð/) контакт в корпусе DK. Эти примеры показывают дальнейшее распространение форм с сокращенными гласными и измененным типом контакта. В кодифицирующих словарях (см. DDO) в ряде случаев перед /ð/ сохраняется еще старая норма произношения со сверхсвободным примыканием в односложных словах и в определенных формах, а в реальном современном словоупотреблении, как показывает, в частности, корпус DK, уже победили формы с плотным и сверхплотным примыканием, обеспечивающие совпадение слоговых и морфологических границ.

Очень частотную группу слов с исконными долгими гласными, в которых произошло изменение типа примыкания и сокращение гласных, составляют формы претерита сильных глаголов первого и второго классов, оканчивающихся на /ð/. Причем многие эти формы поменяли тип контакта только за последние 50 лет. В большинстве случаев форма претерита сильных глаголов первого класса в ODS имеет сверхсвободное примыкание (толчок на гласном), см.: *bed* [beð], *gned* [gneð], *skred* [skreð], *stred* [streð], *gled* [gleð] — претерит от *bide*, *gnide*, *skride*, *stride*, *glide* (ср.: др.исл. *beit*, *gneið*, *skreið*, *streið*, *gleið* от *bíta*, *gníða*, *skriða*, *striða*, *glíða*), хотя в двух случаях ODS отмечает параллельные формы со сверхплотным контактом *red* /reð~/~ /reð', *vred* /vreð~/~ /vreð' — претерит от *ride* и *vride* (др.исл. *reið* от *ríða*, др.шв. *vrēþ* от *vriþa*). DDO во всех этих случаях указывает формы только со сверхплотным контактом, ср.: [beð'], [gneð'], [sgveð'], [sdvæð'], [gleð'], [keð'], [vveð']. Подобного же типа изменение сверхсвободного на сверхплотный контакт можно наблюдать и в формах претерита сильных глаголов второго класса. ODS во всех случаях указывает сверхсвободный контакт: *gød* [gøð], *flød* [fløð], *lød* [løð], *brød* [brøð], *skød* [skøð] — претерит от *gyde*, *flyde*,

*lyde, bryde, skyde* (др.исл. *gaut, flaut, laut, braut, skaut* от *gjóta, fljóta, hlýða, brjóta, skjóta*). Во всех этих случаях в DDO указана только форма со сверхплотным контактом: [gøð'], *flød* [fløð'], *lød* [løð'], *brød* [brøð'], *skød* [skøð']. Как мы видим, во всех этих случаях гласный перед /ð/ был этимологически долгим, и он оставался долгим (т.е. был показателем свободного или сверхсвободного контакта) до недавнего времени. Перескок толчка в форме претерита с конечным /ð/ характерен и для некоторых сильных глаголов других классов, см., например: *gad* [gað] ODS, но [gæð'] DDO — претерит от *gide* (др.исл. *geta — gat*). В формах настоящего времени глаголов типа *ride* в ODS указаны, как правило, варианты со сверхсвободным и сверхплотным контактом (см.: *rider* [riðær] ~ [rið'ær], *skrider* [sgríðær] ~ [sgríð'ær], *strider* [sdri'ær] ~ [sdrið'ær] и т.п.), хотя есть и сохранение сверхсвободного контакта, см.: *gnider* [gniðær].

Функциональное сходство сочетаний V + w, j с сочетаниями V + ð выражается в ряде диалектов, прежде всего в Ютландии, в том, что сочетания V + ð совпали в своем развитии с сочетаниями V + j, т.е. стали дифтонгами на -i. Причем сокращение гласного и изменение типа контакта затрагивает в основном исконное ð, а /ð/, развившееся из /t/ по датскому передвижению согласных, часто пока еще сохраняет свободное или сверхсвободное примыкание (см., например, формы из восточноютандского диалекта Хоульбьерга: [bruɹ] — [bruɹ'ən] *brud — bruden* (др.исл. *brúðr*), но [knu'j] — [klu'-jən] *klud — kluden* (<ср.н.нем. *klûte*) [Jensen, 1944, 16, s. 61–68]). Похожая ситуация характерна и для североютландского диалекта Вренстеда [Søndergaard, 1975, s. 33–36]. Причем в одних случаях сохраняется плотный или сверхплотный контакт в одной и той же морфеме (*brud* [bruɹ] sb. — *bruden* [bruɹ'ən] def.), а в других случаях типы контакта чередуются в одной морфеме, см.: [laɹə] *lader*, pres. — [la:j] *lade* inf.

Сравнение трех датских словарей, относящихся к разному времени (ODS, DDO, DK), позволяют увидеть победное шествие плотного и сверхплотного примыкания в сочетаниях гласных с аппроксимантами [w], [j], [ð], [ɹ], которые развились из исконных согласных [f], [v], [g], [k], [t], [d], [j], [r], реже [b], [p]. Сонорные согласные *l* и *n* в норме, как правило, не меняют свободного и сверхсвободного примыкания на плотное или сверхплотное, особенно в исконных долгосложных словах (см., напр., *pil* [pi'l] — *pilen*

[pi'lən], *del* [de'l] — *delen* [de'lən], *smal* [sma'l] — *smale* [sma:lə], *sol* [so'l] — *sole* [so'lən], *ren* [væ'n] — *rene* [væ:nə], *vin* [vi'n] — [vi'nən]), однако в исконных краткосложных словах встречаются параллельные формы (см., например: [gra'n ~ gran'] *gran*) или формы только с плотным или сверхплотным примыканием (*tal* — *tallet*, def. [tal] — [tal'əð], *øl* — *øllet* [øl] — [øl'əð]). Древнедатские письменные источники с удвоением гласной буквы, сравнение с другими скандинавскими языками, которые имеют долгий гласный в словах подобного типа, и исконные краткосложные слова с толчком на гласном в датском (т. е. со сверхсвободным примыканием) типа *hul* [hu'l], др.исл. *holr* могут свидетельствовать о том, что вначале краткосложные слова на *-l*, *-n* удлинители гласный, а затем, в период существования корреляции примыкания, в словах подобного типа произошло изменение типа примыкания (свободное > плотное) и гласные сократились [Кузьменко, 1991], хотя теоретически не исключено, что в некоторых исконных краткосложных словах отсутствовал этап удлинения гласного (или согласного). В них просто сдвинулась слоговая граница CV-CV > CVCV и установилось плотное или сверхплотное примыкание.

### СРАВНЕНИЕ ДАТСКОГО И АНГЛИЙСКОГО СОКРАЩЕНИЯ УДАРНЫХ КОРНЕВЫХ ГЛАСНЫХ И ПРЕДПОЛАГАЕМЫЕ ПРИЧИНЫ ЭТОГО ЯВЛЕНИЯ

Сокращению гласных и смене типа примыкания в датском соответствуют изменения в английском языке, где из сочетаний «долгий гласный + w, γ» появились монофонемные дифтонги в словах типа *bow*, *low*, *eye*, *hay* и т. п. Кроме того, сокращение гласного и появление плотного примыкания было характерно и для ранневоанглийских /u:/ (ср.англ.) и /e:/ (ср.англ.) перед рядом шумных согласных (*book*, *look*, *good*, *dead*, *red* и т. п.) [Dobson, 1957]. В Восточной Англии количество и сократившихся исконных долгих гласных, и сокращающих согласных гораздо больше (см., например, краткий гласный и плотный контакт в *heel*, *thief*, *need*, *cheap*, *boat*, *stone* и т. д. [Hackmann, 1908]).

Сокращение гласных перед сильными согласными (pre-fortis clipping) и вокализация *l* еще больше увеличили количество корневых морфем с плотным примыканием. Вопрос о причинах сокращения гласных в датском, насколько мне известно, не ставился.

Хорн пытался объяснить причины сокращения ударных согласных в английском генерализацией форм с более слабым ударением в синтагме [Horn, Lehnert, 1954, S. 696–697]. Он же считал, что сокращение перед глухими смычными могло быть связано с тем, что в английском гласные перед глухими смычными короче (*foot*), чем перед звонкими (*food*), что было отмечено уже английскими орфоэпистами [Horn, Lehnert, 1954, S. 693]. Объяснение фонологического удлинения фонетическими особенностями — довольно распространенное явление. Однако эти фонетические особенности характерны для всех языков и для всех времен (критику подобных объяснений см.: [Lieberman, 2003]). Нам же важно понять, почему или зачем то или иное фонологическое изменение произошло именно тогда, когда оно произошло, и с какими другими изменениями оно может быть связано. А. С. Либерман считает, что сокращение в словах типа *book* и *dead* было реакцией на «великий сдвиг гласных в английском языке»<sup>5</sup>. Долгие гласные, по Либерману, сократились, чтобы не дифтонгизироваться в эпоху «великого сдвига». Однако связь английского сокращения с «великим сдвигом» неочевидна. В датском пока не было «великого сдвига», однако сокращений гласных и появления плотного и сверхплотного примыкания вместо свободного или сверхсвободного гораздо больше, чем в английском. Чтобы ответить на вопрос о движущих силах сокращения гласных, мы должны обратиться не к компенсаторным, а к телеологическим гипотезам.

В 1960-е годы Г. П. Мельников выдвинул гипотезу о языке как об адаптивной (самонастраивающейся и динамичной) системе, важнейшим свойством которой является ее способность перестраивать свою структуру для выполнения определенной задачи (см., например: [Мельников, 1966]). Он считал, что основная доминанта германских языков — совпадение слога с морфемой и типологическое сближение по многим параметрам с китайским. Мельников высказал мысль и о важности слово- и морфеморазличения в изолирующих языках и отметил некоторые типологически сходные изменения в германских языках. Разрабатывая идеи Мельникова, я предложил рассматривать целый ряд изменений

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<sup>5</sup> «With the epoch of mora counting over, old 'long' vowels could either remain long and free or become checked and short. To counteract the impending (great) vowel shifts some of them preferred the second alternative» [Lieberman, 2003, p. 236].



в германских языках как следствие стремления их самонастраивающейся системы к оптимальному выделению слогоморфемы в потоке речи, относя к числу таких явлений совпадение корня со слогом, качественное различие слоگو- и морфемоначальных и слоگو- и морфемоконечных частей слогоморфемы, развитие тонов [Кузьменко, 1991]. Сокращение долгих согласных (исчезновение их слогоначальной части; см.: [Кузьменко, 2017]) и долгих гласных, приводящее к замене свободного примыкания на плотное примыкание в датском и английском, этапы которого были показаны выше, является важным звеном в цепи этих изменений.

Сокращение ударных гласных не единственное изменение, произошедшее в датском и английском в последнее время. Важным изменением было увеличение качественных различий между слогоначальными и слогоконечными элементами слогоморфемы. Датские /ð/, /w/, /ŋ/ могут стоять только в конце слога (или морфемы), а /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>s</sup>/, /k<sup>h</sup>/, /c/, /h/, /v/, /R/ могут быть только слогоначальными [Grønnum, 2007, s. 18]. Особенно заметны эти изменения в датском языке, где после датского передвижения согласных сильные стали возможны только в начале корневой морфемы, а согласные, завершающие слог, стали слабыми, иногда совпадающими с бывшими звонкими (см., например: *te* /t<sup>s</sup>eː/, но *fatte* /fadə/, *hukken* def. /hogən/ — *hugge* inf. /hogə/, *knappe* inf. /knabə/ — *labbe* inf. /labə/). Часто конечноморфемные и конечнослоговые согласные имеют тенденцию превращаться в полугласные или аппроксиманты и становиться вторыми элементами дифтонгов. Причем качественное различие слогоначальных и слогоконечных согласных продолжает усиливаться. Начальное /t/ стало в датском аффрицированным /t<sup>s</sup>/ (см. выше у Грэннума), а конечноморфемное /t/ — либо /d/, либо аппроксимантом /ð/. В английском и в еще большей степени в его американском варианте началось передвижение согласных датского типа, пока только в дентальном ряду, где исконное /t/ после ударной гласной совпало с /d/. В *letter* и *ladder* звучит одинаковый согласный после ударного гласного, который интерпретируется как аллофон фонемы /d/, особенно в американском английском, тогда как слогоначальное аспирированное /t<sup>h</sup>/ реализуется как /t<sup>s</sup>/ (см. формы типа *tea* /t<sup>h</sup>i:/ [t<sup>s</sup>i:]) [Hughes, Trudgill, Watt, 2012, p. 77] — полное соответствие датской ситуации и первому этапу датского передвижения согласных в дентальном ряду. Несмотря на разные

источники английского гортанного имплозивного смычного ʔ и датского толчка, они частично выполняют одинаковую функцию — могут служить показателями границы слога. Таким образом, мы видим, что целый ряд фонологических изменений в германских языках, к числу которых относится и изменение типа примыкания (и сокращение гласных), увеличивает их типологическое сходство со слогоморфемными языками типа китайского.

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#### SHORTENING OF THE ORIGINAL LONG ROOT VOWELS IN DANISH\*

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The present article is a follow-up to the paper by Kuz'menko Yu. K. (2017) about the shortening of the long consonants in Danish and in West Germanic languages, in which author tried to show that the long consonants lost their syllable-initial and morpheme-final part (*fal-la > falə*) in order to provide the coincidence of syllable and morpheme boundaries. The next step in the same direction in the Germanic languages was the shortening of original long stressed vowels (and the change of the contact type free (open) > checked (close)). This paper deals with the development of checked contact words in Danish, where the shortening of original long vowels occurs before our very eyes. The vowel shortening and the development of checked and superchecked (stød on consonant) contact in Danish can be observed when comparing three different Danish dictionaries (ODS, DDO and DK) reflecting three stages of this development. The number of sources of checked contact words in Danish is high, because of the Danish consonant shift that shifted almost all the original postvocalic consonants, turning *fortis* into *lenis* and *lenis* into components of diphthongs. Furthermore, the Danish /ð/ has the same shortening effect on the preceding vowel as approximants [w] and [j]. The change of the contact type and vowel shortening also occurred in English (cf. *bow*, *eye* and *book*, *dead*). The shortening of the original long vowels in Danish and English, which resulted in the increased number of words with the coincidence of syllable and morpheme boundaries is treated in the article as a result of the functioning of a self-adjusting language system which can rebuild itself in accordance with a certain task. In our case this task consists in ensuring a better segmentation of the root morpheme in text (facilitated by the coincidence of the root with the syllable).

**Keywords:** Danish, English, historical phonology, change of the contact type, shortening of long vowels, morphosyllabismus.

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## GUESTS AND HOSTS ON THE SOUNDS OF MODERN ICELANDIC

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For over a hundred and fifty years, foreign tourists have been sharing their impressions of Iceland: its geography, economy, culture, and, among other things, language. Foreigners' impressions of a language new to them are not devoid of interest, for outsiders often hear the subphonemic nuances that native speakers miss by definition. They also make typical mistakes while assessing the pronunciation of a language they hear for the first time. Their observations add a special dimension to the traditional descriptions of this or that language. The present paper summarizes the notes on Icelandic vowels and consonants by English, German, and other tourists made during their stay in Iceland. Of equal interest is the advice given by the authors of Icelandic textbooks to foreigners planning to study Icelandic, and by foreigners, sometimes trained philologists, who warn their prospective readers of the main difficulties of Icelandic phonetics. The survey offered here must be fairly complete, because it is based on the rich collections of books in the Fiske collection (Cornell University, USA) and the two great libraries in Reykjavík. Special emphasis has been laid on the most "exotic" features of the Icelandic phonemic system: devoiced /b d g/, devoiced /l m n r/ before /p t k/, preaspiration, and the pronunciation of [i:] and the diphthongs, of which short [ou] creates especially great difficulties to foreigners. The importance of foreigners' observations has been once discussed by an Icelandic researcher, but a full-length survey of this type appears for the first time.

**Keywords:** Icelandic phonetics, impressions by and advice to foreigners, devoicing, preaspiration, short diphthongs.

At one time, in my effort to get acquainted with everything written about Icelandic phonetics, I looked through nearly a hundred travelogs and textbooks by tourists and Icelanders, whose goal was to inform

their readers about Iceland's geography, culture, and language. Many authors said nothing about the subject that interested me, but some did. My work became possible because I spent the summer of 1982 between the Fiske Collection at Cornell University and two great libraries in Reykjavík. There I prepared an edition of Stefán Einarsson's selected articles and hoped to put together a survey of the literature on Icelandic phonetics. The survey turned out to be too huge an enterprise to complete. For decades, even the paper presented here, which is based on a tiny section of what I gathered in 1982, remained on the proverbial back burner, but I never forgot about it. My research was funded by the American-Scandinavian foundation. I am grateful for their generosity and have the best memories of Ithaca, NY, and my hosts in Iceland.

Naturally, I made no revolutionary discoveries, but this outcome could be expected. People hear the slightest accent in their native language; yet, unless they are specialists, they can seldom describe their impressions in clear terms. By contrast, the same people are, predictably, unaware of non-phonemic distinctions in their mother tongue. For instance, Russian speakers do not realize that they lengthen all stressed vowels or that, word-initially, their vowel /o/ is realized as [ʊo]. English speakers hear the difference between *let* and *late*, but have a hard time believing that /ei/ (in its standard variety) is a diphthong. To them, the opposition between /e/ and /ei/ is one between short and long, and they keep pronouncing German *lesen* 'to read' as [leizən]. Foreigners are amused by the obtuseness of native speakers, for they hear [ʊo], [ei], and the rest without difficulty. Apparently, the Norwegian scholar Olof Brock heard the traces left by apocoped vowels in Russian. Likewise, only outsiders hear the [œ] timbre of French consonants in word-final position.

An additional obstacle in evaluating foreigners' opinions about the sounds of Modern Icelandic is the use of multifarious metaphors (metaphors in phonetics is the subject of Fonagy's 1963 book). Thus, consonants are called hard, soft, thick, thin, light, dark, etc., while Germans are fond of characterizing vowels as *spitz* and *trüb*. Translating such epithets into the universally understandable terms (voiced, palatalized, cacuminal, and the like) is sometimes an unsafe procedure. Occasionally one is regaled with such a statement: "The voices and accent of the Icelandic people are soft and pretty" [Leith, 1908, p. 52] or about Eiríkr Magnússon: "The rich rhythm and resonance of the ancient tongue were a delight to the ear" [Headley, 1875–1877, p. 289].



Even much later, one can run into something like this: “Icelandic is generally spoken crisply and definitely with pure vowels, and thus resembles Italian or Spanish in many ways. ...But it drops extra vowels where one suffices and consonants when they get in our way... In this way it resembles French” [Einar Pálsson, 1975–1977, p. 8]. This was written by an Icelander for the edification of foreigners. The texts in his book are quite reasonable, but one is embarrassed to read the phonetic introduction.

It can be taken for granted that, as a general rule, travelers of the past, unless they were familiar with the scene, expected all Icelanders to have a uniform pronunciation from south to north and from east to west. Yet, even though dialectal differences in Icelandic are considerably less dramatic than elsewhere in the West European languages, they are not negligible and have been described in minute detail. Nor do we know anything about the native dialects of the German, Dutch, and other authors, and expect such words, as, for example, *Deutsch* to mean *Hochdeutsch* (an unsafe, even dangerous assumption).

In leafing through tour guides, general descriptions of the country, and manuals for foreigners, I was mainly interested in what the speakers of English, German, Dutch, French, Italian, and the continental Scandinavian languages wrote about the difference between [i:] in *tíma* ‘to happen, occur’ and [ɪ:] in *rita* ‘to write’ (the second vowel is more open but closer than [e:], while [ɪ] is more open than the “average” European [i]). I also wondered what foreigners could say about the so-called short diphthongs. Of even greater interest was foreigners’ reaction to the “exotic” consonants of Modern Icelandic: the practically devoiced [b d g], [gʲ kʲ] in words like *gefa* ‘to give’, *ketill* ‘kettle’, *gína* ‘to open the mouth wide’, *kippa* ‘to pull’, and especially in *gjalda* ‘to pay’, *eggja* ‘to sharpen, whet; egg on’, *kjósa* ‘choose’, and the like, whose pronunciation poses great difficulties to the speakers, unused to palatalized velars. Equally “exotic” are the devoiced /l m n r/ in *hjálpa* ‘to help’, *kempa* ‘warrior’, *henta* ‘to suit, pass’, *harpa* ‘harp’, and so forth. Initial *hl-*, *hn-*, *hr-* are also tricky: one can equate them with the devoiced resonants (liquids and nasals) or hear [hl hn hr]. Either way, such sounds do not exist in any of the major West European languages. The tourists rarely satisfied my expectations, but a few remarks were worth salvaging.

Of special importance is preaspiration. The first professional students of it, including some Icelanders, heard not only an [h]-like sound,

traditionally associated with this insertion before the orthographic *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, as well as *p*, *t*, and *k*, followed by *l* and *n*, but also some semblance of [x] and even [f]. Although modern researchers reject those conclusions, no one has explained why several reliable scholars recorded the non-existent variants. I hoped to find some new data on this subject, and indeed, a few observations did turn up. I noted such observations, without trying to evaluate them.

The authors of travelogs and of more general books about Iceland instructed their countrymen how to read Icelandic words. Their starting point was the letters of the Icelandic alphabet. Below, I will single out only the less trivial remarks.

Halldór Briem wrote a textbook of English for Icelanders. It appeared in two editions. I used the second [Briem, 1875], which did not undergo any revision. Briem says that *a* in *paper* = Icel. *e*. Perhaps he did not hear the glide in Engl. [ei]. This equation will recur below and in the section on Guðbrandur Vigfússon. It might be that their long vowel had a glide (the tendency of long Icelandic vowels toward diphthongization has been described in many special works). Helgi J. Halldórsson [Helgi, 1954, bls. 6] went so far as to equate [iə] in Engl. *beer*, *here* with Icel.<sup>1</sup> *í*. Briem's note explaining that he referred to the variety of northern English and Scots, where [ei] is not pronounced, makes his equation hard to interpret, because the main text appears on p. 2 and the note on northern English is added only on p. 9. Did he stick to the northern norm throughout? More thought-provoking is his statement (p. 4) that the vowel of Engl. *cut* is "dull" [ö] (*óglöggt* [ö]). Does *óglöggt* here mean the same as Germ. *trüb*, mentioned above? In the nineteenth century, the English vowel in *cut*, *nut*, *rut* must indeed have resembled [ö]. For instance, the name *Ruskin* and a few others were transliterated into Russian with the Cyrillic letter *ë*.

At about the same time, Warnford Lock (1879; or is his family name simply *Lock*?), in a fully dependable book on Iceland, also said that Icel. *e* (I assume he meant the long vowel) was equivalent to *a* in Engl. *take*, *same* (p. 289), and there is of course no mention of the North or Scotland. He also identified Icel. [hv] with the sound of Engl. *wh*. Did he distinguish between Engl. *which* and *witch*? Many British speakers did at

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<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in this paper: Dan. — Danish, Engl. — English, Germ. — German, Icel. — Icelandic.

that time and still do. All the other authors recorded *hv* words with [kv]. Unexpected is his identification of Icel. short [a] with the vowel of Engl. *marry*. But Guðbrandur Vigfússon made the same statement. Were they the only ones to have noticed how open Icel. [a] is? Jón Ólafsson's [Jón Ólafsson, 1882, bls. 1–3] comparison would have been more useful if it were not couched in such vague terms (the vowel of *cut* he wrote, has a stronger “smack” of *o* or *a* than of *e* or *i*, etc.); *keimur* ‘taste, smack’ is not an uncommon word in Icelandic phonetic texts.

The Icelandic sentences transcribed by Harley [Harley, 1889, p. 73] would not have deserved a mention if she had not noticed palatalization and not written Icel. *get* ‘can’ as *gyet* (only once!). She also paid attention to the voicelessness of Icel. [d] and [b], even in initial position, as follows from her *taulitith* for Icel. *dálítið* ‘a little’ and *tíl þaka* ‘back’ (*tíl-þaka*). I wonder how she managed to hear *gerið s(v)o vel* ‘please’ as *kurisō* (she did not explain her constant use of the macron: length?).

Anna Bjarnadóttir's book for beginners (1958) is, as could be expected, fully professional. She warned Icelanders against typical mistakes, but did not mention the difference between Icel. and Engl. [s], so obvious to but so rarely described by outsiders, even though few Icelanders get rid of “lispings” when they speak foreign languages. Nor did she comment on the peculiarities of the closed front vowels, which give trouble to foreigners trying to speak Icelandic without an accent.

Of special importance is Jespersen (1906). The book is about English, and in his introduction, Jespersen says nothing about Icelandic, but in the version published in Reykjavík, the chapter on phonetics was adapted to the needs of the Icelandic readership. This short chapter is excellent. I don't know whether Jespersen edited or looked through it (probably not), but, in my opinion, it is still the best and the most reliable old comparison of the sounds of English and Icelandic.

Early German-Icelandic and Icelandic-German comparisons are also of unequal value. Bernhard Kahle was a renowned philologist, and his knowledge of Icelandic left nothing to be desired, but in the 1900 book on his stay in Iceland, he devoted less than half a page to phonetics. Of some interest is his remark (s. IV) that Icel. *ey* ~ *ei* are somewhat like [ei] in the pronunciation of the East Prussians. Another great expert, Paul Herrmann (1907), made the same observation: *ei/ey*, he said, is like long *ej* in Königsberg. Unfortunately, neither of them described that vowel, and we, who were not born in Königsberg in the nineteenth

century, cannot benefit by their observations. One always feels puzzled at encountering bizarre transcriptions. According to an Icelandic proverb, sharp is the guest's eye, and it has once been remarked that sharp is a guest's ear [Jón A. Jóhannsson, 1951]. However, what could Carl Küchler (1911) hear? Not unexpectedly, he transcribed Icel. [u:] as German *uh* (*hús* 'house' = *huhs*), but he also rendered Icel. *tunga* 'tongue' and *munkur* 'monk' as *tuhnga* and *muhnkürr*, and he heard *hafði* 'had' as *habbði*.

It seems that the hardest vowel to describe is Icel. [ou]. On paper, it looks like a regular diphthong, but few people among foreigners and even native speakers hear the glide. Schweitzer [Schweitzer, 1895, s. 168] heard only [o:]. According to Zugmayer (1903, an unnumbered page at the beginning of the book), Icel. *ó* sounds almost like German [u]. The description of Icelandic sounds in Erkes (1906) is, on the whole, reliable, though one wonders how he pronounced German diphthongs. He says that in *eng* ~ *enk* (which today are [*eink*<sup>h</sup>]), the diphthong is the same as in German *Eis*, while the Icelandic letter *æ* has the value of Germ. *ei* in *zwei* 'two', *beide* 'both', *kein* 'no; not a', if pronounced broadly (*breit gesprochen*). About the value of the orthographic Icel. *ei* ~ *ey* he remarked that they differed from German (*Hochdeutsch*) *ei*, because they were much sharper (or more "pointed": *spitzer*) and were followed by a glide (*mit nachgeschlagenem i*). In sum, he concluded, the closest analog of Icel. [ei] was the vowel in Engl. *late*, *say*, *stay*. His observations are subtle but confusing. No longer surprising is his equation of Icel. *ó* in *skóli* 'school', *fólk* 'people', and *stór* 'big' with Germ. *o* in *Ofen* 'stove'. He noted the voicelessness of Icel. /b d/, heard *nótt* 'night' and *rétt* 'right' as *nocht* and *rjächt*, but said nothing about palatalized /k g/.

Like Kahle and Herrmann, Jón Ófeigsson was an outstanding specialist. He wrote a great German-Icelandic dictionary and an excellent textbook of German. The textbook ran into five editions. I have seen the fifth and a reprint of the second (1951 = 1917). His comparison of German and Icelandic sounds is fully reliable. Of note is his remark that Germ. [i:] is very similar (*likast*) to Icel. [i] (p. 7).

Adrian Mohr's impressions of Iceland (1925) contain, among others, a long and trivial chapter on the language; he thought that *Islands Maul*, with a pun on Germ. *Maul* 'animal's mouth' or simply 'mouth' (vulgar) ~ Icel. *mál* 'language' is witty. Among other things, he transcribed the beginning of "Lorelei." Here are the first two lines: "Eg veit ekki af hver-

skonar völdum / So veiknandi dapur ég er” (‘I don’t know by what forces / I am [made] so weakened’): “Jäck weht äcki aw kwehrskonar wölldüm / so wehknandi dahpür jäck ehr.” He did not hear the diphthong in *veit* [weht], and it is unclear whether he heard preaspiration in the mysterious *weiknandi* or whether his *ei* stands for [e:], as in *veit* [weht]. (He also took *völdum* for “Welt, world” and mistranslated the word.)

With the age of the direct method, advocated by Henry Sweet, Otto Jespersen and their allies, and with the appearance of scholarly articles and books on Icelandic phonetics, the impressionistic etudes of the type being discussed here lost even the little appeal they might have in the past. Therefore, in this cursory survey, I seldom go beyond the late 1920s and the early 1930s. Certain observations, such as Germ. [e:] = Icel. [i], probably became commonplace rather early. But even much later, one occasionally finds equations like Germ. [o:] = Icel. ó, or Germ. [b d g p t k] = Icel. [b d g p t k] [Jón Gíslason, 1951, bls. 11–13]; the same in the 1956 edition.

Occasionally undecipherable remarks turn up. Steingrím Thorsteinsson (sic) (1886: III) wrote that Germ. [s] in word-initial position is weaker (*linara*) than Icel. [s] and is pronounced with a kind of sibilant coloring (*með eins konar blísturhljóð*). Did he mean that Icel. *s* is a lisping sound? Or did he refer to *s* in Germ. *sp*, *st*? His mastery of *Hochdeutsch* is unknown, but he pronounced *Tag* ‘day’ with the *ach-Laut* at the end. Other than that, he identified Icel. ó as Germ. [o:], a familiar identification, and noted that Icel. *bb* and *gg* designated devoiced stops.

Dutch comparisons with Icelandic are few and late. One of them was written by Van Hamel (1933) and therefore deserves a brief mention. All kinds of predictable things are said on p. VIII. But, curiously, *dóttir* ‘daughter’ and *dráttur* ‘draft; traction’, both with preaspiration, appear as “Dutch” *döchtir* and *drauchtur* there.

I have found little more in the Danish sources. (Let me repeat that I tried not to go beyond 1930.) Since I skipped Rasmus Rask, the earliest book on my list was Iversen (1861). Like some German authors surveyed here, he did not hear the Icelandic diphthong [ou], for he wrote (s. 11) that the letter ó has the same value as *o* in Dan. *rod* ‘root’. But to his ear Icel. [e] was always open, like *æ* in Dan. *tæt* ‘thick’ or *e* in Dan. *let* ‘light; weak’. He also noted that Icel. [i] was like Dan. [e] (*ibidem*).

C. W. Paijkull, Iversen’s contemporary, spoke Icelandic with some ease and was praised for his mastery of the language, which is remarkable, because among the Scandinavians, the Danes usually speak Icelan-

dic with the heaviest accent. Paijkull observed (with surprise, as he says) the similarity between the Icelandic and the Swedish *tonefald* [Paijkull, 1867, s. 59]. I understood *tonefald* as ‘intonation’, and it made little sense to me. A year later, the book appeared in English. There, on p. 64, I found *accent* for *tonefald*, which, I suspect, showed the translator’s embarrassment. *Accent* in this context means nothing. Paijkull could not refer to what in books on phonetics is called *tonelag* (Icelandic lacks the equivalent of acc. 1 and acc. 2 of the Swedish-Norwegian type). Did he perhaps think of the quantitative relations [V:C] ~ [VC:] common to Icelandic and Swedish but alien to Danish?

Another author who commented on the differences between Icelandic and Danish sounds was the tireless Finnur Jónsson. He spent most of his adult life in Copenhagen and must have been a good judge of the subject. Yet his remarks are few and uninformative. He wrote (1905, s. 6) that the difference between [b] and [p] in Icelandic is much greater than in Danish. Apparently (assuming that this observation is correct), even though Danish and Icelandic have undergone the same consonant shift, the realization of their stops need not be in all respects identical. Bruun (1921) referred to Finnur Jónsson’s table of Icelandic-Danish sound correspondences, and some additional information emerges from his list. We discover that Finnur Jónsson, too, considered the vowel designated by the letter *ó* as a monophthong: it was, in his opinion, only more open than Dan. [o:] in *flora* ‘flora’. The rest is fairly trivial: *u* = *ø*, *ö* = *ö* (but very open), *au* = *øj* (very open), *æ* = *aj*, etc.

Jón Ófeigsson, whose contribution has been mentioned above in connection with German, also wrote the phonetic section in his and Jóhannes Sigfússon’s elementary textbook of Danish [1909, bls. 3–6]. It is probably the most professional short comparison of the sounds of the two languages in the early twentieth century books of this type. He says that Dan. [o:] resembles Icel. *ó* and *ú* pronounced at the same time. Apparently, he was aware of a glide in Icel. [ou], but, unlike Finnur Jónsson, he heard no difference between initial [b d g] in Icelandic and Danish. According to him, in the articulation of Danish [ð], the front of the tongue (and not only its tip) is active. (There is no *stød* in Icelandic, and Jón Ófeigsson remarked that this hiccup-like closure of the vocal chords can be mastered only after many years of living among the Danes. As a curiosity, I can mention Ágúst Sigurðsson’s advice [Ágúst Sigurðsson, 1939, bls. 140] to beginners not to bother about *stød*.)

Icelandic textbooks by the native speakers of the Romance languages are few and, as concerns our subject, uninformative. Twice did Paul Passy's name turn up in my material. Valtýr Guðmundsson (1891) wrote a detailed article about the books by foreigners who had dealt with Iceland and Icelandic literature. Pp. 268–73 are about Passy's book *De nordica lingua*. One finds a passage from Snorri's *Edda* in transcription. The word *áttir* 'directions' appears there without preaspiration, but Passy distinguished preaspiration quite well, as follows from Jón A. Jónsson [1951, bls. 115, note 16]. He had access to Passy's correspondence with Rolf Arpi (a researcher who combined expertise in folklore with a thorough knowledge of phonetics and other things Icelandic). Passy transcribed *úttalið* 'pronunciation' and *þetta* 'that' as [uhttalið] and [þehta], but I cannot explain his [h] in *víst* 'certain' (n.); 'probably' with the pronunciation [vihst] (p. 115, note 13).

There is almost nothing to report from the Slavic-speaking countries. P. S. Pallas's 1789–1791 dictionary contains a short list of Icelandic words printed in Cyrillic. The transliteration is, naturally, crude (see [Lieberman, 1994]). No Russian textbooks of Modern Icelandic exists, and for V. P. Berkov's 1962 Icelandic-Russian dictionary transcriptions were written by Árni Böðvarsson. In Frýba's description of Iceland for the Czech readers (Frýba *et al.* 1975, s. 21), half a page is devoted to the value of the letters. The information is trivial, but, curiously, *dóttir* 'daughter' is transcribed as [douchtir]. Other than that, Czech scholars have not neglected the study of Icelandic (see [Heger, 1997]), but the article is only about literature, old and contemporary). As a curiosity, I can mention the fact that one of the best overviews of the differences between the vowels of Icelandic and an "average" European language can be found in an old textbook of Esperanto (Þorstein [sic] Þorsteinsson 1909: 1).

Among the authors whose opinions have been cited above, four were distinguished, even renowned scholars: Finnur Jónsson, Paul Herrmann, Bernhard Kahle, and A. G. van Hamel. However, their area of expertise was Old Icelandic philology, and none of them was a phonetician. Jón Ófeigsson, an outstanding lexicographer, probably knew more about the formation of sounds than even Finnur Jónsson, who wrote countless articles about things Icelandic, but not about the details of pronunciation. The only relatively early professional phonetician who touched on the differences between the impressions made by the vowels and consonants of Icelandic and of other languages was Stefán Einarsson.

At the celebration of the Icelandic Alþingi (1930), the Finnish ambassador, who did not know Icelandic, read the speech translated for him. SE stood far from the tribune but understood everything. The Finnish accent, he concluded [1934, p. 142], is “almost Icelandic” (for that reason, Finnish always seemed to him a beautiful language).

In the same 1934 article, he offered a short comparison of Icelandic and English sounds, with a few remarks added about German. SE’s German, as I understand, was active from early on, for his first book (dissertation) was written in that language. In 1924–1925, he spent some time in Cambridge (England) and in 1926, at the age of twenty-nine, settled in Baltimore (see an essay on his life in [Stefán Einarsson, 1986]). When he referred to English, he probably meant the East Coast variety of American English with which he was familiar. His accent remained heavy until the end, but being unable to articulate certain sounds does not mean that the person concerned, especially a trained specialist, fails to hear the main features of a foreign language.

In SE’s opinion, distinction between short and long vowels unites Icelandic, English, and German, but, as he pointed out, in Icelandic and German, vocalic length is not accompanied by diphthongization, while to his ear English vowels were almost erratically unstable. All three languages have diphthongs; yet, according to him, the short diphthongs of Icelandic are particularly hard for foreigners to master (p. 147). Many people share his view. Finnish probably sounds so similar to Icelandic because both languages have geminates and distinguish stops as aspirated and non-aspirated, rather than voiced and voiceless. The degree of sonority in /b d g/ depends on their position in the word and seems to vary from one speaker to another. In principle, [b] in *bryggja* ‘pier’ is perhaps more voiced than [g], but both are quite unlike [b] and [g] in Engl. *brigand* (the length and palatalization of *gg* in *bryggja* play no role here). Yet in his textbook (1945, pp. 12–14), SE wrote that, though [b d g] are always voiceless, initially they sound like Engl. [b d g]. This is a somewhat unexpected statement. More to the point seems to be his remark that medial [b d g] resemble French [p t k].

Our last informant will be Guðbrandur Vigfússon, the man who brought to completion the great dictionary, known to specialists as Cleasby-Vigfusson (CV). He moved to England in 1864, at the age of thirty-seven. Both he and Stefán Einarsson learned English sounds by imitation, and GV was, according to his statement, mute when he relo-



cated to Oxford (see the relevant facts in [Svarar Sigmundsson, 1989]). It is no wonder that he too retained a heavy accent, felt isolated (his isolation was much greater than Stefán Einarsson's). Both men's written English also needed serious editing.

In CV, we find many references to Modern Icelandic, and the introductory section, along with the entries on individual letters, contains numerous remarks of a comparative nature. For example, on p. XVI, right-hand column, GV says that Icelandic is not a strongly accented language. Stress is not a force and can therefore be neither strong nor weak. When people speak about stress in a language like English or Russian, they mean that one (and only one) "privileged" syllable is the locus of some oppositions disallowed elsewhere. *Strong stress* is a metaphor, but, when the "privileges" (that is, phonemic oppositions) are nonexistent or few, the metaphor loses its appeal. Icelandic has no schwa; hence the legitimate observation that it is "not a strongly accented language." This, incidentally, is another feature common to Icelandic and Finnish. Some Swiss dialects of German also do without schwa, and, according to those who described them, such dialects sound like Icelandic. GV's remark has not been noticed by later researchers.

The other observations pertaining to our discussion appear, as pointed out, in the entries on individual letters. Long [a] is said to be the same sound as *a* in Engl. *father* and Ital. *padre* 'father'. Likewise, GV heard almost no difference between Icel. [au] in *þá* 'then', *ná* 'to reach', and so forth and the diphthong of Engl. *thou*, *now*. It is written that Icel. [a] is identical with [a] in Engl. *marry*; as we have seen, Disney Leith thought the same. "The diphthong *au* has at present in Icel. a peculiar sound, answering to *äu* or *eu* in German, and nearly to Engl. *oi* (p. 1)." Sweet had the same opinion, but Passy disagreed and gave *au* the value [öi] [Jón A. Jónsson, 1951, bls. 115, note 16]. Modern observers side with Passy.

In the entry on the letter *e*, GV says that Icel. *e* "is sounded as English *a* in *same*, *take* (p. 113)." This identification puzzled the first reviewer of the dictionary [Anonymous, 1869, p. 610] (the reviewer was GV's Cambridge opponent Eiríkr Magnússon), but, as with *a* in *marry*, other Icelanders said exactly the same (see above). More unexpected is the remark in the entry on the letter *u*, which is said "to be sounded like *eu* in Fr[ench] *feu*, *ö* in Germ[an] *hören* (p. 648)." At present, Icel. [u] is not so open.

In his exposition, GV combined the facts of Old and Modern Icelandic. For the sake of illustrating his manner (the time is the early 1870s), I will quote a short passage from the entry on the letter B:

as initial it is an agreeable sound in all the branches of the Teutonic, especially in the combinations *br* and *bl*... The Greek and Roman, on the other hand, disliked the initial *b* sound; but the difference seems to be addressed to the eye rather than the ear, as the  $\pi$  in modern Greek is sounded exactly as Icel. *b*, whilst *p* is sounded as Icel. *v*... but although agreeable as the initial to a syllable, yet as a middle or final letter *b* in Icel. sounds uncouth and common and is sparingly used (p. 48).

One wonders whether collecting such crumbs as those picked up above was worth the trouble. Predictably, I hope it was. For instance, one of the most valuable parts of Bruno Kress's 1937 book is a detailed survey of the views of his predecessors. Jón A. Jónsson (1951) also believed that, since a "guest's" ear is sharp, registering foreigners' remarks on the pronunciation of Icelandic and Icelanders' remarks on the sounds of other languages contributes something to our understanding of Icelandic phonetics. Not everybody's ear is sharp, but what people do not hear or misinterpret also has value. Therefore, I found the material presented in this paper suggestive and instructive.

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#### ИСЛАНДСКАЯ ФОНЕТИКА НА СЛУХ ИНОСТРАНЦЕВ

**Для цитирования:** *Lieberman A. S. Guests and hosts on the sounds of modern Icelandic // Скандинавская филология. 2018. Т. 16. Вып. 2. С. 277–292. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2018.206>*

На протяжении почти двух веков приезжавшие в Исландию путешественники оставляли многочисленные описания страны. В их поле зрения попадали географические особенности, экономическое развитие, исландская культура, а также язык «экзотической» страны, в которой им довелось побывать. Заметки путешественников об исландском языке небезынтересны, так как иностранцы, естественно, сравнивают незнакомые звуки с привычными им от рождения. Знание как их ошибок, так и верных наблюдений добавляет штрихи к пониманию фонетических особенностей того языка, который они пытаются охарактеризовать. За долгие годы накопились заметки об исландском языке английских, немецких и голландских путешественников, а также приезжих из Скандинавских стран. Кроме того, существует множество учебников, в которых исландцы и иностранцы сравнивают звуки исландского и других языков и дают рекомендации тем, кто собирается осваивать исландский язык. Статья обобщает эти материалы. В библиотеке Корнеллского университета (США) и в двух главных научных библиотеках в Рейкьявике обнаружилось около ста книг по означенной теме. Описания, иногда беглые, иногда подробные, обладают разной ценностью, но в целом создают впечатляющую картину. Естественно, профессиональные лингвисты оставили наиболее важные для изучения исландского языка описания. Особенно интересно проследить, как звучат на слух иностранцев придыхательные смычные исландского языка, оглушенные сонорные, преаспирация, переднеязычные гласные верхнего подъема и крат-

кие дифтонги. Необходимость анализа наблюдений иностранцев не вызывает сомнений, однако такого полного обзора исландского материала до сих пор в печати не появлялось.

**Ключевые слова:** исландская фонетика, сравнительное восприятие звуков исландского языка, придыхательные смычные, глухие сонанты, преаспирация, краткие дифтонги.

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**FORMAL MODELING CONSIDERATIONS  
FOR DEPENDENT CLAUSE WITH VACANT SUBJECT  
IN SOME GERMANIC LANGUAGES**

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Dependent clauses with vacant subject are considered in contraposition to independent clauses with vacant subject, which refer to interrogative sentences with unknown subject being sought by means of compulsory interrogative element. The languages particularly involved are English, Dutch and Swedish. Within the binomiality idea a formal modeling is undertaken to explain the syntactic nature of the formal particle in a subject. Main and secondary substantive / verbal sentence parts are assumed to consist of two parts — a space / time specifier or proto-specifier and a substantive / verbal semifinitive. The formal particle in a subject is associated with a strong or super-strong space specifier. In an independent and dependent interrogative sentence, as well as in a dependent narrative one, the fixing of a principal substantive semifinitive is postulated to start with a super-strong specifier. It is proposed that in independent / dependent clauses the use of the formal particle is stipulated by a possible opposition of a fixing verbal semifinitive against the pressure of outer space, as well as by informativity of an interrogative / conjunctive element. For dependent clauses it is also established that the formal particle in Danish and, sometimes in English, can fill (or accompany) the vacant strong substantive semifinitive and terminate its being vacant; Swedish and Norwegian use for this, instead of the formal particle, an adverbial-substantive unit. Filling the vacant strong substantive semifinitive makes the main sentence parts complete, and a dependent clause becomes more similar to an independent clause. It confirms the statement of the binomiality idea that a narrative and interrogative dependent clause is syntactically «in-between» a narrative independent clause and an interrogative independent clause. Still, the use of the vacant or non-vacant strong substantive semifinitive can be stipulated, like in Danish, by the informativity of the conjunctive ele-

ment. In case of a high informativity of the conjunctive element the strong substantive semifinitive may remain vacant.

**Keywords:** linguistic modeling, syntax of Germanic languages, dependent clauses, null-subject, binomiality idea, semifinitive.

Dependent clauses with vacant subject reveal evident similarity to independent clauses with vacant subject. The latter ones refer to the case of interrogative sentences, where subject is not known and being sought for by means of compulsory interrogative element, which can be word or word combination. An example for this case can be *Who is asked?* or *Which books lie on the table?*, because subject in these sentences is not yet found. In the second sentence, of course, it is known, that we are seeking for books, but still it cannot be established for sure, which books they will be. Transformation of these sentences into dependent clauses will result, respectively, in *I know, who is asked* and *I know, which books lie on the table*.

Rather artificial constructions, but, nevertheless, grammatically allowable, may also occur in independent clauses — *Who is there asked?*, *Which books do there lie on the table?* and, with two variations, in dependent clauses — *I know, who there is asked*, *I know, which books there lie on the table* or *I know, who is there asked*, *I know, which books lie there on the table*.

In other Germanic languages, more or less relevant to English, we see similar situation. The considered English sentences can be translated in a structural correspondence.

In Dutch, which is more related to English, there may exist constructions like *Wie wordt gevraagd?*, *Welke boeken liggen op de tafel?* and *Ik weet, wie gevraagd wordt* (or *Ik weet, wie wordt gevraagd*), *Ik weet, welke boeken op de tafel liggen*.

Dutch grammar also allows constructions, which, in comparison with corresponding English clauses, look less artificially. So, in independent clauses there occur constructions *Wie wordt er gevraagd?*, *Welke boeken liggen er op de tafel?* and, in dependent clauses — *Ik weet, wie er gevraagd wordt* (or *Ik weet, wie er wordt gevraagd*), *Ik weet, welke boeken er op de tafel liggen*.

In Swedish, which is less related to English, there may exist constructions like *Vem är frågad* (or *Vem frågas?*), *Vilka böcker ligger på bordet?* and *Jag vet vem som är frågad* (or *Jag vet vem som frågas*), *Jag vet vilka böcker som ligger på bordet*.



Swedish grammar also allows constructions, which, in comparison with corresponding English and Dutch dependent clauses, look more artificially — *Jag vet vem där/det är frågad* (or *Jag vet vem där/det frågas*), *Jag vet vilka böcker där/det ligger på bordet*. Independent clauses like *Vem är där/det frågad* (or *Vem frågas där/det?*), *Vilka böcker ligger där/det på bordet?* are the most artificial and occur rather seldom.

The provision of vacant subject with a formal particle, which has no lexical meaning, causes many questions of grammatical and semantic nature [Finch, 2000, p. 97]. In the most abstract models the absence of lexical meaning is not taken as a serious lack — originally the consideration of language starts with syntactic structures and then comes to mental ones [Chomsky, 2006]. Only cognitive grammar tries to find a common base for language and meaning, but the ways it uses are far from approaches, usual in natural sciences [Jackendoff, 2003]. Up till now there is no radical explanation, why words exist, and are organized, and sometimes lose, after having been organized, their lexical meanings. We will try to explain it in a very new way [Shumkov, 2017].

In 1993 at Saint-Petersburg Electrotechnical University the so-called binomiality idea was stated, according to which any verbal or substantive part of the sentence comprises, explicitly or implicitly, two pieces — specifier (proto-specifier) and semifinitive. For the first time in syntax there was proclaimed, that the main parts of sentence are formed dependently on the type of the sentence.

Subject / predicate is formed by fixing a verbal / substantive semifinitive in a time / space specifier. Secondary verbal / substantive part is formed by fixing a verbal / substantive semifinitive in a time / space proto-specifier. The difference between specifiers and proto-specifiers is as follows: proto-specifiers may only have diffused (weak) shape; specifiers may have diffused (weak), concentrated (strong) and over-concentrated (super-strong) shape.

Weak proto-specifier or weak specifier is a flexion (sometimes a null-flexion); strong or super-strong specifier is a word, mostly desemantized. The three shapes of a specifier are explained by a semifinitive also having three shapes — super-weak, weak and strong ones, what, optimally, leads to the following balance when fixing a semifinitive in a specifier: strong semifinitive in weak specifier, weak semifinitive in strong specifier, super-weak semifinitive in super-strong specifier. Nevertheless, weak and super-weak semifinitive may also be fixed

in weak specifier / proto-specifier. Semifinitives contain inner time or space; specifiers and proto-specifiers — outer one.

A semifinitive consists of a membrane and a cavity inside it. In substantive semifinitive uninflected and inflected words are always distributed into the membrane. In verbal semifinitive uninflected word is always distributed into the membrane, and inflected word(s) (participle(s) or other extensions) — into the cavity. A vacant semifinitive is a semifinitive with empty membrane and cavity, when no word is distributed into them. A specifier / proto-specifier consists of a cavity outside it [Szumkov, 2014].

Because of the common concept of semifinitive the categories of verbal aspect and substantive determination are considered within the binomiality idea as united. Different sizes of the semifinitive cavities are stipulating verbal aspects and substantive determinations. If the cavity of verbal or substantive semifinitive is large, the verbal unit is imperfect and substantive unit is definite. If the cavity of verbal or substantive semifinitive is small, the verbal unit is perfect and substantive unit is indefinite [Szumkov, 2014].

It should be noted, that the binomiality idea becomes considerably complicated in the assumption, that the fixation of semifinitive in specifier may turn into a modification of specifier by semifinitive. The difference between fixation and modification is as follows: fixation arithmetically corresponds to multiplication, and modification — to addition. Thus, in the result of fixation we get a three-dimensional image, which is a main or secondary part of sentence, and in the result of modification — still one-dimensional image, which is a modified specifier [Choumkov, 2013]. The implementation of the modification allows explaining some specific syntactical phenomena.

It should also be noted, that a weak specifier, modified by a strong semifinitive, becomes transformed from flexion into word and gets from the semifinitive, mostly, a modal semantics. A weak specifier, modified by a super-weak semifinitive, becomes transformed from flexion into ending, which also has a chance to be modified by a strong semifinitive and become transformed into word with a modal semantics.

As it was said above, the binomiality idea proclaims, that the main parts of sentence are formed according to the type of the sentence. Let us consider the independent clause. In narrative affirmative sentences the specifiers of the verbal and substantive semifinitives are firstly weak,

secondly — strong, and thirdly — super-strong. In narrative negative sentences the specifier of the verbal semifinitive is firstly super-strong, secondly — strong and thirdly — weak, and the specifier of the substantive semifinitive is firstly weak, secondly — strong, and thirdly — super-strong. In interrogative affirmative and negative sentences the specifiers of the verbal and substantive semifinitives are firstly super-strong, secondly — strong and thirdly — weak. The freedom of these three steps allows us to support weak and super-weak semifinitives and to express the grammatical meanings of modality and emphasis. In addition it explains (and not only for English), why it is not possible to compose interrogative affirmative sentences like *Is to read books useful?* and why it is nevertheless possible to compose narrative affirmative sentences like *To read books is useful*. It also explains why interrogative affirmative sentences are like *Does he read books?* and why narrative affirmative sentences are like *He reads books*. As well, we have a very nice explanation of why the constructions with *there* mostly require indefinite noun, like in *There is a girl in the room* and never may be built on pronoun semifinitive — it is impossible to have a sentence like *There is he in the room*. Let us consider the dependent clause. In narrative and interrogative affirmative sentences the specifier of the substantive semifinitive is firstly super-strong, secondly — strong and thirdly — weak, and the specifier of the verbal semifinitive is firstly weak, secondly — strong, and thirdly — super-strong. In narrative and interrogative negative sentences the specifiers of the verbal and substantive semifinitives are firstly super-strong, secondly — strong and thirdly — weak.

Predicate and subject reveal time and space elements. In the case of super-strong and strong specifiers time and space elements coincide with them. In the case of weak specifiers these are inflected semifinitive membranes, which become time and space elements. For example, in the sentence *Does he read books?* the time element is *does* and the space element is *he*; in the sentence *There is a girl in the room* the time element is *is* and the space element is *there*. It can be easily seen, that time element can coincide with predicate and space element can coincide with subject. For example, in the sentence *He reads books* the time element is *reads*; in the sentence *A girl is in the room* the space element is *a girl*.

Time and space elements are arranged depending on the sentence type as well. For independent clause in narrative affirmative and negative sentences the space element precedes the time element; in inter-

rogative affirmative and negative sentences the time element precedes the space element. For dependent clause in narrative and interrogative affirmative and negative sentences the space element precedes the time element.

If we look attentively at the construction of the specifiers, we discover, that the time specifiers may exist either in the present or in the past, and there is no tense, when present and past are together. The space specifiers exist both in the up-side and in the down-side, and in fact there is no difference in sides at all (otherwise we should have a grammatical dependence on, let us say, left- or right-side, what is not observed in the language). So, the time specifier is divided into two planes and the space specifier not. It metaphysically means that the pressure of a time specifier is two times less, than the pressure of a space specifier [Ulianitckaia, Shumkov, 2018].

We have marked, that the pressure of specifiers influences the semifinitives. The influence of time pressure on substantive semifinitives is negligible, whereas the influence of space pressure on verbal semifinitive is significant. Under increasing the space pressure the relief of the verbal semifinitive membrane becomes more flat, and the lexical meaning dims. In case the subject is built on the weak space specifier the use of all possible verbal semifinitives is allowed. In case the subject is built on the strong space specifier one may use less verbal semifinitives, semantically resembling with the semifinitives *be* and *have been*. In case the subject is built on the super-strong space specifier *it* it is only possible to use the semifinitives *be a* and *have been a*, where *a* is adjective (*be useful* and *have been useful*) or adjective unit (*be of use* and *have been of use*).

Let us consider the sets of English, Dutch and Swedish specifiers in details.

In English there are the following specifiers — for time: super-strong (no modification is allowed), strong (no modification is allowed), weak (strong modification is allowed); for space: super-strong (no modification is allowed), strong (no modification is allowed), weak (super-weak modification is allowed).

In Dutch there are the following specifiers — for time: super-strong (super-weak modification is allowed), weak (strong modification is allowed); for space: super-strong (no modification is allowed), strong (no modification is allowed), weak (super-weak modification is allowed).

In Swedish there are the following specifiers — for time: super-strong (super-weak modification is allowed), weak (strong modification is allowed); for space: super-strong (no modification is allowed), strong (no modification is allowed), weak (super-weak modification is allowed).

So, the main parts of the sentence in English, Dutch and Swedish are formed according to a general scheme, but, even in case of unmodified specifiers, reveal a difference. In case of modified specifiers this difference is bigger.

Let us limit ourselves by affirmative sentences with vacant subject both in independent and dependent clauses.

In independent clause we deal with interrogative sentences. When forming predicate we move from super-strong time specifier to weak one and do not take into account their pressure on the fixing substantive semifinitive. The only thing we should pay attention to is that all fixing verbal semifinitives may be strong or super-weak; additionally for English, if a semifinitive does not begin with *be / have*, or is not *be / (sometimes) have*, it may be weak. If predicate needs no modal meaning, super-strong time specifier is not used. When forming subject we move from super-strong space specifier to weak one and take into account their pressure on the fixing verbal semifinitive. Of course we should not expect that the vacant fixing substantive semifinitive will obligatorily become super-weak in the reciprocal sentence, since main infinitive units, in contrast to all other main substantive units (nouns, pronouns etc.), are not specially sought for. It could be however expected, that the vacant fixing substantive semifinitive will become weak, if the sought main substantive unit is a noun, striving to indefiniteness. Then this semifinitive will be fixed in the strong specifier. We see the aforementioned in the following constructions:

English:

*Which girls do there see ø Peter?\**

*Who does there see ø Peter?\**

*Which books are there lost ø?\**

*What is there lost ø?*

The construction *Which girls do there see ø Peter?\** is extremely improbable because of the low capability of the semifinitive *see* to withstand the pressure of the strong specifier *there* and the high informativity of the interrogative element *which girls*. The construction *Who does*

*there see*  $\emptyset$  *Peter*?\* is rather improbable because of the low capability of the semifinitive *see* to withstand the pressure of the strong space specifier *there* (despite the low informativity of the interrogative element *who*). The construction *Which books are there lost*  $\emptyset$ ?\* is also rather improbable because of the high informativity of the interrogative element *which books* (despite the high capability of the semifinitive *be lost* to withstand the pressure of the strong specifier *there*).

Dutch:

*Welke meisjes zien er*  $\emptyset$  *Peter*?\*

*Wie ziet er*  $\emptyset$  *Peter*?

*Welke boeken zijn er*  $\emptyset$  *verloren*?

*Wat is er*  $\emptyset$  *verloren*?

The construction *Welke meisjes zien er*  $\emptyset$  *Peter*?\* is rather improbable because of the high informativity of the interrogative element *welke meisjes* (despite the average capability of the semifinitive *zien* to withstand the pressure of the strong space specifier *er* — in Dutch much more verbal semifinitives are capable of it, than in English).

Swedish:

*Vilka flickor ser där/det*  $\emptyset$  *Peter*?\*

*Vem ser där/det*  $\emptyset$  *Peter*?\*

*Vilka böcker är där/det*  $\emptyset$  *förlorade*?\* (*Vilka böcker förloras där/det*  $\emptyset$ ?)

*Vad är där/det*  $\emptyset$  *förlorat*? (*Vad förloras där/det*  $\emptyset$ ?)

The construction *Vilka flickor ser där/det*  $\emptyset$  *Peter*?\* is extremely improbable because of the low capability of the semifinitive *se* to withstand the pressure of the strong specifier *där/det* and the high informativity of the interrogative element *vilka flickor*. The construction *Vem ser där/det*  $\emptyset$  *Peter*?\* is rather improbable because of the low capability of the semifinitive *se* to withstand the pressure of the strong space specifier *där/det* (despite the low informativity of the interrogative element *vem*). The constructions *Vilka böcker är där/det*  $\emptyset$  *förlorade*?\* (*Vilka böcker förloras där/det*  $\emptyset$ ?) are also rather improbable because of the high informativity of the interrogative element *vilka böcker* (despite the high capability of the semifinitive *vara förlorad/förlorat/förlorade* (*förloras*) to withstand the pressure of the strong specifier *där/det*).

Still, as was said above, it is allowed for weak semifinitive to be fixed in weak specifier. Also one can expect that the vacant fixing substantive semifinitive will become strong, if the sought main substantive unit is a

noun, striving to definiteness, proper noun or personal pronoun. This semifinitive will be fixed in the weak specifier. We see this in the following constructions:

English:

*Which girls do 'ø' see Peter?*, which endures transformation into *Which girls see 'ø' Peter?*

*Who does 'ø' see Peter?*, which endures transformation into *Who sees 'ø' Peter?*

*Which books are 'ø' lost?*

*What is 'ø' lost?*

Dutch:

*Welke meisjes zien 'ø' Peter?*

*Wie ziet 'ø' Peter?*

*Welke boeken zijn 'ø' verloren?*

*Wat is 'ø' verloren?*

Swedish:

*Vilka flickor ser 'ø' Peter?*

*Vem ser 'ø' Peter?*

*Vilka böcker är 'ø' förlorade?(Vilka böcker förloras 'ø'?)*

*Vad är 'ø' förlorat? (Vad förloras 'ø'?)*

Thus, in independent clauses the absence or presence of strong specifier can be related to the possible opposition of fixing verbal semifinitive against the pressure of outer space for not weakening the lexical meaning. If the lexical meaning of main verbal unit may not be weakened, strong specifier is not used even when the concentration balance is frustrated; if a weakening is possible — the use of strong specifier is rather mainstreaming. The absence or presence of strong specifier can also be related to the informativity of the interrogative element. An interrogative element, narrowing the field of search for main substantive unit, is definitely more informative, and strong specifier, which gets no weak semifinitive to fix, is not used.

In dependent clause we deal with both narrative and interrogative sentences. When forming predicate we move from weak time specifier to super-strong one and do not take into account their pressure on the fixing substantive semifinitive. The only thing we should pay attention to is again that all fixing verbal semifinitives may be strong or su-

per-weak; additionally, if a semifinitive does not begin with *be / have*, or is not *be / (sometimes) have*, it may be weak. If predicate needs no modal meaning, super-strong time specifier is not used. When forming subject we move from super-strong space specifier to weak one and take into account their pressure on the fixing verbal semifinitive.

English:

*I (want to) know, which girls there see  $\emptyset$  Peter.\**  
*(I (want to) know, which girls do there see  $\emptyset$  Peter.)\**  
*I (want to) know, who there sees  $\emptyset$  Peter.\**  
*(I (want to) know, who does there see  $\emptyset$  Peter.)\**  
*I (want to) know, which books there are lost  $\emptyset$ .\**  
*I (want to) know, what there is lost  $\emptyset$ .*

The constructions *I (want to) know, which girls there see  $\emptyset$  Peter.\** (*I (want to) know, which girls do there see  $\emptyset$  Peter.)\** are extremely improbable because of the low capability of the semifinitive *see* to withstand the pressure of the strong specifier *there* and the high informativity of the conjunctive element *which girls*. The constructions *I (want to) know, who there sees  $\emptyset$  Peter.\** (*I (want to) know, who does there see  $\emptyset$  Peter.)\** are rather improbable because of the low capability of the semifinitive *see* to withstand the pressure of the strong space specifier *there* (despite the low informativity of the conjunctive element *who*). The construction *I (want to) know, which books there are lost  $\emptyset$ .\** is also rather improbable because of the high informativity of the conjunctive element *which books* (despite the high capability of the semifinitive *be lost* to withstand the pressure of the strong specifier *there*).

Dutch:

*Ik weet / wil weten, welke meisjes er  $\emptyset$  Peter zien.\**  
*Ik weet / wil weten, wie er  $\emptyset$  Peter ziet.*  
*Ik weet / wil weten, welke boeken er  $\emptyset$  zijn verloren / verloren zijn.*  
*Ik weet / wil weten, wat er  $\emptyset$  is verloren / verloren is.*

The construction *Ik weet / wil weten, welke meisjes er  $\emptyset$  Peter zien.\** is rather improbable because of the high informativity of the conjunctive element *welke meisjes* (despite the average capability of the semifinitive *zien* to withstand the pressure of the strong space specifier *er* — as it has already been said, in Dutch much more verbal semifinitives are capable of it, than in English).



Swedish:

*Jag vet / vill veta, vilka flickor där/det ser o Peter.\**  
*Jag vet / vill veta vilka flickor som ser o Peter.*  
*Jag vet / vill veta, vem där/det ser o Peter.\**  
*Jag vet / vill veta vem som ser o Peter.*  
*Jag vet / vill veta, vilka böcker där/det är o förlorade.\**  
*Jag vet / vill veta, vilka böcker som är o förlorade.\**  
*(Jag vet / vill veta, vilka böcker där/det förloras o.\**  
*Jag vet / vill veta vilka böcker som förloras o.\*)*  
*Jag vet / vill veta, vad där/det är o förlorat.*  
*Jag vet / vill veta vad som är o förlorat.*  
*(Jag vet / vill veta, vad där/det förloras o.*  
*Jag vet / vill veta vad som förloras o.)*

The constructions, which are not built on *som*, are extremely or rather improbable because of the reasons, already pointed out.

Still, as was said above, it is allowed for weak semifinitive to be fixed in weak specifier. Also one can expect that the vacant fixing substantive semifinitive will become strong, if the sought main substantive unit is a noun, striving to definiteness, proper noun or personal pronoun. This semifinitive will be fixed in the weak specifier. We see this in the following constructions:

English:

*I (want to) know, which girls 'o' see Peter.*  
*(I (want to) know, which girls do 'o' see Peter.)*  
*I (want to) know, who 'o' sees Peter.*  
*(I (want to) know, who does 'o' see Peter.)*  
*I (want to) know, which books 'o' are lost.*  
*I (want to know), what 'o' is lost.*

Theoretically and practically, there may also appear constructions like

*I (want to) know, which girls 'o' see there Peter.\**  
*(I (want to) know, which girls do 'o' see there Peter.)\**  
*I (want to) know, who 'o' sees there Peter.\**  
*(I (want to) know, who does 'o' see there Peter.)\**  
*I (want to) know, which books 'o' are there lost.*  
*I (want to know), what 'o' is there lost.*

Such constructions, at first sight, cannot be properly explained, because the presence of *there* is here semantically and grammatically undue. Indeed, the subject in this construction is formed by vacant fixing strong substantive semifinitive in weak space specifier, and other units are not required. In Scandinavian languages, however, in the same construction one undertakes filling of the vacant strong substantive semifinitive with a unit of adverbial-substantive nature [Hultman, 2008; Jacobsen, Skyum-Nielsen, 2010]. In Swedish and Norwegian this unit is *som*, and in Danish — *der*. This makes us assume, that dependant clause in Scandinavian languages are provided with a complete main couple (subject and predicate), where there are no vacant semifinitives. It is not excluded, that the presence of *there* in the discussed English construction is welcome for achieving the same objective, but with a difference — in Scandinavian languages the vacant strong substantive semifinitive is filled with, and in English is accompanied by a adverbial-substantive unit. In Dutch for the vacant strong substantive semifinitive nothing is undertaken.

Dutch:

*Ik weet / wil weten, welke meisjes 'o' Peter zien.*

*Ik weet / wil weten, wie 'o' Peter ziet.*

*Ik weet / wil weten, welke boeken 'o' zijn verloren / verloren zijn.*

*Ik weet / wil weten, wat 'o' is verloren / verloren is.*

Swedish:

*Jag vet / vill veta vilka flickor som ser o Peter.*

*Jag vet / vill veta vem som ser o Peter.*

*Jag vet / vill veta, vilka böcker som är o förlorade.*

*(Jag vet / vill veta vilka böcker som förloras o.)*

*Jag vet / vill veta vad som är o förlorat.*

*(Jag vet / vill veta vad som förloras o.)*

Thus, in dependent clauses the absence or presence of strong specifier can be related to the possible opposition of fixing verbal semifinitive against the pressure of outer space for not weakening the lexical meaning. The absence or presence of strong specifier can also be related to the informativity of the conjunctive element. In Swedish and, very seldom, in English the vacant strong substantive semifinitive loses its being vacant with the help of an adverbial-substantive unit. This ensures the completeness of the main couple, which additionally becomes much

more similar to main couples of independent clauses. Indeed, the most main couples of independent clauses, when space element precedes time element, are complete. Generally speaking, narrative and interrogative dependent clause is inbetween narrative independent clause and interrogative independent clause. Thus, from one side the fixation of strong substantive semifinitive in weak space specifier allows us not to take into account the pressure of the outer space; from another side the informativity of the conjunctive element may still define whether the vacant strong substantive semifinitive loses its being vacant or not. The low informativity can force the vacant strong substantive semifinitive to lose its being vacant and vice versa. This is very evident in Danish:

*Jeg ved / vil vide, hvilke piger (der) ser ø Peter.*

*Jeg ved / vil vide, hvem der ser ø Peter.*

*Jeg ved / vil vide, hvilke bøger (der) er ø tabte.*

*(Jeg ved / vil vide, hvilke bøger (der) tabes ø.)*

*Jeg ved / vil vide, hvad der er ø tabt.*

*(Jeg ved / vil vide, hvad der tabes ø.)*

Formal modeling consideration for dependent clause with vacant subject in some Germanic languages leads us to the conclusion, that the provision of vacant subject with a formal particle, having no lexical meaning — i.e. the fixation of vacant weak substantive semifinitive in strong space specifier is stipulated by two factors: the capability of the fixing verbal semifinitive to oppose against the pressure of the outer space and the informativity of the conjunctive element. Vacant strong substantive semifinitive, fixing in weak space specifier can lose its being vacant for making the main couple complete. The fixation of vacant or non-vacant strong substantive semifinitive in weak space specifier may sometimes be stipulated only by one factor — the informativity of the conjunctive element.

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#### **К ВОПРОСУ О ФОРМАЛЬНОЙ МОДЕЛИ ЗАВИСИМЫХ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЙ С ПУСТЫМ ПОДЛЕЖАЩИМ В ГЕРМАНСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ**

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Рассмотрены зависимые предложения с пустым подлежащим в сопоставлении с независимыми предложениями с пустым подлежащим, относящимися к случаю вопросительных конструкций, в которых подлежащее неизвестно и разыскивается с помощью обязательного вопросного элемента. Привлекаются преимущественно материалы английского, нидерландского и шведского языков. В целях выявления синтаксической природы формальной частицы подлежащего применена формальная модель на основе идеи двухчастности. Субстантивные/глагольные члены предложения, главные или второстепенные, представляются состоящими из двух частей — пространственного/временного уточнителя, или прауточнителя, и субстантивного/глагольного semifinitiva. Формальная частица подлежащего сопоставляется с сильным или сверхсильным пространственным уточнителем. Постулируется, что в независимом и зависимом повествовательном предложениях процесс фиксации главного субстантивного semifinitiva начинается со сверхсильного уточнителя. Высказано предположение, что в независимых/зависимых предложениях использование формальной частицы обусловлено возможным противостоянием фиксирующегося глагольного semifinitiva давлению внешнего

пространства, а также информативностью вопросного/союзного элемента. Для зависимых предложений также установлено, что формальная частица в датском и иногда английском языках может заполнять (или сопровождать) пустой сильный субстантивный семифинитив, отчего он перестает быть пустым. В этих же целях шведский и норвежский языки используют вместо формальной частицы наречно-субстантивную единицу. Заполнение пустого сильного субстантивного семифинитива делает главные члены предложения полноценными, и зависимые предложения становятся более похожими на независимые. Тем самым подтверждается тезис идеи двухчастности о том, что синтаксически повествовательное/вопросительное зависимое предложение располагается между повествовательным независимым и вопросительным независимым. Тем не менее использование пустого или непустого сильного субстантивного семифинитива может быть обусловлено, как в датском языке, информативностью союзного элемента. В случае высокой информативности союзного элемента сильный субстантивный семифинитив может оставаться пустым.

**Ключевые слова:** лингвистическое моделирование, синтаксис германских языков, зависимые предложения, нулевое подлежащее, идея двухчастности, семифинитив.

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**A CONTRIBUTION TO THE SEMANTIC SUBCLASSIFICATION  
OF CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN CONTEMPORARY NORWEGIAN:  
EFFECTIVE CAUSATION**

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In this article the author proposes a subclassification of causative semantic types in contemporary Norwegian, as expressed by the analytic causative constructions with the auxiliary verbs *få* and *gjøre* within the framework of prototype semantics. The focus of the article is one the so-called *effective causation*, such as *Mosjon gjør hunden sliten*, *Mari fikk voksne menn til å gråte* or *Kjendiser gjør meg svett i hendene*. The author analyzes its position among other proposed instances of indirect causation in Norwegian, characterized by the semantic features of the participants (here: the Causer and the Causee), their relationship in regards to the degree of involvement in the causative event and degree of control. The author establishes four subtypes of the effective causation based on the feature of animateness, and claims that the main criterial features of the effective causation are (1) the low degree of Causer involvement, where one cannot postulate any obligatory volitional activity, and the Causer is perceived as a circumstance, reason or a stimulus, (2) the affectedness of the Causee, which shares more features with the roles of Patient or Experiencer, rather than the (affected) Agent, and (3) the type of causing event, or the result, is construed as a spontaneous state or event the Causee undergoes, and is beyond its control (mainly expressed by verbs and adjectives denoting automatic responses). The construction type is thus always the intransitive analytic causative.

**Keywords:** Norwegian, effective causation, causative construction, analytic causative, semantics, Prototype Theory, indirect causation, participant structure, Causer, Causee, result.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the qualitative analysis of one semantic subtype of external factitive causation expressed by analytic causatives in contemporary Norwegian, based on the extensive research on Norwegian causative constructions and their semantics [Bilandžija, 2014]. The research was conducted within the main framework of Prototype Theory, and the examples stem from the NoWac-corpus, extracted during previous research on all the semantic subtypes (2013/14).

The main approach within the research on causative semantics has been the analysis of various types of causation, f. ex. factitive or permissive, direct or indirect, benefactive, etc. Although the majority of authors accept the difference between direct and indirect causation, there is no consensus on further subcategorization of these semantic types, especially taking into consideration the fact that the subtypes are language-specific.

## PRELIMINARIES

This chapter will define some of the terminology used in the research on causatives and briefly outline the characteristics of the participant structure, necessary for understanding the subclassification suggested here.

The expression of causality in language<sup>1</sup> can be seen as a *relationship* that holds between two events, with an obligatory determination that one leads to the other. It is thus construed as a *complex causative event*, a macroevent, that comprises of at least two subevents or microevents connected by the relation of *causation* [Nedjalkov, Sil'nickij, 1969a, p. 5; Shibatani, 1976, p. 239; Frawley, 1992, p. 161; Wolff, 2003, p. 3]. The first subevent is the *causing event* ( $E_1$ ), representing the predication of cause, while the second event is the *caused event* ( $E_2$ ), representing the result the causing event has led to. The *prototypical* causative event is traditionally defined as the agentive causal chain, i.e. the prototypical transitive event based on the maximum contrast principle. This means that it's

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper the term *causality* is used to denote the relationship that holds between cause and effect in the world, and the term *causativity* as the expression of causal relationships within a given language, or a conceptualization of an event as it is expressed in a language. The term *causation* is used a term that denotes a relationship between cause and effect.

construed as an event with at least two separate participants, one being the volitive Agent acting consciously and intentionally, directing its activity towards the Patient, whose change in (physical) state completes the causative event [Croft, 1991, p. 155; Croft, 1998, p. 89; Rawoens, 2007, p. 88; Hopper, Thompson, 1980, p. 252; Næss, 2006, p. 318; Næss, 2007, p. 29].

Languages have on their disposal a complex system of productive and less productive formal markers which encode different subevents of the causative macroevent, and they are usually called either *causative constructions* (CC) or *causatives*. For this purpose we adhere to the well established distinction between analytic, morphological and lexical causatives [cf. Comrie, 1989, pp. 167–168; Kulikov, 2001, p. 886–887]. The analytic causative in question is a complex CC with a VP in which the notion of causation is expressed by auxiliary causative verbs *få* ('get') or *gjøre* ('do'), and E<sub>2</sub> is encoded as obligatory argument within the same predicate (more on the author's understanding of analytic CC in Norwegian in [Bilandžija, 2013, p. 4]):

- (1) *Politiet fikk dem til å dempe seg.* 'The police got them to keep the noise down'
- (2) *Mosjon gjør hunden sliten.* 'Exercise makes the dog tired'

The semantic subtypes are usually defined based on the participant's animateness and the nature of the relationship that holds between the participants, e.g. their strength or the degree of control that the Causer and the Patient or the Causee maintain. In this paper the term *Causer* is used broadly, to denote any type of participant encoded as the primary cause that initiates the activity expressed by a causative verb. We consider the component of instigation of the action (leading to a perceptible change of state in another participant) to be the criterial feature of the Causer participant. Although the prototypical Agent is considered to be the instance of the prototypical Causer, we have established that its features of sentience, capability of volitive planning and deliberate instigating are not the features licenced by the majority of causative verbs. That is why also less prototypical agents can be construed as instigators of certain actions: natural forces, inanimate entities, situational and eventive agents, as well as generalized impersonal causers.

The *Causee* is the second participant role crucial for the semantic analysis of the analytic CCs. The Causer is the encoded as the instigator



of the action and surfaces as the syntactic subject of the CC, while the Causee is the Agent of the caused subevent, and the the event is considered to be mediated [Ackerman, Moore, 1999, p. 2; Stefanowitsch, 2001, p. 36; Loewenthal, 2003, p. 97; Mathieu-Reeves, 2006, p. 95]. The Causee in Norwegian is syntactically encoded as the object, irrespectably of whether the caused event is transitive (ex. 3) or intransitive (ex. 4) (for the terms transitive/intransitive causative cf. [Kemmer, Verhagen, 1994, p. 63; Verhagen, Kemmer, 1997, p. 62]):

- (3) *Mari fikk fikk voksne menn til å gråte.* ‘Mari made the grown men cry’
- (4) *Hun fikk ham til å sende vekk sine barn.* ‘She got him to send his children away’

In a prototypical mediated causative event the Causer and the Causee are two conceptually, semantically and formally distinct participants. As the Causee doesn’t initiate the action, it can exhibit a certain degree of lack of control in performing the resulting effect, and it can be more or less affected – all of this plays a significant role in determining the semantics of a CC. Norwegian data shows that both animate and inanimate entities can assume the Causee role.

#### (IN)DIRECT CAUSATION AND THE ANALYTIC CASUATIVE IN NORWEGIAN

The terms *direct* and *indirect* causation [Frawley, 1992; Shibatani, Pardeshi, 2001; Loewenthal, 2003; Stefanowitsch, 2001] are at the core of the research on causative semantics, and are closely related but not equal to the terms such as *manipulative* and *directive causation* [Shibatani, 1976, pp. 31–38], *direct* and *mediated causation* [Givón, 1975, p. 65–68], as well as *contact* and *distant causation* [Nedjalkov, Sil’nickij, 1969b, p. 28], which all profile different aspects that may influence the notion of (in)directness of influence that one participant has on the other.

*Direct causation* entails a causative event where the Causer is the only source of energy an this type is linked to the prototypical causative situation. The performance of the activity depends solely on the causer, and usually entails a spatio-temporal overlap between  $E_1$  and  $E_2$ . *Indirect* causation entails a causative event in which the Causer does not perform the activity from the beginning to end, and  $E_2$  is performed by another entity or process which is the immediate source of energy for the

accomplishment of the result (cf. [Kemmer, Verhagen 1994, p. 120; Verhagen, Kemmer, 1997, p. 67; Shibatani, Pardeshi, 2001, p. 139–140; Stefanowitsch, 2001, p. 263; Wolff, 2003, p. 4; Rawoens, 2007, p. 88–89])<sup>2</sup>.

One approach, based on the characteristics of  $E_1$  and the semantics of the causative verb has appeared in several influential works on causative semantics [Kemmer, Verhagen, 1994; Verhagen, Kemmer, 1997; Talmy, 2000]. Our approach to the semantic subcategorization has been influenced primarily by the approaches used by Croft and Wierzbicka [Croft, 1991, p. 167–168; Wierzbicka, 1998]. Other classifications, grounded in the semantic distinctions within English auxiliary causative verbs were less adequate, as the Norwegian auxiliary causatives *få* and *gjøre*, expressing a broad spectrum of causal relations are not sensitive to the same semantic restrictions as the English auxiliaries *make*, *have*, *get* or *cause*. The Norwegian analytic causative is a highly grammaticalized construction, and one form encodes a wider variety of different causation types, spanning from direct physical causation through different subtypes of indirect causation such as indirect physical causation, persuasion, enabling or just a presence leading to a reaction.

This paper uses result type expressed in  $E_2$  as the main criterium for differentiation of five main causation types in Norwegian. Besides effective causation, we distinguish among (1) *inductive causation*, which requires an animate Causee, and the result is always an activity performed by the Causee. It's a frequent semantic subtype, comprising of several further instances of coercive, manipulative and motivational causation (e.g. *Jeg fikk henne til å smake på grøten* 'I got/made/had her taste the porridge'), (2) *affective causation*, which expresses the triggering of psychological, mental and emotional reactions of the Causee (e.g. *Jobben jeg er i i dag gjør meg veldig deprimert* 'My current job makes me depressed'), (3) *evaluative causation*, which incorporates a subjective evaluation (e.g. *Disse buksene gjør meg tykk* 'These trousers make me (look) fat'), (4) *intrapersonal causation*, which is semantically and formally marked as less prototypical as it expresses the causation where the Causer/Causee are one and the same participant (e.g. *Det var først*

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<sup>2</sup> It's been noted that there is a certain degree of correlation between the structural type of a CC and the degree of the directness of causation (a correlation between linguistic form and conceptual structure), thus making the causation typically indirect when the expression is analytic and/or polymorphemic (cf. Shibatani, 1976, pp. 31–33; Frawley, 1992, p. 164; Shibatani, Pardeshi, 2001, p. 91ff).

*nå at jeg fikk meg til å gjøre det* ‘It was only then that I made myself do that’). We can finally also distinguish *benefactive causation*, prototypically encoded by a different CC, the so-called ‘få-passive’, with an overtly unexpressed Causee, but retaining it in the semantic structure (*Jeg fikk vaksinert valpene* ‘I had the puppies vaccinated’).

## EFFECTIVE CAUSATION

By effective causation we understand the type of causation where the  $E_2$  indicates an event or a state conceptualized as a spontaneous result, and can be illustrated by the following formula:

NP<sub>1</sub> [+/-Anim] CAUS NP<sub>2</sub> [+/-Anim] VP<sub>Int</sub>/AP [Event/State]

The common denominator for all subtypes is the fact that the result is to be perceived as an spontaneous effect, and that the Causee goes through the action unwillingly or is in a state that is beyond its control. The predication of  $E_2$  can be conceptualized either as an event or a state:

(5a) *Saltet får isen til å smelte.* ‘Salt makes ice melt’

(5b) *Allergitablettene gjør meg søvnnig.* ‘The allergy pills make me sleepy’

The events are formally expressed either as infinitive phrases after the verb *få* (ex. 5a), while the states are typically expressed as AP object predicatives after the verb *gjøre* (ex. 5b), although there are a few instances where the verb within the infinitive phrase denotes a state:

(6a) *Hvordan fikk de dem [pommes fritesen] til å smake akkurat som Grippos?* ‘How did they get them [fries] to taste exactly the same as Grippos?’

(6b) *Hvis alle husstander i Norge hadde fått PC-en sin til å vare ett år lenger, ville man spart mye mer energi.* ‘If all the households in Norway got their PCs to last an extra year, one would save much more energy’

We can further distinguish four subtypes of effective causation in regards to the animateness criterium: effective interpersonal causation,

effective non-volitive causation, effective volitive causation and effective impersonal causation.

### EFFECTIVE INTERPERSONAL CAUSATION

*Effective interpersonal causation* is a slightly less prototypical type of interaction between to animate participants, and can be illustrated by the following formula:

**NP<sub>1</sub> [+Anim] CAUS NP<sub>2</sub> [+Anim] VP<sub>Inf</sub>/AP [Event/State]**

The animate participant in the Causer role, predominantly human being, doesn't act with volition and intention, but is rather conceptualized as a participant within a circumstance that *accidentally* leads to a result. This kind of Causer can be characterized as a causative stimulus that causes a physiological reaction of another animate participant. One can rather interpret it as a situation, a circumstance or a trait whose sole presence spurs a change of state, and the potential to realize the change of state lies within the Causee, which is affected and shows semantic traits of a patient-experiencer type of participant:

- (7a) *Gervais fikk kjendisene til å gispe.* 'Gervais made celebrities yawn'
- (7b) *Ronaldo fikk tilskuer til å blø neseblod.* 'Ronaldo made a spectator bleed from his nose'
- (7c) *Kun når eier lå i samme rom fikk hunden til å sove i lengre perioder.* 'Only the owner's presence in the same room made the dog sleep for longer periods of time'
- (7d) *Er det noe jeg trenger for å få god karakter i matte, er det ikke en gammel og kjedelig mattelærer som gjør meg søvni.* 'If there's anything I need in order to get a good math grade, it's not an old and boring teacher who makes me sleepy'

In these examples one cannot attribute the Causer any volitional planning or execution of an event. The material shows that the causative stimulus here appears in the form of less prototypical Agents, such as non-volitional Agent (7a, b, d) or eventive causers of the type 'Agent's activity' (7c).

The Causee is here of the patientive type (the *få*-constructions) or a Patient (the *gjøre*-constructions). This not accidental, because although in the taxonomic class of a human being, the Causee is the agentive participant with the lowest degree of agentivity since it's completely non-volitional, has no control over the process and is totally affected. It is the last participant in the causative chain and marks the completion of the event, and the effective causation expressed by the *få*-construction can only be realised as intransitive causative. The material shows that the predication of result comprises of verbs and adjectives that denote non-volitional activities and states of human beings: *få noen til å rødme / skjelve / rape / tisse / sove / falle / hoste / gjespe / blø* ('make smb. blush / shake / burp / pee / sleep / fall / cough / yawn / bleed'), *gjøre noen svett / søvnig / gravid / sliten / kvalm / mo i knærne* ('make smb. sweaty / sleepy / pregnant / exhausted / sick / weak at the knees').

The cause can be in the realm of the same participant, and in this case the reaction appears spontaneously during Causer's activity:

- (8) *Det å gå opp trappa får meg til å hoste.* 'Walking up the stairs makes me cough'

#### EFFECTIVE NON-VOLITIVE CAUSATION

*The effective non-volitive causation* resembles the previous subtype in that it denotes the causation of a process or a state of an animate participant, but in this instance by an inanimate entity, and can be represented as follows:

**NP<sub>1</sub> [-Anim] CAUS NP<sub>2</sub> [+Anim] NP<sub>inf</sub>/AP [Event/State]**

We can certainly not ascribe any sentience, volition or a motor program with which it can effect the Causee, which makes it a less prototypical Causer, covering the participant classes of forces or potents (e.g. *kulde* 'cold', *varme* 'warmth', *hete* 'heat', *sol* 'sun', *smerte* 'pain'), inanimate entities (e.g. *røyk* 'smoke', *tabletter* 'pills', *en kule i ryggraden* 'a bullet in the spine'), eventive participants of the type 'circumstance' and 'activity' (e.c. *aerobic*, *yoga*, *en time på sykkel* 'one hour on the bike', *samleie* 'intercourse', *all den utspioneringen og snakkingen om fiendene* 'all that

spying and talking about the enemies’, *det å få e-post* ‘getting e-mails’) or the stimulus (e.g. *lukten av kloroform* ‘smell of chlorophorm’, *aroma*). The Causer class comprizes of a relatively stable group of causers within one and the same participant, such as body parts, bodily functions or other processes that develop internally within the Causer:

- (9a) *Jeg tror ikke det er blodtrykket som gjør meg svimmel.* ‘I don’t think it’s the blood pressure that makes me dizzy’
- (9b) *Et hormon som ble sprøytet inn fikk sauen til å miste all ulla.* ‘A hormon it was injected with made the sheep lose all its fleece’
- (9c) *Sekretet som renner til svelget, kan få barnet til å hoste.* ‘A secretion flowing down to the pharynx can make a child cough’
- (9d) *Lungene mine får meg til å hoste opp slim.* ‘My lungs are making me cough up phlegm’

Also these inanimate Causers provoke various spontaneous processes, physiological reactions and the states of the Causee: *få noen til å rape / hoste / rynke øyenbrynene / rødme / skjelve* (‘make smb. burp / cough / furrow one’s eyebrows / blush / tremble’), *gjøre noen sliten / svett / andpusten / trett / lam / syk / svimmel / varm* (‘make smb. tired / sweaty / out of breath / paralyzed / ill / dizzy / warm’).

### EFFECTIVE VOLITIVE CAUSATION

*Effective volitive causation* encompasses those cases where the animate Causer leads to a change of state in an inanimate patientive Causee, and is illustrated as follows:

**NP<sub>1</sub> [+Anim] CAUS NP<sub>2</sub> [-Anim] VP<sub>Inf</sub> [Event/State]**

The examples illustrating this type of causation are relatively few in the corpus material, which can be expected. The causation type where an animate participant exerts an influence upon a patient or another highly affected participant exemplifies a prototypical physical manipulative causation that is usually encoded as direct, and usually by a syntetic causative (*Ungen har knust rute på skolen* ‘The kid has broken a win-

dow at school’), or can be construed as a coercive indirect causation. The effective volitive causation refers primarily to those instances where the Causer, in the taxonomic class of a human being, influences a Causee with a certain degree of autonomy, predominantly machines or other inanimate entities that have their own energy:

- (10a) *Ivrige bokkjøpere fikk a-ha-nettsiden til å krasje.* ‘Eager book buyers made the A-ha site crash’
- (10b) *Vi fikk fjernkontrollen til å fungere igjen på en eller annen merkelig grunn.* ‘Strangely, we got the remote working again’
- (10c) *Slik får du vaskemaskinen til å vare lengst mulig.* ‘This is how you can make your washing machine last as long as possible’

We can observe in the corpus that the causation is predominantly construed as getting an entity to perform a certain task or end in a state beneficial to the Causer. The causation can be intentional (10c) or intentional/accidental (10a).

#### EFFECTIVE IMPERSONAL CAUSATION

The fourth and final subtype is what we call the effective impersonal causation, represented as follows:

**NP<sub>1</sub> [-Anim] CAUS NP<sub>2</sub> [-Anim] VP<sub>Inf</sub> [Event]**

This subtype is represented by numerous examples in the corpus material, and is the type in which a inanimate Causer leads to a change of state or instigates a process that another inanimate participant goes through.

All less prototypical, inanimate agents surface as Causers, such as forces (11a), all instances of inanimate participants such as objects, machines, medications (11b, c and e), as well as circumstances (11d) or generalized causers (11f):

- (11a) *Bølgen fikk båten til å kantre.* ‘The wave made the boat flip’
- (11b) *Persienner fikk ruten til å sprekke.* ‘Venetian blinds made the window break’

- (11c) *Et kjøleanlegg som holder syv-åtte minusgrader får isen til å fryse ekstra fort.* 'A cooler with constant minus seven-eight degrees makes the ice melt really fast'
- (11d) *Det bleke måneskinnet fikk elva til å glitre.* 'The pale moonshine made the river sparkle'
- (11e) *Kortisonpiller får sykdommen til å gå tilbake.* 'Cortisone pills make the illness recede'
- (11f) *I august er det mer fuktighet i lufta. Det får maten til å råtne og mugne fortere.* 'There is more humidity in August. It makes the food rot and mold faster'

In these constructions the Causees are predominantly patient-like, and have no control over the process they are going through. The corpus material shows that the predication of result appears mostly in the infinitive VP constructions in intransitive causatives. Semantic subclassification shows that this subtype encompasses certain decausative verbs (*sprikke* 'burst', *fryse* 'freeze', *spres* 'spread', *koke* 'boil'), but predominantly typical intransitive verbs as the verbs-of-internal-causation (*råtne* 'rot', *mugne* 'mold', *visne* 'wilt'), verbs of motion (*kantré* 'capsize', *forsvinne* 'disappear', *gå tilbake* 'retreat', *vibrere* 'vibrate', *skli* 'slide', *slå/banke* 'pound (of a heart)', *stige* 'rise', *riste* 'shake') and the verbs of sensory emission (*glitre* 'glow', *stråle* 'shine', *smake* 'taste', *lukte* 'smell', *smelle* 'slam').

## CONCLUSION

Effective causation is one semantic subtype expressed by Norwegian analytic causative constructions. As causative auxiliaries *få* and *gjøre* show high degree of semantic unmarkedness, it allows different types of Agents and agentlike participants surface as their subjects, and the causative constructions express high degree of 'unspecified' indirect causation. Our semantic differentiation is thus based on the predication of the result, which in this case is somewhat less prototypical in that the result is conceptualized as a spontaneous effect, and not the direct consequence of a sentient and volitional Causer acting with deliberation.

The literature on causatives often analyzes Causee participants as animate participants in opposition to the Causer, and as "real" Agents of the caused event, i.e. as the participants that would have surfaced as subjects had the E<sub>2</sub> been expressed separately (e.g. *Politiet fikk ham*



*til å forlate hotellresepsjonen* ‘The Police got/made him leave the hotel reception’ → *Han forlot hotellresepsjonen* ‘He left the hotel reception’). In effective causation both animate and inanimate entities can assume the role of the Causee, and their traits show that they can be treated as patientlike participants since they show total lack of control over the process they are affected by, regardless of the Causer’s degree of control, which is *defocused* in this semantic subtype.

An important feature that distinguishes effective causation from inductive causation is the role of the Causer. In inductive causation, which we consider the main and most prototypical instance of indirect causation in Norwegian, the Causer is a conscious instigator of the causal chain, while the degree of control exerted by the Causee varies, and spans from minimal (in the case of coercion) to maximal (causation by verbal instruction). Another feature distinguishing the two subtypes is the result type. Unlike the inductive subtype, the effective causation can be expressed by both auxiliaries, as the results are perceived as events and states beyond the Causees control, and the constructions are considered to be intransitive causatives. On the other hand, the inductive causation type is expressed solely by the *få*-constructions and the result is always an activity. In transitive analytic causatives, as well as two-personal synthetic causatives, the Causee has a mediator role, and performs the activity initiated by the Causer with more or less resistance, and can be equated with the role of affected Agent. On the other hand, in intransitive analytic causatives, as is the case of effective causation, the Causee shows a higher degree of being affected by the activity, and has more similarity with the role of the Proto-Patient.

Our further research is twofold: it is aimed at finetuning the semantic characteristics of the subtype, as well as exploring the equivalents of the subtype in Serbian, which has no productive grammaticalized analytic CCs, and where we already have noticed a tendency to express the Causee as the benefactor/malefactor and the Causer as a peripheral argument.

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**О ВЫДЕЛЕНИИ ПОДКЛАССОВ В СЕМАНТИЧЕСКОМ КЛАССЕ  
КАУЗАТИВНЫХ КОНСТРУКЦИЙ СО ЗНАЧЕНИЕМ  
РЕЗУЛЬТАТИВНОЙ КАУЗАЦИИ В СОВРЕМЕННОМ НОРВЕЖСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ**

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Предлагается разбиение на семантические подклассы аналитических каузативных конструкций современного норвежского языка со вспомогательными глаголами *få* 'получать' и *gjøre* 'делать'. В качестве теоретической базы используется теория прототипов. Основное внимание уделено так называемой *результативной каузации*, как в предложениях *Mosjon gjør hunden sliten*, *Mari fikk voksne*

*menn til å gråte* или *Kjendiser gjør meg svett i hendene*. Автор рассматривает места этой классификации в сравнении с ранее предлагавшимися подходами к изучению непрямой каузации в норвежском языке, дает оценку семантическим характеристикам актантов (здесь: каузатор и каузируемый), а также соотношению между ними в том, что касается степени контроля и степени вовлеченности в каузируемое событие. В рамках результативной каузации автор выделяет четыре подтипа на основании такой черты, как одушевленность, и выдвигает следующие основные признаки результативной каузации: (1) низкая степень вовлеченности каузатора, при которой невозможно постулировать его обязательную целенаправленную активность, так что каузатор воспринимается как сирконстант, причина или стимул; (2) тип воздействия на каузируемого, имеющего больше общих черт с ролями пациенса или экспериенцера, чем с ролью (подвергающегося воздействию) агенса; (3) каузирующее событие, или результат, предстает как спонтанное состояние каузируемого или как событие, которому оно подвергается и которое он не в состоянии контролировать (будучи выраженным главным образом при помощи глаголов и прилагательных, обозначающих автоматическую реакцию на стимул). Таким образом, конструкции этого типа всегда представляют собой непреходный аналитический каузатив.

**Ключевые слова:** норвежский язык, результативная каузация, каузативная конструкция, аналитический каузатив, семантика, теория прототипов, не прямая каузация, актантная структура, каузатор, каузируемое, результат.

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## ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИЕ

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### ON THE CONTEXTS OF EDITH SÖDERGRAN'S RUSSIAN POEM "TIKHO, TIKHO, TIKHO"

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This paper looks to provide a reading of Edith Södergran's only poem written in Russian in its literary, linguistic, cultural and historical contexts. Composed when she was experimenting with multilingual poetry for her so-called *Vaxdukshäft* (Oilcloth Notebook), the poem "Tikho, tikho, tikho" reflects equally an adherence to classical Russian metrical forms and a kinship with the more daring Russian Symbolists, including A. Blok and V. Bryusov. In contrast to some previous studies, which see the poem as a mere juvenilia written in the cultural isolation of a young, "foreign" girl's private milieu, the current article concludes that it was also composed in a spirit of the age and the nation. The poem's varied and stunning imagery, ranging from violence to mystery, speaks of a labyrinth of emotion, inner experiences and political and social awareness. Although the dominant images of destruction, bloodshed and rebirth may have their origins in Södergran's personal encounters with tuberculosis, they do so also in the disparate contexts of a society racked by terrorism and violent revolution, and of a young woman's emerging self-identity. Thus, when examined in the broader context of Södergran's awareness of the literary and cultural mores, and the political upheavals of her times, the poem reflects both her natural poetic talent and her sophisticated vision of the surrounding world, remarkable at such an early stage of her writing career.

**Keywords:** A. Blok, V. Bryusov, blood imagery, Russian verse, Edith Södergran, literary contexts, symbolism, Symbolists, versification.

More than a century after its composition, Edith Södergran's only Russian poem "Tikho, tikho, tikho" (Quietly, quietly, quietly) continues to intrigue readers with its remarkable imagery and masterful compo-

sitional forms. Indeed, after so many years the poem still benefits from the scholarly scrutiny that brings the contemporary reader closer to understanding of the young poet's remarkable insights. Among the questions that scholars have raised is what impacts the charged poetic atmosphere of Saint Petersburg during Södergran's school days may have had on the poem's production. While it would be tempting to classify too narrowly the milieu that surrounded this short poem's genesis, it can be said without too much exaggeration and even against the backdrop of the near frenzy of poetic output by Russia's Silver Age poets, that this twenty-line verse is remarkable for its linguistic precision, for its maturity from the hand of a fifteen-year-old author and most notably for its formal sophistication and thematic complexity. In spite of these notable artistic qualities, however, some critics have dismissed the poem as simple juvenilia, or have seen it as "merely" a precursor of her future genius (Witt-Bratstrom, Tideström, Birnbaum, Rahikainen)<sup>1</sup>.

On a Thursday in early July of 1907 at Raivola (now Roshchino), the young Edith Södergran wrote out the following poem in her *Vaxdukhäft*:

*Тíхо, тíхо, тíхо*  
*Тáйныя сíлы*  
*Скрылись во мглѣ́.*

*Тѣмная, со́чная*  
*Лíпко-густáя*  
*крóвь полилáсь.*

*Тѣ́ни ско́льзят,*  
*тѣ́ни исчѣзли.*  
*Бóльше ужѣ́ нѣтѣ́ ничегó.*

*Пúсто и мрáчно.*  
*Вѣ́ мрáкъ холóдномъ*  
*Нѣтѣ́ ничегó.*

*Quietly, quietly, quietly*  
*Mystical forces*  
*have hidden themselves in the mist*

*Dark, juicy,*  
*sticky-thick blood*  
*has begun to flow.*

*Shadows glide,*  
*shadows have disappeared.*  
*For there is nothing more.*

*Empty and dark,*  
*In the cold darkness*  
*There is nothing.*

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<sup>1</sup> I would be remiss were I not to thank the invaluable assistance I have had in writing this paper from my colleagues in the Scandinavian Studies Department at Gustavus Adolphus College: Dr Kjerstin Moody, who originally suggested the topic, Dr Ursula Lindqvist, who provided me with materials on Södergran's early work, and especially Mr David Jessup, who kindly read my manuscript and made insightful suggestions for revision.

<i>Въ тёмной землѣ́</i>	<i>In the dark earth,</i>
<i>Напитанной кровью,</i>	<i>Sated with blood,</i>
<i>Кровью густой,</i>	<i>With thick blood,</i>
<i>Жизнь зарождается,</i>	<i>Life is born,</i>
<i>Новая жизнь,</i>	<i>A new life,</i>
<i>Для разрушенья.</i>	<i>For destruction.</i>
<i>Силы грядущего</i>	<i>The forces of the future</i>
<i>Въ чёрной землѣ́.</i>	<i>In the black earth.</i>

Composed for her *Vaxdukshäft* (Oilcloth Notebook) as she was experimenting with writing poetry in various languages, the poem<sup>2</sup> reflects a thorough knowledge of classical Russian metrical forms as well as a close awareness of both the waning Russian Symbolist movement and approaching modernist trends. Södergran's precocious insights into the poetic arts reflect both future promise and an already deep poetic talent, indicating that even her earliest poems can be discussed and read on their own terms and in their own contexts. Those contexts include not only a political milieu and a personal family and social life, but personal talent and artistic creativity, as well. Thus, it is useful to look at the broad picture when analysing this or any of her poems [Mier-Cruz, 2013, pp. 10–26].

Edith Södergran's language skills are well-known: she had a command of at least five languages at various levels of proficiency as she herself attests and as her contemporaries confirm. That her Russian was native we can also easily assume, given her life circumstances and, of

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<sup>2</sup> I have chosen to reproduce the poem as Södergran wrote it in her notebook, with the prerevolutionary Russian orthography (see [Enckell, 1961, pp. 174–175]). As far as I have been able to tell, printed versions of this poem all regularize Södergran's orthography to correspond with the post-revolutionary norms. Curiously, many reproductions ignore Södergran's inconsistent use of capital letters with which she begins most, but not all, lines of the poem. Also curious is the decision by some editors to begin the final stanza of the poem with the word *Новые* Södergran clearly scratched the word out before completing the poem and switched the letter *C* of the word *Силы* from lower to upper case. Similarly, most reproductions give *Во* in the final line for *Въ* although the reproduction printed in Enckell shows that the author seems to have overwritten the Cyrillic letter *o* with the hard sign *ѵ*. I have indicated the stressed syllables with the acute accent and the *ě*.

The literal English translation is mine (DC). The two most cited translations into Swedish are by Engdahl and Colliander. Broemer also provides her own English translation [Broemer, 2009, pp. 50–51]:

course, her own and others' testimony to her abiding interest in Russian verse<sup>3</sup>. In her creative output Södergran clearly took advantage of her native talents for learning languages and assimilating their sounds, rhythms and cadences. The *Vaxdukshäft* in which this poem appears is a notable literary production. Far from simply reflecting a school-girl's youthful musings it shows a remarkable natural insight into the musicality, form and purpose of poetry in at least three quite different languages German, French and Russian. It is a remarkable talent that so easily assimilated the forms and cadences of German, French and Russian poetics and eventually transformed them into her own, modern and radical style in Swedish.

As for Södergran's political, social and cultural awareness as a teenager, internal evidence from her own poetry and other writings shows a definite awareness of the lively Russian literary scene — which was quite a pervasive part of Petersburg life in those days — and a very good grasp of the Russian political situation. In fact, in the poem under analysis here, the main theme reiterates the apocalyptic motifs of many of her Russian contemporaries' lyrics. The date of the poem's composition — 11 July 1907 — is not insignificant. Historically, this was a time of great upheaval in Russia: the aborted revolution of 1905 was fresh in memory, the national assembly, the second *Duma*, had just been dissolved by Tsar Nicholas (June 1907), and there was a relentless series of ongoing terrorist assassinations<sup>4</sup>. This amalgam of social and political ills, including a pervasive fear of terroristic political attacks, the assumption of an impending revolution, widespread urban poverty, the loss of national pride after the disastrous defeat by Japan in the Russo-Japanese war, the growing militarization before WWI, the ease of effecting anti-Jewish pogroms, all of these added to the sense of an impending catastrophe. In the world of the verbal arts these apocalyptic sentiments are heard from the Symbolists (whose sway over the literary society was beginning to wane at this time) and the Post-symbolists, whose nascent

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<sup>3</sup> On Södergran's language skills and abilities in and affinities with Russian see Brunner 54–56. Indeed, even a short read of her youthful poems clearly reveals Södergran's natural feel for the characteristic rhythms of poetry in each individual language.

<sup>4</sup> As many as 1400 deaths in 1906 and 3000 in 1907 were attributed to terrorist acts (Riasanovsky 413). For a summary of the political and social upheavals in the Russian empire at the time see *ibid.* 404–434.



movements, all associated with the Modernist literary trends of the early twentieth century, would convey the dominant literary expressions by the end of the decade and throughout the 1920s<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, both the Symbolists and modernist poets viewed the era as time ripe for change, perhaps violent, perhaps political, perhaps spiritual and mystical<sup>6</sup>. Given these broad interpretations of the age by artists of varying stripes, it is not at all surprising that the young Södergran's poem can be interpreted as a comment on the apocalyptic status of Russia in 1907. Tideström concludes that

when Edith Södergran talks about shadows that have disappeared in the dark, she is likely thinking of the searches that were carried out against opposition elements after the dissolution of the *Duma*; in Petersburg alone more than a thousand people had been arrested during June, and many had been sent to unknown fates across the Ural-Asian border. Perhaps she also, and especially, had in mind the mass of people who had been imprisoned in the spring for conspiring against the Tsar's life. The poem was written four days after the preliminary investigation had been declared complete and the documents sent to the military court<sup>7</sup>.

On the other hand, it would be underestimating Södergran's poetic talent to concentrate only on the socio-political aspects of this poem. For example, Broemer's assessment of the poem as chiefly a reaction to the events of 1905 is somewhat one-sided, failing to take into account Södergran's multi-faceted imagery and poetic sensibilities:

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<sup>5</sup> A thorough discussion of this era and in particular of modernism in Russian literature can be found in Erlich 1994.

<sup>6</sup> Apocalyptic poems were numerous in Russia at the time, given the social and political situations I have detailed above: in addition to Bryusov, worth noting are Blok's poem *Двенадцать* (*The Twelve*) in which the Revolution is led by Jesus Christ, and F. Sologub's anti-theotic poem «Когда я в бурном море плывал» (“As I sailed on the stormy sea”) in which the narrator calls on the Devil for salvation, replete with images of a devil-god saving mankind as it drowns. These are but a few examples of the many religious-themed poems that foresaw rough times ahead for Russia that required drastic intervention from supernatural forces. See below for further discussion.

<sup>7</sup> När Edith Södergran här talar om skuggor som försvunnit i mörkret, tänker hon troligen på den jakt som efter andra dumans upplösning anställdes på oppositionella element; enbart i Petersburg hade under juni månad över tusen personer arresterats, och massor hade skickats mot okända öden över Asiens gräns. Kanske står för hennes blick också och alldeles särskilt den skara, som under våren fängslats för sammansvärjning mot tsarens liv. Dikten är skriven fyra dagar efter det den föreberedande undersökningen förklarats vara avslutad och handlingarna översänt till militärdomstolen (39–40).

Södergran's poem is graphic. With the characteristic brutality of youth, she writes about what she probably only heard from others, from rumours or the newspapers. We do not have any evidence that she actually witnessed any of the bloodshed, but she had heard enough to commit this information to poetry a few years later. The images of darkness contrasted with blood aptly convey the sense of the event. Everyone knew about the massacre, and it indeed seemed to come out of a period of silence and relative peace. Still, the poet ends with a hopeful note: 'a new future is made.' ... There is no question in this poem of whether or not the blood is symbolic. The poet's graphic example conveys the overwhelming events, rather than speak of them metaphorically [Broemer, 2009, p. 49].

It cannot be taken as a given that Södergran is reacting only to the 1905 Revolution or to vaguely distant newspaper reports. While she might not have seen bloodshed first hand, she was doubtless affected, even if indirectly, by the near daily violent events that afflicted St Petersburg and all of Russia at the time. Moreover, the assertion that the graphic imagery is only descriptive of events is strangely near-sighted, especially given both Södergran's sensibilities as a poet and, more directly, the poem's lyrical quality and poetic vision.

From a formal point of view, Södergran's verse reveals a serious grasp of Russian meter and poetics (as, in fact, do her German and French poems of their respective poetic traditions). Henrik Birnbaum has noted that the poem is written in the Russian *taktovik* (*тактовик*), an accentual — not syllabic — verse form whose rhythmical structure is based on equal numbers of stresses in a line with a free number of overall syllables, and two or three unstressed syllables between the stressed syllables [Birnbaum, 1996, p. 269]<sup>8</sup>. Södergran's poem has alternating two- and three-stress lines of which two-stress lines dominate. Of the twenty lines seventeen have two stresses, three have three stresses and one line has one full stress and a rather weak secondary stress. The pace of the poem is thus quick and the clipped nature of the rhythmical structure generates a relentless forward motion. What's more, the truncated, single-stress line *Для разрушѣнья* presents the poem's greatest rhythmical and semantic contrast, heightening the

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<sup>8</sup> On accentual Russian verse, see [Unbegaun, 1956, 86 ff]. On the *taktovik* and the related meter *dólnik*, see [Gasparov, 2001, pp. 148–154]. As a contemporary point of reference, it is interesting to note that the *taktovik* meter is much like the metrical [and rhyming] schemata of contemporary rap music/poetry.

air of urgency and abruptly introducing a note of intense irony<sup>9</sup>. The phrase is all the more striking since the unexpected reversal of sentiment stands in such stark outline to the previous two lines: *Жизнь рождается, / Новая жизнь, / Для разрушенья*. “A life is born / A new life / For destruction”<sup>10</sup>. As I shall show below, the imagery highlighted by this rhythmical patterning plays a significant role in conveying the poem’s overall message.

Much of the poetic essence of Södergran’s poem is defined thus by its rhythm, its poetic imagery and, above all, by the harmonious cooperation of its individual parts. Indeed, although there is a tangible sophistication of form, this is primarily a poem of images that sustain two major motifs: the social and prophetic theme of an impending apocalyptic event for Russia and the more ontological theme of the life-giving essence of natural — and perhaps, also, humanly generated — historical cycles. Thus we see the intense poetic image of blood with its connotations of potential and portending doom combined with its ability to generate renewal. In fact, the assertion of future rebirth comes with the assurance of remediation by blood. Trotzig in particular has noted the complexity of the blood imagery, a verbal tessitura of images:

From the political-historical motif (if one assumes that that is her starting point) arises the theme of the desire to transform life, of aspiring to an outlook on life — a vision of time as a transformation process, and as ongoing metamorphosis. The “revolution theme” or “transformation theme” (*The forces of the new future / In the black earth*) also presents the theme of Eros as either a life force or a deadly force. There runs throughout the entire poem the image of death, of the relationship of death to either life’s struggle or life’s apotheosis, or as an unforgiven, terroristic fear. The poem becomes a dark mirror into an unknown future: the coming fate, her own individual fate, and the fate of the age, which is inextricably linked to the victim image<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Although the MS clearly shows a comma in the preceding line after the word *жизнь*, Birnbaum (270) reproduces the poem with a full stop before the phrase *Для разрушенья* which would render this phrase more striking as a sentence fragment.

<sup>10</sup> Russian *taktovik* verses can be rhymed or not; Södergran’s poem shows no discernible rhyme scheme.

<sup>11</sup> Urdet politiskt-historiska motivet (om man antar att det var hennes utgångspunkt) stiger temat om viljan att förvandla livet, livsåskådningssökandet — visionen av tiden som en förvandlingsprocess, en pågående metamorfos. “Revolutionstemat”, förvandlingstemat “framtidens krafter de nya / i svarta jorden” ger temat om eros — eros som livskraft eller döds sugning. Genom alla bildens förgreningar löper temat om döden — om förhållandet till döden antingen som livskamp, livsapoteos; eller som

Although Trotziz reads the final line with the mistaken addition of the word “new” (*de nya*), she correctly concludes that the complex of final images here offers a rather stark conflict with the quietude of the poem’s opening line, *Tuxo, muxo, muxo*. Indeed, by the second stanza the reader is presented with what is, at first glance, a reflection of the violent society in which the young poet lives. This conflict is at once imagic and verbal: the opening line’s lullaby-like rhythm is rendered increasingly uncomfortable by the poet’s word choices: *Темная, сочная / липко-густая* (*dark, juicy, sticky-thick*) and by the ultimate phrase *кровь полилась* (*blood has begun to flow*).

The disquieting blood imagery is not unexpected given the apocalyptic vision presented here, justifiably associated with the social instability in Russia in the early nineteenth century. Yet, Södergran’s poetry, even in her juvenile works, comes with any number of visions of blood-stained places and people, often set in the Russian capital, St Petersburg. One can note, among others, her poem written in German in the same year as her Russian verse (April 1907): it presents the pitiable image of a tormented Tsar Nicholas II, who would be more comforted being beheaded than in signing endless death warrants:

*Die Nawa ist ein grünlicher Strom,  
Sie kennt gar manche Sachen,*

*Die Wellen tragen den Klagelaut  
Zum Schloss des russischen Zaren,  
Der kann nicht schlafen diese Nacht,  
Er fährt sich in die Haare.*

*Es tropft der Schweiss von seiner Stirn,  
Er wagt sich nicht zu bewegen,  
Er wäre glücklich seinen Hals  
Unters Beil des Henkers zu legen.*

*Es kommt kein Henker und rettet ihn,  
Die Nacht nimmt gar keine Ende,  
Er wagt nicht zu stöhnen, und kalter Schweiss  
Bedeckt seine klebrigen Hände.*

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förintselust, förintelseskräck. Dikten blir en mörk spegel in i en okänd framtid: det kommande ödet, hennes eget individuella och samtidigt, oupplösligt förenade i en offerbild [Trotziz, 1978, p. 384].

*Am nächsten Tage unterschreibt Er  
Todesurteile in Menge,  
Und träumt darauf in der nächsten Nacht  
Dass ihm sein Volk erhänge.*

1 April 1907<sup>12</sup>

The ominous character of this poem is certainly not out of place in Russian poetry of the era. As we have noted, apocalyptic poems abounded in Russia at the time, not surprisingly given the tumultuous social and political situation. Thus, as Trotzig has pointed out, Alexander Blok, the darling poet of St Petersburg in the early 1900s, and his daring poems about the future of Russia make for an interesting complement to Södergran's youthful poem (Trotzig: 382). Other critics have noted how the lexical and thematic content of Blok's poem «Я ухо приложил к земле» ("I put my ear to the ground") in particular corresponds closely to the thematic and verbal content of "Tikho, tikho, tikho" It has been pointed out, however, that Blok's poem was published after Södergran composed her verse, so that no direct influence can be inferred. Yet Blok's poem, among many others, does illustrate well the sense of impending catastrophe that many Russian poets felt at the time:

*Я ухо приложил к земле.  
Я муки криком не нарушу...*

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<sup>12</sup> The Neva is a greenish stream,  
She knows a lot of things,  
The waves carry the wailing  
To the palace of the Russian Tsar  
Who cannot sleep this night,  
rubbing his head.

The sweat drips from his forehead,  
He dares not move,  
He would gladly put his neck  
under the executioner's axe.

No hangman comes to save him,  
The night brings no end,  
He dares not moan, and a cold sweat  
Cover his sticky hands.

The next day he signs  
Death sentences in droves,  
And dreams the next night  
That his people have hanged him.

Как зерна, злую землю рой  
И выходи на свет. И ведай:  
За их случайною победой  
Роится сумрак гробовой.  
Лелей, пои, таи ту новь,  
Пройдет весна — над этой новью,  
Вспоенная твоею кровью,  
Созреет новая любовь.

November 1907<sup>13</sup>

Witt-Bratström discusses Blok's poem as a possible inspiration for Södergran's Russian poem, but rightly maintains a more reserved stance about the possibility of any direct influence<sup>14</sup>. As has been reiterated, however, both Blok's and Södergran's poems follow the thematic currents of Russian poetry in the early days of the twentieth century. It is not surprising then that other Symbolist poems also bear resemblances to Södergran's work. More striking for its thematic similarities than even Blok's poem is a lyric of apocalyptic bent by the *de facto* leader of the Russian Symbolist movement, Valery Bryusov, who was in many ways, and in contrast to Blok, the *bête noire* of Petersburg poetic circles. I have in mind Bryusov's allegorical poem «Грядущие гунны» (The Approaching Huns) published in 1905 at the height of the first Russian revolution. With its contrasts and similarities to Södergran's work, Bryusov's work is of particular help in reading more deeply into the young Södergran's lyric. One is struck by the very different tenor of these two poems and, at the same time, by their nearly equal images and nearly equal messages.

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<sup>13</sup> I put my ear to the ground.  
I will not break the agony with a cry...  
Like grain, dig into the evil earth  
And grow up into the light. And know:  
Beyond their accidental victory  
The dusk of the grave crowds in.  
Foster, water, shelter this new thing,  
Spring will pass over this novelty,  
And a new love will ripen  
Raised up in your blood.

<sup>14</sup> On this see [Witt-Bratström, 1977, pp. 76 and 91 footnotes 51–53]. A brief but nice reading of Blok's poem and Fedor Sologub's verse with the same title can be read in [Bel'skaja 2013].

Bryusov's seven quatrains offer the image of an apocalyptic world wrought by blood-stained destruction, that is not far from Södergran's own vision of a renewed earth. On a formal level, Södergran's poem is less encumbered by the strictures of meter and rhyme, composed as it is in shorter lines of the freer accentual verse and lacking any rhyme scheme. Bryusov's poem is weightier in its formal make-up, written in tonic verse tending toward amphibrachic trimeter with a strict feminine *abab* rhyme scheme. Most striking is how both poems employ similar lexical items: Particularly notable are the words *грядущие* ("approaching," "coming"), *кровь* ("blood," in various grammatical cases) and *разрушение* ("utter destruction"), terms that each poet uses to similar though not identical effect. The sense of an important future is carried in the rather archaic and certainly religious (and thus, perhaps, apocalyptic) sounding word *грядущий*, often translated as "approaching" or "coming" but sounding to the Russian ear in 1907 like the archaic "cometh" does to English speakers today and carrying the connotation of "impending". In addition, the words "blood" (*кровь*) and "destruction" (*разрушение*) play their lexical roles differently in the two poems, eliciting both similar and disparate meanings while housed in their own differing poetic milieux. Thus, even though both poems share similar words, themes, and motifs and come to comparable conclusions about Russia's future, the two have significantly different ontological focuses.

A closer look at how the two poems' images diverge reveals each poet's understanding of the nature of inevitable change. Unlike Södergran's tranquil opening, Bryusov's poem begins with an ominous apostrophe to the approaching army of Huns:

*Где вы, грядущие гунны,  
Что тучей нависли над миром!  
Слышу ваш топот чугунный  
По еще не открытым Памирам.*

*На нас ордой опьянелой  
Рухните с темных становий —  
Оживить одряхлевшее тело  
Волной пылающей крови.*

*Поставьте, невольники воли,  
Шалаши у дворцов, как бывало,*

*Всколите веселое поле  
На месте тронного зала.*

*Сложите книги кострами,  
Пляшите в их радостном свете,  
Творите мерзость во храме —  
Вы во всем неповинны, как дети!*

*А мы, мудрецы и поэты,  
Хранители тайны и веры,  
Унесем зажженные светлы  
В катакомбы, в пустыни, в пещеры.*

*И что под бурей летучей,  
Под этой грозой разрушений,  
Сохранит играющий Случай  
Из наших заветных творений?*

*Бесследно все сгибнет, быть может,  
Что ведомо было одним нам,  
Но вас, кто меня уничтожит,  
Встречаю приветственным гимном.*

10 August 1905<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Bryusov apparently worked on this poem for nearly a year before completing it at the height of the 1905 Revolution. See Kolosova 2010 for a complete discussion of the poem's apocalyptic bent in light of Russian Symbolist themes.

Where are you, O heavy Huns,  
Who weigh on the world like a cloud?  
Far, under the Pamirian suns,  
Your cast-iron tread clangs loud.

Where are you, O heavy Huns,  
Who weigh on the world like a cloud?  
Far, under the Pamirian suns,  
Your cast-iron tread clangs loud.

Swoop down in a drunken horde  
From your dark encampments, arise  
Revive us In a tide of crimson, poured  
Over this land that dies.

O slaves of freedom, pitch  
Your tent by the palace gate.  
Plow up the happy field and ditch  
Where the throne shone on your fate.

Heap books to build a fire!  
Dance in their joyful light.  
Foul the altar steps with mire:  
You are children in our sight.

And we, the poets, the wise,  
From the onslaught that darkens and raves,  
Defending the torch you despise,  
Shall hold it in deserts and caves.  
Under the threatening storm,  
The tempests that raven and tear,  
What will the hazards of harm  
From our long labor spare?

All that we only knew  
Shall perish and sink and grow dim.  
But you who shall slay me, you  
I salute with hosanna and hymn.

(tr. Deutsch & Yarmolinsky pp. 90–91)



The picture of approaching and unavoidably destructive events, the necessity of blood, and the transformation of the future world are all here as they are in Södergran's poem. Yet the question arises: How do these nearly identical images with their closely tied themes and conclusions coalesce into such different poems? In large measure, the answer to the question requires raising another question, that is: What does each poet see as the essence of blood, its nature (violent or mystical) and what is its efficacy?

Bryusov's images of military invasion from outsiders and barbarians, — here equated to the Asiatic Huns — of bloody confrontation, of book burning, of the ironies of fate, and of blood spillage all engender the fear of violent confrontation, of anti-[pseudo]intellectualism and of defeatist resignation to an ironic prophesy. Indeed, the poem is surprisingly clairvoyant in foreseeing the fascist takeover of Europe a quarter of a century later. Södergran's images, on the other hand, evoke a sense of violence largely because she jolts the reader into recognizing its possibilities with her extra-rhythmical and truncated line *Для разрушения* (*For destruction*). Yet, this jarring image of violence is not sustained.

There is, as we have noted, a sharp contrast within Södergran's poem's revealed in the subtle movement from quietude to violence and bloodshed and back to quiet. In this regard, the second stanza initiates this transition with its uncomfortable description of blood. The Russian word here, *сочная*, (given fittingly as *saftig* in the Swedish translations) means not only moist, but also luscious, succulent, mellow, or juicy, — with its connotations of fruit juice — and even “alive” as in plants (*cf.* the English term “wick”). Thus the image conjured by the word is one of life-giving viscosity. Combined with the verb *полилась* (where the prefix *по-* adds the connotation of inception or beginning, *i.e.* “has begun to flow”) it also calls forth an image of the life-giving forces of nature that begin to run in seasons of renewal.

Unlike Bryusov's violence, Södergran's vision is one of renewal and transfiguration through a “quiet” process of destruction, birth and nourishment, in spite of the uncomfortable images of flowing blood. In fact, even though her second stanza acknowledges blood flow as an element of change, even destructive change, Södergran's choice of the verb “began to flow” lends a quite different air to her poem than we see in Bryusov's. The Russian verb *полилась* mitigates to a certain degree the potentially violent blood imagery since it recognizes the “flow” of blood

in all of its connotations. It is worth noting here that the two Swedish translations of this poem choose rather different verbs that result in quite different interpretations of this phrase. While Horace Engdahl's version has the phrase "vällde blodet fram" (the blood gushed forth), Tito Colliander's version has simply, and more accurately, "blod / började rinna" (blood / has begun to flow)<sup>16</sup>. The latter more directly connotes the sense "starting" conveyed by Russian original (a perfective verb with an inceptive sense, in the past tense). Södergran's choice of verb here is neutral at most, and can carry either a sense of sudden beginning or of anticipated, even natural, order. Thus, Trotzig rightly imagines the myriad themes possible in Södergran's choice of a non-committal verb. Indeed, the blood flowing can be resignation to the blood of pulmonary disease, or the positive flow of blood within the organism that heals, or to the life cycle that begins with, as Trotzig says, *kvinnoblödnigen* (384).

It is impossible to ignore the very different life situations of these two poets writing about the events around them and their perceived consequences: one a school girl doubtlessly experiencing a growing awareness of her womanhood and femininity in a violent, hierarchical political society, the other a well-established leading male poet, revered and often feared by those of over whom he had authority<sup>17</sup>. Thus, Bryusov's poem of destruction sees fear, flight and ultimate resignation as the only way to purify political wrongs. By contrast, Södergran's shows an ironic faith that the apocalypse can be effected from the inside, from the individual epiphany. And while Bryusov's poem brings the brutal forces of history to the forefront, Södergran's brings the process of birth and rebirth, with its inevitable and necessary blood and pain, to the fore. Ultimately Södergran's imagery of birth and the feminine intimacy with blood dissipates the discomfort of the necessary flow of blood. Unlike Bryusov's poem, which sees the blood as "washing over" in a violent wave and renewal arising from it, Södergran's blood seeps and "waters" the world of the apocalypse, as does the feminine blood the child who will be born.

The approaches to the image of inevitable changes coming to Russia (and perhaps to all the world) are markedly different in these pieces. Both welcome the inescapable fact of the approaching revision, and, in-

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<sup>16</sup> Engdahl's translation is quoted in [Rahikainen, 2014, p. 63], Colliander's translation is found in [Trotzig, 1978, pp. 383–384].

<sup>17</sup> See [Ašukin & Ščerbakov, 2006] for a biography of the sometimes authoritarian Bryusov.

deed, welcome the inevitable change — indeterminate as it might be — although on very different terms: the iron-like army of Huns contrasts the birth-giving images of Södergran's almost garden-like picture at the poem's close: *Въ черной земль* (In the black earth), a synecdoche that unmistakably connotes the fertile black earth of the Russian steppe land and by extension Russia and the earth as a whole<sup>18</sup>.

Each of these poems expresses an ultimate irony of resignation to overwhelming forces of history. Resignation for Bryusov's narrator, however, highlights a naïveté and ignorance on the part of those violently conquered by inevitable change while Södergran's poem expresses acceptance of the same forces in terms of renewal in a cycle of death and rebirth that is as natural as Bryusov's all-conquering Huns are unnatural. Herein lies a crucial distinction between revolution and evolution: Bryusov's poem expresses an essential tendency to see and affirm the destructive violence of existence, while Södergran's expresses an essential tendency to see and affirm the cyclical life-giving matter of existence.

Clearly the social and political conditions of Edith Södergran's Petersburg together with the circumstances of her personal life helped give rise to this unique lyric. As an expression of her linguistic and lyrical genius these twenty lines reveal a notable ability to express lucidly a depth of poetic sentiment in yet another of her youthful languages. Imparting as it does her views of the Tsarist regime's harsh and uncompromising reaction to civil unrest, the poem adopts the common themes and metaphors of older and contemporary Russian poets, whose vision of an impending apocalyptic Russian future are expressed in poems of violence, strife and revolutionary bloodshed. Yet, Södergran's youthful viewpoint adds elements of hopeful evolution to any vision of a future catastrophe, rendering the blood metaphor meaningful as both a portent of loss and an element of nourishment and life-giving renewal. As a talented young woman surrounded by political upheaval and at the same time infused with the poetic artistry of the Russian capital, it is not surprising that Södergran produced this poem of complex awareness, genuine sentiment and far-reaching vision.

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<sup>18</sup> Although the soil around Roshchino and St Petersburg is rather meagre and not well suited for lush agriculture, the image of "black earth" was a well established metaphor for the Russian land and the nourishing earth by Södergran's time. In this sense one can cite poems by Merezhkovsky ("Над немьм пространством чернозема...") and Voloshin ("Быть черною землей") among many others.

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**О КОНТЕКСТЕ РУССКОГО СТИХОТВОРЕНИЯ  
«ТИХО, ТИХО, ТИХО» ЭДИТ СЁДЕРГРАН**

Для цитирования: *Crnković D.* On the contexts of Edith Södergran's Russian poem "Tikho, tikho, tikho" // Скандинавская филология. 2018. Т. 16. Вып. 2. С. 323–339. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2018.209>

Анализируется единственное стихотворение Эдит Сёдергран, написанное на русском языке, в его литературном, лингвистическом, культурологическом и историческом контекстах. Стихотворение «Тихо, тихо, тихо», созданное в период, когда поэт экспериментировала с полиязычной поэзией для своей так называемой *Vaxdukhäft* («Клеенчатой тетради»), отражает преемственность классическим размерам русской поэзии и родственность русским символистам, в том числе поэзии А. Блока и В. Брюсова. В отличие от ряда предыдущих исследований, в которых стихотворение оценивается как юношеские стихи, написанные находящейся в культурной изоляции девушкой-«иностранкой», к тому же живущей в замкнутой частной среде, делается вывод о том, что эти строки были написаны в духе исторического момента. В стихотворении Сёдергран мы сталкиваемся с разнообразными и впечатляющими образами — от передающих насилие до наполненных мистицизмом, и это говорит о лабиринте разнообразных эмоций, глубоком внутреннем опыте и озбоченности общественно-политической ситуацией, которые хочет передать поэт. Несмотря на то что в стихотворении преобладают образы разрушения, кровопролития и перерождения, которые можно связать с личным опытом страдавшей от туберкулеза Сёдергран, эти образы также можно вывести и из таких в корне отличающихся друг от друга контекстов, как сотрясаемое террором и революционным насилием общество и крепнущее самовосприятие молодой женщины. Таким образом, рассмотренное в более широком контексте восприятия Сёдергран литературных и культурных норм своего времени, а также его политических потрясений, стихотворение отражает не только ее природный поэтический дар, но и утонченное восприятие окружающего мира, несомненно, выдающиеся для столь раннего этапа творческого пути.

**Ключевые слова:** версификация, А. Блок, В. Брюсов, литературные контексты, образ крови, русская поэзия, Эдит Сёдергран, символизм, символисты, стихосложение.

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### **LEARNING ABOUT SWEDISH CULTURE FROM SVEN NORDQVIST'S BOOKS (CASE-STUDY: PETTSON AND FINDUS BOOK SERIES)**

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In a globalized world knowledge of values and peculiarities of other cultures becomes an indispensable condition for successful cross-cultural communication, promotes a deeper awareness of one's own culture, develops tolerance and facilitates political, economic, cultural and other contacts between countries. One of the sources of acquiring background knowledge is literary text, in which authors recreate objective reality of their countries. Well-translated and nicely illustrated children literature allows readers to get acquainted with peculiarities of other cultures from a very early age. The aim of the article is to study the reflection of Swedish culture in Sven Nordqvist's books written and illustrated for children. Nordqvist's books, namely the book series about Pettson and Findus, have become popular all over the world. The main character named Pettson is an old Swedish farmer who lives on his own in a traditional red country house surrounded by a garden until the day when a restless kitten, whom Pettson without a moment's hesitation calls Findus, appears in his ordered life. From that day on his main task is to ingeniously solve the problems which Findus gets into. Books about Pettson and Findus are translated into many languages, made into cartoons and educational programmes. Illustrations made by Sven Nordqvist make the books special as they supplement the textual information about Sweden, its geographical setting, benefits of living a rustic life, traditions, holidays, cuisine, inventions, etc. Sven Nordqvist manages to capture the spirit of living in Sweden all year round. He gives his readers the opportunity to get peculiar knowledge of Swedish culture, necessary for effective interaction with the representatives of a different cultural background.

**Keywords:** Sven Nordqvist, Swedish culture, cross-cultural communication, traditions.

Nowadays it's impossible to imagine any activity of a person without integration into the world community. People exchange their experience, master their skills, get new impressions when they study, work, travel, read books, etc. In order to be successful in cross-cultural communication, which is "a communication of the language personalities belonging to various linguocultural communities" [Andreyeva et al., 2015, s. 209] an individual should possess relevant and actual knowledge, skills and competences. It's not enough to acquire and master "a verbal code (a foreign language) only, but also an extra code (background knowledge), which can positively influence the development of cross-cultural relations, and help to reduce the frequency of communicative failures" [Kramersch cited in Andreyeva, 2015, s. 209]. According to G. N. Rzaeva, M. R. Mustafaeva and D. F. Mamedova "the effectiveness of cross-cultural communication depends on many factors: peculiarities and culture of communication, rules of etiquette, knowledge of nonverbal forms of expression, background knowledge in general, and many other things" [Rzaeva, 2017, s. 32]. It is evident that there is a need for a deeper and more thorough study of the world of native speakers, their culture, way of life, national character and mentality.

It should be noted that the term 'background knowledge' has a wide meaning. Taking into account definitions of the term given by O. S. Akhmanova (mutual knowledge of realities by the speaker and the listener) and V. S. Vinogradov (sociocultural information, characteristic of a certain nation or nationality, mastered by its representatives and reflected in the language of the national community), M. A. Khavanskaya comes to the conclusion that background knowledge implies knowledge of specific realities. A multicultural personality is developing in the process of forming background knowledge, becoming aware of self identity in the multicultural perspective and tolerant towards representatives of a different cultural background, and interacting effectively with them [Khavanskaya, 2015, s. 157]. Undoubtedly, many cultures possess common features, although specific realities are those unique traits which are characteristic for representatives and non-representatives of a culture. These realities have their own history meaningful for representatives of a particular culture and give them the right to be proud of their country and culture. For this reason it is necessary to consider not only principal differences between cultures, but also the details no matter tiny they may seem.

According to O.A. Andreyeva et al., “acquisition of cross-cultural communicative competence which represents functional abilities to understand views and opinions of representatives of other cultures, to alter the behaviour, to overcome the conflicts in the course of communication, to recognize the right for existence of various values, behaviour norms becomes the most demanded for the modern expert” [Andreyeva et al., 2015, s. 210]. In the process of acquisition of cross-cultural communicative competence a special attention should be paid to social globalization, which touches upon “such areas as science, education, ideology, culture, ethics, etc., erecting new barriers on the already difficult way of cross-cultural communication, generating not only interpenetration, but also interaction of cultures that leads to their serious changes, which might be either negative or positive” [Surovneva et al., 2017, s. 391]. We realize that the two spheres are inseparable, as far as they are interconnected. Communication with barriers is still possible, but only a formal communication, when the parties are not interested in continuing and developing their interaction. Knowledge of the other culture influences the person’s own culture introducing certain changes and permitting to preserve peculiarities thus making this person’s life, society and culture more vivid, memorable and authentic.

Researchers A. A. Surovneva and P. V. Prokhoda [Surovneva et al., 2017] find both advantages of cultural changes resulting from globalization (acceleration of socio-cultural dynamics, significant increase in the amount of information consumed by an individual, overcoming of political boundaries and ideological and intercultural communication barriers that seemed to be unshakable, allowing to form a single spiritual space where the values of the representatives of different civilizations are accumulated), and disadvantages (unification of moral values, destruction of cultural identity and traditional values of authentic cultures, rise of nationalism, extremism, chauvinism and xenophobia, increasing of contradictions and conflicts all around the world). Scientists come to the conclusion that, in order to avoid the negative consequences of globalization, cross-cultural communication should be based on the principle of mutual tolerance.

The study and acceptance of other cultures should be based upon the knowledge of the own culture. This process implies being open, but it doesn’t mean that a person should infringe his own beliefs and encroach upon his individuality [Surovneva et al., 2017, s. 394]. But what does



the term 'culture' mean? There is a large number of definitions of this term. According to E. I. Kryukova " 'culture' means an integral system of learned behaviour patterns that are characteristic of the members of any given society" [Kryukova, 2016, s. 38]. N. P. Bezuglova considers that "culture appears as a complex system composed of partially differently oriented layers that create a large range of varieties, which is manifested in the unity and often 'struggle' of cultures (regional, confessional, etc.), in a wide range of differentiation options between high and folk cultures or subcultures" [Bezuglova, 2017, s. 87]. Representatives of different fields of knowledge have their own interpretations of this term depending on the sphere, object and subject matter of the research and methods. Definitions of 'culture' are multifaceted and will provoke major disputes for many years to come.

However, in terms of this study, it is important to specify the 'components' of culture. According to N. S. Kaplunova [Kaplunova, 2012, s. 101] there are five components, that, somehow, define the national specific: a) traditions (or sustainable elements of culture), as well as customs, defined as traditions and rites; b) household culture, closely connected with traditions, for this reason it is often called traditional and everyday culture; c) daily behaviour (habits of representatives of culture, social conventions adopted in the society, and the mimic code associated with them, d) 'national pictures of the world', reflecting the specific perception of the world, national features of thinking (i.e. mentality); e) an artistic culture reflecting cultural traditions of the ethnos.

As mentioned above, socio-cultural competence implies knowledge of national cultural peculiarities of people's social and verbal code, namely, their customs, traditions, etiquette, stereotypes, history, culture and ways to apply this knowledge in communication [Voluzheva et al., 2013, s. 63]. Formation of this competence is carried out in the context of the so-called dialogue of cultures. It helps people to achieve intercultural understanding and develop their tolerant attitude to a different culture.

Literary text gives people a possibility to participate in the dialogue of cultures and form socio-cultural competence. A literary text is considered as "an act of mediated communication: separated by time, distance, verbal and cultural differences, the author and the reader share the common context and events described the book (...) Creating an imaginary reality on the basis of the objective reality, the author ex-

presses his viewpoint, outlines implicitly normative settings, models of acceptable encouraged behaviour of the society and culture” [Mandzhiev et al., 2014, s. 154]. The author allows his readers to perceive the national values, i.e. values of his contemporaries and his culture. According to A. A. Mandzhiev and N.I. Chernova [Mandzhiev et al., 2014, s. 154], there are five aspects which provide the reader with the necessary knowledge and skills that contribute to successful communication with representatives of a different cultural background. They are the following:

1. Stereotypes and prejudices;
2. ‘Friend or Foe’ issue;
3. Culture shock;
4. Acculturation;
5. Collectivism and individualism.

One of the most important criteria for choosing an ‘appropriate’ book for reading is its contemporaneity, as far as in this case events, situations, lacunas and background knowledge are rather actual and relevant [Mandzhiev et al., 2014, s. 154]. They can give a better understanding of another culture. Books, be it fairy-tales, novels, detective stories, represent a definite model, scenario of people’s behavior, their values, preferences and interests. Probably, books are incapable of reflecting and reconstructing all the peculiarities of this or that culture, but they give a general picture and serve as food for future research.

The aim of this article is to study how Swedish culture is represented and reflected in Sven Nordqvist’s books. Sven Otto Rickard Nordqvist (born 1946) is a contemporary Swedish writer and illustrator. He studied architecture in Lund and after graduation he started working as a lecturer at the university. Meanwhile, he illustrated different advertisements, posters, and picture books and in 1983 won his first prize in a children’s book competition. Since then his career as writer and illustrator has started. Nordqvist is best known for his Pettson and Findus book series. Pettson is an old farmer who lives alone in a small red ramshackle house in the country side. One day a neighbour brings him a cat whom Pettson without a moment’s hesitation calls Findus according to the frozen food brand printed on the carton box in which the cat is brought [Plahtienko, 2016].

Pettson lives in a world of harmony. “The days come and go and Pettson does what he always has done — cultivates his garden, goes fish-

ing at the nearby lake (catching perch), makes an invention out of what he has collected in his house, in the attic or things left somewhere in his garden. He listens to the weather report on the radio (a tube radio, certainly) or just quarrels with his cat Findus [Axell et al., 2014].

The stories about adventures of an old farmer and his cat have become very popular among people of different ages and nationalities all over the world. Sven Nordqvist has by now written and illustrated ten books about the ingenious Pettson and his naughty Findus. According to the publishing house “Opal”, his books are translated into 47 languages (2015). Stories about Pettson and Findus are made into cartoons and educational programmes.

Except for “The Mechanical Santa”, the stories about Pettson and Findus are quite short. Nevertheless, the author manages to reflect enough of a wide range of Swedish realities and society. Evidently, it's not possible to touch upon all peculiarities described and illustrated by Sven Nordqvist within the scope of the article, so, we will briefly dwell on some of them.

## HOUSING AND RURAL ENVIRONMENT

Considering typical rural environment, we notice that the most widespread villages are rather small and sparsely populated. They are located on the banks of a lake or a sea. Such isolated location of rural settlements led to the formation of conformism, manifesting in the aspiration of Swedes to preserve ties and traditions of the community and protect them against penetration of strangers [Gul'ko, 2012, s. 140].

“Gray lake, gray sky, dark forest around ... Leaves have fallen down, bright colours of summer were giving way to the winter palette” [Nordqvist, Findus goes fishing, 2014]. The reader can feel the atmosphere of the place where Pettson and Findus lived: “Everything around was grayish green and brown. Moist air made colours saturated and the forest seemed to be shining bright” [Nordqvist, Findus goes fishing, 2014]. Almost each illustration of the book “Findus goes fishing” depicts a typical autumn landscape of Sweden: conifer forest, huge rocks, bare trees, fallen leaves and a fireman boat in the middle of the lake [Nordqvist, Findus goes fishing, 2014].

Pettson's house was supposedly built in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The forms and techniques of construction were determined by the

lack of imported construction materials, mechanisms and work force due to financial deficit. People avoided using concrete in favour of local materials — brick, tile, stone and wood. Handicraft methods flourished in contrast to industrial ones. Architecture of buildings became more picturesque. Wood and plastered brick were used both in exterior and in interior. Intensive colours replaced whiteness, small windows replaced the bigger ones [Ptichnikova, 2016, s. 231].

The house was usually surrounded with a garden which was a kind of a natural forest (pines, birches, etc.). At this period and later architecture was considered as an integral part of a complex environment, where buildings and landscape form a unique body [Ptichnikova, 2016, s. 231].

From the historical perspective, we see that a traditional Swedish farmhouse was usually red. It is surrounded by different household out-buildings which are red as well. This famous red paint called “falu red” originated from Sweden. It consisted of water, rye flour, oil and tailings from copper mines of Falun which contained iron oxides, copper and zinc. It sank deep into wood and reduced moisture absorption to protect it against rot. The earliest evidence of it dates from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was commonly used in Sweden until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when people started using paints [Hall et al., 2005].

Pettson lives in one of those typical red farmhouses with a tool shed, a hen house, a woodshed and a garden [Nordqvist, Pancake Pie, 2014]. Nordqvist colourfully depicts Pettson’s rustic way of life: his full of tools and gadgets tool shed, messy hen house and well-groomed garden with blossoming apple trees. The interior of his house is rather plain: dingy wallpapers, shabby chairs and benches, a stained cast iron plate, cotton fabric mats on the floor, bristling with all kinds of utensils shelves, a wooden knob bed and all other things make his house look untidy. The attic is littered with old unnecessary things which sooner or later find their application.

Pettson’s garden is quite ordinary. There is a number of vegetable beds, red currant bushes, several apple trees and, of course, sunflowers. Wooden garden furniture is forthright and comfortable. Similar tables and chairs can be found in almost every garden in the Swedish countryside and the reader will see the example of them in the book “When Findus was little and disappeared”. When Pettson’s neighbour Beda Andersson comes to visit him, they are sitting in the garden at the wooden

folding table painted white, drinking coffee and eating Swedish most traditional cinnamon buns.

Being a handy man, Pettson spends hours in his tool shed. Tool shed is an integral part of any farm house. The absence of curtains on the window lets the daylight in. At the small window there is a large wooden table on which various tools and devices can be found. All of them are neatly organized.

All in all, Pettson's house and dwelling is comfortable and secure. It's his place of life, a refuge, that's why every tiny thing is functional, solid, easy to use, well proportioned, and always beautiful.

## CLOTHES

The development of Swedish folk costume was influenced by natural and climatic conditions. Due to the harsh Northern climate both men's and women's clothing was multi-layered. It initially performed a protective function. Embroidery and ornaments were rather simple and originally served as a protective charm. For the most part traditional folk costume demonstrated the main features of Swedish people — discretion and simplicity [Shvedova, 2016, s. 175].

With the transformation of Sweden from an agrarian society into a modern industrial state the peasant culture as well as folk costumes disappeared. But even today there are Swedes who like dressing up in traditional costumes to mark different festive occasions such as Midsummer and folk festivals. Though folk costumes were different with distinctive local features and ornaments, they had much in common. Regardless of their function, whether they were worn on a daily basis or for a festive occasion, women wore a long linen shirt and a white blouse thereover. The skirt and bodice were either sewn together or separate. An apron was a mandatory part of women's costume. In many parts of Sweden women wore kerchiefs either on their head or over the shoulders. Stockings reached only to the knee and were kept up by garters wound round the leg. On their feet they had heavy leather shoes.

Men wore a long linen shirt with two deep slits at the bottom. It allowed them to serve the same purpose as underpants as they were tucked up between their legs. The breeches ended just below the knee and, in order to protect themselves from cold, men wore long stockings. A waistcoat was an essential part of men's costume [Arnö-Berg, 1976].

In the Pettson and Findus series of books the main characters neither daily nor for special occasions put on folk costumes, but the tradition to wear simple cuts and natural fabrics is depicted in the illustrations. Pettson is the generalized character of an average Swedish farmer. He wears gray canvas trousers belted with a piece of rope. Over his simple cotton shirt without a collar he always puts on an old brick-red waistcoat. In winter he protects himself from the cold wearing a khaki-coloured sweater and a shabby woolen jacket. His head is always covered with a hat, though in every season the hat is different. A hat has always been a part of the traditional men's folk costume. As a typical Swedish farmer Pettson puts on a wide-brimmed hat when he spends his time gardening, fishing or just walking with Findus. In winter when it gets cold, he has to change his habitual hat for a warmer knitted one. Pettson's footwear is simple but seems to be rather comfortable and solid. In warm seasons he has black leather boots on and when the weather becomes nasty Pettson puts on his pair of old top boots.

His neighbours are also dressed in a simple way. Women's clothing consists of several parts: a shirt or a blouse, a woolen jacket or a knitted cardigan over it and a long skirt. On every occasion women throw a patterned kerchief over the shoulders. When it comes to working in the garden women put on an apron and tie a scarf around the head. In his illustration Nordqvist manages to depict most characteristic features of the everyday peasant clothing of that time.

Nordqvist doesn't often introduce new characters. Friends and neighbours are rare guests in Pettson's house, but when it comes to holidays it becomes rather overcrowded.

## TRADITIONS AND HOLIDAYS

Swedish holidays are traditionally divided into two categories — the Christian and non-Christian holidays. Christian holidays comprise of the classic Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter, and non-Christian holidays include the National Day of Sweden, New Year's Day, Midsummer, etc. Christmas holiday is the biggest and longest holiday of the year. It begins on the first Sunday of Advent when the family gathers together to light up the first Advent candle. Each Sunday prior to Christmas another candle is lit. The 13<sup>th</sup> of December is the day of St. Lucy. The Lucy procession will visit different public places, such as churches, hospitals

and shopping malls singing and handing out gingerbread. Christmas traditionally completes the series of winter holidays [Swahn, 2012].

The beauty of December is well-described in “The Mechanical Santa”. First of all it’s the atmosphere: “it has been snowing for a whole week and the old man’s house, the old woodshed, the hen house and the tool shed were covered with a snow blanket”, “there was so much to be done (before Christmas) to bake gingerbread and clean the whole house”, “Christmas Eve ... The candles on the Christmas tree are lit, the wood is crackling in the stove, it’s dark outside the window” [Nordqvist, The Mechanical Santa, 2015]. The window in the dining room is decorated with the traditional Swedish Advents star and the candle holder with four candles, the Christmas tree is trimmed with tiny candles, string flags and gingerbread hearts. Pettson is sitting in the armchair and telling Findus about the day when he got to the hospital and was lucky to see the Lucy procession: “Pettson told how beautiful it was when the girls were proceeding with the candles” [Nordqvist, The Mechanical Santa, 2015, s. 68]. They are listening to the radio and Findus starts singing along the traditional “Santa Lucia”, “Silent night” and “Staffan was a stable boy”. In the book “Findus at Christmas” when Pettson slipped and hurt his leg, his neighbours come to visit him on Christmas Eve and bring him a lot of tasty things such as traditional Christmas ham, pork sausages, Lutfisk, meatballs, jellied meat, etc. [Nordqvist, Findus at Christmas, 2014]. It’s worth mentioning that the neighbours have very widespread Swedish family names (Andersson, Gustavsson, Johansson, Nilsson, Lindgren) and names (Elsa, Axel).

In each book the reader can come across the illustration on which Pettson is sitting at the table, drinking coffee and thinking deep. It’s a well-known fact that Sweden takes the second place after Finland when it comes to coffee consumption.

## TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATIONS

Pettson likes technologies and inventions. All over the world Swedes are known as a nation of inventors and innovators, and they still preserve their aspiration to technical perfection [Guľko, 2012, s. 140].

Researchers C. Axell, J. Hallström, J.-E. Hagberg [Axell et al., 2014] studied images of technology and how technology is linked to sustainable development in Swedish children’s literature as the technology

plays a decisive role in reducing the conflict between growing economic activities and reductions in the use of natural resources. The scientists summarized traditional values in Sweden which are considered to be “a part of everyday life for many generations” [Axell et al., 2014]: a Swede should be industrious and thrifty, support his family, manage the resources he has got and turn means and responsibilities over to the next generation when that time comes.

C. Axell, J. Hallström, J.-E. Hagberg [Axell et al., 2014] identified four main ways in which technology is portrayed in some Swedish children's books:

1. Servant mode: technology is a powerful assistant to man and a tool to fulfill needs, wishes and dreams;
2. Deterministic mode: technology is something that has escaped from man's control;
3. Benevolent mode: technology is a loyal and 'equal' companion to man;
4. Nostalgic mode: 'older technologies' are better or more natural than modern (or the latest) technologies and old technology is attributed a higher value.

Books about Pettson propagate the nostalgic mode: “Technology is a natural tool in a rural world. The contact with nature retains morality and balance. Society rests on an eco-centric vision, which means that the ecosystems, other species and the landscapes have intrinsic values, regardless of their importance to man. There is a connection to virtues that, in a country like Sweden, have been a part of everyday life for many generations in many rural and agrarian communities” [Axell et al., 2014].

It's hardly possible for Pettson to live without creating and constructing things which he finds useful in everyday life. When a good idea comes to his mind he can spend hours in his tool shed thinking, making calculations and doing arts and crafts. Without a doubt the most impressive invention is his mechanical Santa for Findus [Nordqvist, The Mechanical Santa, 2015]. Pettson wants to make a surprise for his cat and tells him that he is busy with inventing a machine that can feed the stove with wood sticks, which in reality is going to be a Santa Claus kind of robot.

All his inventions are ecologically friendly and cause no harm to the nature and living beings. An example of such inventions is an alarm sys-



tem which he constructs in order to protect his hens from a hen-hunting fox [Nordqvist, Findus and the Fox, 2014]. Pettson's neighbour Gustavsson tells him that a fox has taken his chicken, that's why he offers Pettson to take his gun and shoot it next time when it comes to his hen house. But Findus feels pity for the fox and offers Pettson to outwit it. Pettson and Findus create a plan how to outwit the fox: Pettson makes a toy chicken and stuffs it with pepper in order to scare away the fox as soon as it catches the chicken and starts sneezing. Findus offers to make the effect even greater by adding fireworks to make loud noises and fire scare the fox even greater. And to completely horrify the fox Findus proposes to use a ghost which will be played by Findus himself. To do this he will have to wear a bed sheet and swing down from the attic onto a tree using a rope. Therefore, the characters manage to scare not only the fox but their neighbour as well using the materials at hand. So, readers can see that the main character is really keen on inventions and tries to create something new in any situation.

## COMMUNICATION AND NATIONAL CHARACTER

Speaking about culture and cross-cultural communication it is important to pay attention to the manner of communication characteristic for the representatives of a particular culture and the way they interact with others. Researchers point out the following specific features of the Swedish character [Pishhik et al., 2017]: persistence, punctuality, precision, responsibility and reliability in relations, standoffishness, striving for solitude, deliberate conflict avoidance, tendency to keep their aggression at bay, etc. While reading books by S. Nordqvist we notice some of those features with Pettson. His striving for solitude becomes evident, he does not look for his neighbours' company, he feels quite comfortable with his cat. It's worth noting that all characters — major and minor ones — address each other in an informal way ('du' which is singular for 'you' in English). This reflects one of the Swedish habits — to address people they know as well as those they don't by using the 'du' pronoun, which illustrates their friendly and informal attitude.

When analyzing Findus' manner to communicate we realize that he is always very emotional, most of his phrases are exclamatory. Verbs that S. Nordqvist uses when describing cat's speech ('exclaimed', 'shouted', 'yelled', 'screamed', 'cried', etc.) illustrate his emotional nature. Very

often Findus behaves like a child (he 'wines', 'gets offended', 'sniffs', 'gets stubborn'). But Pettson's reaction to all his actions is calm, reserved and reasonable ('assured', 'proposed', 'explained', 'calmed him down', etc.). At the same time Pettson doesn't use imperatives, but offers and suggestions ('I think we should', 'maybe', 'it seems that...', etc.). It is evident that irrespective of the circumstances Pettson remains cold-blooded. Findus' lively and capricious speech does not unbalance Pettson and does not provoke scandals and collisions.

Summing up, it's necessary to emphasize the importance of the socio-cultural competence for successful communication, since it contributes to the individual's awareness of the peculiarities of the own and other cultures. A respectful attitude, understanding and acceptance of a different culture are established in the process of socio-cultural competence formation, which favorably leads to positive development of economical, political, cultural, scientific and other contacts with representatives of a different cultural background. This competence might be formed in a number of ways, for instance, within the course of a foreign language, history, literature, both within the educational system and outside it. Reading books, even translated ones, allows to acquire a fairly wide range of knowledge about different spheres of foreign society.

The analysis of S. Nordqvist's Pettson and Findus book series made it possible to highlight some key aspects, giving the reader a general idea about Sweden, its objective/real geographic, historical, economic, cultural and other characteristics, reflected in the imaginary world of an old man and a cat.

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**ОТРАЖЕНИЕ КУЛЬТУРЫ ШВЕЦИИ В КНИГАХ СВЕНА НУРДКВИСТА  
(НА ПРИМЕРЕ СЕРИИ КНИГ О ПЕТСОНЕ И ФИНДУСЕ)**

**Для цитирования:** *Konopleva T. O., Pechinkina O. V. Learning about Swedish culture from Sven Nordqvist's books (case-study: Pettson and Findus book series) // Скандинавская филология. 2018. Т. 16. Вып. 2. С. 340–355. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2018.210>*

В условиях мировой глобализации знание особенностей и ценностей иных культур становится необходимым условием эффективной коммуникации, способствует более глубокому осознанию родной культуры, формирует толерантность и содействует установлению и развитию политических, экономических, культурных и иных контактов между странами. Одним из источников приобретения необходимых знаний служат художественные тексты, в которых авторы воссоздают объективную реальность своей страны. Профессионально переве-

денная и ярко иллюстрированная детская литература позволяет познакомиться с особенностями культуры другой страны в раннем возрасте. Анализируется отражение элементов культуры Швеции в книгах шведского писателя-иллюстратора Свена Нурдквиста. Книги этого современного автора, а именно серия книг про Петсона и Финдуса, пользуются большой популярностью во многих странах мира. Главный герой книги — Петсон, немолодой мужчина, живущий в одиночестве в традиционном сельском домике с садом на краю шведской деревушки. Однажды в его размеренной жизни появляется беспокойный и озорной котенок, которого Петсон без долгих раздумий называет Финдусом. С этого момента ему приходится постоянно искать выход из проблемных ситуаций, в которые попадает Финдус. Книги о Петсоне и Финдусе переведены на многие языки, по ним сняты мультфильмы и разработаны образовательные программы. Особенностью книг являются иллюстрации автора — профессионального художника, которые дополняют текстовую информацию о Швеции, ее географических особенностях, бытовом укладе сельских жителей, традициях, праздниках, национальной кухне, изобретениях и т.д. Свен Нурдквист талантливо изображает повседневный уклад жизни Швеции. Читатели получают возможность приобрести знания о культуре Швеции, необходимые для эффективного взаимодействия с представителями других культур.

**Ключевые слова:** Свен Нурдквист, шведская культура, межкультурная коммуникация, традиции.

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## ТЕОРИЯ И ПРАКТИКА ПЕРЕВОДА

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### **ПОВТОРНЫЕ ПЕРЕВОДЫ ШВЕДСКОЙ КЛАССИКИ:**

### **НЕОБХОДИМОСТЬ ИЛИ ИЗЛИШЕСТВО?**

### **(НА ПРИМЕРЕ ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЙ С. ЛАГЕРЛЁФ И А. ЛИНДГРЕН)**

**Для цитирования:** *Савицкая А. В.* Повторные переводы шведской классики: необходимость или излишество? (на примере произведений С. Лагерлёф и А. Линдгрена) // *Скандинавская филология*. 2018. Т. 16. Вып. 2. С. 356–368. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2018.211>

В последние десятилетия появился целый ряд повторных переводов произведений мировой классической литературы, и каждый вызывал жаркие дискуссии как в печати, так и в Интернете. Однако повторных переводов шведской классики, особенно опубликованных в последнее время, мало. Рассматривается вопрос о необходимости нового обращения к уже существующим на русском языке произведениям и выделяется ряд причин, обусловивших достоинства и недочеты некоторых повторных переводов. Переводы шведской классики подразделяются на три периода: 1) переводы, выполненные до 1917 г. и сразу после; 2) переводы советского времени и 3) переводы постсоветского периода. Одним из немногих авторов, которых переводили во все три периода, является Сельма Лагерлёф, поэтому ее произведениям уделяется особое внимание. Повторное обращение к текстам, переведенным в первый период, как правило, необходимо, поскольку тогда переводы нередко делались с языка-посредника и оказывались излишне буквальными, а также содержали неточности и пропуски. Переводы второго периода обычно отличаются высоким качеством русского языка, но в ряде случаев обладают недостатками, обусловленными тем, что переводчик не в полной мере владел шведским языком и не имел доступа к необходимой страноведческой информации. Вместе с тем повторный перевод публикаций

этого периода, даже при абсолютной точности, иногда оказывается обреченным на неудачу в силу популярности талантливого русского текста, созданного первым переводчиком. Поскольку шведская классика переведена на русский язык далеко не полностью, возможно, современным переводчикам было бы лучше направить свои усилия на еще не переведенные произведения.

**Ключевые слова:** повторный перевод, шведская классика, С.Лагерлёф, А.Линдгрэн, Нильс Хольгерссон, Карлсон.

В настоящее время многие специалисты по теории художественного перевода уделяют особое внимание исследованию категории переводной множественности, что неудивительно, поскольку многие произведения, написанные на «больших» языках, существуют на русском языке в нескольких переводах. За последние десятилетия количество таких «перепереводов» существенно увеличилось, и по поводу них велись оживленные споры как в печати, так и в Интернете. Ситуация же со шведской классической литературой выглядит иначе: повторных переводов, особенно опубликованных в последнее время, мало. Естественно, возникает вопрос: существует ли необходимость заново переводить классические произведения и насколько удачными являются уже предпринятые попытки? Сразу оговоримся, что этот вопрос рассматривается в статье в отрыве от коммерческой составляющей, поскольку сейчас довольно трудно представить себе издательство, которое согласилось бы на публикацию нового перевода шведского классика без солидного спонсорского финансирования.

Для начала обратимся к маленькой исторической справке. Русские переводы шведской классики можно разделить на три периода: 1) переводы, выполненные до 1917 г. и сразу после; 2) переводы, выполненные в советское время и 3) переводы постсоветского периода. Авторы, которых переводили во все три периода, немного. Одним из них является Сельма Лагерлёф, поэтому ее произведениям в статье уделяется особое внимание.

Следует отметить, что переводы первого периода нередко осуществлялись не со шведского языка, а с языка-посредника, роль которого чаще всего играл немецкий. В отдельных случаях, правда, родным языком переводчика являлся шведский, и это иногда влекло за собой отсутствие полноценного ощущения стиля в русском языке. Оба фактора часто приводили к тому, что переводы оказывались излишне буквальными или, напротив, содержали

выпуски или откровенные неточности, а иногда и чистый домысел переводчика. Произведения, существующие на русском языке только в таких переводах, безусловно, желательно переводить заново, чтобы читатель смог в полной мере оценить мастерство автора. Этот тезис убедительно подтверждает сравнение двух переводов рассказа С. Лагерлёф «Артиллерист» (в новом переводе «Канонир»). Первый из них был опубликован в 1923 г., а второй — в 2018 г. Возьмем для примера два предложения из этого текста:

1) *Om du kan komma ifrån, så bör du också ställa dig där.* — «Если тебе можно будет уйти из дому, ты должна постараться также стать тут» [Лагерлёф, 1923, с. 144]. «Если сможешь вырваться из дому, вставай тут» [Лагерлёф, 2018, с. 262].

2) *Tänk er bara, då ni ser dessa förstörda rester av en människa, att de har inneslutit det äldste, som finns i denna värld!* — «Но когда вы увидите эти изуродованные останки человека, думайте только об одном, что они носили в себе все, что есть самого благородного в этом мире» [Лагерлёф, 1923, с. 149]. «Но, глядя на искалеченные останки вашего мужа, помните о том, что он был одним из благороднейших людей на земле» [Лагерлёф, 2018, с. 265].

Легко заметить, что первый перевод (переводчик Р. Тирапольская) в обоих случаях отличается буквализмом, а во втором примере фраза оказывается вообще маловразумительной. Автор современного перевода (И. Матыцина), мастерски прибегая к ряду переводческих трансформаций, делает оба предложения более компактными и полностью отвечающими нормам русского языка, что, несомненно, повышает качество текста. Можно лишь высказать сожаление, что этот перевод, как и ряд других прекрасных работ современных переводчиков, был пока опубликован только в сборнике материалов научной конференции и недоступен широкому кругу читателей.

Большинство переводов второго периода отличаются от своих предшественников прежде всего качеством русского языка, чему в советской школе перевода уделялось большое внимание. Помимо переводчиков над книгами, как правило, трудились высокопрофессиональные редакторы, что также способствовало повышению качества обработки русского текста. Однако целый ряд переводов этого периода, особенно 1950–1960-х годов, имеет недостатки, объяснявшиеся тем, что переводчики не в полной



мере владели шведским языком и работали в условиях «железного занавеса», т. е. не имели доступа к необходимой страноведческой информации. В результате некоторые переводы содержат ошибочные толкования реалий, достаточно своеобразную транскрипцию или перевод микротопонимов и купюры, обусловленные требованиями цензуры или попросту отсутствием у переводчика соответствующих знаний. Так, в переводе романа Яльмара Сёдерберга «Серьезная игра» говорится, что герой «брел по тропинке Зоологического» [Сёдерберг, 1971, с. 142], и можно подумать, что он гуляет по зоологическому саду, хотя на самом деле он идет по острову Юргорден. Здесь переводчик совершенно напрасно стал переводить название острова, причем не совсем корректно, что привело к неточности. В том же романе переводчик отправляет героя пешком до города Лунда, хотя тот доходит до местечка Лунден [Сёдерберг, 1971, с. 153]. Нужно ли переводить такие произведения заново, большой вопрос, поскольку сам текст читается очень хорошо. Возможно, здесь уместнее говорить о необходимости редактирования перевода. Данная проблема приобрела особую остроту в связи с появлением новых переводов произведений Астрид Линдгрэн.

Многие поколения русских детей очень любят повести о Карлсоне, который живет на крыше, переведенные Л. Лунгиной. Первая из них была опубликована в Советском Союзе еще в 1957 г. Вместе с тем в Швеции эти произведения А. Линдгрэн отнюдь не относятся к числу самых популярных. Чем же объясняется любовь к Карлсону в России? Прежде всего, конечно, прекрасным текстом Л. Лунгиной, который уже давно разошелся на цитаты и был использован в не менее любимом мультфильме. Однако если начать сверять перевод с оригиналом, сразу обнаружится много неточностей и ошибок самого разного свойства. В свое время шведский переводчик русской литературы С. Скотт посвятил критике этого перевода, во многом обоснованной, статью в 48 страниц [Skott, 1977]. Естественно, идея перевести книги заново казалась заманчивой. Но появившийся в 1990-х годах новый перевод (переводчики Л. Брауде и Н. Белякова) не получил такого же признания у читателей и неоднократно подвергался критике в прессе. Авторы критических статей, как правило, отмечали отсутствие в переводе выпусков и ошибок, но говорили о том, что в нем «нет и живости,

блеска, не хватает естественности» [Мавлевич, 2009]. Надо сказать, что над переводом работали далеко не новички, а признанные мастера — люди, осуществившие к тому моменту много прекрасных переводов шведской классики. Думается, что основная причина их неудачи заключалась в том, что они пытались уйти от талантливых и уже ставших классическими формулировок Л. Лунгиной, а это оказалось почти невозможным. Не случайно их даже упрекали в ряде «заимствований» из старого перевода, хотя среди характеризующих переводную множественность «постулатов» выделяется, что «переводная множественность предполагает неизбежность повторов» [Шерстнева, 2008, с. 528]. Следует упомянуть, что еще одну попытку осовременить «Карлсона» предпринял Э. Успенский, в пересказе которого три повести о Карлсоне вышли в 2008 г. Но эта попытка откровенно провалилась. Достаточно привести лишь одно из многочисленных критических суждений: «Стараниями Эдуарда Успенского классическая сказка вышла за пределы добра и зла» [Нестеров, 2008].

Обратимся к судьбе еще одной шведской книги, герой которой популярен в нашей стране, — к произведению Сельмы Лагерлёф «Чудесное путешествие Нильса Хольгерссона с дикими гусями по Швеции». Эта книга (под немного разными названиями) неоднократно выходила в переводе на русский язык, частями и полностью, в начале XX в. (полный перечень см.: [Nikolajeva, 1991, s. 145–146]), но, судя по критическому анализу М. Николаевой [Nikolajeva 1991, s. 93–97], в силу тех или иных причин особого внимания эти тексты не заслуживают. Популярность же книге принесла вышедшая в 1940 г. ее сокращенная версия для детей — «Чудесное путешествие Нильса с дикими гусями», пересказанная З. Задунайской и А. Любарской, которые превратили учебник шведской географии в форме сказки в чистую сказку. Эта книга, с некоторыми доработками и разными иллюстрациями, выдержала множество переизданий и с успехом продолжает издаваться до сих пор. Успеху книги и главного героя во многом способствовал созданный в 1956 г. мультфильм.

В начале 1980-х годов один за другим выходят два перевода полного текста книги. Автором первого из них была Ф. Золотаревская, а второго — Л. Брауде. Если в переводах предыдущего периода язык, с которого они осуществлялись, вызывал вопросы, то

оба эти перевода делались с языка оригинала. В книге, посвященной переводам С. Лагерлёф в России, М. Николаева уделяет сопоставительному анализу этих двух переводов «Нильса» отдельную главу, отмечая достоинства и недостатки каждого из них [Nikolaeva, 1991, s. 106–113]. Перевод Л. Брауде имел более счастливую судьбу — он неоднократно переиздавался и вошел в четырехтомное собрание произведений С. Лагерлёф, опубликованное в конце 1980-х — начале 1990-х годов. М. Николаева считает, что судить о новом переводе еще рано (ее книга вышла в 1991 г.), но задается вопросом, будет ли интересен полноценный учебник географии Швеции юным русским читателям и сумеет ли полный вариант произведения превзойти по популярности детскую версию [Nikolaeva, 1991, s. 113]. Сведения, полученные автором статьи в июле 2018 г. от продавцов сети книжных магазинов «Буквоед», подтвердили, что сомнения М. Николаевой были небеспочвенными: краткая версия книги продается лучше.

Принимая во внимание вышесказанное, интересным и удивительным представляется появление в 2016 г. нового перевода «Удивительного путешествия Нильса Хольгерссона с дикими гусями по Швеции». На суперобложке книги под заглавием написано: «Новый блистательный перевод Сергея Штерна», а на титульном листе значится: «Настоящее издание — наиболее полный текст “Удивительного путешествия Нильса...”, без изъятий и купюр». Текст на титульном листе сразу немного озадачивает, поскольку, если в переводе Ф. Золотаревской все-таки можно обнаружить отдельные выпуски, то перевод Л. Брауде считается полным. Чтобы прояснить этот вопрос, обратимся для начала к небольшому анализу отличий «нового блистательного» перевода от старого хорошего.

Первое, что бросается в глаза, — это регулярная перестройка авторских абзацев. Например, на с. 50 перевода обнаруживаются 11 абзацев вместо шести авторских, а на с. 100 — 10 абзацев вместо шести. Нельзя не отметить также, что на протяжении всей книги слова рассказчика с легкостью превращаются во внутренний монолог героя или в его прямую речь. Это, безусловно, сильно меняет стиль и общую тональность авторского повествования. Однако еще больше меняет манеру повествования целый ряд вставленных переводчиком «крепких» слов и выражений, не свойственных Лагерлёф. Это хорошо прослеживается на примере того, как в двух

переводах передана речь пса, рассердившегося на гусей за то, что те непочтительно отозвались о замке (усилительные добавки в новом переводе выделены мною. — А. С.):

*Kallar ni det här för en koja, ni, era landstrykare? Ser ni inte, att det är ett högt slott av sten? Ser ni inte så vackra väggar det har, ser ni inte så många fönster och så stora portar och en så präktig terrass det har, vov, vov, vov? Kallar ni det här för en koja, ni? Ser ni inte gården, ser ni inte trädgården, ser ni inte växthusen, ser ni inte marmorbilderna? Kallar ni det här för en koja, ni? Brukar kojorna ha en park, där det finns både bokskogar och hasselsnår och lövängar och ekdungar och granhult och en djurgård, som är full av rådjur, vov, vov, vov? Kallar ni det här för en koja, ni?*

«Так, по-вашему, это лачуга, бродяги вы такие? Разве вы не видите, что это высокий замок из камня? Не видите, какие в нем великолепные стены? А сколько окон? А какие огромные ворота, какая чудесная терраса? Гав, гав, гав! И это, по-вашему, лачуга? Эх вы!!! Посмотрите, какой здесь двор, сад, теплицы, какие мраморные статуи! И это, по-вашему, лачуга? Разве при лачугах бывает такой парк, такие буковые леса и орешники, дубовые рощи и ельники, луга и заказник, в котором полным-полно косуль? Гав, гав, гав! Так, по-вашему, это лачуга? Эх вы!» [Лагерлёф, 1991, с. 45].

«И это вы называете будкой, вы, бродяги? **Ослепли, что ли?** Это замок, а не будка! Посмотрите, как много окон, какие красивые стены, какие порталы! А терраса? Жизнь отдать за такую террасу! Будка! **Идиоты!** Сад, и теплицы шикарные, и мрамор! — Он даже привзвизгнул. — Мрамор! Настоящий мрамор! Будка! **Придет же в башку...** И парк большой, там и бук, и орешник, и дуб, и елки с соснами, и косули бегают. И все это вы, **чурбаны деревенские**, называете будкой?» [Лагерлёф, 2016, с. 50].

Здесь хорошо видно, с какой вольностью автор нового перевода обращается с оригиналом: фразы произвольно разбиваются, вставляются собственные реплики, резко огрубляется общий тон монолога. В дальнейшем пес называет гусей еще «неучами носатыми» и «дармоедами», что также является плодом фантазии переводчика.

С лексической точки зрения новый перевод имеет еще целый ряд отличий от предыдущего, в частности по-новому переданы некоторые имена собственные. Когда Нильс становится маленьким, воробей называет его по-шведски Tummetott, и этим именем

мальчика в дальнейшем довольно часто называют гуси и лесные обитатели. Одно из значений этого слова — «большой палец», как справедливо отмечает в сноске С. Штерн, взято из детской считалки, второе, переносное — «совсем чуть-чуть». Естественно, напрашивается перевод «Мальчик-с-пальчик», но это имя уже занято другой сказкой, поэтому Л. Брауде называет его Малыш-Коротыш. С. Штерн избирает другой подход: при первом упоминании он трижды повторяет имя Мальчик-с-пальчик, вставляет между ними транслитерацию Тумметот с указанной сноской и для верности еще называет мальчика Коротышкой, а потом останавливается на варианте Тумметот. Вероятно, такой подход имеет право на существование, но, учитывая, что в следующий раз это имя появляется только через пятнадцать страниц, возникает сомнение относительно того, запомнил ли читатель объяснение и вообще насколько хорошо имя вписывается в русский текст. Ставшему маленьким Нильсу встречаются две коровы, одну из которых пошведски зовут Majgos, вторую — Gull-Lilja. В переводе Л. Брауде их зовут Майская Роза и Золотая Лилия. У С. Штерна они Май-Роз и Милашка Лиля. В принципе оба варианта возможны, но первый все-таки кажется предпочтительным. В нем имена однотипны, а кроме того «Милашка», видимо появилась от неправильного толкования первой части ее имени: gull — это обычная ассимилированная форма слова guld 'золото', а не усеченный вариант слова gullig 'миленький'. Однако если по поводу способа передачи авторских имен можно спорить, то бог грома Тор уже давно имеет в русском языке традиционное написание, восходящее к древнескандинавскому языку и хорошо знакомое читателям по скандинавской мифологии. Тем не менее С. Штерн транскрибирует имя бога в соответствии со шведским произношением — Тур, что представляется необоснованным.

Сопоставление оригинала с новым русским текстом показывает, что последний изобилует фразами «от переводчика». К рекордным, вероятно, можно отнести страницу 54, где переводчик не только дописывает три абзаца, но и вкладывает в уста зябликов песенку собственного сочинения. Иногда добавления переводчика носят объясняющий характер и могут считаться в какой-то степени оправданными, хотя и здесь их не всегда можно признать удачными. Например, главу «Glimmingehus» («Глимминге-

хус» — в переводе Л. Брауде) С. Штерн называет «Глимминге» и в первой же фразе дает отсутствующее в оригинале объяснение: «В юго-восточном Сконе, почти на берегу моря, стоит старинная крепость под названием Глиммингехус, что означает “дом Глимминге”» [Лагерлёф, 2016, с. 58]. В результате читатель может подумать, что этот дом когда-то принадлежал роду Глимминге, хотя на самом деле название замка произошло от находившегося там ранее сверкающего озера (*den glimmande sjön* ‘сверкающее озеро’). Вместе с тем в большинстве случаев добавления делаются весьма произвольно. Так, в одной из реплик гусыни Акки в новом тексте внезапно возникает кот, «зашедший» туда исключительно благодаря фантазии переводчика:

*Om bara ugglemannen och ugglekvinnan, som kan hålla sig vakna hela natten, vill flyga bort med ett par budskap för min räkning, så tänker jag, att allt ska gå väl.*

«Если папаша и мамаша совы, которые бодрствуют ночью, согласятся полететь с весточкой от меня, надеюсь, все уладится» [Лагерлёф, 1991, с. 60].

«Но мне нужна помощь сов. Из всех нас только совы могут не спать ночью. **Еще кот, конечно, но коты не летают.** И я попрошу вас, дорогие совушки, слетать кое-куда» [Лагерлёф, 2016, с. 66].

Даже фрагментарное сличение нового перевода с оригиналом неизбежно наводит на мысль, что текст назван на титульном листе «наиболее полным» не столько из-за полной передачи подлинника (небольшие выпуски в нем имеются), сколько благодаря дополнениям переводчика. Складывается впечатление, что творческий метод С. Штерна очень близок методу Иринарха Введенского, теория которого, по словам К. Чуковского, заключалась в том, «что переводчик имеет все права уснащать свой перевод отсебятинами, если его перо “настроено” так же, как и перо самого романиста» [Чуковский, 1936, с. 105]. Любопытно, что в книге 1936 г. К. Чуковский пишет: «В нашу эпоху Иринарх Введенский немислим. Если бы он работал сейчас, ни одно издательство не напечатало бы его переводов» [Чуковский, 1936, с. 105]. Похоже, времена опять изменились.

Наличие нескольких переводов одного оригинала, безусловно, предоставляет исследователям богатый материал для анализа.

Е. С. Шерстнева закономерно отмечает, что «переводная множественность отчетливо выявляет достоинства и демонстрирует недостатки переводов» [Шерстнева, 2008, с. 528]. Вместе с тем вопрос «переперевода» всегда неоднозначен. В. Топоров, анализируя новые переводы Сэлинджера, справедливо говорил, что «переперевод» прозы, в отличие от поэзии, «скорее все-таки исключение, причем далеко не всегда счастливое» [Топоров, 2008]. Самые старые переводы шведской классики, безусловно, нуждаются в обновлении. Некоторые из таких произведений уже переведены заново или вышли в отредактированной версии (например, роман С. Лагерлёф «Иерусалим»), а некоторые еще ждут своей очереди. С переводами советского периода дело обстоит, как было показано выше, сложнее. В отличие от переводов литературы «больших» языков, среди переводов шведской классики существует крайне мало таких, которые могут быть названы «классическими», но добротных и хороших переводов много, и далеко не всегда можно надеяться создать текст, настолько более талантливый и отличный от старого, чтобы браться за такую работу имело смысл. А следовательно, переводная множественность легко может оказаться в этом случае благом для исследователей, но не для читателей. Заметим также, что шведская классика переведена на русский язык далеко не полностью, и, возможно, переводчикам стоило бы направить свои усилия на еще не переведенные произведения.

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**RE-TRANSLATING OF SWEDISH CLASSICS: NECESSITY OR EXTRAVAGANCY?  
(BASED ON TRANSLATIONS OF BOOKS BY S. LAGERLÖF AND A. LINDGREN)**

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Recently a number of world classics re-translations have been published, with each of them becoming a source of severe discussions both in printed mass media and on the Internet. However, we can find just a few re-translations of Swedish classics, especially recently published ones. The article considers the problem of necessity to re-translate already existing Russian translations and points out the reasons allowing to treat some re-translations as having strong and/or weak points. Swedish classics translations can be divided into three periods: 1) translations made before 1917 or just after; 2) translations of the Soviet period; and 3) translations of the Post-Soviet period. Selma Lagerlöf is one of the few authors whose books were translated in all the three periods, that is why her works are in the focus of our attention. Repeated addressing to the texts translated in the first period is, as a rule, necessary, as then the translations were often made from the intermediary language and turned out to be too literal, at the same time containing some inaccuracies and omissions. The translations of the second period are usually characterized by a high quality of the Russian language, but,



in some cases, they have flaws due to the fact that the translator was not fully proficient in Swedish and, in addition, did not have access to the necessary cultural information. At the same time, the re-translations of this period, even those absolutely accurate, are sometimes doomed to failure because of the popularity of the talented Russian text created by the first translator. Since Swedish classics have not been fully translated into Russian, it may be better for modern translators to focus their efforts on the works that have not yet been translated.

**Keywords:** re-translation, Swedish classics, S.Lagerlöf, A.Lindgren, Nils Holgersson, Karlsson.

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## КУЛЬТУРА И КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ СВЯЗИ

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### **AUGUST STRINDBERG THROUGH THE EYES OF KARL LEONHARD: A DIALOGUE OF CULTURES BETWEEN GERMANY AND SWEDEN**

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The present article is an attempt to bring together anthropology, literary science and psychiatry with the aim to consider how life and work of August Strindberg (1849–1912) is perceived in the last opus of the well-known German psychiatrist Karl Leonhard (1904–1988), the author of the book *Accentuated Personalities*, which is very well-known for the Russian reader. His views and evaluations form a bright period in the history of the reception of the works of the Swedish writer in Germany and can be seen as a result of the dialogue between the Swedish and German cultures, inscribed in the history of medical thought of the epoch and pathological literary criticism. Leonhard argued that Strindberg was wrongly treated as a schizophrenic but suffered in fact from cycloid psychosis. The methodical approach, which Leonhard employed to prove his point, is partly based on the tradition of literary anthropology and is close to the traditions of the Russian humanistic psychiatry. Although Leonhard's work was

a subject to criticism, he shows interesting insights with current relevance. Invoking Strindberg's haunting works *Days of Loneliness*, *Hell* or *Occult Diary*, the authors of the present article reproduce the symptom complex of the psychotic, emphasize the importance of Leonhard's complex and elaborate work, and draw attention to Strindberg's narrative style from the point of view of mental disorders and psychology. In conclusion, the authors of the article announce the publication of the full text of Leonhard's essay in Russian translation, with literary and medical commentaries.

**Keywords:** August Strindberg, Karl Leonhard, pathological literary criticism, endogenous psychosis, psychosis of confusion, Russian and German schools of psychiatry, nosological vs. syndromological approach, philosophical anthropology, literary anthropology, Swedish literature in Germany.

August Strindberg lived an eventful but controversial life. He constantly changed his beliefs, he was unhappy in marriage: he married three times and divorced three times. His works, surprisingly rich, diverse in form and content, and highly artistic, mark the contradictions that marked his life as a whole.

Yet creative achievements are not the preserve of artists only. An impressive example is the legacy of Karl Leonhard (1904–1988), one of the leading German psychiatrists whose fame has as much to do with medicine as with psychology and philosophical anthropology. A study of his work and biography will reveal that he has had an equally uneven fortune. His principal works have been translated into English and half a dozen other languages. Yet all the vicissitudes of post-war Germany also marked his life: he gained recognition in East Germany — and presumably the same circumstances made translations of his principal works popular in Russia — while colleagues in the West payed tribute, but exercised restraint. Nonetheless, the international society of Wernicke, Kleist and Leonhard successfully operates in the center in Würzburg (Germany) and Leonhard's works, as before, are widely represented in the catalogs of the largest international medical publishers.

The Russian reader knows Leonhard mainly due to his work *Accentuated Personality* (*Akzentuierte Persönlichkeiten* in German) that was brilliantly translated into Russian by V.M.Leshchinskaya, the second part of which precisely and perceptively describes the types of personalities he singled out from fiction as he believed that the great writers of modernity were subtle psychologists. Importantly, among over thirty writers whose works Leonhard analyzed, he mainly referred to Tolstoy and Dostoevsky — a fact that makes this work a kind of monument to the dialogue between German and Russian cultures. It should be noted

that Leonhard discovered fiction when he was a medical student and he never parted with literature as he regarded it a source of aesthetic pleasure and a sound foundation of his studies [Leonhard, 1995, S. 23].

Although the heroes of August Strindberg's works were first studied in *Accentuated Personality*, Leonhard gives a painstaking analysis of the personality of the great Swedish writer only in his last book *Bedeutende Persönlichkeiten in ihren psychischen Krankheiten* [Leonhard, 1988] that was published posthumously. It can hardly be attributed to the genre of psychiatric literary criticism or popular pathography that, as a rule, tries to prove that disease is a source of creativity. Rather, it should be attributed to the genre of a posthumous psycho-psychiatric examination based on the biographical data, testimonies of the contemporaries, letters, diaries, and other archival materials. Leonhard, as we shall see, treats Strindberg's works with great caution: for Leonhard, his biography is more important than his literary works that are, as he sees, only fictitious reflections of the inner life of the author that requires a separate demonstration. This marks the difference between Leonhard's method and Karl Jaspers' approach [Jaspers, 1922], who was mostly interested in biographies, and the approach of Karl Birnbaum [Birnbaum, 1933], who was a German-American psychiatrist who postulated the possibility and necessity of explaining the facts of creativity through the psychiatric examination of biography. Leonhard, due to his research, diagnostic and forensic experience, seems to have chosen a third way and he therefore focuses first on the writer's biography and then his works. These he considers a mere reflection of the writer's mental state, which must be seen in the image of the author or narrator, in the style, descriptions, and, only in the last instance, in the characters and in intriguing plots. At the same time, Leonhard is far from accepting that emotional distress is a source of creativity, so is he far from the idea of stigmatization of the artist and anthro-psychiatry formulated by Paul-Michel Foucault. For the latter any mental disorder is a source of disease and suffering rather than an incomprehensible manifestation of talent. Thus, as Leonhard has it, an outstanding artist creates in spite of, rather than because of, mental illness. Insight into the essence of a writer's disorder is not there to offer satisfaction to public curiosity but the possibility of a deeper penetration into the artist's world and world of his creations. Such approach may as well be seen as a crossroad where German and Russian psychiatric schools met: long before Leonhard's works were

published, our outstanding compatriot P.B. Gannushkin, who possessed himself an extraordinary literary gift, anticipated what Leonhard later described in his works:

*The main aim of both studying and teaching psychiatry should be to teach young doctors to be psychiatrists and psychopathologists not only in the hospitals and in the clinics, but primarily in life, that is, to treat so-called healthy, so-called normal people with the same understanding, with the same gentleness, with the same thoughtfulness, and with the same directness as they treat the mentally unhealthy; the difference between those and others, if we bear in mind the boundaries between health and disease, is not so great [Gannushkin, 2018, p. 42].*

Agreement between the ideas of the German and Russian schools is far from coincidental since they share a common methodological approach originating in Germany at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is generally referred to as nosology: a genuine cure is possible if the causes and mechanisms of the origin of the disease have been thoroughly studied (the work of E. Kraepelin, C. Wernicke, S. S. Korsakov, V. P. Serbsky).<sup>1</sup> Such approach was not alien to Leonhard who greatly contributed to the study of the most serious mental illnesses — endogenous (i.e. not attributable to any external or environmental factor) that included schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychosis, and — up to a certain time — epilepsy. As we know, K. Jaspers in the above mentioned work concluded that the the mental suffering Strindberg was exposed to had a schizophrenic character. Leonhard, following E. Bleuler who dealt with the “schizophrenias”, believed that this approach was not sufficiently differentiated as schizophrenia inevitably leads to a personal defect with dementia and emotional dullness (such patients are well described by A. Chekhov in *Chamber № 6*). Furthermore, in the 1950s he, relying on his considerable clinical experience, developed a detailed classification of the endogenous psychoses [Leonhard, 2003]. Although the classification proposed by Leonhard is rather cumbersome and is not used in modern diagnostic methods, contemporary neurophysiology has nevertheless confirmed his ideas: the psychoses he differentiated have different localizations in the brain; i.e. they have different causes and

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<sup>1</sup> This approach is successfully countered by the syndromological approach adopted in the French and then in the American tradition and aimed at relieving the patient from a particular painful manifestation, regardless of its etiology, since modern drugs effectively relieve the patient from the specific syndromes regardless of their causes.

consequently a different disease course and outcome. Thus, if we delve into how Leonhard puts forward his arguments and how he thinks, we will get a better and more accurate understanding of Strindberg as a man and as a writer and look at his works and characters without vulgar simplifications.

Leonhard, while delving into the works and life of Strindberg, first seeks an answer to the question of whether there are sufficient grounds for considering Strindberg a healthy person at all. This comes in response to a series of studies that took issue with Jaspers' opinion and argued that psychiatry had made an effort to turn the Swedish writer into some pathological case. They expressed the hope that attempts to draw a portrait of Strindberg as a victim of schizophrenia had finally become a thing of the past. Leonhard gives a negative answer to this question by analyzing in detail an approach adopted by O. Lagerkrantz who saw in Strindberg's correspondence the desire to impress his contemporaries, that is a kind of histrionicism. The main objection to the "destigmatization" of the writer is that the mental disorders that Strindberg portrays in his autobiographical prose are strange to a healthy person and could not be acquired from any other sources: for such a plastic and dynamic depiction of the delirious psychotic experiences you should have a rich clinical experience, which Strindberg, as his biography relates, did not have. Thus, we have to admit that he suffered from the periodic massive psychotic experiences. However this in itself does not argue in favor of Jaspers' opinion that the the Swedish author was schizophrenic.

Leonhard also focuses on alcoholism as a factor of Strindberg's ill health and believes that there is not sufficient exogenous evidence for such a disease. Undoubtedly in this context a series of the writer's experiences resemble alcoholic hallucination, and he consequently arrives at a poor judgement of what is happening around him. We therefore can assume that he had both ideas of relations and a betrayal of his senses that took on the character of delusion. In fact, it turns out that there is no serious reason to assume alcoholic psychosis since Strindberg's disease had a bipolar course with phases of excitement and depression following one after the other. Nevertheless, it is impossible to deny the role of alcohol: it adds additional overtones to the disease, lowering the level of consciousness and, consequently, increasing predisposition for oneiric experiences. As a result, the images acquire additional sensual

brightness and distinctness and some of the ideas of endogenous psychosis can acquire the character of illusions.

The main objection of Leonhard against the hypothesis of the schizophrenic nature of Strindberg's disease is the absence of a specific defect that worsens the disease progresses: either continuously in malignant transformation or irregularly with each new attack, despite the fact that the writer experienced several psychotic phases. Leonhard admits that Jaspers' attempts to show traces of the decline of personality are unconvincing, since Jaspers mostly relied on evidence from Strindberg's evidence rather than on Strindberg's works and autobiographical materials. Over time, he began to live in solitude, away from society, which he relates in his autobiographical novel *Days of Loneliness*. Yet this work shows, as Leonhard puts it, that he did not suffer from schizophrenia, since we do not see a flattened affectivity and a strong-willed defect of a schizophrenic. Quite on the contrary, we see the world of a highly sensitive person. In addition, in this novel Strindberg feels and experiences emotions and sensations in a more delicate and more thoughtful way than in his previous works.

In *Days of Loneliness*, Leonhard discovers Strindberg's memories of a mental illness and notes that the illness is perceived as something that has passed, although threatening to return. His neighbors are going home, he stays and fills the loneliness with his fantasies: "The habit of melting everything that has been experienced in poetry gives way to abundant impressions and replaces communication" [Strindberg, 1986, p. 246]. At the same time, he needs to be constantly on guard and listen to himself, so that loneliness does not seize him and throw back into the depths of insanity:

*Even the dog that awakened me during the night and caused me either to mediate or to fly into a healthy rage, has left an emptiness. The songstress has left a silence after her, and I no longer hear any Beethoven. The telephone in the wall does not sing any more, and when I walk up or down the stairs my steps give an echo throughout the empty floors. It is holiday quiet all through the week, but in its place I hear a ringing in my ears. My very thoughts give me the sensation of being spoken aloud; I feel as if I were in telepathic contact with all absent friends, relatives and enemies; I engage in prolonged, orderly conversation with them, or recapitulate past discussions that at different times had arisen when we were visiting, or sitting in a café; I argue with them in their settled opinions, I give an account of my perspective — and more eloquently than I do with those who actually hear me [Strindberg, 1971, p. 60].*



There are echoes of the themes of reference that Strindberg suffered from when experiencing a psychotic attack; but he rises above them and they only mingle with the voice of his writer's fantasies when he talks about a telepathic connection. Even if it seems to him that he can hear his thoughts, it should be regarded as a manifestation of his fantasies embodying reality in images, since he did not hear his thoughts even at the height of his psychotic experiences. After experiencing psychosis, Strindberg began to feel more keenly and consequently searched after solitude. In the case of a schizophrenic, the disease manifests itself in a diametrically opposite way: the flattening of affect and reducing of the amplitude of emotional life. Moreover, the last pages of *Days of Loneliness* betray the emotional richness of his inner world, where he describes, looking out of the window, a young woman with a child, her sister's nephew, in the apartment opposite, with the groom who was once his friend and who now has left him alone with his loneliness. At the same time, Leonhard insists that loneliness does not have anything to do with autism, the psychological essence of which remains unclear: Strindberg moved away from the harsh bustle of everyday life and preferred loneliness for the writing that he regarded as the highest value. Thus the German psychiatrist is convinced that Strindberg was an introvert both in how he thinks and feels and communicates with the outside world, though we have no evidence that he was actually autistic. Moreover, objectively, Strindberg's loneliness was by no means absolute, if one is to rely only on Jaspers' texts and the writer's own novel. Leonhard refers to the testimony of C. Hedenberg, who noted that, although Strindberg was living in solitude, he communicated with the literary world in a number of ways [Leonhard, 1988, S. 100].

Thus, we have no evidence to prove a diagnosis schizophrenia and the echoes of his psychotic experiences need additional explanations. This is why Leonhard refers to the analysis of Strindberg's previous works and earlier biography as being those of the time when *Days of Loneliness* were published, and then those several years later from the time when he experienced the acute psychosis described in *Hell*, another autobiographical book.

The acute psychotic stage of Strindberg's disease is primarily associated with the delusional ideas of a particular significance and attitude. Leonhard therefore understands Jaspers' hypothesis about the progressive nature of the writer's sufferings that are of the schizophrenic, para-

phrenic or paranoid nature. However, Leonhard prefers to talk about the psychosis of confusion that is a special subset of cycloid psychosis, the inhibited pole of which corresponds to all the symptoms that are typical to schizophrenia. A state of near-unconsciousness or insensibility as schizophrenia affects thinking to the extent that patients think so slowly as to almost reaching the state of stupor, they are unable to interact with the external world. They perceive everything as something unusual and unsuccessfully try to find the meaning and essence of the events around them. These ideas of meanings, as a rule, gives rise to ideas of reference: the incomprehensible becomes more sinister, patients perceive that something is happening, the meaning of which is deliberately being hidden from them and they feel threatened. Due to attenuated thinking they become helpless and can develop fear and anxiety as a result while the disease itself induces an affect of fear. As a result, there is an accumulation of ideas of reference that eventually replace ideas of particular significance. In some cases, the psychosis of confusion in its inhibited phase is associated with almost total silence (mutism). The movements of such patients remain intact, but the inhibition of thinking entails a general volitional reduction in the type of hypobulia. Unfortunately, Strindberg does not say anything about whether he was experiencing a state of inhibition during the psychotic period, but a number of passages in his works provide evidence to answer this question positively (see *Hell, Jacob Wrestling*).

Silence is partly compensated by the periods of logorrhoea when the patient has a tendency to extreme loquacity, with the predominant associations of consonance or contrast (see a series of passages in *Jacob Wrestling*, in particular, an episode with a speech addressed to cats). Logorrhoea is a symptom of another pole of psychosis of confusion. Unfortunately, most psychiatrists take the incoherence of thinking behind the thematic incoherence of speech of such patients to be a symptom of schizophrenia. Leonhard does not share this view: in schizophrenia confusion of thinking is associated with disintegration and slippage. Strindberg himself does not say anything about whether his logorrhoea was accompanied by incoherence, yet the traces of incoherent thinking, as Leonhard shows, can be found in Strindberg's works.

The next important symptom of confusion psychosis in the phase of excitation is a violation of the identification of other people, when the patients "recognize" relatives and acquaintances in people around

them. Such violations of identification are far from being of an absurd character that is characteristic of schizophrenics who, for example, see in the physician a long-deceased historical personality. In the confusion psychosis, identification errors still remain within the possible, the examples of such errors can be found in Strindberg's works, they are symptomatic of the psychosis of confusion in the phase of excitation, just as the ideas of reference and particular significance are characteristic of the inhibited form.<sup>2</sup>

In *An Occult Diary*, we learn that Strindberg believed in telepathy and thereby explained a series of events. In the belief in telepathy, there is nothing pathological, especially since it is quite typical of the cultural context in which the writer lived, but eventually his belief in telepathy got woven into painful experiences that pass over into the psychotic register: after Harriet Boss finally parted with Strindberg and married another person, he began to believe that Harriet visited him via telepathy on an almost daily basis. He felt she was as well attuned to him in at times a friendly, at times a hostile, at times sensual and emotional way. Often she is surrounded by the aroma of roses. He tries to push her away, but then embraces her and spends several happy hours with her. What he experiences is, according to his convictions, consistent with what she feels at a distance of many kilometers. The erotic-sensual character of these experiences tells about the acute experience of parting, which is understandable psychologically, and about the presence of persistent ideas of reference that are characteristic of the psychosis of confusion, a circumstance that is important for understanding Strindberg's illness.

Cycloid psychoses, unlike schizophrenia, are associated with the critical attitude of patients to their own psychotic experiences when they get out of the psychotic phase. Strindberg was quite critical with regard to his painful experiences, even within phases. Often he said he was close to delirium, he himself sought out doctors. Blaming others for wanting to send him to an asylum, he wonders if he were really mad. Concerning the aspect of full criticism when leaving the psychotic phase, it is not always possible to give an unambiguous answer (for example, in the *Hell* the narration is constructed in such a way as if the

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<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the psychosis of confusion, described by Leonhard, can proceed as unipolar, that is only with excitation phases or only with the phases of inhibition, and bipolar when both phases are present. Strindberg's disease had, as we see, a bipolar nature.

prosecution took place in real life). Yet we should exercise some critical caution here as some things which might prove of clinical interest to the psychiatrist would rather be explained not by the objective state of the writer himself, but by the plot and aesthetic components.

The attempts to study a person from the point of view of literature criticism, as demonstrated by Karl Leonhard in his work *Bedeutende Persönlichkeiten in ihren psychischen Krankheiten*, follow a tradition known in the German-speaking world since at least the 18th century.

In this respect, *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde* (1783–1793), published by Karl Philipp Moritz (1756–1793) is a significant step in psychiatry: it tells about forensic experts, anthropologists, psychiatrists, teachers and writers who balance on the verge of psychiatry. Moritz was able to compile a comprehensive compendium of mental illnesses and, at the same time, pave the way to the psychologization of literature.

If we take a look at Strindberg's texts in question, which show individual interpretative patterns, it becomes evident that knowledge of and about a person can be conveyed through literature. Strindberg's works are of mimetic character as he adds an aesthetic component to the description of his psychic sufferings. It is of interest to the researchers who study biographies in pedagogy and refers to the self-observation techniques aimed at understanding the human beings which were previously highlighted by Moritz. Leonhard also points out their relevance and value for the routine clinical work in his autobiographical retrospective (cf. [Leonhard, 1995, S. 48]).

Psychiatry as a subdomain of medicine is a relatively young science and therefore is subject to fluctuations driven by social changes. Its links with anthropology make it closely intertwined with the so-called “ego documents”, which has not always been appreciated in the scientific community. With his approach, Karl Leonhard strengthens the importance of anthropology as an interdisciplinary research area focused on the human beings in all its diverse manifestations, with psychotic manifestations being of particular interest to Leonhard.

This could be interpreted as an attempt to recognize mental illnesses and psychiatric disorders as something inherent to humans or the society, rather an external concept. Using literature as a medium and extending the research beyond the autobiographies, Leonhard demonstrates his ever-present endeavor to include the anthropological component

for the benefit of the ill people, supported by the tradition of the literature-oriented study of a person, which has been briefly outlined above.

A systematic study of Karl Leonhard's autobiography in the humanistic and hermeneutic tradition is yet to be done and may potentially uncover how Karl Leonhard himself brought meaning into his life.

Our insight into how Leonhard regards Strindberg and his works allows us to conclude that the versatility of the concept of the German psychiatrist, unlike the works dealing with only two types of endogenous psychoses or following the traditions of a syndromological school [Rothenberg A., 1990], helps us penetrate deeper into the life and work of the Swedish writer. Therefore, the authors of this paper hope that the full text of Leonhard's essay on Strindberg will be published in Russia in the nearest future that will be of interest to scholars [Golovacheva, Solovyeva, 2018, p. 219–239; Lisovskaya, 2016, p. 92–101; Lyzhina, 2012, p. 122–129] and a wider audience.

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**ПИСАТЕЛЬ АВГУСТ СТРИНДБЕРГ ГЛАЗАМИ ПСИХИАТРА  
КАРЛА ЛЕОНГАРДА: НЕМЕЦКО-ШВЕДСКИЙ ДИАЛОГ КУЛЬТУР**

**Для цитирования:** *Koryshev M. V., Ivanova E. P., Zubova E. Yu., Petersen K. August Strindberg through the eyes of Karl Leonhard: A dialogue of cultures between Germany and Sweden // Скандинавская филология. 2018. Т. 16. Вып. 2. С. 369–381. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2018.212>*

Представлена попытка свести воедино подходы в рамках антропологии, литературоведения и психиатрии с целью изучения рецепции личности и творчества Августа Стриндберга (1849–1912) в последней работе известного немецкого психиатра Карла Леонгарда (1904–1988), автора хорошо известной российской читателю книги «Акцентуированные личности». Его взгляды и оценки представлены как результат диалога шведской и немецкой культур и вписаны в историю медицинской мысли эпохи и патографического литературоведения. Исследователь внес значительный вклад в изучение и описание клинических проявлений эндогенного психоза. Так, Леонгард дал описание имеющего большое значение для развития психиатрической мысли синдрома Стриндберга: он утверждал, что у Стриндберга ошибочно диагностировали шизофрению, тогда как на самом деле он страдал от циклоидного психоза. Доказательный метод, к которому прибегал Леонгард, отчасти основывается на традиции литературной антропологии и близок к традициям русской гуманистической психиатрии. Однако его труд подвергался критике: на первый взгляд германский исследователь не проводит границ между миром персонажа художественного произведения и миром его автора. В связи с этим статья также представляет собой попытку преодолеть этот

нимый методологический просчет: показано, что ряд психотических переживаний, представленных в произведениях Стриндберга в динамике, недоступен для описания с такой точностью и пластичностью при отсутствии у автора собственного опыта болезни и ее преодоления. На примере произведений Стриндберга «Одинокий», «Ад» и «Оккультный дневник» авторы статьи воспроизводят картину симптомов психического заболевания, подчеркивая значение тщательно продуманной классификации эндогенных психозов Леонгарда и акцентируя внимание на своеобразии стиля повествования шведского писателя, который анализируется с позиций клинической психологии. В заключение авторы анонсируют издание полного текста очерка Леонгарда в русском переводе с литературоведческими и медицинскими комментариями.

**Ключевые слова:** Август Стриндберг, Карл Леонгард, патографическое литературоведение, эндогенный психоз, психоз спутанности, российская и германская школы психиатрии, нозологический подход, синдромологический подход, философская антропология, литературная антропология, шведская литература в Германии.

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