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ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

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THE DARK SIDE OF DANISH *HYGGE*: NEOLOGISMS HYGGERACISME AND HYGGESEXISME, THEIR MEANING AND TRANSLATION OPTIONS

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The article explores the concept of Danish *hygge* as an integral part of Danish language consciousness. Two peculiar concepts that have been coined relatively recently (namely *hyggeracisme* and *hyggesexisme*) have already managed to gain a certain popularity with the Danish media, notwithstanding the said expressions' obvious ambiguity. On the one hand, these terms encompass a variety of shades of meaning intrinsic to the concept of *hygge*, on the other hand, they have more to do with some marginal interpretations of *hygge*, rather than with more conventional perceptions of the phenomenon. The “dark side” of Danish *hygge* has often been the subject of social science research, though one must admit, somewhat regrettably, that it has not been thoroughly examined in regard to translation. Being a widely accepted social phenomenon, it deserves further investigation. In order to proceed with the task at hand and to correctly delineate the actual meaning of these neologisms, one must embrace the semantic limitations of the *hygge* concept, simultaneously drawing distinctions between the positive, neutral and negative impacts of *hygge* on everyday life. Furthermore, if one takes a more detailed look at such basic concepts as ‘racism’ and ‘sexism’, one will see that these have different implications for the Danish and Russian languages due to the various cultural, historical, and institutional differences between the two countries, although the core meaning seems to remain intact. These differences, however minimal, may become substantial enough to negate the possibility of employing direct equivalents

for translation purposes. When such notions as ‘racism’ and ‘sexism’ merge with ‘hygge-’, the compound nouns seem to undergo a drastic semantic transformation — the original meaning gives way to a new one, much more obscure (thus making literal translation inadequate). The next step includes choosing the most feasible strategies for translation. Due to the fact that we are dealing with a neologism that is widely used, though not particularly consistently, one must always take into consideration the intentions of the speaker who usually makes references to Danish social and cultural realities that are not always entirely known to an outside observer. The article includes the main views on the notion of “hygge” in all its aspects, providing contextual examples of the occurrence of both neologisms, along with possible translations and justifications for the choices made by the author.

Keywords: Danish language, “hygge”, hyggeracisme, hyggesexisme, neologism, racism, nationalism, sexism, sociolinguistics, translation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of “hygge” is an integral feature of Danish language consciousness and is familiar to anyone who deals with Danish in an academic or professional capacity. Moreover, recent developments indicate that “hygge” has gained rather an unexpected popularity internationally, having become a cultural metaconcept. This quintessential Danish interpretation of “cosiness” (“уют” in Russian) has been the subject of numerous books and articles written in Danish, English and Russian, and addressed to a broader audience.

The vast majority of works dedicated to “hygge” view it merely as a new and attractive, but not yet widely-known, behavioral concept akin to “mindfulness” or “positive thinking”, exploring the potential of its application, while the concept itself can be understood solely through a specific set of values inherent in the culture, from which it originated. In the absence of such an approach it will be quite difficult to analyse and understand some of the more subtle social phenomena, reflected in the Danish language. This can be exemplified by the presence of such quaint (and at a first glance nonsensical) neologisms with overtly negative connotations as “hyggeracisme” (hygge racism) and “hyggesexisme” (hygge sexism) among a number of others in modern Danish.

This article aims to define the intrinsic meaning of such newly emerged notions, hyggeracisme and hyggesexisme for instance, exploring the usage of these terms along with outlining some possible strategies for translation into Russian. In order to achieve this objective one has to solve a number of smaller issues, such as: 1) establishing the scope

of the concept of “hygge”; 2) determining the community values that “hygge” embodies, including socially beneficial and detrimental strategies for their realisation; 3) defining hyggeracisme and hyggesexisme, and describing the range of problems one may encounter when attempting to provide an accurate translation — this goal can be attained by providing several examples of language use from Danish mass media and works of fiction.

2. HYGGE AS A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PHENOMENON

The most well-known work on “hygge” that has greatly contributed to the international popularisation of “hygge” is Meik Wiking’s *The Little Book of Hygge: The Danish Way to Live Well*, first published in English in 2016 [Wiking, 2016], promptly followed by a plethora of generic and at times less well-structured literature on the same subject, now available in a variety of languages. To name a few: *Hygge: The Danish Art of Happiness* by Marie Tourell Søderberg [Tourell Søderberg, 2016], *The book of hygge. The Danish art of living well* by Louisa Thomsen Brits [Thomsen Brits, 2016], *The Year of Living Danishly: Uncovering the Secrets of the World’s Happiest Country* by Helen Russell [Russell, 2016], etc.

It was quite expected that an array of books following a similar format on related topics would emerge. Now one can find books on cultural trademarks of other Scandinavian countries, such as Swedish “lagom” [Dunne, 2017] and “fika” [Balslev, 2018], Finnish “sisu” [Nylund, 2018], and “kalsarikanni” [Rantanen, 2018]. However, at least in Russia, due to the order with which Scandinavian-related publications appeared, it was “hygge” that became most well-known and paved the way for interest in Nordic-style ways of creating cosiness, very well-known in Russia under the guise of “уют”.

Russian research literature on “hygge” can boast a number of papers where this concept was studied in its linguistic dimension pertaining to Danish [Krasnova, 2016] and in comparison to a similar Norwegian concept [Livanova, 2019].

The vast majority of academic works related to “hygge” explore it from a sociological viewpoint — with regard to the proxemics of Danish daily life [Hansen, 1976], and in connection with Danish middle-class values [Linnet, 2011], with a view to describing the foundations of the

national identity [Jenkins, 2014], in the context of cultural semantics and cultural cognition [Levisen, 2012], and in light of the paradoxical crossroads between socially accepted forms of behavior and latent nationalism [Pessel, 2018].

Almost none of the researchers offer a clear-cut definition of “hygge”, however, the approximate scope of this notion and its widest possible meaning can be inferred through comparing existent interpretations. The American anthropologist Jonathan M. Schwartz lists three “graces of Danish culture and socialization” obvious to every foreigner: hygge (cosiness), tryghed (security), and trivsel (well-being) [Cit. ex: Levisen, 2012, p. 1].

Carsten Levisen states that “hygge” implies what one may call “social intimacy” and a basic “trust” in the inclusiveness and good intentions of the other people present [Levisen, 2012, p. 93], but at the same time “hygge” “cannot be achieved if there is disagreement and conflict in the group or if there is a sense of distrust between people” [Levisen, 2012]. “Hygge” is per se a fragile state, as it possesses both static and dynamic characteristics — on the one hand “hygge” denotes “a process” and on the other hand it constitutes “a goal”, it can appear and fade away just as quickly [Levisen, 2012, p. 104]. Furthermore, despite its unifying potential, hygge, in a way, separates “those in the know” (the Danes in this instance) from all others who cannot experience “hygge” from within, as they do. Carsten Levisen notes that there can be no French, Finnish, or any other national version of “hygge” as it “sounds odd in speakers’ minds” and is “linked” to Danishness and ultimately to the place “Denmark” [Levisen, 2012, p. 90].

Stephen Borish points out, that hygge requires 1) complete and positive participation; 2) a sustained back-and-forth dance of involvement; 3) the use of positive social skills, including teasing (a national pastime); 4) quick repartee; 5) the telling of stories and jokes; 6) patience; 7) sensitivity; 8) an ability to be an enthusiastic audience [Cit. ex: Linnet, 2011, p. 24]. Teasing as a “national pastime”, mentioned above, seems to be not only an astute observation, but one of utmost importance with regard to the subject of the article and will be examined later in its entirety.

Jeppe Trolle Linnet sees a connection between hygge and egalitarian values, underlining the importance of a “middle-class worldview” in the development of this concept [Linnet, 2011, p. 24]. Among other

things, hygge “facilitates the day-to-day exercise of social control” [Linnet, p.29]. Thus, one can conclude that “hygge” constitutes a means of attaining behavioral normativity and creates a sense of belonging to a well-off and stable social group no less than Victorian values did for Britain in the XIX century.

When Judith Friedman Hansen talks about the way physical space and proxemics influence relationships among people, she mentions “hygge” as something, that is considered “to be typically (even quintessentially) Danish” [Friedman Hansen, 1976, p.54]. According to her analysis, there are four essential elements fundamental to “hygge”: comfort, cosiness, cheerfulness, and friendliness. Among the additional characteristics in regard to public and private spaces, “familiarity” stands out as being “more than a habitual state of affairs” and includes a connection with the past, history, and joyful moments [Friedman Hansen, 1976, p.54]. Predictability and moderation also seem to embody the sort of virtues that “hygge” encompasses [Friedman Hansen, 1976, p.55].

The conclusions drawn by J. F. Hansen and J. T. Linnet were further developed in an article written by Włodzimierz Karol Pessel, who leans towards a more critical approach to “hygge” and suggests several observations intended to unveil the “dark side” of hygge. To a certain extent “hygge” embodies a “positive perception of mediocrity” [Pessel, 2018, p.41]. He goes further than J.P. Linnet and sees “hygge” not as a means of social control, but as a “tool of societal coercion” [Pessel, 2018, p.42]. Quite counterintuitively, hygge can simultaneously unite certain people whilst depriving others of this same social experience, seemingly constituting a “rationed access to full participation in culture” [Pessel, 2018]. He is quite skeptical of the widely-publicised assumption that Danes are the happiest people in the world [The Happy Danes, 2014]. Making a brief political detour into the past, he reminds the reader that although Denmark managed to create a positive image for the country internationally in the XX century, the beginning of the new millennium put this positivity to test by subjecting it to a set of actions that may have appeared strange or even illogical to a detached onlooker. These include: 1) the gradual dismantling of the Nordic welfare state model; 2) the Muhammad cartoons controversy in 2005; 3) negative attitude to refugees; 4) a dubious government initiative to pass a law that would enable the police to confiscate gold and jewelry

from refugees and immigrants in order to cover the cost of their stay in Denmark [Pessel, 2018, p. 43].

Several stories that emerged in the British press seem to be especially noteworthy, as they, in one form or other, aspire to interpret Danish social values from an outsider's perspective. Just like many other societies, the British have been exposed to cultural marketing in the form of the Danish notion of “hygge”, a concept which they did not know existed until fairly recently. This makes them relatively disinterested and unbiased objects coming from outside of the Danish socio-cultural environment. At the same time, English and Danish cultures demonstrate certain similarities in their evaluation of the ordinary as something appropriate and desirable, they also seem to share a negative attitude to excessive outward manifestations of feelings that are usually frowned upon on account of being out of place. An extensive and captivating portrayal of the “hidden” codes of English behaviour, which the author is referring to, can be found, for instance, in the bestseller *Watching the English: the hidden rules of English* behavior written by anthropologist Kate Fox [Fox, 2005].

Charlotte Higgins, The Guardian's chief writer for culture, published an illuminating and long read under the title of “The hygge conspiracy”, which contains a warning against “hygge” — “the real thing is less cuddly than it seems” [Higgins, 2016]. Her findings are as follows: 1) “hygge” in its advertised rendition is a “wildly overhyped trend”, this alone contradicts the essence of the concept as propagated (and has little in common with the ubiquitous “cashmere cardigans, wine, wallpaper” etc.); 2) the imperativeness and obtrusiveness of hygge cause discomfort; 3) “hygge” is oftentimes “mobilised” by far right (see below) politicians.

The article quotes Danish writer Dorte Nors and her compatriot journalist Lotte Folke Kaarsholm, who criticise “hygge” from different standpoints. Among other things, Nors claims that “hygge” is seldom used as an avoidance strategy to suppress unwanted emotions. She provides a fictionalised example, which boils down to the following — if one is confronted by the prospect of an unpleasant conversation, one can always try to make it less difficult by inviting the counterpart to enjoy themselves (in a “hyggelig” way), which sends a distinct signal — as soon as one brings up some kind of unpleasant, but perhaps quite necessary topic, one can spoil the fragile “hygge”. Norse equally admits to inconsistencies present in “hygge”, one is almost obliged to uphold

“hygge” in social gatherings, it is tacitly ill-advised to be unhappy and to make it visible to others, which invariably adds an element of nervousness to social interactions [Higgins, 2016].

The suppression of difference manifests itself in many ways. Regarding political agendas, Nors states that “hygge is part of the whole set-up of the radical right wing in Denmark” and hygge symbols tend to appear in commercials promoting their point of view. Higgins develops this line of thinking and fills in the missing link between innocuous “hygge” and the far-right movement — “if hygge is uniquely Danish, and hygge can only be enjoyed by insiders, then migrants and outsiders will destroy the nation’s hyggelig atmosphere, and therefore effectively destroy Denmark”. Lotte Kaarsholm offers another explanation as to why “hygge” excludes and how this is demonstrated at a state level — the social system devised by Nordic countries can only operate under strict conditions with a regulated influx of people from outside — “you have all these ideals of kindness on the inside, but for our solidarity to function, you need pretty tall walls” [Higgins, 2016].

An article written for The Telegraph by the columnist Judith Woods also speaks of the ambiguity of hygge, albeit her reasonings seem to be more intuitive, but just as valuable, because she merely uses “hygge” as a metaphor that helps to convey her point on a different matter altogether. It is called “Forget hygge — Brits should be embracing ‘brygge’” [Woods, 2016] — and by this she means the necessity to come to terms with the imminence of Brexit. The article contains the following passage:

Which is why we must close the ports and stem this tide of sub-Ikea tweeness, not least because the Danes — who passive-aggressively self-style themselves as the happiest people on earth — frown upon any controversial talk of current affairs when they are giving friends and family a claustrophobic group hygge.

(Вот почему мы должны закрыть шлюзы и остановить волну сентиментальности, перестать тешить себя поделками в стиле Икея. Не в последнюю очередь потому, что датчане (которые пассивно-агрессивно считают себя самыми счастливыми людьми на свете), косо смотрят на полемические дискуссии о текущих событиях, когда заключают родственников и друзей в коллективные «удушевные» объятия).

3. HYGGERACISME AND HYGGESEXISME: ORIGINS, MEANING, AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRANSLATING

The dictionary of contemporary Danish language traces the first official appearance of the neologism “hyggeracisme” back to 2003 [Den danske ordbog] and offers the following definition:

det at bruge racistiske ord og give udtryk for fordomme vedr. personer af anden etnisk oprindelse på en måde som man selv synes er sjov og uproblematisk, men som er sårende og stødende for dem man taler om eller med

(‘the use of racist words and the expression of prejudice against people of other ethnic origin in a way one thinks is fun and unproblematic, but which is hurtful and offensive to those one is talking about or to’);

(‘использование слов, носящих расистский характер, выражение предвзвешенных суждений в отношении лиц иного этнического происхождения, которое само лицо считает забавным и беспроблемным, но ранящее и обижает того, о ком идет речь / того, кому это было обращено’).

One of the examples the dictionary provides is rather eloquent:

hyggeracisme er, når vi danskere hygger os med de frække ord

(‘hygge-racism is when we Danes indulge ourselves in the naughty words’);

(‘hyggeracisme — это когда мы, датчане, забавляемся непристойными словами’).

The necessity of investigating the nature of this word by placing an equal importance on both its linguistic and cultural aspects has not, as of yet, been adequately elaborated. An initial attempt has been made however by Maja Bodekær Black (“Hygge racism: “noget som man nok bruger mere end man tænker over”) [Black, 2018]. The title unambiguously states that hyggeracisme is something that is used more frequently than one may think. It is quite telling though that the subtitle in English reads: “a qualitative study of well-intentioned racism” («расизм из благих намерений»).

The Danish language possesses another peculiar word “hverdagsnationalisme” (“everyday nationalism” or «бытовой национализм»), it is featured in Richard Jenkins’ book on the Danish identity [Jenkins, 2014, p. 147]. However, the term has not yet succeeded in finding its way into the dictionary of contemporary Danish language. It is worth mentioning that Jenkins records a very peculiar tendency — some groups of young

people (but not exclusively younger groups) often use the words “nationalisme” and “racisme” with somewhat of an ambiguous meaning:

en af de andre grunde til, at man tror, at vi er nationalister, er, at man tror, vi er racister

(‘one of the other reasons why they think we are nationalists is because they think we are racists’)

(‘еще одна из причин, по которой люди думают, что мы националисты, это то, что они думают, будто мы расисты’)

jeg er en lille smule nationalistisk... Men fremmede er meget velkomne. Så lad være med at kalde mig racist

(‘I’m a little bit nationalistic ... But foreigners are very welcome. So stop calling me racist’)

(‘я немножечко националист... Но чужакам я всегда рада. Поэтому перестаньте меня называть расистом’).

One can easily see that nationalism here is used in two meanings — as an arguably acceptable sentiment of what is usually called national pride and as a clearly impermissible particular display of xenophobia:

jeg synes, at vi er meget nationalistiske. Vi er interesseret i vores land, nogle mere end andre. De er dem, som er blevet så nationalistiske, at de er blevet racistiske, de tror, at Danmark kun er for danskerne...

(‘I think that we are very nationalistic. We are interested in our country, some more than others. There are some who have become so nationalistic, that they have become racists, they think that Denmark is only for the Danes...’);

(‘я считаю, мы очень большие националисты. Мы интересуемся нашей страной, некоторые из нас — больше, чем другие. Есть те, у кого национализм перерос в расизм, и они считают, что Дания — только для датчан...’).

Translating “hyggeracisme” presents several problems: 1) the impossibility of translating it with a single term that would be understood by the general public; 2) the necessity of disentangling the concepts of racism and nationalism from one another and determining the intention of the speaker; 3) the demand for providing an explanation as to why terms, such as racism and nationalism, that sound harsh to the Russian ear, were used in the source language, as these are not commonly used by speakers of Russian to define widespread and socially acceptable

ideas, which are simultaneously undesirable outward manifestations of oneself in public discourse. Furthermore, the use of the words racism and nationalism can be misleading in terms of the nature of such an act, as it inadvertently may lead to the belief that what is meant here is an administrative infraction or a criminal offence.

The first circumstance is more or less obvious, the second, though, is much more complex, as racism in the strict sense of the word is an unscholarly belief about the superiority and inferiority of people that belong to different races. The use of the term in Danish does not necessarily imply one's adherence to such beliefs. Nationalism, it seems, is used in Danish with an array of meanings: 1) as a sense of belonging to a certain ethnicity, nowadays mostly negatively laden; 2) as a political ideology that operates under the presupposition that nation as a form of social unity is the key element in state building; 3) as a particular display of xenophobia.

As we can see, in many Danish examples no distinction is made, and both racism and nationalism may denote one's strong dislike for all things foreign rather inconsistently and in absence of a better or more concise term, these two are used.

According to article 20.3.1 of The Code of Administrative Offences of the Russian Federation, actions that constitute an incitement to hatred or enmity, as well as the abasement of the human dignity of a person or a group of persons on the basis of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, attitude to religion, as well as any other particular affiliation to any social group, committed in public, will be considered an administrative offence or regarded as *corpus delicti* by virtue of article 282 of The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation. Furthermore, discrimination, i.e. violation of rights, freedoms and/or the legal interests of a person on the basis of sex, race, nationality, language, origin and other committed by a person or by a person through their official position is punishable by law in accordance with article 136 of The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation.

Let's take a closer look at the following example found in the student newspaper Uniavis [Medstuderende: Vil du kaldes perker eller indvandrer?, 2019]:

mens hyggeracisme for nogen kan virke harmløst, så kan det alligevel godt have en negativ indflydelse, siger Ditte Marie Munch-Jurisc: »Selv om man selv synes, det er sjovt at ytre en bestemt joke, er det ikke sikkert, at den bliver modtaget

*på samme måde af modparten. Intentionen er ikke nødvendigvis at skade, men konsekvensen kan være en helt anden. Derfor kan **hyggeracisme** vise sig problematisk*

*(‘while **hygge racism** may seem to be harmless to some people, it can still have a negative impact’ says Ditte Marie Munch-Juriscic: “Although one thinks that it is fun to make this particular joke, it may not be perceived similarly on the receiving end. The intention is not necessarily to hurt, but the consequences can be quite different. This is why **hygge racism** can prove problematic”)*

*(‘хотя кому-то **шутки и подтрунивания с национальным подтекстом** могут показаться безобидными, они все же могут оказать негативное воздействие. Дитте Марие Мунк-Юрисич говорит, что даже если кому-то кажется, что та или иная шутка забавна, это не значит, что собеседник воспримет это аналогичным образом, не всегда присутствует желание причинить вред, но последствия могут быть совершенно иными, и именно поэтому такое **явление** может создать проблемы’).*

The article broaches a multitude of similar situations, and it is more than likely impossible to pinpoint what exactly these jokes are pointing to or getting at — one’s belonging to a certain ethnicity or a race. One can also conclude that the use of such words as “racisme” (расизм) and “nationalisme” (национализм) does not seem to convey what these terms usually imply in other languages. The context elucidates the intent behind the usage and allows us to understand that we should not characterise this as an antisocial deed or an act injurious to the public, but rather as a testament to, or an example of, bad manners or inappropriate forms of friendly banter. The addition of *hygge*- to the term, in fact, inculcates quite paradoxically, a positive implication in the mind of the speaker, which makes such an action less reprehensible as it engenders: 1) the establishment of interpersonal contact; 2) consolidation around the discussion on a certain topic; 3) the desire to defuse tension with a universal medium, i. e. humour, however out of place it may be.

Another wide used neologism, *hyggesexisme*, is not listed in The dictionary of contemporary Danish language, although in 2015 it was nominated by the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR) for word of the year, along with “flygtningestrøm” (stream of refugees) and several others [Fra ‘Lovestorm’ til ‘Daesh’ — se de 326 kandidater til Årets ord 2015’, 2015].

Here is an example of usage from Jyllands-Posten [Pabst, 2016]:

hyggesexisme er ligeså folkelig som X-factor... Hyggesexismen er verdens bedste icebreaker

(‘hygge sexism is just as popular as The X-factor is... Hygge sexism is the best icebreaker in the world’)

(‘сексистские шутки — такое же популярное явление, как «Икс-фактор»... Ничто так не помогает растопить лед как юмор такого рода’).

On a formal level the term sexism exists in Russian, though it is rarely used. The emergence of the concept of “gender” alongside “sex” makes the translation of hyggesexisme even more problematic, because it may relate to the binary opposition between male and female sexes, or be applicable to a plethora of possibilities as “gender” encompasses a wide variety of subtypes. Using the adjective sexist (сексистский) instead of a noun may be a better option as the adjectival usage allows the notion to become a characteristic, and not necessarily a matter within the legal environment.

Such neologisms can be found in contemporary Danish fiction. *Alle veje fører til moR* a collection of e-mails, written by Maise Njor and her daughter Asta-Maja Njor Boisen [Njor Boisen, Njor, 2018] includes the following observation:

det værste ved Danmark er: Hygge. Hygge-racisme, hyggesexisme, jokes, der er mega strenge og hårde, men som man ikke må tage seriøst, for ”det er jo bare for sjov”

‘the worst thing about Denmark is: Hygge. Hygge racism, hygge sexism, jokes that are mega-terrible and hardhearted, but that one mustn’t take seriously, because “it’s just for fun”)

(‘самое ужасное в Дании — Хюгге. Шуточки с сексистским или националистическим подтекстом, очень жесткие и стремные, но их запрещается воспринимать всерьез, так как они «просто для прикола»’).

Research conducted in the Danish segment of the Internet has given us such occasionalisms as hyggenazisme (hygge nazism), hyggekommunisme (hygge communism), hyggesocialisme (hygge socialism), and hyggepessimisme (hygge pessimism). These examples illustrate the fact that all such neologisms necessarily contain some sort of political or psychological content, which gives them a social dimension, whereas

“hygge” is meant to underline the peculiar Danish ways of dealing with these issues, usually when depicting various social groups, often from the charged perspective of a dominant ideology.

4. CONCLUSION

The article has explored a set of Danish neologisms containing the term “hygge”, whereof the most frequently used are hyggeracisme and hyggesexisme, which gained popularity at the end of the XX and the beginning of the XXI century. Although they are predominantly used in the Danish media for the time being, there are reasons to believe that they may take hold in the language, as they convey a range of meanings and implications not covered by nationalism or sexism alone. Such heavily laden terms as racism and sexism paradoxically tie in with the Danish concept of “hygge”, one of the key notions in Danish culture, which testifies to the fact that hygge should be understood in a broader and deeper sense, not simply limited to its superficial meaning, which has been recently broadcast and commercialised through popular lifestyle literature. The scope and the implications of “hygge” in the Danish culture have been analysed, its limiting and inclusive nature alike. Existing contextual differences regarding the perception of the terms ‘nationalism’, ‘racism’, and ‘sexism’ in Danish and Russian as shown above, make literal translation inadequate and underscore the importance of adopting the apposite interpretation of these composite Danish nouns and often necessitate the use of descriptive strategies when translating.

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ТЕНЕВАЯ СТОРОНА ДАТСКОГО HYGGE: НЕОЛОГИЗМЫ HYGGERACISME И HYGGESEXISME, ИХ ЗНАЧЕНИЕ И ПРОБЛЕМЫ ПЕРЕВОДА

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Статья рассматривает концепт *hygge*, являющийся неотъемлемой частью датского языкового сознания. Недавно возникшие неологизмы *hyggeracisme* и *hyggesexisme*, получившие достаточно широкое распространение в датских СМИ, с одной стороны, включают в себя разные оттенки значений, присущих общепринятым трактовкам концепта *hygge*, с другой — демонстрируют частную его реализацию. В подавляющем большинстве случаев «теневая» сторона датского *hygge* становится предметом исключительно социологических исследований, несмотря на особую важность всестороннего понимания этого явления

для осуществления адекватного перевода. Для более полного уяснения значения данных неологизмов необходимо не только определить границы самого концепта *hygge*, но и провести разграничение между положительными, нейтральными и отрицательными его проявлениями в общественной жизни. При более детальном рассмотрении оказывается, что содержание понятий «расизм» и «сексизм» в русском языке в существенной степени пересекается с датскими эквивалентами, однако, при включении вышеуказанных понятий в неологизмы *hyggeracisme* и *hyggesexisme* их значение подвергается существенной трансформации с размыванием значения, что делает буквальный перевод несостоятельным. Определить наиболее удачные стратегии перевода представляется возможным только с учетом интенции говорящего, ориентирующегося, как правило, на достаточно специфические датские социокультурные реалии. В статье представлены отдельные примеры употребления неологизмов *hyggeracisme* и *hyggesexisme* и даны возможные варианты перевода.

Ключевые слова: датский язык, *hygge*, *hyggeracisme*, *hyggesexisme*, неологизмы, расизм, национализм, сексизм, социолингвистика, перевод.

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THE USAGE OF MULTIETHNIC YOUTH LANGUAGE IN DOUGLAS FOLEY'S WRITING

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The following article deals with usage of lexical features of multiethnic youth language in Douglas Foley's novels, namely, *Shoo bre*, *Shoo len*, and *Shoo mannen*. Having lived in one of Stockholm's most ethnically and culturally diverse areas, Alby, Foley had first-hand experience of communicating with young first and second-generation immigrants who spoke a variety of different mother tongues and had only one language that united them all — Swedish. The variation used by these young people differed from standard vernacular in terms of phonology, grammar, syntax, and, most noticeably, vocabulary. Along with classical features of Swedish vernacular they used slang words and swearwords from other languages, had various deviations from traditional grammar and syntax rules, and they added different discourse particles, emphatic elements, and code-switching to their speech. This new variation of Swedish was becoming more and more widespread in the suburbs of big cities, which understandably sparked a large interest among Swedish linguists. Today, this variation is known as “multiethnic youth language”. The aim of this article is to analyse the lexical features of multiethnic youth language used by Douglas Foley and to determine the authenticity of this usage and what effect it has on the text. The data from the “Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings” project, conducted by Swedish linguists, is used as a basis for analysis.

Keywords: Swedish, multiethnic youth language, slang, linguistic variation.

Douglas Foley is a British-Swedish writer born in Cardiff, Wales in 1949. Since his father served in the British Armed Forces and often had to relocate, young Douglas and his family lived in various countries

during his childhood years including North Africa and Hong Kong. He moved to Sweden in the late 1960s to work as a cook in the restaurant “Operakällaren” in Stockholm. Foley later studied anthropology and literary history at university. For a number of years, he worked as a librarian in one of the schools in Alby, which is a suburb in Botkyrka Municipality within Stockholm. Historically and up to this day, Alby has been known for having a very high percentage of residents with a foreign background (83.5% as of 2016). This has provided Foley with an opportunity to work with a great number of students from all over the world who had different native languages and only one common language to communicate in — Swedish.

Just like in any other Stockholm suburb with a high percentage of young first and second-generation immigrants, the result of this was a variation of Swedish that differed from the local dialect. This variation is commonly known as a “Rinkeby Swedish” (after one of Stockholm’s suburbs) “immigrant Swedish” or even “suburb Swedish”, but is officially called “multiethnic youth language” in Swedish linguistics.

Sweden has for many years been an incredibly culturally diverse country since it has experienced several waves of immigrants and refugees. Since the end of the Second World War, this country has become home for people from Europe, Africa, Middle East, etc. The new inhabitants mainly settled in constantly growing suburbs of such Swedish cities as Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmo, which has resulted in the fact that many of these districts still have a predominant number of people with a foreign background. Children and teenagers who were growing up in such areas could speak different mother tongues, had various levels of Swedish, and were constantly surrounded by different variations of this language, be it dialects, sociolects, registers, or stages of interlanguage.

This is why upon moving to Alby, the writer found himself feeling more comfortable and accepted — almost everyone around him were also immigrants and it was easier to build relationships with people. It was a very diverse and giving environment and he felt inspired to write about the experiences of young people living in such areas. Douglas Foley is the author of *Ingen återvändo* (*No return*, 2001); a series of books about a character called Habib, such as *Habib: meningen med livet* (*Habib: the meaning of life*, 2005) or *Habib: änglar här och där* (*Habib: angels here and there*, 2008), and others. However, this article focuses on

the language of three of his novels: *Shoo bre* (2003), *Shoo len* (2009) and *Shoo mannen* (2012) which can be translated as “Hey bro”, “Hey, what’s up”, and “Hey man”.

Shoo bre is a book about two friends, Elias and Oscar, and their last year of high school. They come from the same district with a high population of immigrants, but make very different life choices. Oscar tries to be a good student and does his best, while Elias does not care about school at all and is engaged in criminal activities. They end up falling in love with two women, but these love stories are quite far from the ordinary.

Shoo len tells a story of two “gangs” of young people: Karim, Gabi, Sebbe, Metin, Jamal, and Hani (a guy group) and Josefine, Ella, Hanan, and Nikoo (a group of girls). We follow their lives during the last year of high school and learn about their relationships and the overall situation in the school which does not really pay much attention to either students or their safety, resulting in a catastrophe.

Shoo mannen tells the story of a young man called Djano who dreams about becoming a chef and opening his own restaurant and his old friend Rafa who tries to convince Djano that they should rob a place in order to get easy money. Djano is torn between helping his friend and staying out of trouble.

Similar topics, characters, and styles make it possible to analyse these three books within the same article, especially since they rely heavily on using multiethnic youth language in most of the dialogs between young people. *Shoo len* has been previously analysed by Pia Hemzelius [Hemzelius, 2010] and *Shoo bre* — by Josefin Bardby [Bardby, 2014]. In contrast to their works, the following article studies both of these novels simultaneously along with the novel *Shoo mannen* and combines both qualitative and quantitative research. It also focuses solely on lexical features and uses a different classification of its elements.

The aim of this article is to find out how authentic the usage of multiethnic youth language is, how it correlates with the elements of standard Swedish vernacular, and how it impacts the texts’ style. In order to do so we have to first outline the specific features of multiethnic youth language based on previous research.

The main data for comparison is provided by the “Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings” project conducted by twenty Swedish linguists between 2001 and 2006.

The main goal of this project was to describe new variations of Swedish spoken in multicultural areas of such cities as Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmo. It focused primarily on phonology, vocabulary, syntax, and grammar of young people who used these variations in their speech, as well as on other sociolinguistic aspects.

Before going into the analysis of Douglas Foley's texts it is worth describing the main features of the multiethnic youth language.

- 1) One of its key phonetic features is a “choppy” prosody and a different pronunciation of loanwords ([tʃ] instead of a fricative [ʃ] and [z] instead of [s], because those sounds are often present in speakers' mother tongues) [Boyd, 2010, p. 25].
- 2) The overall grammar of multiethnic youth language is not that different, but still it includes various deviations from traditional grammar rules in such aspects as conjugation of regular and irregular verbs, usage of neuter and common gender (that includes both feminine and masculine genders), definite and indefinite forms of nouns and adjectives, prepositions, plural forms, pronouns, and especially possessive ones, etc.
- 3) A subject-verb order variation that can deviate from the ground rule (some speakers do not apply the inversion where necessary and use the XSV word order instead). According to the rules of traditional Swedish grammar, 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 always been difficult to acquire for people who have Swedish as their second language and is strongly associated with language variations used by first and second-generation immigrants. However, the project concluded that incorrect word order was used in only 3.5% of cases [Ganuza, 2008, p. 64].
- 4) Code-switching, since many speakers use various languages at home, with their friends, teachers, etc.
- 5) Various partially modified conventionalised word combinations and novel word combinations, which results in deviations in phraseology.
- 6) Rich and varied slang, which includes loanwords from a variety of languages from all over the world, such as Greek, Turk-

ish, Arabic, Spanish, etc., which makes it different from the standard Swedish slang that takes loanwords from dialects, widely spoken languages and the so called “secret languages” like *knoparmojet* (chimney sweeper’s language), Romani, argot languages and *månsing* (Swedish merchants’ language) [Möijer, 1989, p. 61]. In some cases, it might be difficult or even impossible to determine from which language a word was loaned from because young people who use multiethnic youth slang are surrounded by a large number of languages in their everyday life [Kotsinas, 2004, p. 10].

- 7) Some features of the standard spoken Swedish: traditional slang words, prefixes and suffixes, swearwords, discourse particles, excessive use of emphatic words, ellipses, corrections, repetitions, pauses, etc.

It can be also worth outlining the sociolinguistic aspects of multiethnic youth language, in other words, how we define it and why young people use it in their speech. It is impossible to call it a dialect because it is not used by a vast majority of people living in a specific area. We cannot quite group it in with sociolects either because young people use it as a register, which means that it is only a temporary switch between variations caused by the situation, their motives, goals, and recipients [Bijvoet, Fraurud, 2013, p. 372]. They often switch to this register for very specific reasons, which include hiding information from individuals, when the speaker does not want to reveal it to “outsiders”, expressing linguistic creativity and using new words and expressions, showing how cool and different they are compared to the “ordinary” people, expressing pride in their background and cultural heritage, showing solidarity and respect to their parents or peers who do not have a high level of Swedish, expressing irony or sarcasm in relation to stereotypes towards linguistic features of Swedish spoken by immigrants, and showing protest against society that does not identify the speaker as a Swede because of their ethnicity, appearance, or background, even if the speaker was born and raised in Sweden [Kotsinas, 2005, p. 9].

Now that we have determined the key features of multiethnic youth language it is possible to discuss their features in Foley’s texts and determine their authenticity. For the purpose of this article, the following

analysis focuses solely on the lexical features of the multiethnic youth language used in the texts because they make up an absolute majority of all multiethnic elements used by the author. They also have a larger stylistic effect and are strongly associated with the speech of young people in multicultural areas. These lexical features include both standard and multiethnic slang words, swearwords, emphatic elements, code-switching, and discourse particles. The material used for analysis includes dialogs that are written using said variation. A continuous sampling method is used to obtain examples from all novels and the number of uses of each element in the texts is provided in brackets.

The most prominent feature of multiethnic youth language that can be found in Foley's texts is slang, which is not surprising considering the fact that it is the most noticeable, recognisable, and widespread feature used by young people in multicultural areas. Just like in real life, slang words used by the characters are mainly connected to naming people of different genders, criminal activities and money, and are often loaned from such languages as Turkish, Arabic, Farsi, Spanish, etc.

- 1) *Haffa* ("to get, to find", 10 cases): *Tiotusen för att haffa värsta lastbilen och köra den till stan* [Foley, 2012, p. 48]: "Ten grand for finding a sick truck and driving it to town"; *Och blir vi haffade får han ta skulden* [Foley, 2012, p. 71]: "If they get us, he'll have to take the blame".
- 2) *Tjaba* ("hey, hi", 2 cases) "*Tjaba*", *sa Josefin med en röst som inte var direkt avvisande* [Foley, 2009, p. 49]: "Hey, said Josefin in a voice that wasn't too indifferent".
- 3) *Svär* ("swear", 87 cases) *Jag svär, en dag ska han få stryk* [Foley, 2009, p. 13]: "He's gonna get his ass kicked one day, I swear"; *Jag svär, mannen, efter tre fyra år äger vi vår första restaurang* [Foley, 2012, p. 28]: "I swear man, three or four years later we'll have our first restaurant".
- 4) *Mecka* ("roll (a joint)", 5 cases) *Klarar inte ens av att mecka en joint* [Foley, 2009, p. 188]: "He can't even roll a joint"; *Okej, fast man borde mecka en joint, egentligen* [Foley, 2012, p. 276]: "Okay, he should really roll a joint though".
- 5) *Händish* ("to go on", 4 cases) *Han säger shoo bre och jag svarar shoo bre vad händish* [Foley, 2012, p. 83]: "He says hey man and I say hey man what's up".

- 6) *Jiddra* (“to argue”, 7 cases): *Jiddra inte om skolan* [Foley, 2009, p. 20]: “Don’t argue about school”; *Vafan jidrar du om?* [Foley, 2012, p. 140]: “The hell you going on about?”
- 7) *Habibi* (“loved one, honey”, 4 cases): *Fan är du kåt på lilla habibi fröken?* [Foley, 2012, p. 67]: “Shit, are you horny for that sweet teacher?”

Besides a more “neutral” slang, swearwords are also quite prominent in the characters’ speech, as well as in their real life group of protagonists. These swearwords can be divided into two groups: the ones that are historically connected to taboo topics in Sweden, like religion, and are therefore a part of standard Swedish slang (see examples № 8 and 9); and the ones that are loaned from other languages and might be connected to a different kind of taboos, like genitalia and sex (see example №4).

- 8) *Fan* (“damn, hell, devil”, 82 cases): *De ska visa... fan heter du nu igen* [Foley, 2009, p. 163]: “They’ll show... what’s your damn name again”; *Fan, jag svär, jag är vrålhungrig* [Foley, 2012, p. 183]: “I am hella hungry, I swear”.
- 9) *Jävla* (“damn, fucking”, 25 cases): *Jag svär, jag är så jävla nervös* [Foley, 2009, p. 253]: “I swear, I’m so damn nervous”; *Vad är det du gör som är så jävla viktig att du är så upptagen hela tiden?* [Foley, 2012, p. 188]: “What is it that you do that is so damn important that you’re so busy all the time?”; *Jag svär, du är så jävla äcklig* [Foley, 2012, p. 180]: “I swear, you’re so fucking gross”.
- 10) *Bög* (“faggot”, 14 cases): *Har ni inte fattat len, Oscar är värsta bögen jao* [Foley, 2012, p. 66]: “Don’t you understand that Oscar is a fucking faggot, yo”.
- 11) *Bazza/bazz* (“to fuck”, 10 cases): *Hon kanske ville bazza dej* [Foley, 2009, p. 219]: “She probably wanted to fuck you”; *Hon får säkert mer bazz än du* [Foley, 2012, p. 188]: “She definitely gets fucked more often than you”.

The next big group of lexical features used by Foley’s characters consists of various emphatic words and particles that are commonly used by many multiethnic youth language speakers as well as by people who use the standard Swedish vernacular. These kinds of words usually express a meaning similar to “very, really, extremely”, so the translations of the words given below are word-for-word, while the examples from books are translated in a literary manner. The lexical elements listed be-

low have already become a part of standard Swedish slang and partially lost their original meaning.

- 12) *Fett* (“fat”, 17 cases): *Det är något jag ångrar, typ fett, men eftersom du lovade att inte bli sur eller arg så...* [Foley, 2009, p. 152]: “It’s something I regret, like, a ton, but since you promised not to get upset or mad so...”; *Du hade fett mycket tid när vi var i bastun?* [Foley, 2012, p. 188]: “You had a shit ton of time when we were in a sauna?”.
- 13) *Värsta* (“the worst”, 70 cases): *Det kan bli värsta brand ju* [Foley, 2009, p. 262]: It can turn into a real fire; *Fan vad du har blivit värsta pluggis bre* [Foley, 2012, p. 52]: “Fuck, you’ve become a hell of a nerd bro”.
- 14) *Grymt* (“grim”, 4 cases): “*Han var grymt bra jao*”, *stönade Kawtar* [Foley, 2012, p. 42]: “He was really good you know, moaned Kawtar”.

Since first and second-generation immigrants tend to speak more than one language in their everyday life, code-switching is something that can often characterise their speech. The examples given below present code-switching as using consecutive phrases or expressions rather than singular words, which can be classified as loanwords. Most cases of code-switching to native languages from *Shoo len* include Farsi, from *Shoo bre* — Spanish.

- 15) *Koja miri, in mogeje shab* (Farsi, “where are you going, it’s late in the evening”, 1 case): *Koja miri, in mogeje shab?* [Foley, 2009, p. 93]: “Koja miri, in mogeje shab?”.
- 16) *Be man dorogh nago* (Farsi, “Don’t lie to me”, 1 case): *Be man dorogh nago!* [Foley, 2009, p. 149]: “Be man dorogh nago!”.
- 17) *Ayúdame por favor* (Spanish, “please help me”, 1 case): *Snälla Oscar, ayúdame por favor* [Foley, 2012, p. 228]: “Dear Oscar, ayúdame por favor”.
- 18) *Sabes qué* (Spanish, “you know what” 1 case): *Sabes qué? Din pappa och jag har varit jätteoroliga* [Foley, 2012, p. 128]: “Sabes qué? Your father and I were really worried”.

Discourse particles from both standard Swedish vernacular (see examples № 19 and 20) and multiethnic youth language (see example № 21) are very common in young people’s speech. They can function as signals for

citation or uncertainty, draw the recipient's attention to something the speaker finds important, reveal a desire to specify or correct something that has already been said, etc. [Kotsinas, 2004, p.42]. Therefore, their meaning in direct speech can be quite different from the original one and, contrary to popular belief, they cannot be considered "junk words", because they have a specific semantic role in people's utterances.

- 19) *Typ* ("like", 113 cases): *Han vill typ undvika dom han umgicks med förut* [Foley, 2012, p. 291]: "He wants to, like, avoid the people he was talking to before"; *Det hander att jag överdriver, ibland typ* [Foley, 2009, p. 218]: "I can exaggerate, like, sometimes".
- 20) *Ba* ("like" as a citation marker, 3 cases): *Jag ba... Jag sa att hela idén med artikeln var min från första början* [Foley, 2012, p. 341]: "I was like... I said that the whole idea for the article was originally mine".
- 21) *Jao* ("yo, you, you know, hey" or similar, 15 cases): *Synd. Hon är chok snygg jao* [Foley, 2012, p. 159]: "That's a shame. She's real pretty you know".

The result of the analysis carried out above demonstrates that Douglas Foley consequently uses the most prominent and wide-spread lexical features of Swedish multiethnic youth language which include (but are not limited by) both standard and multiethnic slang words, swearwords, emphatic elements, code-switching, and discourse particles.

Just like in real life, multiple slang words used by the characters mainly refer to people, criminal activities or money, and can be loaned from both "classical" sources, like the chimney sweeper's language or Romani, and various world languages, like Turkish, Arabic, or Spanish. The swearwords are derived from both traditional and non-traditional taboo topics like religion or sex. Interestingly enough, the majority of emphatic elements and discourse particles are derived from the standard Swedish vernacular. Code-switching to mother tongues, which is very common among first and second-generation immigrants, can, however, be characterised as something typical specifically for the multiethnic youth language.

It is therefore possible to conclude that Douglas Foley uses a very authentic variation of multiethnic youth language in all of his novels, which allows him to make his characters more realistic and "alive". It creates a style that closely resembles the one that is used among young

people with a foreign background, which provides readers with a deeper understanding of characters' motives, feelings, and way of thinking.

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ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЕ МУЛЬТИЭТНИЧЕСКОГО ЯЗЫКА МОЛОДЕЖИ В ТЕКСТАХ ДУГЛАСА ФОУЛИ

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Предметом данной статьи является использование лексических особенностей мультиэтнического языка молодежи в романах британско-шведского писателя Дугласа Фоули «Shoo bre», «Shoo len» и «Shoo mannen». Вскоре после

переезда в Швецию Фоули поселился в одном из самых этнически и культурно разнообразных районов Стокгольма, Альбю, где в течение нескольких лет занимал должность школьного библиотекаря и работал с молодыми иммигрантами в первом или втором поколении, которые говорили на самых разных языках мира. Единственным общим для них языком являлся шведский, однако используемый ими языковой вариант обладал характерными фонетическими, грамматическими, синтаксическими и лексическими особенностями, которые отличали его от нормы языка. Наряду с традиционными элементами разговорной речи эти подростки употребляли сленг, прагматические частицы, эмфатические конструкции и ругательства из других языков, периодически нарушали правила грамматики или синтаксиса, а также использовали переключение кодов. Данный вариант шведского языка получал все большее распространение на окраинах крупных городов, что не могло не вызвать интерес шведских лингвистов — в современной науке он носит название «мультиэтнического языка молодежи». Данная статья посвящена анализу лексических особенностей мультиэтнического варианта шведского языка в произведениях Дугласа Фоули с целью определения аутентичности их употребления и степени влияния на текст. В качестве основы для сравнения использованы данные проекта «Språk och språkbruk bland ungdomar i flerspråkiga storstadsmiljöer» («Язык и его употребление среди молодежи в многоязычных районах крупных городов»), осуществленного шведскими лингвистами.

Ключевые слова: шведский, мультиэтнический язык молодежи, сленг, лингвистическая вариативность.

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**A SOMEWHAT MORE EGOCENTRIC SISTER:
A COGNITIVE GRAMMAR ACCOUNT OF NORWEGIAN *HER*
AND GERMAN *HIER* AS DEICTIC SPACE BUILDERS**

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This article draws on data from a parallel corpus (the *Oslo Multilingual Corpus*) to explore differences in how the cognate Norwegian and German adverbs *her/hier* ‘here’ (seemingly highly similar in meaning) are used as deictic space builders in discourse. The aim of the presented study is to propose some more general cognitive mechanisms that may underlie such differences, in the languages that are closely related. The linguistic material is considered within the framework of cognitive grammar and is linked to recent knowledge on bilingual cognition as represented in translation. By carefully examining both the sources and translations of these adverbs in the corpus of translations, we identify different patterns of construal in the languages compared. The main difference found in setting up the deictic space pertains to the construction of the coordinate system preferred in Norwegian and German — a more egocentric one in the former, and one more subjective and focused on the object of conceptualization in the latter. Thus, close scrutiny of how the two cognates behave in translation helps us to confirm that differences in imagery in two languages may be based on different preferred vantage points, resulting in some clear conceptualization patterns on a lower level, and that imagery is subject to choice of particular cultures. Additionally, it is demonstrated that Norwegian seems less space-oriented than German, which to a greater extent prefers detailed spatial indication within discourse, and that the German *hier* may be less proximal than the proximal *her*.

Keywords: cognates, deixis, indexicals, Cognitive Grammar, subjectivity, perspective, space builders, correspondences, parallel corpus, Norwegian *her*, German *hier*.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cognitive Grammar (CG) ascribes an important role to spatial and visual experience, which shapes other aspects of human cognition, including language. As Ronald W. Langacker expresses it: “[u]ndoubtedly its role is both pervasive and highly important — we are first and foremost spatial and visual creatures” [Langacker, 1995, p. 153]. However, the linguistic significance of this fact is still far from being thoroughly clarified and investigated, particularly in contrastive studies, when two or more languages are concerned. One question that remains open, for instance, is whether differences in imagery [Langacker, 1987, p. 110] in two languages may be based on different vantage points that are preferred in these languages, influencing conventional ways of scene construal in them. If so, how does this function? In the present study, some aspects of this issue will be investigated based on the example of two cognate deictic adverbs/adverbials, the Norwegian *her* ‘here’ and the German *hier* ‘here’, analyzed in parallel corpus data.

The main aim of this study is to ascertain to what extent Norwegian and German, which are very closely related languages, show similarities and differences in the construction of the deictic space through the use of the seemingly highly similar adverbials *her/hier* in discourse, and to propose some more general cognitive mechanisms that may underlie the instances where the languages under investigation differ in imagery in this respect.

The linguistic material, drawn from a parallel corpus, will be considered within the framework of Langacker’s Cognitive Grammar [Langacker, 1987], where meaning is understood as a matter of conceptualization and the search for equivalence in translation is treated as taking place on this level [Tabakowska, 1993]. Thus, it is assumed in this article that an analysis of translation data enables us to compare two (or many) ways of conceptualizing the same scene (the perceived reality) as manifested in different languages. In corpus data, such characteristics work on a larger scale and the corpus is seen as reflecting the conventions of a given society using language communicatively. Therefore, we are herein exploring certain patterns of construal in the languages compared, as identified on the basis of translations.

2. DEIXIS

John Lyons defines **deixis** as:

the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee [Lyons, 1977, p. 637].

Taking into account this pioneer definition of deixis, establishing the concept as the source of reference *per se*, Francis Cornish defines it in a modified way:

Deixis is one (very essential) way of “grounding” the discourse to be created by the production of text in some appropriate context: it is **context-establishing** in that it **fixes** the basic contextual parameters (space — time — speaker and addressee — **source of viewpoint**) for the communicative event, **setting up the subjective viewpoint or perspective within which that discourse is to be construed and hence constructed** [Cornish, 2009, p. 3, bolding E.D.-B.].

The core of deixis consists, then, in relating linguistic conceptualizations (expressions) to the constitutive elements of the spatiotemporal co-ordinates of the speech event — the egocentric origo [Bühler, 1934] or the ground [Langacker, 1987] — encompassing *I, here, now* (and *you*). Therefore, it may be stated that through the use of linguistic means of deixis, the speaker shapes a frame for a given utterance, mainly (but not exclusively) pertaining to space and time, where s/he and the addressee are co-present.

However, in the definitions above, one aspect of the concept’s description may be seen as particularly important and inspiring for the present article — in Cornish’s words, the idea that deixis is connected with “**setting up the subjective viewpoint or perspective within which [the] discourse is to be construed**”. This implies that in analyzing deixis we need to know not only the constitutive elements of the speech event (the origo) functioning as reference points in communication, but also how they are conceived. As Sophia Marmaridou remarks, each deictic expression evokes a mental space, the construction of which also involves a conceptualization of the deictic centre [Marmaridou, 2000, p. 100].

Because in CG meaning is understood as a matter of conceptualization [Langacker, 1987], which always implies taking a perspective on a given scene, such points of view may be set individually, as it is in different

linguistic portrayals applied to describe the same part of reality. On the other hand, it may be assumed that reality may be also construed in a given language from a preferred, more or less conventionalized, viewpoint applied by the speakers in conventional linguistic conceptualizations in general. Imagery is then subject to choices made from the point of view not of individual conceptualizers, but of view of particular languages. Thus, in the context of the present paper, it is assumed that particular languages have conventionalized the construal of the deictic space by setting such points of view in different manner and that their formation may be revealed by comparing languages to each other. The deictic space (or frame), which is an abstraction or mental representation of a specific physical space, may be seen as universal, yet its interpretation may be culturally determined (see e. g. [Kryk-Kastovsky, 1996]). Some deictic concepts that occur in a given language may be not present in other cultures or they may be conceptually shaped in different manners — a fact that also pertains to the construction of the origo itself.

3. DEICTIC *HER* AND *HIER*

The adverbs *her/hier*, the focus of this study, are close cognates in two closely related languages, and as such at first glance they seem very similar in terms of their meaning and usage. Both are usually classified as place-deictic expressions or indexicals, referring to concrete or abstract locations, relative to the speaker functioning as the anchor of the location. The *her/hier* location is the same as the speaker, even though it is to be seen as quite vague, expanding from a very precise place in a particular room to the whole universe. However, one difference is that the Norwegian *her* functions in a binary system encompassing *her* 'here' and *der* 'there', while the German system is based on three elements *hier* 'here' — *dort* 'there' — *da* 'here/there'.

Grammatical descriptions of German *hier* are very sparse [cf. Helbig, Buscha, 1988, p. 343]. The item is mainly classified as adverb possessing a spatial meaning, that can be used deictically and anaphorically [Ehrich, 1982, p. 45; 1992; Klein, 1978]. It is also connected with now-orientation and proximity [Blühdorn, 2002, p. 260–262, 265]. A more thorough pragmatic analysis of the uses of *hier*, shows, however, that the adverb can also do several varied types of discourse work beyond spatial reference [Moilanen, 1978]. Such uses of the adverb (mainly as a part of the

whole German system) have been related to their counterparts in other languages (see e. g. [Blühdorn, 2003; Naumovich, 2014]).

Norwegian *her*, in turn, is characterized in *Norsk Referansegrammatikk* (NRG) as a pro-word (*pro-ord*) that can represent some more complex and elaborated linguistic expressions, e. g. *De bor på landet — De bor her* ‘They live **in the countryside** — They live **here**’ [Faarlund, Lie, Vannebo, 1997, p. 26]. Moreover, the item’s highlighting function (*den utpekende funksjonen*) and expression of proximity is stressed [Faarlund et al., 1997, p. 211, 414]. The Norwegian *her* is said to have deictic and anaphoric function, not infrequently connected with fading of proximity in particular contexts [Faarlund et al., 1997, p. 414, 418, 1179f]. It can also be used as a kind of formal, non-nominal subject, as e. g. *Her blåser forferdelig på kysten* ‘**Here** (it) blows terribly on the coast [Faarlund et al., 1997, p. 681–682]. In Norwegian research, the function of *her* as a cohesion device is also stressed. Hilde Hasselgård, for example, notices that “original texts in English and Norwegian reveal marked differences between the two languages” as pertains to the use of HERE (representing the Norwegian *her* and the English *here*), both in the sentence-initials and other instances [Hasselgård, 2004, p. 167]. Her research claims that the item is used “more extensively as a connective device in Norwegian than in English”, which she says may indicate that “spatial linking is more common in Norwegian” [Hasselgård, 2004, p. 163]. This is seen as a typical feature of this language that seems to rely on spatial linking to a greater extent than English.

On the other hand, it may be added that German is also characterized as space-oriented. In practice this means that the coding of spatial information in it is believed to be more explicit than in other languages [Blühdorn, 2002, p. 258]. The adverbial *hier* is claimed to play an important role in this system.

Based on the above, we might presume that the use of the two adverbials is very similar in the two languages, and — more specifically — that translators most predominantly rely on the close correspondence between the two of them.

4. METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

The data for the investigation presented in this article came from the *Oslo Multilingual Corpus* (the OMC), a parallel corpus that enabled us

to analyze contextual uses of the deictic adverbs under investigation, occurring both as translations and sources¹.

In Norwegian-to-German data, our analysis focused on the ways in which Norwegian *her* is rendered in translations into German as well as what German linguistic structures function as sources of *her* in translated Norwegian (TN)². The former are designated herein as German translations of Norwegian *her*, the latter as German sources of Norwegian *her*. The same way of investigating the data was applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to German-to-Norwegian translation. Namely, the analysis considered the ways in which German *hier* is rendered in Norwegian translations as well as what Norwegian linguistic structures function as sources of *hier* in translated German (designated as TD). Again, the former are described as Norwegian translations of German *hier*, the latter as Norwegian sources of German *hier*.

Correspondence is understood in this study as a technical term, defined as “what is observed in a corpus” as a result of a particular translational solution [Johansson, 2007, p. 5]. According to this framework, the correspondences identified in the corpus were classified in accordance with three criteria: direction of translation, expression, and congruence [Johansson, 2007, p. 25]. The corresponding structures were counted as zero when no formal expression of *her/hier* existed in the data. In terms of congruence (when the correspondence was overtly expressed by a linguistic form), two types were distinguished. Divergent correspondence was seen as based on a formal difference between the two corresponding items in the source and target text. Congruent structures, on the contrary, did not differ in form, e. g. a one-word source text expression corresponded to a one-word expression in the target language. The congruent correspondence particularly focused on in this investigation

¹ The Oslo Multilingual Corpus (1999-2008), the Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo. The OMC is a product of the interdisciplinary research project Languages in Contrast (SPRIK), directed by Stig Johansson and Cathrine Fabricius-Hansen, and compiled by the OMC corpus team (<https://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/services/omc/team/>).

² The abbreviations TN (translated Norwegian), TD (translated German), N (Norwegian in the original text), D (German in the original text) are displayed in the references to the corpus data, e. g. in (DG1N.3.s13) where N indicates that the mentioned example comes from an original Norwegian text and was translated from this language.

was the cognate adverb — the German *hier* for the Norwegian *her*, and vice versa.

All correspondences were identified in the databases via the Glossa browser (<https://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa2/omc4>). They were additionally searched for manually by close reading of concordances. The starting point of the analysis was examination of the occurrences of *her* and *hier* in isolation. Subsequently, the items were analyzed in combination with each other.

In more traditional accounts, the use of *her* and *hier* is characterized as deictic (referring to the outer space) and endophoric (anaphoric and cataphoric) (see e. g. [Hasselgård 2004, p. 165f]). In the present study, a different way of treating such occurrences was applied and all of them were taken into account. Cornish posits that there is a continuum of indexicality along which particular sub-types of indexical referring procedures may be ranged; he illustrates this continuum as follows: canonical deixis > discourse/text deixis > (strict) anadeixis > canonical discourse anaphora (see Scale of indexical referring procedures [Cornish, 2009, p. 8]).

In this view of indexicality, no clear borders between deixis and anaphora can be found and the concepts are not mutually exclusive, although it should be added that some indexical expression types can be restricted to only one type of use (e. g. *I* being canonically deictic and *he/she* being prototypically anaphoric). Nevertheless, the majority of deictic expressions may sustain various types of use in particular contexts [Cornish, 2009, p. 12] and the items under investigation represent indexicals of this type. Therefore, in this analysis it was assumed that both the Norwegian *her* and the German *hier* “used deictically, anaphorically or anadeictically can make distinctive contributions to the structure of the discourse that may be associated with a given text in conjunction with an appropriate context” [Cornish, 2009, p. 13]. In this way, they also shape the deictic space (or frame) of discourse in the particular language. When the adverbs were applied mutually in the languages meeting in translation (*her* ← → *hier*), they were assumed to shape the deictic space in the same manner. When different correspondences to the adverbs were applied, the deictic space was assumed to be set up or construed some other way.

5. THE RESULTS

Tables 1–4 below show the main findings in the conducted analyses, in Norwegian-to-German (N→G) and German-to-Norwegian (G→N) data:

Table 1. Correspondences to the Norwegian her in N→G

Correspondence	translations	%	sources	%
in total in N→G	1353	100	1197	100
non-initial <i>her</i> → <i>hier</i>	819	60.53	483	40.35
initial <i>her</i> → initial <i>hier</i>	127	9.38	84	7.01
initial <i>her</i> → non-initial <i>hier</i>	12	0.88	27	2.25
Other	395	29.19	603	50.37

Table 2. Other correspondences to the Norwegian her in N→G

	translations	%	sources	%
In total	395	29.19	603	50.37
ZERO	205	15.15	329	27.48
<i>da</i>	35	2.58	57	4.76
circumstances expressed in detail	37	2.73	58	4.84
pronominal adverbs	23	1.69	56	4.67
<i>dort</i>	13	0.96	11	0.91
<i>hier</i> + verb	11	0.81	6	0.50
<i>es</i>	8	0.59	3	0.25
<i>hie</i>	6	0.44	5	0.41
<i>her</i> + verb	5	0.36	1	0.08
<i>jetzt</i>	4	0.29	1	0.08
<i>das</i>	3	0.22	4	0.33
<i>nun</i>	2	0.14	3	0.33

	translations	%	sources	%
<i>dies</i>	1	0.07	1	0.08
<i>her</i>			3	0.33
<i>hierher</i>			6	0.50
<i>hierhin</i>			2	0.16
Other	6	0.44	13	1.08
Excluded	36	2.66	44	3.67

Table 3. Correspondences to the German *hier* in G→N

Correspondence	translations	%	sources	%
in total in G→N	509	100	1806	100
non-initial <i>hier</i> → <i>her</i>	310	60.90	1016	56.25
initial <i>hier</i> → initial <i>her</i>	69	13.55	138	7.64
initial <i>hier</i> → non-initial <i>her</i>	6	1.17	26	1.43
Other	124	24.36	626	34.66

Table 4. Other correspondences to the German *hier* in G→N

	translations	%	sources	%
In total	124	24.36	626	34.66
ZERO	89	17.48	357	19.76
<i>der</i>	6	1.17	34	1.88
circumstances expressed in detail	9	1.76	31	1.71
<i>denne</i> (+N)	5	0.98	79	4.37
<i>herifra</i>	5	0.98	22	1.21
<i>nå</i>	2	0.39	2	0.11
<i>hit</i>	2	0.39	26	1.43

	translations	%	sources	%
<i>da</i>	1	0.19	18	0.99
<i>det</i>	1	0.19	35	1.93
pronominal adverbs	2	0.39	6	0.33
Excluded	2	0.39	16	0.88

5.1. Congruent cognate correspondences

Table 1 and Table 3 above show the main findings pertaining to the correspondence of the cognate adverbs in Norwegian and German. In N→G translation, a total of 1353 occurrences of *her* were extracted from the corpus data, while in G→N translation, the data provided 509 examples. Therefore, the indexical is more frequent in Norwegian original texts than in German original texts in the OMC. Moreover, it was more frequent in German translations of Norwegian sources than vice versa (1806/1197) — a fact that also may indicate that the use of this language item as a means of building the deictic space is more popular in Norwegian.

The examples below show the typical uses of *her* and *hier* occurring as congruent cognate correspondences, in translations and sources, in N→G examples in (1), (2) and G→N examples in (3), (4).

(1) a. (N) *Her trenger menneskene deg.*

(G) *Hier brauchen dich die Menschen.* [DG1N.3.s13](#)

(N) *Her slutter min fars dagboksopptegetninger,...*

(G) *Hier enden die Tagebucheintragungen meines Vaters,* [BHH1N.4.5.s1](#)

(N) *...bystater både i Hellas og i de greske koloniene i Sør-Italia og i Lille-Asia. Her gjorde slavene alt kroppsarbeidet,...*

(G) *...viele Stadtstaaten in Griechenland und in ihren Kolonien in Süditalien und Kleinasien. Hier verrichteten die Sklaven alle körperliche Arbeit,...* [JG1N.3.1.s129](#)

b. (N) *Her bruker han ordet "Gud",...*

(G) *Er verwendet hier das Wort „Gott“,...* [JG1N.4.5.s15](#)

(N) *Her spiste man ikke for å bli mett, men for å bli sett.*

(G) *Man aß hier nicht, um satt, sondern um gesehen zu werden.* [OEL1N.4.s274](#)

- c. (N) *De begynner alt imorgen tidlig og får sete **her** på kontoret, ...*
 (G) *Sie fangen morgen früh an und bekommen einen Tisch **hier** im Kontor, ...* [BHH1N.1.2.s162](#)

(N) *Men Aron, hva gjør du **her** oppe, ...*

(G) *Aber Aron, was machst du **hier** oben?* [BHH1N.4.2.s190](#)

As far as N→G translations are concerned, the sentence-initial uses of *her/hier* covers the whole scale of indexical referring and may function both as deictic, anadeictic or purely discourse anaphoric. Yet strikingly, the use of sentence-initial *her/hier* is quite marginal in both languages. The adverbs occurred as such correspondences in 9.38 % of the investigated language data, as illustrated in (1a) above. A high variety of indexical referring was also identified when the sentence-initial *her* was realized by its German cognate not used sentence-initially, though this occurrence, shown in (1b), also occurred very seldom (0.88 %).

This type of congruent correspondence was most frequent (over 60 % of the analyzed instances) when a non-initial Norwegian *her* was rendered as a German non-initial *hier*, as illustrated in (1c).

The situation was different in the case of sources in the N→G data. Only 40 % of the non-initial German *hier* sourced the occurrence of the Norwegian cognate *her*, used non-initially in TN, as illustrated in (2a). The other types of this congruent correspondence in TN, displayed in (2b) and (2c), were clearly infrequent (2.25 % and 7.01 % respectively).

- (2) a. (G) *Ich habe **hier** in der Hand einen Käfer, behauptete er eines Tages,*
 (N) *Jeg har denne billen **her** i den ene hånden, kunngjorde han en dag.* [IH1TN.1.4.s41](#)

b. (G) ***Hier** wohnen einfach zu viele alte Leute, ...*

(N) *Det bor ganske enkelt for mange gamle mennesker **her**.* [CH1TN.2.s38](#)

c. (G) ***Hier** hatte der große starke Aisakos gelebt?*

(N) ***Her** hadde den store, sterke Aisakos levd?* [CW1TN.1.s1154](#)

As far as G→N is concerned, it was observed that the rendition of the German sentence-initial *hier* by its direct Norwegian counterpart, as in (3a) below, was higher than in N→G translation, accounting for 13.55 %. Moreover, the sentence-initial position of the German adverb was not preserved in translation into Norwegian only in 1.17 % of the investigated conceptualizations, as in (3b). These facts may indicate that

Norwegian indeed prefers this kind of conceptual linking — a fact that was confirmed in research by Hasselgård [Hasselgård, 2004]. However, as above, also in G→N the most frequent direct cognate correspondence was observed when *hier/her* were not used sentence-initially — 60.9%, as illustrated in (3c) below.

- (3) a. (G) **Hier** hatte der große starke Aisakos gelebt?
 (N) **Her** hadde den store, sterke Aisakos levd? [CW1D.1.s1149](#)
- (G) Aussage heißen: „Im Durchschnitt“ sind alle Menschen auf dieser Erde satt. **Hier** liegt der Zynismus auf der Hand.
 (N) ... **Her** ligger kynismen klart i dagen, [UB1D.2.1.1.s19](#)
- b. (G) **Hier** würde ihn niemand suchen, ...
 (N) Ingen ville komme på å lete etter ham **her**, ... [ME1D.1.s257](#)
- (G) **Hier** sorgt er für Stütze und feine Durchgestaltung, ...
 (N) Den sørger **her** for støtte og gjennomarbeidet form, ... [UR1D.8.1.s8](#)
- c. (G) Ich hoffe, du fühlst dich **hier** wohl.
 (N) Jeg håper du kommer til å trives **her**. [DW1D.2.s304](#)
- (G) Aber Sie dürfen **hier** nicht sitzen.
 (N) Men De har ikke lov til å sitte **her**. [DW1D.2.s341](#)

Additionally, in the case of sources in the G→N data, the most frequent congruent cognate correspondence (56.25%) was identified when the Norwegian non-initial *her* triggered the use of the German *hier* used not sentence initially, as illustrated in (4a). Only 7.64% of the investigated source Norwegian sentence-initial *her* triggered the sentence initial *hier* in TD, as in (4b), and slightly 1.42% of such Norwegian sources resulted in non-initial *hier*, as in (4c).

- (4) a. (N) Jeg er nevrolog **her**.
 (G) Ich bin **hier** der Neurologe, ... [OS1TD.1.2.s69](#)
- b. (N) **Her**, ta ham.
 (G) **Hier**, nimm du ihn. [GN1TD.1.3.s23](#)
- c. (N) **Her** er jeg.
 (G) Ich bin **hier**. [SK1TD.1.s128](#)

5.2. Other correspondences

Table 2 and Table 4 above show that both the Norwegian *her* and the German *hier* have a wide variety of other, both congruent and divergent correspondences, which in the N→G and G→N data account for 29.19 % and 24.36 % of translations, and 50.37 % and 34.66 % of sources, respectively. In this context, it is striking to observe that over 50 % of tokens of *her* found in TN were triggered by other German structures, of varied form. Even more strikingly, roughly half of these (27.48 % of all cases) were zero (divergent) correspondences³, an issue that will be dealt with more closely below. Also noteworthy is that the German zero sourced both the sentence initial or non-initial *her*, as well as *her* specifying the meaning of a noun in translated Norwegian, as it is shown in (5).

- (5) (G) *Ich hab jede Menge Platz,...*
(N) **Her** er nok av plass,... GN1TN.1.3.s187
- (G) *Wir haben vor ein paar Tagen Mr. Fibich gesehen,...*
(N) Vi så herr Fibich **her** forleden dag. AB1TN.1.s184
- (G) *Die Bedienung war exzellent.*
(N) Service **her** var utmerket,... AT1TN.3.s441

Because the translators felt a strong need to add *her* into the discourse space in situations when the German conceptualization did not include the indexical *hier* or other structures that may be seen as corresponding to *her*, it seems that Norwegian “demands” the use of the indexical in such cases. Conceptualizations of this type represented

³ In both N→G and G→N data, in translations and sources, zero is the most frequent correspondence. The deictic adverb is frequently left untranslated (in translations — a) and added by the translator (in sources — b), as the examples in (i) below show. Yet, their percentage in the German sources for tokens of *her* in translated Norwegian (TN) is highest in the context of the conducted research. That is why they are analyzed in detail while the other zero-correspondences are only illustrated by the examples from the language data in translations (N, D) and sources (TD, TN).

- (i) a. (N) *Gården **her** er i en sørgelig forfatning,...*
(G) *Der Hof ist in trauriger Verfassung,...* BHH1N.4.4.s780
(G) *Muß **hier** darauf hingewiesen werden, daß Leni,...*
(N) *Er det nødvendig å si at Leni,...* HEB1D.2.s124
- b. (G) *Es geht **hier** um Leben und Tod,...*
(N) *Saken gjelder liv eller død,...* BHH1TDS.1.2.s26

various indexical referring procedures in TN, but canonical deixis was most prominent. Moreover, TN frequently had *her* in combination with another spatial adverbial (one represented likewise in the German source structure), as in (6) below.

- (6) (G) *Sie haben eine Adresse in Frankreich?*
(N) *Har dere en adresse her i Frankrike?* [PM1TN.1.s384](#)
- (G) *Ich hab praktisch einen Computer in meinem Kopf...*
(N) *Jeg har faktisk en liten datamaskin her inne i hodet...* [RD1TN.5.s66](#)
- (G) *Nur das zählte im Leben...*
(N) *det var det som tellet her i livet...* [AB1TN.1.s44](#)

In the presented examples, the Norwegian *her* may seem redundant as a specification of spatial circumstances. According to Hasselgård [2004, p. 171], this type of occurrence of the adverb “reinforces the proximal perspective, and furthermore contributes to cohesion through continuity of space”.

The most important of the other not congruent correspondences to the Norwegian *her* sourced by the German structures are discussed in detail later in this paper.

Two prominent categories of such structures were branded in Table 2 and Table 4 as “circumstances expressed in detail”, illustrated in (7a) below, and “pronominal adverbs”, illustrated in (7b). The majority of them involved various kinds of locations (conceived syntactically as adverbials or objects in German)⁴.

- (7) a. (G) *Ich bleibe trotzdem bei ihr...*
(N) *Jeg blir her likevel.* [AH1TN.2.1.s110](#)
- (G) *Macon hatte sie bei seinem ersten Londoner Aufenthalt für so etwas wie Mikrofone gehalten,*
(N) *Macon hadde tatt for en slags mikrofoner første gang han var her.* [AT1TN.3.s426](#)
- (G) *Auf diesem Stockwerk stank es...*
(N) *Lukten var sterkere her.* [DL2TN.1.s84](#)

⁴ Structures of this type occur in the N→G data and in the G→N data, both in translations and sources. Yet, their occurrence is slightly more prominent in translated Norwegian (sourced by the German structure) (4.84 % and 4.67 % in Table 3).

(G) *Vorbild sind in dieser Hinsicht die Vereinigten Staaten,...*
(N) *...forbilde er her De_forente_stater,...* [HME1TN.6.s85](#)

(G) *An dieser Stelle könnte alles mögliche passieren,...*
(N) *Her kunne flere ting skje,...* [ROB1TN.1.3.s1](#)

(G) *Wenn wir das Haus wieder in Ordnung gebracht haben, sind wir,...*
(N) *Når vi har fått ordnet opp her, så er det...* [DL2TN.2.s250](#)

- b. (G) *Darin liegt ein wesentlicher Faktor der Krebsvorsorge,...*
(N) *Her har vi en vesentlig faktor når det gjelder kreftforebyggelse,...*
[UR1TN.2.1.s78](#)

(G) *Daran ist sogar Eumelos gescheitert.*
(N) *Her kom selv Eumelos til kort,...* [CW1TN.1.s687](#)

(G) *Dabei mußte ein strikter Ehrenkodex eingehalten werden,...*
(N) *Her måtte en strikt æreskodeks overholdes,...* [HME1TN.3.s46](#)

What is important here is the fact that the correspondence based on the German pronominal adverb and the Norwegian *her* represents systemic differences between the languages under discussion. As it pertains to the sentence-initial position, it may be seen as a clear indicator of cohesion in discourse in both languages. However, a difference in the way how this relation is shaped may be also identified on the basis of (7a) and (7b). In this respect Norwegian and German vary in the level of specificity (schematicity), which is an important aspect of imagery [Langacker, 1987, p. 132–135]. That means that the mental pictures created in them differ in the level of delicacy, i.e. the fineness of detail, with which a situation is portrayed. The German expressions provided a finer-grained characterization of the space of discourse as regards different kinds of spatial information. In Norwegian, the same space was shaped in a more coarse-grained manner by the use of *her*.

6. DISCUSSION

A more global look at the investigated data enables us to conclude that in N→G, the Norwegian *her* in total was rendered as the German *hier* in over 70 % of the conceptualizations, in translations. In G→N, the situation is clearly similar. The German *hier*, was realized as the Norwegian *her* in over 75 % of the language data. From this first-blush obser-

vation, a more general conclusion might be drawn that the uses of the cognate adverbs to set up the deictic space within which the discourse is to be construed in the languages under investigation are clearly similar in translation. However, the one-way analysis of this kind fails to provide a full view of the phenomenon.

In the analysis above, it was also observed that in N→G, only 40.35 % of the German sources including *hier* resulted in the Norwegian cognate, while the Norwegian *her* triggered the use of the indexical in translated German in nearly 65 % of cases. These results may indicate that German exploits the possibility to “absorb” the deictic HERE-localization within its conceptual realms easily, even though the German *hier* cannot be seen as a trigger for profiling this location in the same manner in TN. This fact is worth noticing as it may confirm that the Norwegian *her* is more specialized in its use, while the meaning of the German *hier* may be seen as more general and easier to apply. The Norwegian indexical seems simply to demand more precise (perhaps more conventionally established) conditions of use. The question that remains is: In what respect does this happen?

Our investigation showed that even though the sentence-initial position of *her* in Norwegian may be seen as typical for this language, it represents a marginal phenomenon in a wider context of the item’s uses in discourse, both in translations and sources. Consequently, its function as a prototypical means for expressing cohesion, i. e. providing the textual foundation for the clause as message based on spatial linking [Hasselgård, 2004, p.163, 165] cannot be seen as predominant. As the adverbials in both languages mainly occur in non-initial position in the sentence, their function should rather be considered in more general terms as creating a deictic frame or space, within which entities of different types are located and related to the spatiotemporal co-ordinates of the act of utterance, where the speaker stands at the centre.

This possible characterization is further corroborated when other correspondences to the Norwegian adverb in TN (i. e. sourced by German structures in the N→G data) are taken into account. While these expressions were more detailed in conceiving the given scene, Norwegian preferred a more schematic way of portraying it, realized just by *her*. In this light, the meaning of *her* may be characterized as less locative than the meaning of structures specializing on profiling different kinds of locations (spatial or mor abstract) and conceiving the scene

in a fine-grained manner. Therefore, explicitly expressed localization in German may be assumed to release the deictic mode in Norwegian and this mode of reference mainly implies reference to the speaker as the core of the deictic centre. Levinson describes this privileged position of the speaker very suggestively defining the *origo* as follows:

- (i) the central person is the speaker, (ii) the central time is at which the speaker produces the utterance, (iii) the central place is the speaker's location at utterance time or CT (coding time, E.D.-B.), (iv) the discourse centre is the point which the speaker is currently at in the production of his utterance, and (v) the social centre is the speaker's social status and rank, to which the status of the addressees or referents is relative [Levinson, 1983, p. 64].

The meaning of *her* may be then described as “the speaker's location at utterance time or CT”. Seen in this way, it is mainly speaker-centered and secondly spatial. This deictic function of setting up the subjective viewpoint or perspective within which the sentence is to be construed may be characterized as clearest in instances when in TN *her* occurred in combination with another spatial adverbial. Moreover, the results presented herein indicate that the deictic mode set in Norwegian by *her* may be characterized as stronger than in German.

One particularly striking finding that emerged from the analyses herein was the extraordinarily high percentage of zero correspondences in original German for tokens of *her* found in translated Norwegian (27.48 %, or more than one-quarter of all such tokens; see Table 2 above). In such instances, the deictic *her* occurred in the translated language even though no source German trigger was involved. This somehow surprising state of affairs, which would traditionally be explained in terms of individual decisions taken by the translators, may in view of its systematicity here be seen as instead telling us something about the given languages themselves.

The phenomenon may be interpreted with reference to the gravitational-pull hypothesis, which situates translation within the context of most recent knowledge on bilingual cognition and helps to explain how semantic structures work in translation [Halverson, 2003; 2017]. According to this hypotheses, highly salient (lexical and grammatical) structures exert a certain gravitational pull during the cognitive process of translation, resulting in an overrepresentation of specific target language (TL) structures that correspond to those salient configurations

in the schematic network in the speakers' bilingual minds [Halverson, 2003, p. 218]. In the context of the source language, this type of pull means “copying” of such structures into the TL, as it was e. g. conceived in the law of interference formulated by Gideon Toury (see [Toury, 1995]). In the context of the target language, however, the gravitational pull means “magnetism”, based on an assumption that “in the cognitive search for a target language item, the translator is more likely to be drawn to a target language item with high salience” [Halverson, 2017, p. 14] — a mechanism that in other words may be described as: what is notionally salient in the TL may be expected to be chosen in translation into this language first and in high extent (as e. g. Toury's law of growing standardization claims)⁵.

Applying this mechanism to our zero correspondences in German for tokens of the Norwegian *her* found in in TN, it may be stated that the “magnetism” of Norwegian to signal the presence of the deictic *her*-space is strong, as the structure was added by the translators in over 27 % of conceptualizations, even though no trigger in the source language was present. Moreover, it may be assumed to be stronger than in the case of the German *hier*, as zero correspondences in Norwegian sources pertained to 19.76 % of tokens of this item found in TD (see Table 4 above).

Discussion of this issue may be further enriched by the application of a Cognitive Grammar account. From this perspective, the differences in use of the Norwegian *her* and the German *hier*, proved in the investigation, may be explained in terms of degrees of subjectivity, which has its roots in basic human spatial and visual experience.

According to Langacker (e. g. [Langacker, 1985; 1987; 1995]), a canonical viewing arrangement maximizes the asymmetry between the role of a viewer, as the subject of perception, and the role of the object of perception (the perceived situation). The same pertains to linguistic conceptualizations. In such cases the role of the viewer (the conceptualizer, the speaker) is constructed as maximally subjective, that of the object as maximally objective. According to this asymmetry that underlies the concept of subjectivity, the conceptualizer (C) remains offstage,

⁵ Seen from this perspective, the zero correspondence in sources may be postulated to indicate the strength of magnetism in translation — as a measure indicating to what extent a particular language structure occurs as salient in the bilingual representation in a translation task.

functioning as the subject of conceptualization, while the object (i. e. the profile of the expression) is focused on. It is then said that the conceptualizer is construed subjectively, and the profile objectively, as e. g. in *Anna is happy*.

However, the canonical asymmetry may be lessened “by directing our gaze so as to bring a portion of our own body into VF (viewing frame, E.D.-B.) as the focus of attention” [Langacker, 1995, p. 162]. The conceptualizer himself may also go onstage as the focus of attention and consequently as the profile of the linguistic conceptualization, which happens, for instance, when the deictic pronoun *I*, as in *I am happy*, is used. Moreover, the focus of attention may encompass other parts of the conceptualizer, e. g. his location in space, time, etc. In this so-called egocentric viewing arrangement, the profile of the linguistic expression includes some aspects of the functioning of the conceptualizer.

The concept of viewing and subjectivity may be applied in the context of deixis. The origo or the ground, defined as *I, here, now* and *you* are seen as important reference points in establishing communication. Usually they remain offstage and function as the subjects of the conceptualization, but they may be also put onstage (profiled by linguistic expressions), e. g. as in *I can see you better now*. In such cases, the ground is construed objectively and it may be involved within the profile to different degrees [Langacker, 1995, p. 171, 172]. The same happens each time when *here* and its cognates, the Norwegian *her* and the German *hier*, are used within an expression.

The concept of subjectivity is, as Langacker [1985, p. 109] expresses it, “both subtle and complex”. Its presence in the functioning of each language is fundamental. Yet, languages may vary with respect to which types of subjectivity they apply in their structures [Langacker, 1985]. Moreover, little is known to what extent they show similarities and differences in this respect. Nevertheless, applying the concept to the linguistic data may enable us to reveal how the languages differ in construing the ground.

The differences in the use of the Norwegian *her* and the German *hier* (especially in N→G data on sources), as disclosed in our investigation and discussed partly above, may also be indicative of different ways by which the ground is constructed in these languages and consequently of differences in subjectivity. More than 50 % of the tokens of the indexical *her* in TN were sourced by German structures other than *hier*, of varied

form (shown in Table 3 and represented by zero correspondence, circumstances expressed in detail or pronominal adverbs, etc.), signaling that in Norwegian the speaker often indicates explicitly that the events concerned are connected with him/herself. The space “including” him/herself thus tends to be put onstage, while in German other aspects of the situation tend to be profiled. In this way the role of the speaker connected with the deictic location is objectified in Norwegian, causing the subjectivity to occur to a greater degree as compared to German (34.66%). In other words, the reinforced Norwegian deictic discourse space was more speaker-centered.

Thus, from the perspective of CG, Norwegian may be seen as the somewhat more egocentric sister of the two closely related languages, which in many respects show very clear grammatical similarities and even evident similarities in the use of the cognate indexicals *her/hier*. This difference pertains to how speakers set up **the viewpoint or perspective within which discourse is to be construed and hence constructed** — with a greater degree of objectification of the conceptualizer and his/her parts in Norwegian than in German.

7. CONCLUSIONS

In terms of methodology, this investigation has demonstrated that the use of a parallel corpus can broaden the research perspective in insightful ways and help to elaborate upon and deepen our first observations of the linguistic data. This is perhaps especially true for the examination of subtleties in the use of close cognates in closely related languages — in this case pertaining to the more frequent use of the indexical *her* in Norwegian as compared to its cognate *hier* in German. Considering exclusively translations of *her/hier* as data, as we have shown, fails to capture certain differences in the conceptualization of deictic space in these two languages. Rather, also looking at the data on the sources of tokens of *her/hier* found in translated Norwegian and translated German allowed us to bring such differences in imagery between the two languages into clearer relief. As far as the particular correspondences among these sources are concerned, we have argued that they may be characterized in terms of greater magnetism on the part of Norwegian towards expressing deixis by the use of the indexical *her*, and/or in terms of a lower level of specificity in conceiving the spatial

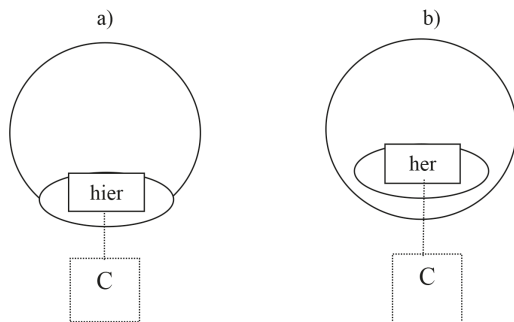


Fig. Degrees of subjectivity in the construction of the discourse space in German (a) and Norwegian (b)

information in discourse. The main and most obvious difference found in setting up the deictic space pertains, however, to the viewpoint construal that is preferred in Norwegian and German — a more egocentric one in the former language, and one more subjective and focused on the object of conceptualization in the latter, as shown in figure below.

Thus, as the example serves to show, differences in imagery in two languages may be based on different vantage points that are preferred in them and result in some clear patterns of construal that influence linguistic conceptualizations on a lower level (e. g. as regards cohesion, specificity, distance, etc.)

In a wider research context, analysis within the framework of CG enables us also to shed some new light on certain characteristics of the indexicals *her* and *hier* that have been mentioned in the literature. Firstly, Norwegian seems less space-oriented than German, which to a greater extent prefers explicit, detailed spatial indication within the discourse space. Moreover, the sentence-initial *her*, which without doubt is a clear device of cohesion in Norwegian, expresses it not relying on spatial linking but on deictic grounds, through the application of different types of indexical referring procedures, in which the role of the speaker is clearly involved. Also, the view on the proximity expressed by the adverbials may be modified if the observed differences in imagery in Norwegian and German are zoomed in on. The German perspective, which is connected with the fine-grained portrayal of spatial information, paradoxically implies a more distant point of view (re-

sembling the canonical viewing arrangement), than the one that results in seeing the same scene as more coarse-grained (i. e. not including the details) — a viewing experience that occurs if we approach a perceived scene too closely. The German *hier* may be therefore characterized as less proximal than the proximal *her*. It seems, then, as if the Norwegian conceptualizer feels “culturally obligated” to come to the scene so close that s/he is unable to see nothing more than his/her own location. To what extent such an analysis can be sustained for Norwegian in a more general sense is — we suggest in closing — a worthwhile subject for future investigation.

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**ЧУТЬ БОЛЕЕ ЭГОЦЕНТРИЧНАЯ СЕСТРА: ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННЫЙ
ДЕЙКСИС НОРВЕЖСКОГО *HER* И НЕМЕЦКОГО *HIER* С ПОЗИЦИИ
КОГНИТИВНОЙ ГРАММАТИКИ**

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В настоящей статье рассматриваются данные из параллельного корпуса (Многоязычный корпус Осло) с целью изучения различий использования родственных норвежских и немецких наречий *her/hier* «здесь» (по-видимому, очень близких по смыслу) как конструкторов дейктического пространства в дискурсе. Цель представленного исследования — предложить некоторые более общие когнитивные механизмы, которые могут лежать в основе таких различий в близкородственных языках. Лингвистический материал рассматривается в рамках когнитивной грамматики и связан с последними знаниями о билингвальном познании, представленными в переводе. Тщательно изучая как источники, так и переводы этих наречий в корпусе переводов, мы выявляем различные образцы конструктора в сравниваемых языках. Основное различие, обнаруженное при настройке дейктического пространства, касается системы координат (то есть *origo*), предпочтительной в норвежском и немецком языках — более эгоцентрической в первом и более субъективной и ориентированной на объект концептуализации во втором. Таким образом, тщательное изучение того, как ведут себя два родственных языка в переводе, помогает нам подтвердить, что различия в изображениях на двух языках могут основываться на предпочтении разных точек зрения, а это в свою очередь приводит к определенным шаблонам концептуализации на более низком уровне, и изображения зависят от выбора конкретных культур. Кроме того, продемонстрировано, что норвежский язык кажется менее ориентированным на пространство, чем немецкий, который в большей степени предпочитает детальную пространственную индикацию в дискурсе, и что немецкое *hier* предпочтительно может быть менее проксимальным, чем проксимальное *her*.

Ключевые слова: когнаты, дейксис, индексичные выражения, когнитивная грамматика, субъективность, перспектива, конструкторы пространства, параллельный корпус, норвежское *her*, немецкое *hier*.

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SATSADVERBIAL I SVENSKUNDERVISNINGEN — EN LÄROBOKSANALYS

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I detta bidrag presenteras en analys av en lärobok i svenska som främmandespråk med särskilt fokus på information om satsadverbial. Utgångspunkten till analysen var Krashens inpuhypotes som säger att utveckling av språkfärdigheter i andraspråket kräver ett tidigare språkligt inflöde som är ett steg högre än den nivå på vilken inläraren befinner sig. Analysen omfattade läroboken *Rivstart B1 + B2* — både textboken och övningsboken. Undersökningen fokuserade på användning av olika betydelsegrupper av satsadverbial samt dessas placering i satsen (huvudsatsen och bisatsen) eftersom den svenska ordföljden kräver olika position av satsadverbial, beroende på satstyp. Dessutom undersöktes explicit och implicit förekomst av satsadverbial i båda böcker. Analysen visade att både textboken och övningsboken innehåller flera olika satsadverbial. Den explicita användningen var mer frekvent i övningsboken än i textboken, men tyngdpunkten låg alltid på adverbialens betydelse och användningsområde och inte syntaktiska position. Den implicita användningen däremot kunde oftare hittas i textboken än i övningsboken. Dessutom förekom det en betydande diskrepans i fördelningen av satsadverbial i huvudsatser och bisatser. Satsadverbial presenterades nästan bara i huvudsatser — inlärare får alltså ett mycket begränsat inflöde av dessa led i bisatskonstruktioner vilket leder till en stark underrepresentation av preverbal position av satsadverbial i bisatser i svenska.

Nyckelord: satsadverbial, läroboksanalys, svenska som främmandespråk, språkligt inflöde.

1. INLEDNING

Språkinlärning är en komplex process där olika faktorer samspelar med varandra. Vissa av dem är oundgängliga för att språket överhuvudtaget ska kunna utvecklas hos individen medan andra hellre har en

stödfunktion och fungerar som en katalysator, dvs. påverkar inläringstempo eller-omfång. Till de nödvändiga faktorerna hör utan tveivel språkligt inflöde (eller input) som inläraren får genom olika kanaler. När språkinläringen sker i naturlig miljö kommer inflödet nästan hela tiden och det omfattar olika domäner. Man kan till exempel höra privata samtal när man åker buss, lyssna på politiska eller yrkesrelaterade diskussioner på arbetsplatsen eller titta på vetenskapliga program när man sitter hemma framför teven. Situationen ser dock annorlunda ut när man lär sig språket i klassrumsmiljön där man har tillgång till det några timmar i veckan och där inflödets art och mängd i hög grad styrs av läraren och/eller läromaterial. Krashen [1976] hävdar till och med att man genom dessa två olika inläringssituationer (alltså den naturliga och den styrda) får olika typer av kunskaper i andraspråket. Inläring eller tillägnande, som han explicit uttrycker, som sker i den naturliga miljön resulterar i omedvetna språkkunskaper som liknar de kunskaper som barn får i modersmålet: man kan alltså använda språket utan att kunna förklara varför en specifik konstruktion eller ett specifikt uttryck är korrekt eller inte. Språkinläring i klassrumsmiljön leder å andra sidan till utveckling av explicita språkkunskaper där inläraren känner till principerna för språkanvändning, kan förklara dem och skapa nya yttranden i vilka dessa principer används medvetet. Varje textproduktion förutsätter dock en tidigare input vars form och kvalitet är av avgörande betydelse för framtida utveckling. I utvecklingspsykologin hänvisas i detta sammanhang till Vygotskys teori om den närmaste utvecklingszonen (eng. *zone of proximal development*) som säger att inläraren inte själv kan utföra en uppgift utan den behöver någon som kan ge stöd åt den. Och genom detta stöd kan zonen utvidgas så att nya uppgifter blir möjliga att utföras [Vygotsky, 1962]. I andraspråksinläringen hänvisas ofta till en annan studie av Krashen [Krashen, 1987] där han påpekar att inte varje inflöde garanterar att inläraren gör framsteg i språket. För det första ska det inkommande språkmaterialet vara förstått av eleven och för det andra måste det vara på en högre nivå (ett steg högre, som Krashen hävdar) än den nivå på vilken andraspråksinläraren befinner sig. Viktigast är dock att inte alla strukturer behöver vara förstådda utan att hela budskapet kan förstås även om det innehåller en ny struktur eller ett nytt uttryck [Krashen, 1987]. Det innebär alltså att när man kommunicerar med inläraren — oberoende om det handlar om talat språk eller om skrivet

undervisningsmaterial — behöver man inte nödvändigtvis fokusera på vad inläraren redan kan utan man kan gärna fläta in någonting som är okänt och det är just det okända som kan påverka framsteg i språkinläringen. Denna hypotes har delvis kritiserats av andra forskare som ansåg att det inte går att fastställa vad som kan vara denna $i + 1$ -nivå och hur läraren kan kommunicera med inlärarna så att dessa verkligen får det språkliga inflöde som endast är lite mer avancerat än det de hittills fått. Grundtanken som ligger bakom denna hypotes är dock att inte ge för mycket ny information som kan leda till missuppfattning av budskapet och samtidigt inte leverera ett inflöde som är på samma nivå och separat ge explicit information om någonting som är nytt för inläraren.

Denna tanke har bl.a. lett till utveckling av en kognitivt baserad teori, s. k. processbarhetsteori som anger att inläraren endast kan producera sådana yttranden som den kan processa. Alltså även om man får mycket input innebär det inte automatiskt att den kan användas i elevens språkliga produktion. Processbarhetsteorin förutsätter att inläraren går igenom specifika steg i utvecklingen av andraspråket. Dessa steg omfattar språkets morfologiska och syntaktiska dimensioner. På det första steget producerar eleven enstaka ord som inte enhetligt böjs och som bara följer efter varandra. Det andra steget kännetecknas av att inläraren kan böja ord, till exempel skapa pluralform av substantiv eller preteritumform av verb. Ordföljden är kanonisk, dvs. subjektet förekommer först och sedan kommer predikatet. På det tredje steget kan man processa ord på frasnivå, vilket återspeglas i korrekt kongruensböjning av adjektiv i attributiv funktion (t. ex. *en stor hund, den stora hunden*). Här brukar inlärarna ibland börja satsen med ett annat led än subjektet (oftast adverbial), men ordföljden är fortfarande rak, dvs. subjektet kommer före predikatet. Det fjärde steget innebär förmågan att processa information på satsnivå så att man kan ha kongruens med predikativa led i satsen (alltså *hunden är stor, hundarna är stora*). På syntaktisk nivå uttrycks denna progression genom det att eleverna kan använda inversion i huvudsatser. Den mest avancerade nivån förutsätter att morfologin redan är behärskad så att utvecklingen endast sker på syntaktisk nivå. Så kan inläraren placera negationen *inte* före det finita verbet i bisatser och inte använda inversion i indirekta frågesatser [Håkansson, 2000].

Vid andraspråksinläringen, alltså vid tillägnande av språket i den naturliga miljön, kan inflödet knappt styras. I främmandespråkssam-

manhang är det dock möjligt både från lärarens och lärobokens sida. Läroböcker är nämligen ett stöd både för eleven och för läraren. Eleven får ett strukturerat inflöde som förväntas förmedla språklig information progressivt. Läraren i sin tur får ett referensverktyg som den kan stödja sig på i undervisningen eller också komplettera med egna inslag. I idealfallet ska läroboken följa inputhypotesens och processbarhetsteorins antaganden, alltså att materialet som representeras i den stegvis inför nya moment så att inläraren kan utveckla sina färdigheter i takt med sina kognitiva förmågor. Flyman Mattson genomförde en analys av tre läromedel i svenska för invandrare (*Mål, Framåt* och *Samspråk*). Utvärderingens fokus låg på grammatisk progression i läroböckernas lärandemål, dvs. de hänvisningar om progression som förekom i lärarhandledningar. Undersökningen visade att det å ena sidan fanns skillnader mellan läroböckerna angående framställning av de grammatiska målen. Å andra sidan kunde märkas att endast vissa läroböcker följde i sina beskrivningar av grammatiska moment processbarhetsteorin utvecklingssteg, dvs. att det grammatiska materialet introducerades i den ordning som motsvarar processbarhetsteorins nivåer [Flyman Mattson, 2013].

Läroböcker i främmandespråk utformas nuförtiden ofta i enlighet med Europarådets gemensamma referensram för språk (eng. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, nedan kallat CEFR) som bl. a. anger olika deskriptorer för språkfärdigheter som är kännetecknade för en viss nivå. CEFR urskiljer tre grundläggande nivåer: A som beskriver språkanvändare på nybörjarnivå, B som hänvisar till självständiga användare och C som tillskrivs avancerade språkanvändare. Alla dessa tre nivåer delas in i undernivåer: (lägre) 1 och (högre) 2. Deskriptorerna omfattar fyra grundläggande färdigheter: muntlig produktion, skriftlig produktion, läsförståelse och hörförståelse. Eftersom denna artikel ska behandla en lärobok på B1 + B2-nivå fokuseras här på de färdigheter som endast gäller dessa nivåer. I den språkliga produktionen ska självständiga språkanvändare bl. a. producera sammanhängande texter, kommentera och förklara sina åsikter, använda (ett begränsat antal) sambandsmarkörer och ha grammatisk korrekthet på meningsnivå [CEFR, 2001]. Dessa färdigheter kan ha sina språkliga uttryck i satsadverbial, alltså ord eller flerordskonstruktioner som på något sätt modifierar ett yttrande.

2. SATSADVERBIAL I SVENSKAN

Satsadverbial (eng. *disjunct*) är en satsdel, alltså en syntaktisk enhet som ”ger varierade möjligheter till kommentar av satsens innehåll: med dem kan talaren negera satsen, visa sin attityd till satsens sanningshalt, ange hur önskvärt satsens sakförhållande är, visa satsens logiska anknytning till textomgivningen etc.” [SAG 1999, s.4]. Det har alltså ett brett användningsområde i språket och kan uttryckas med hjälp av olika konstruktioner. Svenska Akademiens grammatik urskiljer fyra betydelsegrupper hos satsadverbial: modala, konjunktionella, fokuserande och negerande. Oftast representeras denna satsdel av adverb med omständighetsbetydelse, i synnerhet adverb som uttrycker logisk relation, negation och talarattityd. Som typiska modala satsadverbial kan följande adverb anges: *kanske, tydligen, naturligtvis, nog*. De konjunktionella satsadverbialen representeras exempelvis av adverbena *därför, alltså, också, däremot, nämligen*. Bland de fokuserande förekommer ofta *bara, åtminstone, just, endast*. De negerande satsadverbialen har adverbet *inte* som sin prototypiska representant, dock kan även adverbena *icke, ej, ingalunda* förekomma i denna funktion. Dessutom kan olika flerordsuttryck förmedla dessa betydelser, som till exempel: *helt säkert, till och med, på grund av detta, allra minst, så att säga* och flera andra. Satsadverbial har en bestämd position i satsen. Prototypiskt är det mittfältet, men även andra positioner (fundament eller annex) är möjliga för adverbialens placering. När de står i mittfältet har de dock, beroende på satstyp, olika position i förhållande till verbet. I huvudsatser förekommer de efter det finita verbet medan i bisatser står de före verbets finitform.

Satsadverbial utgör ett viktigt moment i svenskundervisningen. För det första på grund av att de hjälper att ge yttrandet en personlig prägel (genom att t.ex. uttrycka talarattityd) och därför brukar de ofta användas i argumenterande texter eller essäer. Med hjälp av satsadverbial (som i sådana fall också kallas för sambandsord) skapas dessutom kohesion i texten vilket också är en prestation i språkproduktionen. Till slut är satsadverbialen viktiga i undervisningen ur formell synpunkt. De har oftast en fast position i satsen och i andraspråkssammanhang ska denna position behärskas och automatiseras så att man kan skapa nya yttranden utan att tänka på var i satsen ledet i fråga ska hamna. Enligt processbarhetsteorin tillhör förmågan att korrekt placera satsadverbial det sista utvecklingssteget vilket innebär att tillägnande av dessa adver-

bial kan utgöra en av de senare inlärdas färdigheterna som andra- eller främmandespråkinlärare kan processa. Det kan gälla både de lexikalisk-semantiska (ordval) och de formella (korrekt placering i satsen) aspekterna i språket.

Som Andréasson påpekar är det svårt att skilja mellan form och funktion när man behandlar satsadverbial i grammatikböcker för svenska. Hon hänvisar till grammatikböcker som utgavs på 1800-talet där gränsen mellan ordklassen adverb och satsledet adverbial inte var skarp [Andréasson, 2007]. Även idag finns det inga enhetliga beskrivningar av satsadverbial i svenska grammatikböcker för andra-/främmandespråkinläring. En del av dessa böcker gör en klar distinktion mellan *satsadverb* och *satsadverbial* där det första är en ordklass medan det andra är en satsdel (som representeras av denna ordklass). I "Deskriptiv svensk grammatik" kan man påträffa *satsadverb* som är en funktionell undergrupp ingående i ordklassen adverb och *satsadverbial* som (endast) utgörs av vissa adverb vilka i detta sammanhang kallas för "*vandrande adverb*" där inte bara "rena" satsadverb utan även vissa tidsadverb (*ofta, förr*) eller sättsadverb (*sakta, snabbt*) tillhör [Deskriptiv svensk grammatik, 1993]. Även i "Funktionell svensk grammatik" förekommer både *satsadverb* och *satsadverbial* där den enda skillnaden beror på klassificeringen: satsadverb är en ordklass medan satsadverbial — en satsdel bestående av satsadverb [Bolander, 2005]. I "Svensk grammatik. Svenska som främmandespråk" finns det inget separat moment som behandlar satsadverb. Dessa ingår i gruppen "jakande och nekande adverb", där en tilläggskommentar kommer att vissa adverb kan förstärka eller modifiera satsen. Konjunktionella adverb beskrivs i boken som "en typ av satsadverb" även om själva gruppen *satsadverb* inte beskrivs eller definieras i ordklassammanhang. Satsadverb förekommer dock igen i ordföljdskapitlet där de, i likhet med Deskriptiv svensk grammatik, beskrivs som "*vandrande*" eller "*rörliga*" adverb. Det ska framhåvas i detta sammanhang att de anförda exemplen på satsadverb inte bara innehåller de populäraste och oftast uppräknade satsadverben utan även omfattar *alltid* och *aldrig* som egentligen klassificerats som tidsadverb i boken. Dessutom dyker termen *satsadverbial* inte alls upp. I syntaktiska sammanhang behandlas bara (*sats*)*adverb* även om det handlar om en satsdel som modifierar eller negerar satsinnehållet och även om andra led beskrivs med syntaktiska termer (subjekt, objekt, predikativ) [Lindholm, 1997].

Mot bakgrund av det ovannämnda kan det därför vara begrundat att analysera hur läroböcker i svenska förmedlar information om satsadverbial. För det första ska i denna artikel undersökas vad som explicit anges om satsadverbial, alltså vilken direkt input inläraren får i läroböcker i svenska. Dessutom ska all implicit information analyseras, dvs. direkt användning av satsadverbial i läroböckernas texter eller övningar. Målet med denna studie är alltså att hitta svar på frågan om och hur läroboken kan hjälpa främmandespråksinläraren att använda en bred repertoar av satsadverbial. Med andra ord: är inflödet mångfaldigt både vad det gäller urval av ord eller uttryck och satsadverbialens syntaktiska distribution, dvs. förekomst i huvud-resp. bisatser så att man inte bara kan veta vilka satsadverbial som kan användas utan även var de ska placeras i satsen.

3. UNDERSÖKNINGENS BESKRIVNING

I denna studie ska en lärobok i svenska som främmandespråk analyseras, med dess två versioner: textboken och övningsboken. Den analyserade läroboken är *Rivstart B1 + B2* av Paula Levy Scherrer och Karl Lindemalm, utgiven 2010 av förlaget Natur och Kultur. I analysen ingick endast de ord och uttryck vars syntaktiska funktion i satsen kunde beskrivas som satsadverbial enligt den indelning som förekommer i SAG, alltså modifierare med konjunktionell, modal, fokuserande eller negerande betydelse. Både enstaka ord (satsadverb) och flerordsuttryck (fraser med satsadverbiell funktion) ingick i analysen. Bakgrunden till valet av en lärobok på B1 + B2-nivå var de anförda deskriptorerna i CEFR-skalan som antydde att eleven på B2-nivå förväntas använda olika bindeord (konjunktionella satsadverbial), argumentera och uttrycka sina personliga åsikter (alla typer av satsadverbial), och ha god grammatisk behärskning som t. ex. endast visas i "små misstag i meningsstrukturen" [CEFR 2001, s. 111]. Analysen ska därför fokusera på mångfalden av satsadverbial i läroboken samt på förhållandet mellan användning av dessa adverbial i bisatser och huvudsatser. Dessutom ska den omfatta både explicit information som gäller satsadverbial, dvs. de moment som uttryckligen behandlar satsadverbialens betydelse eller struktur, och implicit användning, dvs. förekomst av satsadverbial i läroböckernas texter och övningar utan att lägga särskilt fokus på denna satsdel.

4. ANALYS AV MATERIALET

Satsadverbial förekom rätt ofta i de undersökta läroböckerna. Sammanlagt kunde 1353 uttryck i denna funktion urskiljas varav 928 förekom i textboken (nedan kallat TB) och 425 i övningsboken (nedan kallat ÖB). Satsadverbialen presenterades och beskrevs både explicit och implicit i båda delar av undervisningsmaterialet.

I textboken nämns satsadverbialen uttryckligen både med hänsyn till deras betydelse och placering i satsen. Vad det gäller adverbialens betydelse förekommer det tre moment i textboken där dessa led får en framhävd position. Totalt handlar det om sådana adverbial som: *nämligen*, *dock*, *därför*, *däremot*, *väl*, *nog*, *alltså*, *typ* och *liksom*. I det första momentet kallas de för sambandsord, i det andra: satsadverb och i det tredje: småord i talspråk. I alla dessa tre fall gulmarkeras de i texten och efteråt följer oftast en övning som fokuserar på semantiskt korrekt användning av dessa ord. Placering i satsen förklaras inte, dock i varje fall förekommer dessa adverbial i huvudsatser i sin prototypiska mittfältposition.

Två gånger framhävs satsadverbialens position i satsen, dock även här är det endast huvudsatser som anges som exempel. Dessutom står det inte i texten att det handlar om adverbial utan i allmänhet om “ord i svenskan som man inte kan ha först i en mening” [TB, s. 46]. Här räknas bl. a. *också* och *förstås* och rekommenderas vilka ord som i stället kan ta denna fundamentposition (*dessutom*, *naturligtvis*, *självklart*). Eftersom momentet inte bara handlar om satsadverbial innehåller det även konjunktioner som *därför att* och *eftersom*. Nästa gång förekommer satsadverbial uttryckligen i grammatiska sammanhang i kapitlet med namnet “Minigrammatik” [s. 225]. Där presenteras ordföljd i huvudsatser och bisatser med alla positioner markerade. Positionen i fråga heter “satsadverb” och i huvudsatsordföljden representeras den av två ord: *kanske* och *aldrig* medan i bisatsordföljden anges det *alltid* och *inte*. Det är viktigt att påpeka att både *aldrig* och *alltid* egentligen är tidsadverb men de nämns ofta bland s. k. vandrande adverb vilket leder till att de kanske blir uppfattade som satsadverbial. Den funktionella faktorn, alltså mittfältpositionen tycks leda till en automatisk klassificering av dessa ord som satsadverb(ial).

I övningsboken förekommer explicita uppgifter om satsadverbial oftare än i textboken. Här är det dock, i motsats till textboken, betydelsen som oftare framhävs. Ordet satsadverbial förekommer inte en enda

gång, i stället för detta kan man hitta begreppen satsadverb och sambandsord. Även i övningsboken gulmarkeras de tematiska orden (*nämli- gen, dock, därför, däremot*) och det kommer en kommentar att de kan uttrycka kontrast eller förklaring. Dessutom anges en kort information att man inte ska börja satsen med *dock* eller *nämli- gen*. I varje exempel förekommer adverbet i huvudsatsen. Ett moment i övningsboken behandlar satsadverbet *ju* där ordets användningsområde beskrivs och inläraren får till uppgift att sätta in adverbet där det passar. Uppgiften gäller alltså både innehållssidan (att placera ordet i rätt kontext) och den strukturella sidan (att sätta in adverbet på rätt plats i satsen). Dessutom presenteras satsadverb än en gång i övningsboken. I detta fall är det tre adverb: *väl, nog* och *ju* — igen med fokus på deras användningsområde. Övningarna som följer efter förklaringarna hänvisar även i detta fall till adverbens semantiska aspekter. Endast en gång framhävs satsadverbens position i satsen. I övningsboken finns igen samma tabell som i textboken [s. 17] med satspositionerna uppräknade där *alltid* och *inte* nämns som satsadverb. Dessutom anges en explicit information: “I bisats kommer satsadverbet före första verbet.” [ÖT, s. 17] Även om denna information förekommer får eleven en övningstext där hen ska stryka under alla bisatser — men i ingen av dem används satsadverbial. Alla placeras i huvudsatser i stället.

Vad det gäller explicit beskrivning av satsadverbial i textboken och övningsboken kan alltså konstateras att båda böcker innehåller framför allt information om adverbialens användning i texten. Satsadverbialens position i satsen får bara lite plats i båda böcker. Alla exempel som anförs presenterar denna satsdel i huvudsatser — oftast i mittfältet, endast i några få fall i fundamentet.

Medan satsadverbial endast förekommer några få gånger i de explicita beskrivningarna presenteras de implicit mycket ofta i läroböckernas texter och övningar. Det mest frekventa satsadverbialet är det negerande *inte* som utgör 53 % av alla uttryck i denna funktion. Både i textboken och övningsboken finns det flera meningar där *inte* används. Negationen används både i textstyckena (1, 2) och i övningarna (3, 4).

1. *Men någon simhall hade man **inte** så man fick simma i ån som flyter genom Uppsala* [TB, s. 14].
2. *Förra veckan skulle jag gå en jobbintervju och jag visste **inte** hur jag skulle klä mig.* [ÖB, s. 18].

3. Mia ville **inte** hålla på med politik därför att:
 - a) Hennes föräldrar var ointresserade av politik.
 - b) Hon hade lyssnat på för mycket prat om politik hemma.
 - c) Mias föräldrar protesterade mot hennes politiska intresse [TB, s. 63].
4. Bry dig **inte** _____ att han luktar [ÖB, s. 20].

I några få fall fanns negerande uttryck med *inte* som tillsammans med ett annat ord bildade ett flerordigt satsadverbial, oftast med *bara* eller *alls*, fast det förekom även andra konstruktioner (*inte ens*, *inte riktigt*).

5. Det är **inte bara** de traditionella helgdagarna som är viktiga [TB, s. 147].
6. En del verb ska **inte** användas **alls**, en del ska användas flera gånger [ÖB, s. 125].
7. Hon kunde **inte ens** _____ en snigel utan att stanna och kolla att den mädde bra [ÖB, s. 37].
8. X skriver att... men det kan jag **inte riktigt** hålla med om [TB s. 137].

De övriga betydelsegrupperna är också bra representerade i undervisningsmaterialet. Konjunktionella och modala satsadverbial är fördelade ganska ojämnt i läroböckerna. Medan det förekommer 16 olika konjunktionella adverbial finns det nästan dubbelt som många modala modifierare. Bland de konjunktionella adverbialen används *också*, *nämmligen*, *därför*, *i stället*, *däremot* och *alltså* oftast. De utgör 90% av alla förekomster av sambandsuttryck i bägge läroböcker. Det finns dock ett antal adverbial som inte är så frekventa i det analyserade materialet men som kan nämnas i det här sammanhanget, t. ex. *annars*, *dessutom* eller *på grund av det*.

9. Det är viktigt att vara snäll mot tomten för **annars** flyttar han till granngården [TB, s. 145].
10. **Dessutom** ökar trivseln och gruppkänslan bland personalen [TB, s. 206].
11. De har **därför** mindre erfarenhet och risken finns att de på grund av det sorteras bort i rekryteringsprocessen [TB, s. 209].

Bland de modala satsadverbialen är *kanske*, *ju*, *väl*, *nog*, *verkligen*, *faktiskt*, *egentligen*, *tyvärr*, *förstå*, *absolut*, *självklart* och *troligtvis* mest

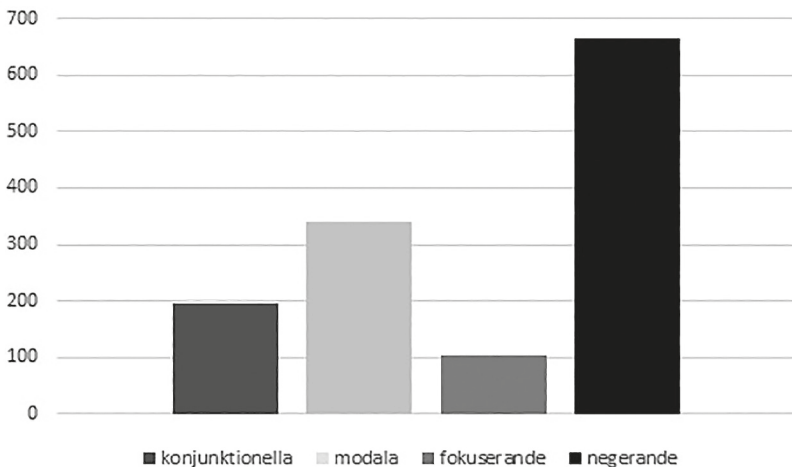


Fig. 1. Frekvens av satsadverbialen (både TB och ÖB)

frekventa och omfattar 91 % av alla förekomster av modala satsadverbial. I denna grupp förekommer det dessutom en rad flerordsuttryck som t. ex.

12. **Som tur var** vände björnen och lufsade därifrån [ÖB, s. 81].
13. Den innebär **i princip** att man förutsätter att alla ens prestationer kommer att sluta i katastrof [TB, s. 161].
14. _____ var söt och god **i alla fall** [ÖB, s. 90].
15. Fönstren är smutsiga och toaletten är **minst sagt** ofräsch [TB, s. 178].

Fokuserande satsadverbial utgör den minst frekventa och minst mångfaldiga gruppen. Oftast används *bara*, *till exempel*, *bland annat* och *även*. Andra satsadverbial som *främst*, *just* eller *exempelvis* nämns bara några gånger.

Som det framgår av diagrammet (Fig. 1) och som tidigare nämnts får användarna av *Rivstart B1 + B2* oftast input med satsadverbial genom negationen *inte* som var den enda representanten av negerande modifierare. De modala adverbialen i sin tur är inte bara mest mångfaldiga utan även brett representerade i läroböckerna: både i textboken och i övningsboken. Från läroboksanalysen framgick det dessutom att det oftare var i textböckerna som satsadverbialen förekom. Detta kan ha

sin förklaring i att textboken, hellre än övningsboken, innehåller längre texter som har en personlig karaktär och som ska vara välutformade genom bl.a. användning av sambandsord. I övningsboken sätts fokus på kortare sekvenser, det finns många övningar som består av lösta satser och därför kan det vara helt normalt att satsadverbial inte förekommer lika ofta som i textboken.

Den analyserade läroboken ska förmedla kunskaper som motsvarar nivå B2 enligt Europarådets referensramverk för språk. Ett av elementen som inläraren förväntas ha behärskat på denna nivå är grammatisk korrekthet i meningsbyggnaden som bl.a. kommer till uttryck i korrekt ordföljd. Satsadverbial är därför mycket viktiga i detta sammanhang eftersom de har olika position i förhållande till det finita verbet, beroende på satstyp. I huvudsatser förekommer de efter och i bisatser före det finita verbet. Analysen av de explicita uppgifterna i *Rivstart* visade att det bara fanns lite information om satsadverbialens position i satsen och att även om det uttryckligen påpekades i texten att bisatsen kräver en preverbal position av satsadverbialen så förekom dessa endast i huvudsatser. Analysen av implicit förekomst av satsadverbial i *Rivstart* bekräftade detta resultat. Även om bisatskonstruktioner med satsadverbial förekom i undervisningsmaterialet utgjorde de en liten andel av alla exempel. Genomsnittligt användes var femte satsadverbial i bisatser. När man dock tittar på dessa data individuellt för varje adverbial dyker en annan bild upp (se Figur 2 nedan).

Det finns nämligen bara tre adverbial (*inte*, *bara* och *faktiskt*) bland de mest frekventa¹ där förhållandet mellan förekomsten i huvud- och bisatser ligger nära medelvärdet. Alla övriga populära satsadverbial kunde bara påträffas ryckvis i bisatser. Generellt är alltså diskrepansen mellan placeringen i huvud- och bisatser slående. Till följd av detta får eleven ett mycket begränsat inflöde med adverbial i bisatsordföljden vilket med stor sannolikhet kan leda till att den inte kan tillägna sig denna konstruktion. Denna diskrepans är ännu mer synlig vid jämförelse av två boktyper. Det är nämligen först och främst i textboken som satsadverbial förekommer i bisatser. Skulle man betrakta övningsboken separat kunde man knappt tro att satsadverbial överhuvudtaget kan inta en plats i bisatser. I övningsboken får man alltså explicit information att

¹ Som mest frekventa satsadverbial räknas här sådana adverbial som minst förekom 20 gånger i undersökningsmaterialet.

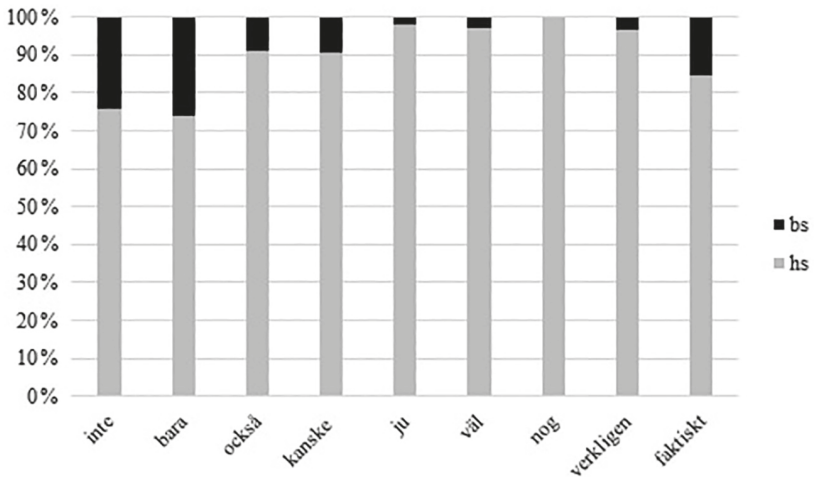


Fig. 2. Förekomst av de vanligaste satsadverbialen i bisatser (bs) respektive huvudsatser (hs)

satsadverbial både kan förekomma i huvud- och bisatser men det realiseras nästan inte alls i det löpande övningsmaterialet.

5. DISKUSSION OCH SLUTSATSER

Det övergripande syftet med denna studie var att hitta svar på frågan ifall och hur en lärobok i svenska som främmandespråk kan hjälpa inläraren att använda en bred repertoar av satsadverbial. För att kunna besvara denna fråga har två kompletterande läroböcker använts: en textbok och en övningsbok på B1 + B2-nivå. Analysen har visat att satsadverbial förekommer rätt ofta i det undersökta materialet vilket kan vara en bra förutsättning för tillägnande av detta satsled i svenskan. Benämningen i *Rivstart* lyder dock aldrig *satsadverbial* utan *satsadverb*, *sambandsord* och ibland även *småord* så den följer hellre ordklassbeskrivningen än satsledsklassificeringen. Adverbialen presenteras både explicit och implicit. Den explicita presentationen är dock mer framträdande i övningsboken än i textboken. Tyngdpunkten läggs dock i de flesta fall på adverbens betydelse och användningsområde och inte på dessas placering i satsen. Även vid explicita förklaringar om preverbal

position i bisatser kommer inga exempelmeningar där inläraren direkt kan se och öva sådana konstruktioner.

Vid fri förekomst i läroböckernas texter och övningar kunde märkas att inläraren får en bred repertoar av satsadverbial. Alla betydelsegrupper var representerade, med det negerande *inte* som var det mest frekventa satsadverbiella uttrycket. *Rivstart* erbjuder ett stort urval av först och främst modala och konjunktionella adverbial, men även fokuserande adverbial förekommer. De populäraste adverbialen är, utom *inte*, de modala *kanske*, *ju*, *väl*, *verkligen*, *nog* och *faktiskt*, den konjunktionella *också* samt den fokuserande *bara*. Utom ettordsadverbialen kan inläraren också få input av flerordsuttryck som t.ex. *som sagt*, *inte riktigt*, *som tur var* eller *i alla fall*. Vad det gäller omfånget kan det utom tvivel konstateras att eleven får ett mångfaldigt inflöde av satsadverbial som inte bara är de populäraste som brukar förekomma i de flesta grammatikböcker utan också de mindre frekventa. Jämfört med betydelseaspekterna behandlas den formella sidan av satsadverbial i betydande mindre omfång. Den övervägande majoriteten av satsadverbial förekommer i huvudsatser, de presenteras alltså i enlighet med processbarhetsteorins fjärde nivå. Endast *inte*, *bara* och *faktiskt* har en viss andel av bisatser (20–25 %) i texterna. De övriga satsadverbialen förekommer nästan alltid i huvudsatser. Denna tendens är särskilt synlig i övningsboken där bisatsordföljden egentligen är frånvarande. Och här menas inte explicit förklaring av satsadverbialens position utan direkt användning i det presenterade språkmaterialet.

Det ska alltså konstateras att det finns en stor diskrepans i inputens kvantitet och kvalitet med hänsyn till satsadverbialens betydelse/användningsområde och formella aspekter. Inflödet fokuserar egentligen på betydelsen medan adverbialens användning i olika satskonstruktioner träder i bakgrunden. Endast de populäraste satsadverbena som oftast dyker upp som prototypiska (*inte*, *bara*) i olika grammatikböcker blir synliga i olika strukturella sammanhang. Denna studie har alltså visat att det finns en viss brist i förmedlingen av satsadverbialens egenskaper och särdrag till svenskinlärare. Självklart är det inte bara läroböcker som är avgörande för inflödet. Eleven har sin lärare till förfogandet och dessutom kan den använda sig av andra källor, som t. ex. internet eller privata kontakter med svensktalande. Konstaterandet kan dessutom inte förbli utan förbehåll. För att kunna bedöma om inflödet verkligen inte motsvarar den nivå som förväntas av eleven på B2-nivån ska en

analys av elevtexter genomföras där både användning och placering av satsadverbial analyseras och sedan sammanställs med resultaten av denna studie.

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DISJUNCTS IN TEACHING SWEDISH — A COURSEBOOK ANALYSIS

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The article presents an analysis of a coursebook in Swedish for foreign language learners with a focus on information concerning disjuncts. Krashen's input hypothesis

is used as a basic assumption, which states that the development of language skills in a second language anticipates an understandable input on a level that is one step higher than the learner's current level. The analysis involves the textbook and student's book *Rivstart* at the B1 + B2 level. In the study, a variety of disjuncts were considered as well as their position in a sentence (main clause versus subordinate clause) since Swedish word order requires different locations of this item in both clause types. In addition, the explicit and the implicit use of disjuncts were analysed in both books. The results indicated that both the textbook and the student's book use a wide span of different disjuncts. The explicit mention of disjuncts is more common in the student's book than in the textbook, but the focus is almost often on the meaning and not on the syntactic position. The implicit occurrence, on the other hand, is more frequent in the textbook than in the student's book. There is a considerable discrepancy in the use of disjuncts in main and subordinate clauses. Disjuncts occur almost only in main clauses — the learners become accustomed to a very limited input of disjuncts in subordinate clauses which causes a substantial underrepresentation of constructions with preverbal position and a disjunct in subordinate clauses in Swedish.

Keywords: disjunct, coursebook analysis, Swedish as a foreign language, language input.

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IS OLD NORSE *GAMMI* AN INHERITED OR A BORROWED WORD?

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The article discusses the uncertainty around the etymology and origin of the Old Norse *gammi* m. ‘Saami hut; earthen hut’, as well as its modern Scandinavian cognates, e. g. Icel. *gammi* m. ‘earthen hut’, Norw. *gamme* m. ‘id.’; Swed. dial. (Elfld.) *gamme* m. ‘porch; manger, cow manger’, Da. *gamme* c. ‘animal stall, sheepfold, fence, fencing’. The Northern Germanic terms are traditionally explained as an Indo-European heritage. There are three different competing etymologies for the Scandinavian words in question. The first explanation, proposed by two Norwegian linguists Hjalmar Seierstedt Falk (1859–1928) and Alf Torp (1853–1916), connects the Old Norse term for ‘earthen hut’ with the Indo-European term for ‘earth’ (PIE. **dʰǵʰom-*). The second etymology, given by the Swedish researcher Evald Lidén (1862–1939), relates it to Arm. *gom* ‘cowshed, stable, sheepfold, pigsty’. He suggested a new Indo-European nominal root **gʰom-* ‘animal stall’ on the basis of the alleged comparison of the Germanic and Armenian forms. Twenty years ago, the Danish linguist Birgit Anette Olsen (born 1952) reinterpreted Lidén’s proposal, deriving the Germano-Armenian lexemes from the Indo-European root **gʰos-* ‘to eat’ (cf. Old Indic *ghas-* ‘to eat’) and finally explaining the protoform **gʰos-mo(n)-* as a *nomen loci* denoting ‘eating place’. In our opinion, neither a derivation from PIE. **dʰǵʰom-* ‘earth’, nor a comparison with Arm. *gom* ‘stable, stall, pigsty’ can be accepted for phonological, semantic, and cultural reasons. It is suggested that all the Scandinavian words should be treated as having been borrowed from North Saami *gammi* ‘earthen hut’. In fact, the aforementioned Nordic appellatives are completely isolated in the Germanic and Indo-European language world, whereas the

Saami word in question has numerous cognates in the Finno-Ugric languages and derives from a Finno-Permic archetype **kθm̩s* 'granary, pantry', e. g. Fi. *kumo* 'grain barn', Ost. *kōm* 'granary, pantry'.

Keywords: borrowings, Danish, Elfdalian dialect of Swedish, etymology, Finno-Ugric languages, Germanic-Saami relations, Icelandic, Indo-European languages, language contacts, Norway, Old Norse, Saami material culture, Scandinavian peoples, Uralic influence.

1. INTRODUCTION

In our article we would like to discuss the origin and etymology of one group of words attested in the Nordic languages. The lexical material includes not only Old Norse *gammi* m. 'Saami hut; dugout / Lappenhütte, Erdhütte', but also a number of modern Scandinavian cognates, e. g. Icel. *gammi* m. 'earthen hut', Norw. *gamme* m. 'dugout', Swed. dial. (Elfd.) *gamme* m. 'porch; manger, cow manger', Da. *gamme* c. 'sheepfold, fence, fencing' [de Vries, 1977, p. 155]. They seem to derive from the Proto-Germanic (or Nordic) archetype **gamman-* m. 'dugout, earthen hut'.

The term in question is generally absent in the West Germanic languages, though some linguists indicate some possible cognates in German, e. g. G. dial. *Gamm* 'heap of drying bricks' [Orel, 2003, p. 125]; Sw. *gämmeli* 'small barn or hut on the pastures, cowshed / kleine Scheune oder Hütte auf den Weiden, Viehhütte' [de Vries, 1977, p. 155]. It is worth emphasizing that the history of the German words in question is completely unclear. There are no traces of either of these appellatives in the earlier phases of the German language. Hence, the foreign (evidently Scandinavian) origin of two German terms cannot be ruled out.

2. OLD NORSE GAMMI AS AN INDO-EUROPEAN HERITAGE

There are three different ways of explaining the Old Norse word *gammi* m. 'Saami hut; earthen hut' in terms of a native element of Indo-European origin. It is worth emphasizing that none of these existing etymologies is thoroughly convincing. Let us review all the hypotheses hitherto suggested by researchers.

A. FALK AND TORP'S ETYMOLOGY

Hjalmar S. Falk and Alf Torp [1910, p. 298] were confident that the original meaning 'dugout; earthen hut' should be reconstructed based

on the Scandinavian words, as well as the Northern Saami form. The above-mentioned semantics ('dugout, earthen hut') can suggest a primitive derivation from the Proto-Indo-European term for 'earth, ground, land'. The Proto-Indo-European term **d^hǵ^hom-* f. (nom. sg. **d^heǵ^hōm* or **d^hǵ^hōm*) is securely attested in most Indo-European languages, cf.

2.1. Hitt. *tekan-* (gen. sg. *taknaš*) c. 'earth'; Toch. A *tkam*, B *kem* 'earth'; AGk. *χθών* f. (gen. sg. *χθονός*) 'earth'; OInd. *kṣám-* f. 'earth'; Av. *zam-* f. 'id.'; Alb. *dhe* f. 'earth'; Lat. *humus* f. 'earth' and so on.

It should be noted that the original term for 'earth' was lost completely from the languages of the Germanic tribes. However, they preserved an archaic derived noun belonging to the *n*-stems:

2.2. PG. **guman-* m. 'man': Go. *guma* m. 'man', ON. *gumi* m. 'man', Swed. *brud-gum* 'groom'; OE. *guma* m. 'man'; OFris. *breid-gomo* m. 'groom'; OSax. *gumo* m. 'man'; OHG. *gomo* m. 'hero, a famous man', MHG. *gome* m. 'human being, man' [Lehmann, 1986, p. 182; Orel, 2003, p. 146; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 130; Kroonen, 2013, p. 195].

The Germanic word for 'man, human being' has numerous cognates attested in other Indo-European languages, cf.

2.3. OLat. *hemō* m. (*n*-stem) 'man', Lat. *homō* m. 'id.'; OPruss. *smoy* m. 'man'; OLith. *žmuō* m. 'man', Lith. *žmónės* m. pl. 'human beings' (sg. *žmogùs* 'man'); Toch. B *šaumō* m. 'young man' (< PIE. **d^hǵ^hm-Hon-* m. 'man'), cf. also OIr. *duine* m. 'man', W. *dyn* m. 'human being'.

The aforementioned lexical data (2.3) clearly demonstrate that the Proto-Germanic word for 'man, human being' (2.2) derives from the Proto-Indo-European term for 'earth, ground, land' (2.1) and describes man as 'an earthly being' [Bammesberger, 1990, p. 184; Orel, 2003, p. 146; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 130].

Theoretically, the etymology suggested by Falk and Torp [1910, p. 298] seems to be well-founded from the semantic point of view (PG. dial. **gamman-* 'dugout; earthen hut' is convincingly connected with 'earth') and correct from the phonological angle (Germanic root **gam-* may represent an expected trace of PIE. **d^hǵ^hom-*). However, the suggested etymology does not explain the morphological aspects (e. g. the geminate *-mm-* remains unclear) and is doubtful within the Proto-Germanic word formation (it is completely unclear whether the final element **(m)an-* represents a suffix or perhaps the second member of a primitive compound). This is why Falk and Torp's explanation has often been rejected by most etymologists.

Archeological findings confirm that underground pits or dugouts were known to the ancient Germanic tribes. These constructions, dug in the ground, were frequently used as grain storages [Much, 1937, p. 180–181]. Moreover, Cornelius Tacitus (*Germania* 16.3) indicates similar objects among the Germanic tribes, using the Latin noun *suffugium* n. ‘shelter; underground pit’ [Rives, 1999, p. 195]. The Nordic people called them *jarðhūs* (literally ‘earthen hut’). These objects are named *Erdstadel* in Germany and *Erdställe* in the folk culture of Austria. It may be noted that the Germanic terms for ‘underground huts’ are commonly derived from the Proto-Germanic noun **erþō* f. ‘earth, land, soil’, and not from PIE. **d^hǵ^hom-* f. ‘earth’. It seems highly probable that the Proto-Germanic people introduced a kind of taboo referring to the sacred name for ‘earth’ (PIE. **d^hǵ^hom-*). It is suggested that initially the Proto-Indo-European term for ‘earth’ was a lexical element strongly associated with rituals [cf. Blažek, 2019, p. 9–16]. It was replaced by the new (profane) appellative **erþō* f. ‘earth, land, soil’ [Lehmann, 1968, p. 8]. This is why the Germanic terms for earthen objects such as embankments, excavations, lockers dug in the earth were created on the basis of the innovational Proto-Germanic name for ‘earth’. In other words, the derivation of ON. *gammi* from the sacred name for ‘earth’ is questionable due to a prehistoric taboo.

B. LIDÉN’S ETYMOLOGY

The Swedish linguist Evald Lidén also favoured the native origin of the Old Norse appellative *gammi* m. ‘Saami hut, dugout/Lappenhütte, Erdhütte’ and cognate Scandinavian words [Lidén, 1906, p. 13–16], but the etymology which he provided was different to that of Falk and Torp. He compared the Germanic nouns with the Old Armenian lexeme *gom* ‘cowshed, stable, sheepfold, pigsty’, as well as EArm. *gom* ‘cowshed, stable, pigsty’ and WArm. *kum* ‘cowshed’. Based on this alleged correspondence, Lidén proposed the Indo-European archetype **g^hom-*. Numerous diachronists have accepted both the Germanic-Armenian set [e. g. Ačařjan, 1971, p. 574–575; de Vries, 1977, p. 155; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 203], and the alleged Indo-European reconstruction **g^hom-* ‘stable, cowshed, pigsty / Stall’ [Walde, Pokorny, 1930, p. 637; Pokorny, 1959, p. 452; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov, 1995, p. 38; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 203]. Mann [1984–87], however, does not include this word.

Unfortunately, the Germanic-Armenian set contains at least a few weaknesses. Firstly, the set is isolated and has never been supported by lexical material attested in a third Indo-European group (the so-called *tertium comparationis* is missing). Contemporary Indo-Europeanists believe that an Indo-European reconstruction is possible only when cognates from at least three language groups can be identified. Without the third comparison, the set does not have the necessary binding force (validity) and the reconstruction is not certain. Secondly, the Armenian word *gom* has rich counterparts in Caucasian languages (e. g. Georgian, Svan, Kabardian, Adyghe, Shapsug, Chechen, Ingush and Ossetic), which strongly supports the hypothesis regarding its local (Caucasian or sub-Caucasian) origin¹. Thirdly, the Armenian form of *gom* retains the vowel [ɔ] in the position before a nasal, which is completely inconsistent with the development of the Armenian language. The expected form should be **gum* [Olsen, 1999, p. 198; Martirosyan, 2009, p. 225]. Fourthly, the Germanic words can be borrowings from some pre-Indo-European, Scandinavian substrate, cf. a Northern Saami term *gammi* ‘Saami hut, dugout, hut made of peat’ [de Vries, 1977, p. 155]. Fifthly, the Germanic words contain an inconclusively explained “expressive” geminate *-mm-*. Sixthly, the meaning convergent with the Armenian term (e. g. ‘sheepfold, cowshed’) is demonstrated by Germanic forms of relatively late origin. It seems that the initial semantics (in the sense of ‘dugout’) is better motivated in the preserved Germanic lexical material. Seventhly, based on the Northern Saami form and numerous Nordic words (attested e. g. in Old Norse, Icelandic, Norwegian), the original meaning of ‘dugout’ can theoretically be postulated, which allows for an alternative reference of the Germanic appellatives to Proto-Indo-European word for ‘earth’ (PIE. **d^hǵ^hom-* f. ‘earth, soil’), as previously suggested by some researchers [cf. Falk, Torp, 1910, p. 298]. Eighthly, the suggested Indo-European archetype **ǵ^hom-* (‘stable, cowshed, pigsty / Stall’) has nei-

¹ Cf. Geo. *gomi* ‘pigsty’, *gomuri* ‘country house; pigsty’, Sv. *gwem* ‘pantry’; Kab. *gwän* ‘grain box, grain storage’, Ad. *kon* ‘upward widening woven granary, pasted on the outside with clay and covered with straw’, Shaps. ‘storehouse, granary’ [Shagirov, 1977, p. 112]; Ing. *ke* (obl. *keno*) ‘granary’, Che. *čö* (obl. *čöna-*) ‘grain storage, granary’; Osset. term *gom*, *gon*, *gondan* ‘grain box, granary’ [Abaev, 1959, p. 523–524]. Similar terms are also attested in some extra-Caucasian languages, e. g. Kurd. *göm*, *göv* f. ‘sheepfold, pigsty’ [Tsabolov, 2001, p. 393], Yaghn. *köy* ‘pigsty’ [Novák, 2010, p. 87].

ther an obvious verbal motivation, nor is it a component of complex words, which makes it completely isolated (at least from the perspective of Indo-European word formation).

All these difficulties make the Germanic-Armenian correspondence a hypothesis that is insufficiently justified and relatively poorly supported on the grounds of phonology, semantics and word formation.

C. OLSEN'S ETYMOLOGY

Birgit Anette Olsen [1999, p.198] tries to explain why the vowel lengthening of *o* [ɔ] failed when positioned in front of the nasal consonant *m* [m], as can be observed in the Armenian appellative *gom* 'cowshed, stable, sheepfold, pigsty'. Olsen puts forward an interesting hypothesis by referring to the disappearance of the IE. *s [s] in the position before [m], which is a fully regular process in the Armenian language. As a result, the Danish linguist reduces the Armenian word to two related archetypes of **g^hos-mo-* (m.) and **g^hos-meh₂-* (f.), referring to the Proto-Indo-European root **g^hos-* 'to eat' (cf. OInd. *ghas-* 'to eat') finally explaining Arm. *gom* as a *nomen loci* denoting 'eating place'. Development from such a proto-form could explain the Proto-Germanic geminate *-*mm-* as a result of a regressive assimilation in the consonant group -*zm-* (< PIE. *-*sm-*). In other words, PG. **gamman-* (from previous **gazman-*) would represent an alleged *n*-stem **g^hos-món-* m. [Kroonen, 2013, p.166].

The main obstacle in recognising the nativity of Germanic words is the fact that the Nordic name *gammi* does not describe the native North Germanic reality, but a typical Saami hut in the form of a dugout ('Lapenhütte, Erdhütte'), which argues strongly in favour of a borrowing from a Finno-Ugric source.

3. ARE THE SCANDINAVIAN TERMS FOR 'DUGOUT' OF SAAMI ORIGIN?

The Northern Saami appellative *gammi* 'Saami dugout, provision-
al hut built of peat' can be successfully reduced to the Finno-Permic
archetype **k8mз* 'granary, pantry / Speicher, Vorratskammer' [Rédei,
1988, p. 680]. Although the Saami form *gammi* does not appear in Rédei's
Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, its omission seems to stem
from a misconception by researchers believing it to be an Old Norse

or Proto-Germanic borrowing² [Wiklund, 1917, p.102; Kylstra, 1996, p.32–33, 107]. However, it is enough to mention other Saami forms of Finno-Ugric (or Uralic) origin, to find out that the Saami cognate closely matches the root of *k8mз in both semantic and phonological aspects:

3.1. SaaN. *gammi*, dial. *kammi* ‘dugout, hut made of peat / Erdhütte, Torfhütte’ [de Vries, 1977, p.XXXVIII, 155] = Fi. *kumo* ‘grain barn’, dial. *kommio* ‘tent, forest hut’; Kar. *kommo*, *komo* ‘cave / Höhle’, *kommi* ‘(cattle) shed / (Vieh)Schuppen’; Vot. *kommi* ‘room, cabin, place / Zimmer; Kajüte; Platz, Raum’; Est. *komm* (gen. *kommi*) ‘hut, vault / Hütte; Gewölbe, Wölbung’; Md. (Erz.) *kav* ‘granary’, (Mksh.) *kav* ‘hay box’; Zr. *kum* ‘hunter’s pantry in the forest, clothing box’; Ost. *kõm* ‘granary, pantry’; Vty. *kūm* ‘attic’ < FP. *k8mз ‘granary, pantry / Speicher, Vorratskammer’ [Rédei, 1988, p.680].

For comparison, other Finno-Ugric (sets of) comparanda, can be adduced. They exhibit a similar structure.

3.2. SaaN. *gāmā* ‘Saami leather shoe’ = Fi. *ken-kä* ‘shoe’; Md. (Erz.) *keme*, (Mksh.) *kämä* ‘shoe’; Cher. *kem* ‘id.’; Zr. *keṃ* ‘shoe made of bast or birch bark’ < FU. *kämä ‘shoe, leather footwear’ [Rédei, 1988, p.650].

3.3. SaaN. *gālmās* ‘frozen’ = Fi. *kylmä* ‘cold’, adj. ‘cold, cool’; Est. *külm* ‘id.’; Md. (Erz.) *kelme*, (Mksh) *kelmä* ‘id.’; Cher. *kəlmə* ‘frozen’; Vty. *kin* ‘frost, cold; freezing, cold, frozen’ < FU. *külmä ‘cold, frost’, adj. ‘cold’ [Rédei, 1988, p.203–204].

3.4. SaaN. *goabmā* ‘overhanging, arched edge (of earth, rock, earth, snow)’ = Fi. *komi*, *komo* ‘hollow’, adj. ‘empty, hollow’; Ost. *kõm*, dial. *χõm* ‘hollow’; Hu. *homorú* ‘concave, hollow’ < FU. *komз ‘hollow; concave’ [Rédei, 1988, p.227].

3.5. SaaN. *goabmer* ‘two bent open hands folded together to receive something’ = Fi. *kamahlo*, *kahmalo* ‘double handful’; Md. (Erz.) *komoro*, (Mksh.) *komor* ‘handful’; Zr. *kamiṛ* ‘handful’ < FU. *komзrз ‘id.’ < Ur. *komзrз ‘empty hand’, cf. also Yen. *hammara* ‘hand’, Km. *kāməru?* ‘arms’ [Collinder, 1977, p.42; Rédei, 1988, p.175].

3.6. SaaN. *goaw'de* ‘opening; a protruding roof; roof on stilts, without walls’ = Fi. *kansi* ‘lid, cover’, Est. *kaas* ‘id.’, Liv. *kõñts̄* ‘id.’; Md. *kunda* ‘lid’;

² Note that Kylstra [1996, p.32–33] also quotes Swed. dial. *kammi* ‘hole, crate / Loch, Verschlag’ (with the initial *k-* as opposed to *g-*) as a back-borrowing from a Saami or Balto-Finnic source. See Fi. dial. *kamano*, *kamanto* ‘cave, depression, hole / Höhle, Vertiefung, Loch’, also ‘hut / Hütte’.

Cher. *komδāš* ‘id.’; Zr. *kud* ‘eyelid; lid’ < FU. **komta* ‘lid, cover’ [Collinder, 1977, p. 158; Rédei, 1988, p. 671].

3.7. SaaN. *gōw’dâg* ‘wide’ = Cher. *kumda*, *kumda* ‘id.’, Ost. *komæt* ‘id.’ < FU. **kumte* adj. ‘wide’ [Collinder, 1977, p. 96; Rédei, 1988, p. 203–204].

An overview of the etymological sets shown above leaves no doubt that the Saami word *gammi* is soundly anchored in the Finno-Ugric lexicon while the Germanic words are isolated in the Indo-European context. Let us emphasize once again that the Old Norse appellative *gammi* refers to a Saami hut, a dugout built of peat (“Lappehütte, Erdhütte, Torfhütte”), which definitely argues in favour of a borrowing from a Saami (or Lappish) source. Borrowing in the opposite direction is not justified by the available lexical data.

Cornelius Tacitus (*Germ.* 46) uses the Lat. *suffugium* ‘shelter’, when referring to structures built by Fenni, an ethnic people frequently identified with the Saamis (or the Balto-Finnic peoples). The Roman writer does not add the adjective *subterraneum*, as he is probably describing huts of the hunting people of northern Eurasia. Underground lockers were also known to exist in the culture of these people. By this time, the Finno-Ugric communities including the Saami tribes, had partly adopted the goods and vocabulary of the Neolithic epoch. They knew the elements of solid structures and constructions, as evidenced by words for ‘a beam’, ‘a pole’ or ‘a granary on stilts’ [Häkkinen, 2007, p. 182]. Secondary contacts between the Germanic and Finno-Ugric peoples could have been as early as in the Bronze Age, beginning from 1700 BC [Carpelan, Parpola, 2007, p. 90]. Importantly, these language contacts took place in areas where a hunting and gathering culture still dominated. Both ethnic groups began to lose their existing or previously associated elements with agricultural culture. This is why the Saami (Mesolithic people) borrowed some names for nets from the Scandinavian Germanic tribes (Aikio 2006: 10). It should be no surprise that the Northern Proto-Germanic tribes borrowed the term for ‘Saami hut, dugout’ directly from the Saami people

4. CONCLUSIONS

A thorough analysis of the linguistic facts has led to the following conclusions:

4.1. ON. *gammi* ‘Saami hut, dugout’ can clearly not be derived from PIE. **d^hǵ^hom-* f. ‘earth’.

4.2. The correlation of the Old Norse word in question with Arm. *gom* ‘sheepfold, stable, cowshed, pigsty’ is questionable both for semantic and phonological reasons.

4.3. The Scandinavian words, including Norw. *gamme* m. ‘dugout’, Elfd. *gamme* m. ‘porch; manger, cow manger’, Swed. dial. *kammi* ‘hole, crate’, Da. *gamme* c. ‘sheepfold, fence, fencing’, are probably borrowings from a Saami source.

4.4. The Northern Saami word *gammi* ‘dugout, hut made of peat’ represents a native lexical element and demonstrates numerous cognates in Finno-Ugric languages, cf. Fi. *kumo* ‘grain barn’, dial. *kommio* ‘tent, forest hut’; Md. (Erz.) *kav* ‘granary’, (Mksh.) *kav* ‘hay box’; Zr. *kum* ‘hunter’s pantry in the forest, clothing box’; Ost. *kõm* ‘granary, pantry’; Vty. *kūm* ‘attic’ (< FP. **k8m3* ‘granary, pantry’)

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LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS

Ad. — Adyge	G. — German
AGk. — Ancient Greek	Geo. — Georgian
Alb. — Albanian	Go. — Gothic
Anat. — Anatolian	Hitt. — Hittite
Arm. — Armenian	Hu. — Hungarian
Av. — Avestan	Icel. — Icelandic
Che. — Chechen	IE. — Indo-European
Cher. — Cheremis	Ing. — Ingush
Da. — Danish	Kab. — Kabardian
EArm. — Eastern Armenian	Km. — Kamassian
Elfd. — Elfdalian (Övdalian)	Kurd. — Kurdish
Erz. — Erza (dialect of Mordvin)	Lat. — Latin
Est. — Estonian	Lith. — Lithuanian
Fi. — Finnish	MHG. — Middle High German
FP. — Finno-Permic	Mksh. — Moksha (dialect of
FU. — Finno-Ugric	Mordvin)

Norw. — Norwegian	Shaps. — Shapsug (dialect of Adyghe)
OE. — Old English	Sv. — Svan
OFris. — Old Frisian	Sw. — Swiss dialect of the German language
OHG. — Old High German	Swed. — Swedish
OInd. — Old Indic	Toch. A — Tocharian A or East Tocharian
OIr. — Old Irish	Toch. B — Tocharian B or West Tocharian
OLat. — Old Latin	Ur. — Uralic
OLith. — Old Lithuanian	Vty. — Votyak
ON. — Old Norse	W. — Welsh
OPruss. — Old Prussian	WArm. — West Armenian
OSax. — Old Saxonian	Yaghn. — Yaghnobi
Osset. — Ossetic	Yen. — Yenisey Samoyed
Ost. — Ostyak	Zr. — Zyrian
PG. — Proto-Germanic	
PIE. — Proto-Indo-European	
SaaN. — Saami (northern dialect)	

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ЯВЛЯЕТСЯ ЛИ ДРЕВНЕСКАНДИНАВСКОЕ GAMMI УНАСЛЕДОВАННЫМ ИЛИ ЗАИМСТВОВАННЫМ СЛОВОМ?

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В статье рассматриваются этимология и генезис древнескандинавского слова *gammi* ‘саамская изба, землянка’, а также другие слова скандинавской группы языков, ср., напр., исл. *gammi* ‘землянка’, норв. *gamme* ‘землянка’, швед. диал. *gamte* ‘кормушка’, дат. *gamte* ‘овчарня, забор, ограда’. Принято считать, что данное древнескандинавское слово является индоевропейским наследием. По мнению авторов настоящей статьи, как существующий вывод о происхождении слова из праиндоевропейского языка (ср. пие. **dʰǵʰom-* ‘земля’), так и сопоставление с арм. *got* ‘коровник, конюшня, овчарня, хлев’ не может быть одобрено по фонологическим, семантическим или культурным основаниям. Все скандинавские слова должны быть, согласно нашему мнению, признаны заимствованиями из саамского (лапландского) источника. Нордические апеллятивы изолированы на германской и индоевропейской почве, тогда как саамское *gammi* ‘землянка, построенная из торфа’ имеет многочисленные соответствия в финно-угорских языках и выводится из финно-пермской графемы **kvmz* ‘амбар, зернохранилище’, сравн. финск. *kuto* ‘рига, овин’, диал. *kottio* ‘шалаш, лесная изба’; мордв. (эрз.) *kav* ‘амбар, зернохранилище’, мокш. *kav* ‘ящик для сена’; зыр. *kut* ‘кладовая охотника в лесу, потайное место для одежды’; хант. *kõt* ‘амбар, зернохранилище’; удм. *kõt* ‘чердак’.

Ключевые слова: заимствования, датский язык, эльвдальский диалект шведского языка, этимология, финно-угорские языки, германо-саамские отношения, исландский язык, индоевропейские языки, языковые контакты, норвежский язык, древнескандинавский язык, саамская материальная культура, скандинавы, шведский язык, уральское влияние.

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СЕМАНТИКА ГЛАГОЛОВ, ОБОЗНАЧАЮЩИХ ПРОТОТИПИЧЕСКОЕ ВРАЩЕНИЕ В НОРВЕЖСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

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Глаголы вращения в норвежском языке представлены 28 лексемами, включая периферийные. Их можно разбить на несколько групп в зависимости от типа описываемого движения. В данной статье представлено описание семантики семи норвежских глаголов, обозначающих прототипическое вращение, то есть в большей или меньшей степени регулярное, равномерное круговое движение вокруг некоего достаточно явно выраженного центра (внешней или внутренней оси): *dreie* ‘вращаться’, *rotere* ‘вращаться’ (о механическом вращении), *kreitse* ‘кружить’ (по поверхности или над ней), *sirkle* ‘кружить’, *sirkulere* ‘циркулировать’, *snurre* ‘вертеться’ (быстрое вращение вокруг своей оси), *spinne* ‘вращаться’. Помимо основного значения, для каждого глагола приводятся его основные переносные употребления. Примеры, подобранные в сети Интернет и корпусе Norwegian Web 2015 (Bokmål), демонстрируют не только особенности семантики указанных глаголов, но также их сочетаемость и стилистические характеристики. Анализ примеров демонстрирует, что к основным и наиболее универсальным глаголам данной группы можно отнести глаголы *dreie seg*, *rotere* и *kreitse*, тогда как остальные являются более узкими по значению и менее частотными. Данная статья является первой в серии публикаций, рассматривающих семантику глаголов вращения в норвежском языке.

Ключевые слова: глаголы вращения, норвежский язык, лексическая типология, семантика.

В норвежском языке глаголы вращения представлены весьма значительным числом лексем: *dreie, kretse, kveile seg, rotere, rulle, runde, sirkle, sirkulere, slynge, sno, snu, snurre, spinne, svanse, sveive, sverme, svinge, svinse, svirre, trille, tvinne, veive, vende, vifte, vimse, virre, virvle, vri*. Следует отметить, что в данный список включены также и глаголы, относящиеся к периферии этой лексико-семантической группы, в частности несколько из них в их основном значении и употреблении скорее следует отнести к глаголам колебательного движения. При этом в исследование не вошли глаголы, обозначающие вращение в совокупности с сателлитом, дублирующим сему, склеенную со значением глагольной основы.

Важной особенностью глаголов движения в норвежском языке является то, что многие из них лабильны; нередко исходным глаголом является каузативный. Например, от глагола *dreie* 'вращать' при помощи изменяющегося по лицам и пишущегося отдельно возвратного местоимения *seg* образуется возвратная конструкция *dreie seg* 'вращаться'.

Также представляется немаловажным, что глаголы приведенного списка различаются не только тем, обозначают ли они движение вокруг внешней или внутренней оси, но и иными особенностями: от того, чем может быть выражен первый актант = агенс, до стилистических нюансов; но этого в естественном языке следует ожидать.

В более ранней работе [Ливанова, 2018] мы предложили для удобства восприятия разбить глаголы вращения на несколько неравных групп в зависимости от типа описываемого ими движения. Первая группа представлена семью разнородными глаголами, обозначающими в первую очередь прототипическое вращение, то есть в большей или меньшей степени регулярное, равномерное круговое движение вокруг некоего достаточно явно выраженного центра (внешней или внутренней оси). Именно их мы рассмотрим в данной статье.

Сведения о значении характеризуемых глаголов сверены с новейшим норвежским толковым словарем NAOB и двуязычным Большим норвежско-русским словарем под ред. В. П. Беркова, а примеры употребления взяты из сети Интернет и корпуса Norwegian Web 2015 (Bokmål).

1. DREIE SEG

В своей исходной форме, без возвратного местоимения, глагол означает ‘поворачивать, сворачивать, менять направление’: *dreie til høyre, venstre* ‘поворачивать направо, налево’. Это частотный глагол, принадлежащий нейтральному функциональному стилю.

Важной его особенностью является то, что он применим для описания вращения как вокруг внешней, так и вокруг внутренней оси, а также в любой среде и плоскости, что делает его практически универсальным и, соответственно, основным кандидатом на заглавный глагол в данной группе.

Так, в примере (1) этот глагол описывает движение по круговой траектории живых существ, природных и механических объектов:

- (1) *Jorden dreier seg rundt en akse som danner en vinkel på 66° 33' med banelens plan.* ‘Земля **вращается** вокруг оси, образующей угол в 66° 33’ к плоскости ее орбиты’.

А в примере (2) с его помощью обозначается уже движение вокруг внешней оси:

- (2) *Månen dreier seg rundt jorden.* ‘Луна **вращается** вокруг земли’.

Широкое употребление глагола в прямом значении способствовало развитию у него и переносного ‘касаться чего-либо (в разговоре); вращаться вокруг чего/кого-либо (о мыслях)’. При употреблении в переносном значении принято использовать иной предлог (не *rundt*, а *om*) для указания на тему разговора/размышлений и т.п.:

- (3) *Samtalen dreide seg om været.* ‘Разговор **шел** о погоде’.

В современном языке это правило, однако, соблюдается не всегда:

- (4) *Programmet består av samlinger med innhold som dreier seg rundt tema som kommunikasjon, tenkning, relasjon til andre og problemløsning.* ‘Программа состоит из встреч, содержание которых **вращается** вокруг таких тем, как коммуникация, мышление, отношения с другими людьми и постановка проблем’.

2. ROTERE

Глагол *rotere* означает ‘вращаться’ в своем основном значении (при том, что он является двуаспектным и может употребляться переходно). Употребляется он главным образом в контексте науки (физики, математики и т. п.) и техники, обозначая равномерное механическое движение, в первую очередь машин, механизмов и их частей.

Скорость вращения при этом нерелевантна (ср. быстрое вращение вентилятора и медленное — крыльев ветряной мельницы в примерах ниже). При необходимости скорость указывается эксплицитно.

- (5) *Viften roterer ved høy hastighet.* ‘Вентилятор **вращается** с высокой скоростью.’
- (6) *Vindmøllen må kunne rotere mot vinden.* ‘Нужно, чтобы ветряная мельница могла **вращаться** против ветра.’

Принадлежность этого глагола стилю научного изложения приводит к тому, что он редко встречается в иных, например, бытовых контекстах. Если же это происходит, то речь при этом может идти, например, о текстах инструкций:

- (7) *Fjern varmehyllen for å gi plass nok for grillspydet til å rotere.* ‘Чтобы вертел гриля имел достаточно места для вращения (досл. чтобы **вращаться**), **уберите решетку духовки.**’

В связи с вышесказанным *rotere* плохо сочетается с одушевленными субъектами, однако нельзя сказать, что вовсе не сочетается. См. в следующем примере описание геометрии вращения фигуриста:

- (8) *På fotografiet nedenfor ser du en kunstløper som utfører en piruett. Det vil si at hun roterer om en vertikal akse.* ‘На фотографии ниже Вы видите фигуристку, исполняющую пируэт. Это значит, что она **вращается** вокруг вертикальной оси.’

Направление вращения, как и горизонтальное или вертикальное расположение оси для *rotere* также нерелевантны.

- (9) *Når katten begynner å falle, vrir kroppen seg automatisk. Først roterer fremste del av kroppen og får hodet i oppreist stilling.* ‘Когда кошка начинает падать, ее тело автоматически разворачивается. Сперва **пово-**

рачивается (досл. **вращается**) передняя часть тела, благодаря чему голова занимает вертикальное положение?.

Чаще всего *rotere* обозначает вращение вокруг внутренней оси, однако, с одной стороны, встречаются и употребления, в которых описывается вращение вокруг оси внешней:

- (10) *Buridan overveide også om jorden roterer rundt sin akse, snarere enn at det er hele himmelen som roterer rundt jorden.* 'Буридан подумывал также о том, не **вращается** ли скорее земля вокруг своей оси, чем всё небо **вращается** вокруг земли.'

С другой стороны, естественно предположить, что при невозможности обозначения рассматриваемым глаголом вращения вокруг внешней оси, не было бы столь частотным уточнение сочетанием *rundt sin akse* 'вокруг своей оси' случаев, когда речь идет о вращении вокруг внутренней оси.

Высокая универсальность глаголов *rotere* и *dreie seg* приводит к тому, что они используются при обозначении одних и тех же типов вращения, однако второй является более нейтральным стилистически:

- (11) *Anlegget («Hvalfangsmonumentet») dreier seg sakte rundt sin egen akse.* 'Это сооружение («Памятник китобоям») медленно **вращается** вокруг своей оси.'

Основное переносное значение этого глагола заимствует у его прямого значения идею смены положения объекта с течением времени: 'занимать должность и т. п. по ротации.'

- (12) *Vervene roterer blant styrets medlemmer.* 'Занятие должностей членами правления производится по ротации (досл. должности вращаются среди членов правления).'

В последнее время, не исключено, что под влиянием распространения школьного образования, глагол все чаще используется в ранее несвойственных ему контекстах, например в том же переносном значении, что и глагол *dreie seg*, ср. пример (3), а именно 'вращаться вокруг чего/кого-л.' (о мыслях и т. п.):

- (13) *Livet roterer rundt hverdagsspørsmål.* 'Жизнь **вращается** вокруг будничных вопросов.'

3. KRETSE

Этот глагол является высокочастотным и нейтральным по стилю, однако он не применим для описания прототипического механического вращения, а в качестве агенса при нем не могут выступать любые объекты. Этот глагол описывает контролируемое перемещение живых существ (или контролируемое людьми перемещение механизмов) вокруг какой-либо цели, нередко по концентрической траектории, ‘кружить’:

- (14) *En jente kretset rundt dem i stadig mindre sirkler.* ‘Какая-то девочка **кружила** вокруг них, подходя все ближе (досл. по все меньшим окружностям)’.
- (15) *...ulvene kretset rundt kvinnen.* ‘...волки **кружили** вокруг женщины’.

Поскольку первым актантом глагола в первую очередь служат живые существа, он обозначает скорее движение на относительно невысокой скорости. Значительно реже *kretse* описывает движение неживых объектов. Употребление *kretse* в примере (16) свидетельствует скорее о неупорядоченности (хотя и однонаправленности) движения электронов:

- (16) *Elektronene utgjør en sverm som kretser rundt kjernen og er negativt elektrisk ladet.* ‘Электроны представляют собой облако, которое **движется** вокруг ядра **по круговой орбите** (так принято описывать движение электронов в отечественной традиции) и имеет отрицательный электрический заряд’.

Глагол описывает вращение вокруг внешней оси в разных средах — на поверхности земли, воды или в воздухе, и такое вращение нельзя охарактеризовать как равномерное или регулярное:

- (17) *Før vi hopper ut fra båten ser vi tre haier som kretser rundt oss i overflaten.* ‘Перед тем как прыгнуть из лодки, мы видим трех акул, которые **кружат** вокруг нас на поверхности’.

Чаще всего *kretse* используется для описания движения объектов в воздухе, когда неопределенными являются не только диаметр окружности, но и высота объекта над поверхностью:

- (18) *...flyene kretset lenge over gruvebyen før de første bombene ble sluppet.* ‘...самолеты долго **кружили** над шахтерским поселком, прежде чем сбросить первые бомбы’.

При этом не исключается использование глагола в тех случаях, когда речь идет о целенаправленном передвижении по поверхности Земли:

- (19) *To politibiler kretser rundt i Storgata.* ‘Два полицейских автомобиля **кружат** в районе улицы Стургата.’

В переносном употреблении глагол *kretse*, подобно глаголам *dreie seg* и, в меньшей степени, *rotere*, обозначает обращенность мыслей живого субъекта (или его представителей, таких как различные результаты интеллектуальной деятельности: книги, фильмы и т. п.) к определенному объекту или определенной проблеме, или сопряженность жизни и деятельности субъекта с определенной сферой деятельности. Однако если употребление вышеуказанных глаголов говорит лишь о том, что соответствующий объект составляет основную тему размышлений субъекта, то употребление *kretse* в данном значении можно рассматривать как указание на то, что мысли субъекта, даже отвлекаясь на иные объекты, постоянно возвращаются к указанному в высказывании объекту.

- (20) *Tankene kretset rundt gårtdagens møte.* ‘Мысли **крутились** вокруг вчерашнего заседания (или: **постоянно возвращались** ко вчерашнему заседанию).’
- (21) *Hans forskning de siste årene har kretset rundt spørsmål om urban vekst og byers sosiale, økonomiske og kulturelle liv.* ‘В последние годы его научные исследования **вращались** вокруг урбанизации, а также социальной, экономической и культурной жизни городов.’

Три охарактеризованных выше глагола, *dreie seg*, *rotere* и *kretse*, в обычном использовании обозначают движение по кругу со множественными оборотами вокруг оси. Последний из них, ‘кружить’, не может использоваться для обозначения отдельных оборотов: это итеративный или моторно-кратный глагол. Что касается двух других, то при наличии в контексте указания на число оборотов — при помощи слов *gang* ‘раз’, *omdreiiing* ‘поворот’, *runde* ‘круг’, *varv* ‘оборот’ и т. п. — это вполне возможно:

- (22) *Den beveget seg rundt solen i en sirkulær bane på et år og dreide seg om sin egen akse en gang på et døgn.* ‘Он проходил вокруг солнца по круговой траектории за год и **проворачивался** вокруг своей оси один раз за сутки.’

- (23) *Noe som en kan undre seg litt over, er at kumlokk i kjørebanelen **roterer** flere ganger i løpet av året — forårsaket av bilkjøringen.* ‘Можно немного удивиться тому, что люк на проезжей части в течение года несколько раз **оборачивается вокруг своей оси** — из-за движения автотранспорта’.
- (24) *Roterer månen et varv runt sin egen akse når den **roterer et varv rundt Jorda?*** ‘**Оборачивается** ли луна **на один оборот** вокруг собственной оси, **оборачиваясь на один оборот** вокруг Земли?’

4. SIRKLE

Этот не слишком частотный глагол, образованный от существительного *sirkel* ‘круг’, означает ‘делать/описывать круги, кружить(ся) вокруг внешней оси’, однако он лишен дополнительных коннотаций глагола *kretse*, в частности подразумеваемой последним целенаправленности обозначаемого действия, и указывает лишь на его чисто физические характеристики:

- (25) *Jeg så kamphelikoptre som **sirklet** rundt bygningen.* ‘Я видел боевые вертолеты, **кружившие** вокруг здания’.
- (26) *Fire måker **sirklet** over hodet på meg.* ‘У меня над головой **кружили** четыре чайки’.

Собранный материал, как и пример выше, показывает, что в большинстве случаев этот глагол используется для описания движения летательных аппаратов (самолетов, вертолетов, дронов), реже — птиц, но иногда также и для описания движения в водной среде или на суше:

- (27) *En fullvoksen knølhval **sirklet** rundt båten.* ‘Вокруг лодки **кружил** взрослый горбатый кит’.

Переносных значений у этого скорее книжного глагола в его бесателлитной форме не имеется.

5. SIRKULERE

Указанный глагол — ‘циркулировать’ — можно лишь с определенной натяжкой отнести к глаголам вращения. От семантики вращения в его значении остается лишь то, что при описываемом им движении объект возвращается к той точке, откуда начал движение (и то не всегда). О наличии определенных оси или центра го-

ворить не приходится, скорее речь идет о движении через несколько точек окружности, без лежащего в центре ориентира. Однако и окружностью траекторию движения транспортных средств, для чего в основном используется в норвежском этот глагол, назвать трудно.

- (28) *En gratis flyplassbuss sirkulerer mellom parkeringsområdene og terminalene på Helsinki lufthavn cirka hvert 15 minutt.* 'Между районом парковки и терминалами Хельсинкского аэропорта **циркулирует** бесплатный автобус-шаттл.'

Если же в качестве агенса выступают люди, как в примере (29), об упорядоченности движения говорить не приходится, в особенности если речь идет о множестве людей. В этом своем значении (неупорядоченное разнонаправленное движение вокруг нечеткого очерченного центра) глагол *sirkulere* сближается с глаголами *sverte* и *svirre*, однако в отличие от них не может иметь первым актантом насекомых и т. п.:

- (29) *Et tog ankommer til venstre og et annet er i ferd med å forlate stasjonen til høyre. Mellom dem sirkulerer mennesker på vei til eller fra perrongen.* 'Поезд прибывает слева, другой как раз отправляется со станции справа. Между ними **циркулируют** люди по пути к перрону или от него.'

Другой областью применения глагола *sirkulere* является описание движения веществ (обычно в газообразном или жидком состоянии) по замкнутой траектории или в замкнутом пространстве:

- (30) *Blodet i kroppen sirkulerer i et lukket system av blodårer.* 'Кровь в теле **циркулирует** по замкнутой системе кровеносных сосудов.'
- (31) *Når luften sirkulerer gjennom varmeveksleren, går den også gjennom et filter som fjerner mye av det luftbårne støvet.* 'Когда воздух **циркулирует** в теплообменнике, он проходит также через фильтр, удаляющий большое количество переносимой по воздуху пыли.'

Переносное значение этого глагола связано с идеей распространения в разных направлениях от источника такой нематериальной сущности как информация:

- (32) *I sosiale medier sirkulerer det nå en video som angivelig viser hendelsen.* 'Сейчас в соцсетях **циркулирует** видео, которое демонстрирует якобы это происшествие.'

Как можно видеть, в переносном употреблении утрачена даже та часть значения, которая говорит о замкнутом круге, то есть от прототипа вращения оно весьма и весьма далеко. Подобное развитие значения претерпел другой глагол схожей семантики, *versere*, который в современном букмоле употребляется лишь переносно, в то время как в латыни, из которой он был исходно заимствован, глагол *versare* означал как раз 'вращаться'.

6. SNURRE

Согласно словарным определениям, глагол описывает по большей части быстрое вращение вокруг внутренней оси, имея приблизительными русскими эквивалентами 'вертеться, крутиться; кружиться' (в танце). Этот глагол принадлежит разговорному функциональному стилю.

- (33) *Vi skulle drikke noe varmt mens den nye plata hennes snurret på platespilleren.* 'Мы собирались попить чего-нибудь горячего, пока на проигрывателе **крутится** ее новая пластинка.'

Следующий пример вряд ли встретится в серьезной научной книге, однако он на своем месте в популярной книге:

- (34) *Jorden snurrer rundt seg selv på 24 timer.* 'Земля **делает оборот вокруг своей оси** (досл. прокручивается вокруг себя самой) за 24 часа.'

Так же как глаголы *dreie seg* и *rotere*, *snurre* может употребляться при указании количества оборотов:

- (35) *I Antalya i Tyrkia finner du hotellet Marmara Antalya — som er verdens første roterende hotell. De øverste etasjene på dette hotellet snurrer rundt flere ganger i døgnet.* 'В турецкой Анталии имеется отель «Мармара Анталия» — первый в мире вращающийся отель. Верхние этажи этого отеля **делают несколько оборотов** за сутки.'

Rundt в данном высказывании функционирует не в качестве сателлита, а для указания на то, что совершаются полные обороты.

Семантической особенностью этого глагола является то, что обозначаемое им вращательное движение может происходить не постоянно в одной и той же плоскости как для обозначающего механическое движение *rotere*, а вращающийся вокруг своей оси объект может параллельно с вращением вокруг собственной оси перемещаться по спиралеобразной траектории. Такой тип движе-

ния характерен для волчка, который по-норвежски как раз и называется сложным словом *snurrebass*, первая часть которого образована основой глагола *snurre*.

- (36) *Børresen har undervist barn i snurrebassens prinsipper, og latt dem undre seg over hvorfor de snurrer, hvorfor noen ikke snurrer, og hvor det blir av fargene når man snurrer på mønstrete snurrebasser.* ‘Берресен обучал детей принципам работы волчка, предлагая им задуматься над тем, почему они **крутятся**, почему некоторые не **крутятся**, и куда деваются цвета, когда **крутишь** разноцветные волчки.’

Последний пример (его последнее предложение) показывает также, что *snurre*, как и многие другие глаголы рассматриваемой группы, используется и как каузатив.

Принадлежность глагола разговорному стилю приводит к тому, что он нередко употребляется при описании увеселительных аттракционов:

- (37) *Hvilken vei snurrer parisershjulet?* ‘В какую сторону **крутится** колесо обозрения?’

Кроме того, данный глагол может обозначать вращение вокруг внешней оси, сопровождаемое горизонтальным перемещением, примером чего должны служить вальсирующие пары. На самом деле вальсирующие кружатся и вокруг своей (общей для двоих как пары) оси. Именно этот глагол обычно и употребляется норвежцами в подобных случаях:

- (38) *Er vel bare de som har gått på danseskole som danser brudevalsens perfekt. ...jeg aner ikke hvordan man “snurrer” i vals selv.* ‘Наверное, только те, кто ходил в школу танцев, танцуют свадебный вальс совершенно. ...сам я понятия не имею, как **“кружатся”** в вальсе.’

В приложении к человеку это, конечно, не единственная возможность. Всякое быстрое вращение вокруг своей оси может быть описано этим глаголом:

- (39) *Hun snurrer i begge retninger, og snur seg av seg selv. Med litt trening kan man få henne til å snurre bare en halv omgang hver vei.* ‘Она (фигура женщины на рисунке, представляющем оптическую иллюзию) **вертится** в обе стороны, но меняет направление по собственной воле. При небольшой тренировке можно сделать так, чтобы она в каждом направлении **поворачивалась** только на пол-оборота.’

Тот же пример демонстрирует возможность обозначения глаголом *snurre* количества оборотов при вращении.

Тип движения, описываемый глаголом *snurre*, представляет собой частный вариант вращения, обозначаемого универсальными *dreie seg* и *rotere*, и в большинстве случаев их можно подставить на его место. Обратное возможно далеко не всегда.

- (40) *Vi skiller mellom nautisk vertigo (følelsen av gynging som i en båt med sjøgang) eller gyrotorisk vertigo der en opplever at en selv eller rommet snurrer, roterer.* ‘Мы различаем палубное вертиго (ощущение раскачивания, как при качке на корабле) и карусельное вертиго, при котором человеку представляется, что **крутятся, вращаются** он сам или комната.’

Глагол *snurre* имеет и переносные значения. Он может обозначать, что некий процесс претерпевает непрекращающееся развитие, не подвластное воле затронутого процессом субъекта:

- (41) *Livet mitt snurrer raskere og raskere, med stadig flere avbrytelser og inntrykk fra trendy tidstyver.* ‘Моя жизнь **крутится** все быстрее и быстрее, и в нее вклинивается все больше вмешательств и впечатлений со стороны модных воров времени.’

7. SPINNE

Этот глагол относится к древнейшему слою индоевропейской лексики, а его исходным значением было, видимо, ‘тянуть нить’ [Falk, Торп, 1991]. В древнескандинавский праязык он вошел со значением ‘плести, прясть’, то есть являясь в первую очередь каузативным глаголом, и значение ‘прясть’ остается у него в норвежском языке основным (при том, что сама эта деятельность по понятным причинам не слишком распространена). Обозначение вращения, таким образом, является для *spinne* вторичным, и обозначает он при таком своем употреблении вращение вокруг своей оси на большой скорости. Объектом такого вращения могут выступать те же предметы, что и объекты вращения при глаголах *dreie seg* и *rotere*, но этот всегда означает именно быстрое вращение:

- (42) *Setet har en kraftig kant som er lett å gripe fatt i og holde seg fast i når karusellen spinner.* ‘Край сиденья укреплен, чтобы за него было легко хватиться и крепко держаться, пока карусель **крутится**.’

- (43) *Den (snurrebassen) spinner rundt en fiksert akse.* ‘Она (юла) **вращается** вокруг фиксированной оси.’

С исходным значением глагола *spinne* связана и еще одна особенность его движения, понятная тому, кто видел, как крутится веретено: не только вокруг своей оси, но и совершая вихреобразные вращательные движения вокруг оси нити.

- (44) *I geværløpet er det rifling, som gjør at kula spinner rundt sin egen akse.* ‘В стволе винтовки имеется нарезка, благодаря которой пуля **вращается** вокруг своей оси.’

Соответственно, в современном языке у *spinne* развилось достаточно узкое значение вхождения в штопор у самолетов:

- (45) *Ifølge forsvarsministeren falt flyet 6700 meter og spant kraftig flere ganger før det ble borte fra radaren.* ‘По словам министра обороны, перед тем как пропасть с экрана радара, самолет упал на 6700 метров, войдя в штопор и несколько раз **перевернувшись** в воздухе.’

Другое новое значение глагола *spinne* в норвежском связано с развитием квантовой физики и является семантическим заимствованием из английского языка, где используется тот же по происхождению и практически так же звучащий глагол *to spin* ‘вращаться’ о движении элементарных частиц:

- (46) *Elektronet spinner omkring aksen og gir et vinkelmoment.* ‘Электрон вращается вокруг оси и создает угловой момент.’

В этом значении глагол *spinne*, как и существительное *spinn* ‘спин’, является термином, для объяснения которого неспециалистам используется универсальный *rotete*:

- (47) *Elektronspinn, en kvantefysisk egenskap som illustreres med at elektronet roterer og dermed skaper et magnetisk felt.* ‘Спин электрона — свойство физики элементарных частиц, которое можно проиллюстрировать тем, что электрон **вращается** и тем самым создает магнитное поле.’

Наконец, еще один из оттенков значения - вращение при отсутствии контроля за ним (снова как веретено, которое закручивается то в одну, то в другую сторону). По определению норвежского словаря, он означает тогда, в применении к живым существам, ‘быстро вращаться, не имея возможности держаться за основание.’

Более узкое значение (при том, что частотность употребления глагола в этом узком значении весьма высока) – ‘буксовать’ о колесах автомобиля, то есть опять же вращаться, не создавая сцепления с поверхностью, или, метонимически, ‘буксовать’ об автомобиле:

- (48) *Tre menn står og puffer en bil som spinner og spinner på samme sted.*
‘Трое мужчин толкают автомобиль, который все буксует и буксует на месте.’

Еще одно наблюдение представляет собой случай расхождения полисемии, связанный с фоносемантическим характером глаголов вращения. Глагол *spinne* используется в значении ‘мурлыкать’, так как издаваемые довольной кошкой звуки напоминают мерное жужжание веретена. Синонимами глагола в этом значении выступают также *male* (основным значением которого является ‘молоть’; и вновь тот же перенос по сходству жужжания жерновов с громким мурлыканьем) и *purre*, образованный от глагола со значением ‘журчать’, не сохранившегося в современном языке.

При том, что все описанные глаголы являются частичными синонимами, с точки зрения семантики они различаются не только тем, обозначают ли они вращение вокруг внешней или внутренней оси, но и тем, какого рода объекты совершают вращение и контролируемо ли оно, в какой среде, с какой скоростью, в какой плоскости, с каким числом оборотов, а также происходит ли при этом перемещение. Имеют они и стилистические особенности, которыми нельзя пренебрегать. Так, о вращении фигуриста на льду по-норвежски можно использовать, если он вращается вокруг своей оси — *dreie seg* (нейтрально), *rotere* (немного казенно), *snurre* (с подчеркиванием быстроты и некоторой неустойчивости движения) и *spinne* (указание на очень большую скорость), а если он кружит по концентрической орбите вокруг, скажем, фигуристки, то *kretse*.

Очевидно, тема глаголов вращения в норвежском языке не исчезает как выявленными особенностями, так и глаголами, описывающими прототипическое вращение, и будет продолжена в следующих публикациях.

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SEMANTICS OF VERBS DENOTING PROTOTYPIC ROTATION IN NORWEGIAN

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Rotation verbs in the Norwegian language are represented by 28 lexemes, including peripheral ones. They can be divided into several groups depending on the type of movement described. This article considers the semantics of seven Norwegian verbs denoting prototypical rotation, that is, more or less regular, uniform circular movement around a certain fairly defined center (external or internal axis): *dreie* 'rotate', *rotere* 'rotate' (about mechanical rotation), *kretse* 'circle' (on or above the surface), *sirkle* 'circle', *sirkulere* 'circulate', *snurre* 'twirl' (fast rotation around its axis), *spinne* 'spin'. In addition to the main meaning, the main figurative uses are provided for each verb. Examples selected on the Internet and in the Norwegian Web 2015 corpus (Bokmål) demonstrate not only the semantics of these verbs, but also their compatibility and stylistic characteristics. An analysis of the examples demonstrates that the main and most universal verbs of this group include the verbs *dreie seg*, *rotere*, and *kretse*, while the rest are narrower in meaning and less frequent. This article is the first in a series describing the semantics of rotation verbs in Norwegian.

Keywords: rotation verbs, Norwegian language, lexical typology, semantics.

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«ПЕСНЬ О ГРОТТИ»: НОВЫЙ ВАРИАНТ ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИИ

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Наша задача заключается в выделении различных жанровых структур в составе «Песни о Гротти», относящейся к дополнительным песням мифологического цикла «Старшей Эдды», и в ее трактовке как целостного феномена со свойственными ему лингвостилистическими признаками, как варианта эсхатологии, столь излюбленного в эддической традиции с ее «гибелью богов», описанного при помощи аудиокода. Уникальность «Песни о Гротти» заключается в том, что это единственное эддическое произведение, в котором в качестве символа мифопоэтической модели мира выступает мельница, обладающая ярко выраженными чертами одушевленности (она производит основные блага) и демонстрирующая амбивалентность (обслуживание антропоцентрической сферы и возвращение в стихию дикой природы), для описания которой в соответствии с природой денотата используется аудиокод. Сравняются два символа модели мира — мировое древо (ясень Иггдрасиль) и мельница (Гротти), маркирующие различные полюса бинарных оппозиций: *вертикальный* — *горизонтальный*, *универсальный* (то есть имеющий отношение как к макрокосму, так и к микрокосму) — *антропоцентрический*, *статический* — *динамический*. На основании проведенного анализа можно постулировать ядро содержания в виде *космологической песни* и реконструировать вариант мифа творения, кодируемого синонимичными языковыми элементами: др.-исл. *Grotti*, 'мельница', ср. др.-исл. *grinda* 'молот' & др.-исл. *mála* 'молот', а также отметить использование *заговора* как доминирующей формы метаописания, обслуживающей коммуникативную интенцию главных персонажей — великанш, обладающих магической силой и стремящихся добиться желаемого результата (освобождения от бесперебойной работы на мельнице).

Ключевые слова: «Старшая Эдда», мифологическая песня, древнеисландский язык, семантическая интерпретация, лингвостилистика, жанр, мифопоэтическая модель мира.

Эта дополнительная эддическая песня¹, дошедшая до наших дней в составе двух рукописей — «Старшей Эдды» (не в основном корпусе Codex Regius 2365, а в более поздних рукописях²) и «Младшей Эдды» (Codex Trajectinus [Einarsson, 1957, p. 17]), — датируется большинством исследователей X в. и локализуется в Исландии, Норвегии или Дании³. Она занимает особое положение по ряду причин, среди которых могут быть названы:

- наличие исторической основы сюжета — эпизода о конунге Фроди, происходившего из датского королевского рода Скъёльдунгов;
- фиксация повествования о Фроди в нескольких источниках — «Младшей Эдде» Снорри Стурлусона, «Саге о Скъёльдунгах», возникшей около 1200 г., но сохранившейся только в выдержках XVI в. и отрывках и труде Саксона Грамматика» [Стеблин-Каменский, 1963, с. 254], свидетельствующая о его популярности и позволяющая рассмотреть различные версии;
- четкое определение жанра, фигурирующее в самом названии *Grottasǫngr*, — др.-исл. *sǫngr* ‘песня’, к тому же поддерживаемое соответствующим глаголом — др.-исл. *syngva* ‘петь’⁴ и отсылающее к архаичной практике исполнения поэмы под музыкальное сопровождение, описание которой содержится в некоторых сагах [Einarsson, 1957, p. 43];
- социальные коннотации, в соответствии с которыми прообразом «Песни о Гротти» служила рабочая песня, выполняемая женщинами во время труда;
- наличие типологических параллелей, например, ср. образ мельницы Сампо из финского эпоса или из скандинавских народных сказок⁵;
- очевидная субъективность изложения, выражающаяся в нескрываемой симпатии к основным героиням, что совершенно не типично для эддической песни, в которой повествование ведется, как правило, достаточно объективно.

¹ Цит. по изданию [Edda, 1968], перевод цит. по изданию [Старшая Эдда, 1963].

² Подробнее см. Project Runeberg, <http://runeberg.org/nfbf/0715.html>

³ Ср., например, [Mogk, 1904], [Sijmons, 1906], [Jónsson, 1920], [Gering, 1927].

⁴ Этот глагол фигурирует, в частности, в начале четвертой строфы: *Sungo oc slungo snúðgasteini* (Gr. 4) «Пели, швыряя вертящийся камень».

⁵ Ср. [Tolley, 1994].

Именно эти обстоятельства и привлекали внимание исследователей к «Песни о Гротти»⁶. Наша задача заключается в выделении различных жанровых структур в составе данной песни и в ее трактовке как целостного феномена со свойственными ему лингвостилистическими признаками, как варианта эсхатологии, столь излюбленного в эддической традиции с «гибелью богов», описанного при помощи аудиокода.

Прежде чем перейти к непосредственному анализу специфики «Песни о Гротти», следует дать краткую характеристику ее содержания и привлечь один отрывок из «Младшей Эдды» для уточнения деталей. В произведении Снорри Стурлусона разъясняется, почему золото называется мукóй датского конунга Фроди, прославившегося установлением длительного мира, когда «ни один человек не причинял вреда другому, даже если ему попадался убийца его отца и брата, свободный или связанный; тогда не было ни одного вора или разбойника» [Младшая Эдда, 1970, с. 170]. Дело в том, что две великанши Фенья и Менья, превращенные Фроди в рабынь, не зная ни сна, ни отдыха, намалывали на волшебной мельнице Гротти (букв. ‘смалывающая’)⁷ все, что ни пожелал бы конунг. Однако безжалостность Фроди по отношению к своим работницам приводит к тому, что они, не выдержав чудовищного напряжения, выходят из повиновения и вместо всяческих благ (богатства, счастья, довольства) производят вражеское войско, представляющее несомненную угрозу для Фроди. Из-за этого трагического происшествия и заканчивается «мир Фроди».

В «Песни о Гротти» можно выделить фрагменты следующих жанров:

1) космологическая песня:

время первотворения:

древний: *vaki þú, Fróði, ef þú vill hlýða // sǫngom ocrom oc sǫgom fjornom* (Grт. 18) «пробудись ты, Фроди, если хочешь слышать // песни наши и древние рассказы»*;

⁶ Ср., в частности [Krappe, 1933].

⁷ Др.-исл. *Grotti*, название мифологической мельницы (< о.-герм. **gruntan*), букв. ‘размалывающая’, н.-исл. ‘мельница’, фар. *grotti* ‘узел в жернове’, н.-норв. *grotte* ‘блок на оси жернова’, ср. дат. диал. *grotte, grutte* ‘зерно мелко намалывать’; родственно др.-исл. *grinda* ‘молоть’ [Vries, 1977, S. 191].

демиургические акты и их производные:

рождаться, происходить: *bræðr bergrisa, þeim erom bornar* (Grт. 9) «от братьев горных великанов мы рождены»*; *Kæmia Grotti ór griá fialli* (Grт. 10) «Гротти не вышла бы из серой скалы»*;

быть выращенным: *Vér vetr níó vórom leicor, // oflgar, alnar fyr iрrð neðan* (Grт. 11) «Мы были девять зим девы // могучие, выращенные под землей внизу»*;

род, родство, родственник: *enn at ætterni ecci spurðir* (Grт. 8) «но не спросил, кто они родом»*; *Iði oc Aurnir, ocrir niðiar* (Grт. 9) «Иди и Аурнир родичи наши»;

брат: *bræðr bergrisa, þeim erom bornar* (Grт. 9) «от братьев горных великанов мы рождены»*;

отец: *Harðr var Hrungnir oc hans faðir* (Grт. 9) «Храбр был Хрунгнир и его отец»*;

сакральный объект (мельница): *Þær at lúðri leiddar vóro, // ok grióz griá ganga of beiddo* (Grт. 2) «К основе мельницы их подвели обеих, // и к скалы серой ходу принудили»*; *Munat þú halda Hleiðrar stóli, // raudoм hringom né regingrióti* (Grт. 20) «Ты потеряешь Лейдры престол, // червонные кольца и богов камень»*; *Auð mólom Fróða, mólom alsælan, // mólom fiqlð fiár á feginslúðri* (Grт. 5) «Намелем для Фроди богатство, намелем счастье, // намелем много имущества на радости жернове»*; *sculfo scaptré, scauz lúðr ofan* (Grт. 23) «дрожали рукоятки, основа упала сверху»*; *Kæmia Grotti ór griá fialli, // né sá inn harði hallr ór iрrðo* (Grт. 10) «Гротти не вышла бы из серой скалы, // твердый камень из земли»*; *Hendr scolо hvíлаz, hallr standa mun* (Grт. 17) «Руки должны отдохнуть, камень должен стоять»*; *hraut inn hofgi hallr sundr í tvau* (Grт. 23) «надвое треснул тяжелый камень»*;

молоть: *Auð mólom Fróða, mólom alsælan, // mólom fiqlð fiár á feginslúðri* (Grт. 5) «Намелем для Фроди богатство, намелем счастье, // намелем много имущества на радости жернове»*; *né mæli svá mæri bergrisa* (Grт. 10) «не мололи бы так девы горных великанов»*; *Munoma hþndom hvíld vel gefa, // áðr fullmalit Fróða þicci* (Grт. 17) «Мы не должны давать покоя рукам, // пока Фроди не покажется полностью намолотым»*; *mólom enn framarr* (Grт. 21; 22) «мелем мы дальше»*; *Mól míns foður mæri ramliga, // þviát hon feigð fira fiqlmargra sá* (Grт. 21) «Молола моего отца дева могуче, // потому что она смерть людей многих видела»*; *Mólo meyiar, megins kostoðo*

(Grт. 23) «Мололи девы, силами мерялись»*; *Malit hqfom, Fróði, sem minom hæтта, // hafa fullstaðit flióð at meldri* (Grт. 24) «Намололи мы, Фроди, достаточно, // девы вдосталь стояли над помолом»*;

эсхатология:

падать: *sculfo scaptré, scauz lúðr ofan* (Grт. 23) «тряслись рукоятки, основа упала сверху»*;

сжигать: *oc brenna bæ fyr buðlungi* (Grт. 19) «и сжечь жилище правителя»*;

трескаться: *hraut inn hqfgi hallr sundr í tvau* (Grт. 23) «надвое треснул тяжелый камень»*;

трястись: *Veltom griçti of garð risa, // svá at fold fyrir fór sciálfandi* (12) «Перекатывали мы камни с ограды великанов, // так что земля затряслась»*; *sculfo scaptré, scauz lúðr ofan* (Grт. 23) «тряслись рукоятки, основа упала сверху»*;

2) вербальная деятельность:

говорить: *þa qvað þat Menia, var til meldrs komin* (Grт. 4) «сказала Меня, к помолу подошла»*; *Enn hann ecci qvað orð it fyrra* (Grт. 7) «Пока он не сказал первое слово»*; *Sofið eigi it né of sal gausar, // eða lengr, enn svát lióð eitt qveðac* (Grт. 7) «Не спите вы до тех пор, пока кукушки в покое // песни я не скажу»*; *Enn bergriisa brúðr orð um qvað* (Grт. 24) «Слово сказала тогда исполинша»;

петь: *Sungo oc slungo snúðgasteini* (Grт. 4) «Пели, швыряя вертящийся камень»; *Þær þyt þulo þqgnhorfinnar* (Grт. 3) «Они завывание пели, отвлекаясь от молчания»*;

спрашивать: *enn at ætterni ecci spurðir* (Grт. 8) «но не спросил, кто они родом»*;

весть: *Eld sé ec brenna fyr austan borg, // vígsþioll vaca, þat mun viti kallaðr* (Grт. 19) «Огонь вижу я от палат на восток, // весть о войне, это называется знаком»*;

песня: *Sofið eigi it né of sal gausar, // eða lengr, enn svát lióð eitt qveðac* (Grт. 7) «Не спите вы до тех пор, пока кукушки в покое // песни я не скажу»*; *vaki þú, Fróði, ef þú vill hlýða // sþngom ocrom oc sþngom fornот* (Grт. 18) «пробудись ты, Фроди, если хочешь слышать // песни наши и древние рассказы»*;

рассказ: *vaki þú, Fróði, ef þú vill hlýða // sþngom ocrom oc sþngom fornот* (Grт. 18) «пробудись ты, Фроди, если хочешь слышать // песни наши и древние рассказы»*;

речь: *málvinr manna, er þú man keyptir* (Grт. 8) «в речах друг людям, когда ты рабынь покупал»*;

слово: *Enn hann ecci qvað orð it fyrra* (Grт. 7) «Пока он не сказал первое слово»*; *Enn bergrisa brúðr orð um qvað* (Grт. 24) «Слово сказала тогда исполинша»;

3) видение:

видеть: *Eld sé ec brenna fyr austan borg* (Grт. 19) «Огонь вижу я от палат на восток»*; *Mól míns fǫður mæ ramliga, // þvíat hon feigð fira fiqlmargra sá* (Grт. 21) «Молола моего отца дева могуче, // потому что она смерть людей многих видела»*;

указатель (знак): *Eld sé ec brenna fyr austan borg, // vígspiöll vaca, þat mun viti kallaðr* (Grт. 19) «Огонь вижу я от палат на восток, // весть о войне, это называется знаком»*;

4) эпистемиологическая песня:

знать: *né mœli svá mæ bergrisa, // ef vissi vit vætr til hennar* (Grт. 10) «не мололи бы так девы великанов, // если бы не знали нечто о ней [мельнице]»*; *vitom báðar þat* (Grт. 22) «знаем мы обе это»*;

вперед знающий (вещий): *Nú ero komnar til konungs húsa // framvísar tvær, Fenia oc Menia* (Grт. 1) «Вот пришли в палаты конунга // две вещице, Фенья и Менья»*; *Enn vit síðan á Svíðióðo, // framvísar tvær, í fólc stigom* (Grт. 13) «За этим вослед мы, // вещице две, в Свигтоде вступали в сраженья»*;

магическая природа великанш: *mátcar meyar, at mani hafðar* (Grт. 1) «могучие девы, ставшие рабынями»*;

мудрый: *Vartattu, Fróði, fullspacr of þic* (Grт. 8) «Фроди, ты не был достаточно мудр»;

5) заговор⁸:

использование *оптатива* для выражения желаемого: *siti hann á auði, sofi hann á dúni, // vaki hann at vilia* (Grт. 5) «пусть он сидит в довольстве, пусть он спит на пуху, // пусть он просыпается по желанию»*; *Hér scyli engi qðrom granda, // ...né hoggvagi hvǫsso sverði* (Grт. 6) «Здесь пусть никто не должен будет другому навредить, // ...пусть не рубит острым мечом»*; *Kæmia Grotti ór griá fialli, // ...né mœli svá mæ bergrisa* (Grт. 10) «Гротти не вышла бы из серой скалы, // ...не мололи бы так девы горных великанов»*;

⁸ О языковых особенностях древнегерманских заговоров см. [Топорова, 1996].

использование *императива* для выражения приказания или просьбы: **vaki þú, Fróði, ef þú vill hlýða // sǫngom ocrom oc sǫgom fornóm** (Grт. 18) «пробудись ты, Фроди, если хочешь слышать // песни наши и древние рассказы»*;

педалирование ситуации здесь и сейчас: **Hér scyli engi ǫðrom granda, //...né hǫggvagi hvǫsso sverði** (Grт. 6) «Здесь пусть никто не должен будет другому навредить, // ...пусть не рубит острым мечом»*;

антиномии: **kaustu at afli oc at álitom, // enn at ætterni ecci spurðir** (Grт. 8) «ты выбирал по силе и по обличью, // но не спросил об их родстве»*;

классификационные схемы (родства): **Harðr var Hrungnir oc hans faðir, //...Íði oc Aurnir, oc rir niðjar, // bræðr bergrisa, þeim erom bornar** (Grт. 9) «Храбр был Хрунгнир и его отец; // ...Иди и Аурнир родичи наши; // от братьев горных великанов мы рождены»*;

повтор ключевого слова или группы слов: **Auð mǫlom Fróða, mǫlom alsælan, // mǫlom fiǫlð fiár á feginslúðri** (Grт. 5) «Намелем для Фроди богатство, намелем счастье, // намелем много имущества на радости жернове»*; **vaki þú, Fróði! // vaki þú, Fróði, ef þú vill hlýða // sǫngom ocrom oc sǫgom fornóm** (Grт. 18) «пробудись ты, Фроди! // пробудись ты, Фроди, если хочешь слышать // песни наши и древние рассказы»*;

этимологические фигуры: **Malit hǫfom, Fróði, sem munom hætta, // hafa fullstaðit fljóð at meldri** (Grт. 24) «Намолости мы, Фроди, достаточно, // девы в досталь стояли над помолом»*;

рефрены: **mǫlom enn framarr** (Grт. 21; 22) «мелем мы дальше»*.

Подводя итоги исследования, можно констатировать наличие в «Песни о Гротти» фрагментов пяти жанров, представленных в различных пропорциях — *космологической песни, вербальной деятельности, видения, эпистемологической песни и заговора*, объем и функции которых определяют два фактора: их принадлежность к плану содержания (*космогоническая песня*) или метаописания (остальные жанры) и коммуникативных интенций действующих лиц. Выбор в качестве объекта повествования *мифа творения*, реализующегося в виде космологической песни, вполне закономерен, так как именно этот миф «описывает пространственно-временные параметры вселенной, то есть условия, в которых протекает существование человека и помещается все,

что может стать объектом мифотворчества» [Мифы народов мира, 1982, с. 6]. Тем не менее следует отметить специфику «Песни о Гротти» по сравнению с другими мифологическими песнями «Старшей Эдды», посвященными описанию сходной тематики, которая заключается в акцентировании внимания на главном субъекте — волшебной *мельнице*, производящей все блага в начале песни (богатство, счастье, мир) и беды (войну, пожар, гибель главного героя) в конце, и основном демиургическом акте — *молоть*. «Говорящее» название мельницы (Гротти, букв. «размалывающая»), а также ее характеристики («мельница радости», «богов мельница») не оставляют сомнений в ее сакральности, с одной стороны, и трактовки как символа архаичной мифопоэтической модели мира наряду с мировым деревом или *axis mundi*, с другой. Кроме того именно мельница как главный субъект песни детерминирует и способ описания — *звуковой*, передающий вращение жернова. Аудиокод выражается при помощи следующих лексем:

петь: *Sungo oc slungo snúðgasteini* (Grт. 4) «Пели, швыряя вертящийся камень»; *Þær þyt þulo þoǵnhorfinnar* (Grт. 3) «Они завывание пели, отвлекаясь от молчания»*;

слышать: *áðr hann heyrði hlióm ambátta* (Grт. 2) «пока он не услышал звуки служанок»*; *vaki þú, Fróði, ef þú vill hlýða // songom ocrom oc sogom fornот* (Grт. 18) «пробудись ты, Фроди, если хочешь слышать // песни наши и древние рассказы»*;

звук: *áðr hann heyrði hlióm ambátta* (Grт. 2) «пока он не услышал звуки⁹ служанок»*;

молчание (отсутствие звука): *Þær þyt þulo þoǵnhorfinnar* (Grт. 3) «Они завывание пели, отвлекаясь от молчания»*;

шум, (завывание): *Þær þyt þulo þoǵnhorfinnar* (Grт. 3) «Они завывание пели, отвлекаясь от молчания»*.

Звуковые повторы воспроизводят свистящий полет камня, ср.: *Sungo oc slungo snúðgasteini* (Grт. 4) «Пели, швыряя вертящийся камень».

Для интерпретации глубинного смысла «Песни о Гротти» необходимо понять сущность самой мельницы, представляющей собой элемент *макрокосма* (*скалу, камень*), служащий для удовлет-

⁹ То есть их песню.

ворения нужд *микрокосма*, которые в данном случае представляет Фроди, также наделенный «говорящим» именем (букв. «мудрый»). Неправильное отношение к сакральному с у б ъ е к т у и обслуживающим его великаншам, восприятие мельницы как о б ъ е к т а , а Феньи и Меньи как рабынь, а не как сопричастных стихии творения существ, обладающих магической силой, приводит к возвращению мельницы в изначальную враждебную человеку сферу природы и гибели Фроди.

Следует обратить внимание на еще один аспект Гротти, точнее на ее метонимическую номинацию по самой важной детали — деревянной основе, для обозначения которой используется др.-исл. *lúðr* ‘деревянная рама мельницы’¹⁰. Некоторые контексты убедительно демонстрируют употребление *pars pro toto*, ср.: *Auð mǫlom Fróða, mǫlom alsælan, // mǫlom fiqlð fiár á feginslúðri* (Grт. 5) «Намелем для Фроди богатство, намелем счастье, // намелем много имущества на радости основе (мельницы)»*. О том, что данную лексему не следует рассматривать исключительно как технический термин, свидетельствует одна строфа «Речей Вафтруднира»: *Órófi vetra, áðr væri iqrð scopið, // þá var Bergelmir borinn; // þat ec fyrst um man, er sá inn fróði iqtunn // var á lúðr um lagiðr* (Vm. 35) «За множество зим до создания земли // родился Бергельмир; // вот что первое помню, // когда мудрого великана положили на / в *lúðr*». Значение этого слова неясно: его трактовали то как *колыбель*, то как *гроб*, то как *ковчег*¹¹ [Стеблин-Каменский, 1970, с. 122]. Этимология несколько проясняет ситуацию: др.-исл. *lúðr* ‘выдолбленное дерево, корыто, колыбель, рама мельницы, лодка, рог’ < и.-е. **leu-* ‘резать’ (алб. *lug, lugu* ‘корыто’, *flugë* ‘доска’, д.-в.-н. *ludara* ‘колыбель’, др.-исл. *lé* ‘серп’, *líóstr* ‘вилка’ и др. [IEW, s. 681–682], при этом реконструируется следующее семантическое развитие: ‘выдолбленное дерево’ > ‘корыто’ > ‘основа для мельницы’ > ‘тростник, труба, рог’ [Vries 1977, 367]. Судя по языковым данным, можно восстановить исходное значение др.-исл. *lúðr* как **деревянной основы** (полого ствола дерева), горизонтального аналога *axis mundi*. Таким образом, можно считать, что

¹⁰ “*Lúðr* — holzgestell der mühle (НН. II 2 u. 4, Grт); in unklarer bedeutung Vm. 35. Vgl. *fegins-lúðr*” [Kuhn, 1968, S. 132]. См. также [Holstmark, 1946; Christiansen, 1952].

¹¹ По аналогии с Великим потоком и Ноевым ковчегом.

в «Старшей Эдде» наряду с мельницей, выступающей в качестве символа модели мира, функционирует еще один универсальный образ, возникший в результате метонимического переноса значения, при котором часть обозначает целое, а именно *деревянная основа мельницы* (> *мельница*) как древнейший локус вселенной во времена первотворения, соотносимый с антропогенезом. Если продолжить сравнение двух символов модели мира — мирового древа (ясеня Иггдрасиля) и мельницы (Гротти), то можно отметить, что они маркируют различные полюса бинарных оппозиций: *вертикальный — горизонтальный, универсальный* (то есть имеющий отношение как к макрокосму, так и к микрокосму) — *антропоцентрический, статический — динамический*¹².

Если обратиться к метаописанию, то нельзя не заметить особую роль *заговора*. Хотя Стеблин-Каменский полагает, что «великанши произносят *заклинание*¹³, призывая вражеское войско, и с насмешкой предлагают Фроди послушать их песни» [Стеблин-Каменский, 1963, с. 254], которое фиксируется начиная с восемнадцатой строфы, черты заговора как жанра, как свидетельствует проведенное исследование, обнаруживаются гораздо раньше, и они ассоциируются с фигурами Феньи и Меньи, иномирными существами, вырванными под землей, провидящими тайны грядущего и стремящимися освободиться от тяжелой повинности (работе на мельнице), при этом именно *заговор* воспринимается как максимально пригодная форма для реализации желаемого с типичными для него использованием соответствующих форм (императива и опатива для передачи приказания или просьбы), подчеркиванием настоящего момента (*hic et nunc*), повторами, рефренами, этимологическими фигурами, дублирующими содержание приемами словесной магии. Детальная разработка *вербальной* деятельности детерминирована тем обстоятельством, что в качестве основного двигателя сюжета выступают не действия, а *речи* персонажей

¹² Мотив движения постоянно актуализируется, ср.: *Þær at lúðri leiddar vóro, // ok grióz griá gangs of beiddo* (Grт. 2) «Они к основе мельницы подведены были, // и к движению (ходу) скалы серой принуждены»; остановка мельницы равносильна ее уничтожению, ср.: *Hendr scolo at hvílaz, hallr standa mun, // malit hefi ec fyr mic mitt of leiti* (Grт. 17) «Руки должны отдохнуть, камень должен стоять, // смолола я больше, чем было мне сказано»*.

¹³ Курсив наш — Т. Т.

(Фроди и Феньи с Меньей). Особого упоминания заслуживает акцентирование внимания на *песне* и *пенин*, отразившихся в самом названии данного эддического текста, отсылающих к характеру его исполнения.

В целом можно утверждать, что уникальность «Песни о Гротти» заключается в том, что это единственное эддическое произведение, в котором в качестве символа мифопоэтической модели мира выступает *мельница*, обладающая ярко выраженными чертами одушевленности (она производит основные блага) и демонстрирующая амбивалентность (обслуживание антропоцентрической сферы и возвращение в стихию дикой природы), для описания которой в соответствии с природой денотата используется аудиокод. На основании проведенного анализа можно постулировать ядро содержания в виде *космологической песни* и реконструировать вариант мифа творения, кодируемого синонимичными языковыми элементами: др.-исл. *Grotti*, ‘мельющая’, ср. др.-англ. *grindan* ‘молоть’ & др.-исл. *mála* ‘молоть’, а также отметить использование *заговора* как доминирующей формы метаописания, обслуживающей коммуникативную интенцию главных персонажей — великанш, обладающих магической силой и стремящихся добиться желаемого результата (освобождения от бесперебойной работы на мельнице).

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- Grт. — Grottasǫngr «Песнь о Гротти»
- НН. II — Helgaqviða Hundingsbana II «Вторая песнь о Хельги Убийце Хундинга»
- Vm. — Vafþrúðnismál «Речи Вафтруднира»

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“GROTASǪNGR”: NEW INTERPRETATION

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This article highlights the various genre structures in the composition of the *Grottasǫngur*, an additional song of the “Elder Edda” that refers to the mythological cycle, and interprets it as a holistic phenomenon with linguo-stylistic features characteristic of it as a variant of eschatology, beloved in the Eddic tradition with its “death of the gods” that are described by means of an audio code. The uniqueness of the *Grottasǫngur* lies in the fact that this is the only Eddic in which, as a symbol of the mythopoetic model of the universe, there is a *mill* with explicit features of animation (it produces the basic goods) and ambivalence is demonstrated (serving the anthropocentric sphere and returning to the wild). In accordance with the nature of the denotation, an audio code is used for its description. Two symbols of the model of the universe are compared — the world tree (ash *Yggdrasil*) and the mill (*Grotti*), which mark the different poles of binary oppositions: *vertical* — *horizontal*, *universal* (related to both the macrocosm and the microcosm) — *anthropocentric*, *static* — *dynamic*. On the basis of the analysis carried out, we can postulate the core of content in the form of a *cosmological song* and reconstruct the version of the creation myth coded by synonymous linguistic elements: O.-Icel. *Grotti*, ‘grinding’, cf. O.-E. *grindan* ‘to grind’ & O.-Icel. *mála* ‘to grind’, and also to note the use of a *charm* as the dominant form of meta description, serving the communicative intention of the main characters — giantesses possessing magical power and striving to achieve the desired result (release from uninterrupted work at the mill).

Keywords: the “Elder Edda”, mythological song, Old Icelandic language, semantic interpretation, linguo-stylistics, genre, mythopoietic model of the world.

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ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИЕ

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HAMSDUN AND LAXNESS: OPPOSITION OR LITERARY DIALOGUE?

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The novel *Independent People* by Halldór Kiljan Laxness was published in 1934, and it is now considered to be one of the best Icelandic novels. Actually, this work was a response to Knut Hamsun's novel *Growth of the Soil*, in which peasant patriarchal relations were presented in an ideal light. In both of these novels, the image of a proud independent person, existing in isolation from society, is central. Both of them are national types: Bjartur is an Icelander and Isak is Norwegian, but they also embody a kind of universal personality with the ability to act at their own discretion for good or evil. Hamsun provides the ideal model of existence, his hero is the winner in the fight against civilization, but the depiction of Laxness' hero appears as the crucial facet of the Icelandic national character: Bjartur is stark, precise, educated, and quick-tempered, but he has great tenacity. His ideas and aspirations are very similar to Isak's aims, but they are just utopian. He brings only grief and death to those whom he loves, and to those who love him. Hamsun and Laxness both criticized the capitalist civilization, asking the same question: what are the greatest values in this life? However, they found very different answers. Hamsun tried to find his ideal in the patriarchal peasantry, and Laxness was enthusiastic about communist ideas. It was actually an ideological confrontation where Laxness, denying Hamsun's ideology, greatly contributed to the leftist ideology and its attack on democracy. There is no doubt that Laxness as an author borrowed a lot from Hamsun's manner of writing and his novel, under certain conditions, can be considered as a reinterpretation of Hamsun's novel.

Keywords: Norwegian literature, Icelandic literature, Knut Hamsun, Halldór Kiljan Laxness, novel.

In 1934 Knut Hamsun was already a world-famous writer and Nobel Prize Laureate, when the young Icelandic author Halldór Kiljan Laxness published his novel *Independent People* (Sjálfstætt fólk) — the story of the farmer Bjartur from Sumarhús (Summer Houses), which is now considered to be one of the best Icelandic novels. Actually, this book was a response to Hamsun's novel of 1917 *Growth of the Soil* (Markens grøde) and his ideal of peasant patriarchal relations far away from the destructive influence of civilization. This novel was also highly honored by the Nobel Prize Committee; in 1955 Laxness was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. This was the first and only time an Icelander received the award. Despite his ups and downs with the Icelandic public, due to his outspoken views as well as the nature of his writings, the Nobel Prize helped to cement his place as one of the world's greatest writers on par with Hamsun.

There is no doubt that Laxness as an author borrowed Hamsun's manner of writing, and his novel, under certain conditions, can be considered as a reflection of Hamsun's *Growth of the Soil*. The structure of Laxness' novel is very similar to that of Hamsun's piece of art. It is possible to see parallels in the development of plots in both novels. However, *Independent people* has a completely different ideological vector compared to *Growth of the Soil*: Hamsun's positive personages are turned into negative characters.

Hamsun and Laxness both criticized the capitalist civilization, asking the same question: what are the greatest values in this life? However, they found very different answers. Hamsun tried to find his ideal in the patriarchal peasantry, and Laxness was enthusiastic about communist ideas. It was actually an ideological confrontation where Laxness, denying Hamsun's ideology, greatly contributed to the leftist ideology and its attack on democracy.

Hamsun's character Isaak is an embodiment of the ideal of a farmer and a man. Bjartur possess the same personal features, but he cannot build his own private world. Isaak looks much like a fairy tale hero: he overcomes obstacles, creates his individual paradise, and exists independently of other people. Isak is a winner because he works hard, and he has a clean soul. He symbolizes the ideal style of life. Bjartur is also a toiler, who aspires to be independent, but he fails to find his way, and his hopes and dreams ultimately are broken at the end of novel. Isak comes and takes land, where he builds his house; Bjartur was working for eighteen years to buy the old farm Summerhouses and to bring to

life his idea: he wants to be an independent farmer, free of duties. Since that time, all his life and the lives of his family members are strongly connected with this goal.

Bjartur's intention requires victims and he brings his two wives and his children to the altar of his belief in independents. Friða, an old woman who helps at Summerhouses, speaks of him as a tyrant and a murderer that killed his family.

Great is the tyranny of mankind.

"It doesn't matter so much if he kills me, the devil, for as God and anyone can tell you, I'm doomed in advance — slaved to death a hundred times and on the parish. But never was I so badly off that I didn't have something to keep out the wet in spite of fraud, tyranny, and murder. And you mark my words, my lad, and see if he hasn't racked the life out of your poor mother before God gives her another summer, the bloody slave-driver".

Nor was it to be denied that even in the height of summer their mother was often away from work because of illness, and as for the children, the green issue of their nostrils mingled with the rivulets that coursed down their faces [Laxness, 1946, p. 221].

Bjartur is not evil nor horrible, rather he is just a farmer and for him the life of sheep is more important than the lives of his family. His youngest son Nonni in response to the question of one tourist from the capital:

"Does your father want anything?" answers: "Sheep".

"Does your father want anything?" inquired the man.

"Sheep", replied the boy.

Then at last the visitor looked at the children, and it was as if he realized for the first time that this was a conversation, and that there was, moreover, some real substance in this conversation. He was rather surprised. "So he wants sheep", he said, with a heavy stress on the "sheep", as if unable to understand the word in this context [Laxness, 1946, p. 226].

Hamsun's hero could not choose between members of his family and his animals. Isak's life, in contrast, is full of work and his labor bears fruits: he does not lose anything; he becomes wealthier and wealthier each day. Isak erects many buildings on his farm; Bjartur starts to build one stone house and it is his failure. Hamsun's hero is absolutely independent from the rest of the world; Bjartur greatly desires to be independent, but he cannot be. His life is the eternal struggle with society,

weather, hunger, and illnesses. Undoubtedly, this picture of human being is more realistic, than in Hamsun's novel where Isak lives in the ideal and unbelievable land, but Bjartur exists in the real time and place.

Laxness describes the period of Icelandic history from the beginning of the 1900s to the beginning of the 1930s. It is important to note that Hamsun does not mention any historical events or names; there are just some features of the period in the novel, such as the 20th century bringing new technologies and new morals. That new epoch brings changes to the life of people and requires that they change their way of thinking. Isak remains outside of the time and space; he symbolizes the general essence of the human being. Galina Khrapovitskaya determined this text as a “novel-myth” [Khrapovitskaya, 2000, p. 38]. The beginning of the novel is the beginning of a story about everyman, and it is similar to a hagiography.

The man comes, walking toward the north. He bears a sack, the first sack, carrying food and some few implements. A strong, coarse fellow, with a red iron beard, and little scars on face and hands; sites of old wounds — were they gained in toil or fight? Maybe the man has been in prison, and is looking for a place to hide; or a philosopher, maybe, in search of peace. This or that, he comes; the figure of a man in this great solitude. He trudges on; bird and beast are silent all about him; now and again he utters a word or two; speaking to himself. “Eyah — well, well...” — so he speaks to himself [Hamsun, 1921, vol. 1, p. 7].

Isak is a righteous person, what is good for him is not good for man, who lives in changing times like Bjartur. Laxness raises the question, what could happen to Isak if he encounters real problems, when the main aim of a farmer is just to survive? Isak belongs to the ideal world; but Bjartur lives in reality. Isak created his microcosm and his son Sivert would continue to build it while Bjartur ruined his life, family, but in the end, he found the main value, human love. He understood this simple thing after all of his losses, and it provides some optimism to the dramatic story of his life.

Love as an esthetical category plays a very significant role in any literary text and usually it is one of the most important components of a plot in a novel. However, this is not in the case in Hamsun's novel. He implicitly reveals that Isaak loves his wife, family, and children, but the human love does not play a key role in the novel. Moreover, this motive has a negative connotation, because the main love should be a love to

plant. Relationships between man and the land are more ancient and more closed than relationships between people. Hamsun's position here is certainly considered as inhuman, and Laxness opposes his ideas, he tries to show, how this type of hero turns from a creator into a destroyer.

Isak's love for his relatives is very specific. It looks like he is very much attached to his family and his children. He helps Eliseus, the prodigal son, who left the farm and tried to build a life in the town. Isak can also be generous, because he is strong, wealthy, and God loves him. His love is the love of the lord, wizard, and patriarch who looks to the members of his family from above and forgives their mistakes. Isak does not have normal human emotions; he is above them like a real saint.

Bjartur tries to be strong and he possesses no emotions, not even love. He can think only about his farm and sheep. His children and both wives are just parts of his farm and he does not attribute much value to their lives. His first wife dies, when he is looking for the lost sheep and the second wife dies because he is going to kill their only single cow. One of the most impressive scenes in the novel is when Bjartur finds a dead body and possibly this is the body of his eldest son Helgi. He does not bury him, but rather he just leaves a glove on the dead body. In Hamsun's novel, his heroes Isak and Axel bury bodies of their babies killed by women. Bjartur contemplates a certain power to a greater extent, which he encountered and created obstacles on his way to becoming independent, than about the sorrowful fate of his his own son.

Nevertheless he found it difficult to absolve Kolumkilli of all intervention in human fate, for it often happens that though one is quite certain that the story of Kolumkilli is not true, or even that it is a downright lie, there are times when this same story seems to hold more truth than any truth. There is some devil or other on the moors who eats people. Ah well, he would have to do something for the body, seeing that he had found it, and that as quickly as possible, for the ewes had taken to their heels and were out of the gully by now. He was wearing a pair of thick, heavy gloves that were practically new, and he took the glove from his right hand and threw it to the corpse, for it is considered discourteous to leave a corpse that one has found without first doing it some small service [Laxness, 1946, p. 342].

Both of these personages, Isak and Bjartur, are very simple emotionally, their aims are similar, but the results of their activities are different. Hamsun's Isak is a canonical figure, almost saintly, but Bjartur is his direct opposite. Isak brings life while Bjartur brings death. Hamsun wrote

a hagiography while Laxness wrote a saga; the subtitle for the novel: “Hetjasaga” (Heroic saga) — the word “saga” means history in Icelandic. Hamsun creates a mythological figure and Laxness illustrates an existent type: Isak’s place is heaven and Bjartur’s place is earth.

In Hamsun’s novel, such emotions as love, passion, and desire are not inherent in his characters. The relations between a man and a woman look natural and archaic, there is no place for some fantasies and romantic dreams. Isak accepts Inger as a housewife, but not as a bright or beloved woman; a similar relationship can be found between other pairs of heroes: Axel and Barbru. The ideal woman is a domestic woman, who helps her man and lord to create their world. Passionate love is destructive and unacceptable because it is a sin in the biblical sense of the word. In the beginning, Inger was an ideal woman, but after her stay in prison she changed her mind and she started to sin in her soul. When she met the Swedish worker Gustav, she fell in love with him because she needed love, which is a part of women nature. This episode is a clear allusion to the biblical temptation.

Inger is sad and down-hearted enough; ay, so erringly faithful that she mourns for him. ‘Tis hard for her; she is honestly in love, without any thought of vanity or conquest. And not ashamed, no; she is a strong woman full of weakness; she is but following the law of nature all about her; it is the glow of autumn in her as in all things else. Her breast heaves with feeling as she packs up food for Gustaf to take with him. No thought of whether she has the right, of whether she dare risk this or that; she gives herself up to it entirely, hungry to taste, to enjoy. Isak might lift her up to the roof and thrust her to the floor again — ay, what of that! It would not make her feel the less [Hamsun, 1921, vol. 2, p. 115].

Love in this case is only adultery, sin, and this sin destroys a soul. Barbru’s soul becomes worse as she kills both of her children. She talks about his first baby without any emotions. In addition, this scene is one of the most impressive in the novel.

“D’you remember that in the paper about the body of a child found in the harbour? ‘Twas me that did it”.

“What?” said he.

“Body of a child. You never remember anything. We read about it in the paper you brought up”.

After a moment he burst out: “You must be out of your senses!”

But his confusion seemed to incite her more, to give her a sort of artificial strength; she could even give the details. “I had it in my box — it was dead

then, of course — I did that as soon as it was born. And when we got out into the harbour, I threw it overboard” [Hamsun, 1921, vol. 2, pp. 42–43].

Female images in Hamsun’s novel are portrayed much worse than male images. There is a very specific system of personages in the novel, where positive heroes are only men. In *Independent People*, we can see the opposite situation. Bjartur’s attitude to his two wives is similar to Isak’s attitude, for him they are only housewives and he cannot understand how to love anybody. “Love” is a word from literature, used just to compose verses. Bjartur lives without love and as a result, he is not able to create anything because only true love is positively portrayed. In Laxness’ system of values, love is a feature and women help to fulfil this.

In this context, the image of Bjartur’s daughter Ásta Sóllija plays a very important role for the narration. Her name is significant because in Icelandic “Ást” means “love”. She reads about love in books and she aspires to find it in real life. She knew physical love, when she was very young, and she thought that was the only true love. Love is the main emotion in her soul, and it makes her a much more attractive personage than Bjartur, who turns her out when he learns that she is pregnant. Ásta has the power to overcome all of life’s circumstances because her heart is open to love.

She was the woman in love who, having burned all bridges behind her, resorts now to her beloved. This was reality. This was love and the heath. Henceforth all that came to pass in her life would be true.

Love and the heath; there were still snowdrifts in the deep hollows, and the earth was muddy under the snow. A raw wind blew in her face [Laxness, 1946, p. 361].

She tries to find love everywhere: she loves man, her father, and her children. She brings up her daughter and does not accept help from anybody. Ásta is absolutely unlike Hamsun’s personages who killed their children: Inger and Barbru. In the end, Bjartur finds his daughter and starts anew. He moves to a new place with his ill daughter, her two children, and his former mother-in-law. For him it is the beginning of his human revival, he is ready to become a creator because he has love for his relatives in his heart, not only sheep. Ásta will likely die, but Bjartur has understood how to love people.

“Keep a good hold round my neck, my flower”.

“Yes”, she whispered. “Always — as long as I live. Your one flower. The flower of your life. And I shan’t die yet awhile; no, not for a long while yet”.

Then they went on their way [Laxness, 1946, p. 470].

This scene provides a more optimistic ending to the novel. Bjartur's family lineage will be continued: his son Gvendur, who was going to America, does not leave Iceland after learning what love and passion is. Gvendur's life started with love and it means this hero will find his path in life and he will be able to create his future.

Hamsun uses many biblical allusions in the text of the novel. His main character is not devoutly religious by visiting church regularly or praying every day, but he lives according to God's rules. His belief is very deep and ancient like that of heroes in the Bible. The name "Isak" confirms this connection.

Isak walked bareheaded, in Jesus' name, a sower. Like a tree-stump with hands to look at, but in his heart like a child. Every cast was made with care, in a spirit of kindly resignation. Look! the tiny grains that are to take life and grow, shoot up into ears, and give more corn again; so it is throughout all the earth where corn is sown. Palestine, America, the valleys of Norway itself — a great wide world, and here is Isak, a tiny speck in the midst of it all, a sower [Hamsun, 1921, vol. 2, p. 42].

Isak is not the only hero of this novel, nor is he the only national character; he is a universal hero — an example for all people and for all times. Hamsun describes the Norway of his time and creates the image of Isak's farm as an ideal of human beings forever and everywhere. The chronotope (using Bakhtin terminology) of Laxness' novel is absolutely other. It is a picture of a small part of Iceland (East Fjords). Laxness tries to depict local life, local people, and local attitudes — to describe the real Iceland, the country where the traditional style of life has been broken and it is inevitable that a new time is coming. Laxness' biographer Halldór Guðmundsson wrote: "his greatest strength as a novelist was always to make the microcosmic landscapes of his stories into a macrocosm...he'd write about a farmer in East Iceland and somehow make the story about the entire Fate of Man" [Brandsma, 2016, p. 13].

For an Icelandic author it is quite important to create a poetic image of his country with all its traditions, folklore, beliefs, and poetry. This novel is about Iceland. At the time, Laxness was attracted by communist ideals and he was a member of the left-oriented literary group "Red pens" (Rauður pennar). In the middle of 1930s, he visited the Soviet Union and wrote a book *Russian Fairy Tale* (Gerska ævintýri). However, he does not provide recipes of salvation for the human civi-

lization. Despite some socialist ideas present in this book, there is only one episode in the end of novel when Bjartur leaves his son Gvendur with workers who are on strike. This scene symbolizes the right way in life for a young man, he should take a part in a worker's movement. Nevertheless, this episode does not play an important role for the narration and the main message of the text.

The book is full of legends and poetry. The first chapter of the novel is a story of Gunnvör — the first owner of the farm, where Bjartur is going to stay. It is an old and horrifying tale about a woman, who gave her soul to the devil, but this is a local devil known as Kolumkilli. She has killed people, even her own children, and eats them. All the people from the region believe in this story. Bjartur, who tries to be independent from everybody including the weird power, does want to leave a stone on the grave of Gunver who avenges him by first his wife dies in the beginning and then he loses his farm in the end.

It was the man who was making for Albogastathir on the Moor a century and a half after the croft had last been destroyed. And as he passed Gunnvor's cairn on the ridge, he spat, and ground out vindictively: "Damn the stone you'll ever get from me, you old bitch", and refused to give her a stone [Laxness, 1946, p. 9].

Mythological comprehension of the actual events is part of a hero's nature, when the past can affect the present. Elena Somova wrote: "Understanding of time of Laxness' heroes is closed to the attitude of a man from Icelandic sagas, when the synthesis of Pagan and Christian concepts defines the existence of linear and cyclic time" [Somova, 2013, 94]. Bjartur believes in ghosts, but he does not believe in God. He is an Icelander and he fully belongs to the national culture; legends, sagas, and poetry form his worldview. His first wife told him about it.

"I'm sure you don't believe in God even, Bjartur".

"I'm saying nothing about that", he replied, "but there's one thing I'll never deny: that the Reverend Gudrnundur's is a grand breed of sheep, the best that's ever been known hereabouts".

"You don't mean to tell me you don't even say your prayers at night, Bjartur?"

"Oh, I don't know. If they rhyme I sometimes run through a prayer or two while I'm falling off to sleep, just to fill the time in", he said, "or used to when I had less to think about. But never the Lord's Prayer, because I don't call that poetry. And anyway, since I don't believe in the Devil, I see no point in pray-

ing, so we'll say nothing more about it. What do you say to a drop of coffee to freshen us up?" [Laxness, 1946, p. 31].

In *Independent people*, only one character, the old woman Hallberra, sings psalms and prays; her God is a god of strange verses where Icelandic words combine with an understandable Latin:

In dulci jubilo
Lies our heart's desire,
Impre sepio
The heavenly choir,
Alfa hesido,
Alfa hesido.

O Jesu parvuli
My soul rest with thee,
O pura optimi
In thy kingdom free,
O prince of glorii
Drag on postea,
Drag on postea [Laxness, 1946, p. 151].

This God cannot help Bjartur and his family; this God is too far from them. All the heroes of the novel live in the atmosphere of magic mystical power, which connects them with the earth. This power makes ultimately comprises their reality as the eldest son of Bjartur goes to the world of elves and dies. Bjartur's second wife knows many fairytales about elves (álfar). His children believe in the magic world of elves and hope to escape there from the horrible reality, much like the heroes of fairytales.

From the white heaven of mist where the sun was hidden like a delightful promise there dropped into her hair a thousand precious glittering pearls as she told her stories. She pursed her lips at the end of each with solemnity, almost with adoration, as if they were sacred chronicles. Gently she smoothed the loops on her needles; the landscape was shrouded and holy, breathe quietly. Her best friend had been an elf-woman and she had known an elf-man, too, the elf-woman's brother; but all that had been long, long ago, when she was at home in Urtharsel. "Have I dropped a stitch?" she asked, and sighed. "Ah well, It doesn't matter. What is gone is gone. And will never return" [Laxness, 1946, pp. 185–186].

Two worlds occur in the Icelandic novel — the beautiful world of fairy tales, sagas, and poetry and the world of everyday life full of troubles. This is a remarkable feature of Laxness' poetics.

Isak also saw supernatural power in the wood. This episode resembles a scene from a hagiography: a hero overcomes the evil spirit with God's word and he becomes a real saint who possesses a certain power. He met the devil when he wanted and expected to meet God. Moreover, God for him exists in Nature, God is alive like Nature; that is the pantheistic understanding of the universe. Aleksandr Sergeev wrote: "Returning to Nature as an alternative of the modern society raises Hamsun above the tragical life" [Sergeev, 2011, p. 93]. Laxness wrote his first novel *Child of Nature* (Barn Natturans) in 1919 where it is possible to find similar ideas, but the Icelandic author has come a long way in terms of a personal and intellectual evolution by the time of publication of the novel *Independent people*. He was a Catholic monk in Luxemburg and having become disappointed in Christianity, he went to America where he was involved in the socialist movement, but it is very important for him to describe the vivid connection between Icelanders and their ancient rich culture. Hamsun's Isak is united with the soil, with nature, but the Norwegian writer ignores all matters connected to national traditions, folklore, and beliefs. Why is this not so important for the narration? The answer could be very simple: Hamsun tries to create a universal model of human being, but not the picture of Norway in all its originality. This aim is completely opposed to Laxness' aim to write a book about his country, to portray a picture not only of Icelandic reality in the beginning of 20th century, but also a picture of Icelandic culture for 1000 years.

Bjartur is rude and ignorant like Isak, but Bjartur is a poet (scald), he can read and write. He tries to teach his children himself, but later he invites a teacher for them and that is a part of Icelandic culture. Icelanders during their long history were poor and hungry, but they were reading old sagas and writing poetry; it is a feature of their national character, and Laxness notes it especially: the education of Asta starts from sagas.

With this maid-song from the Jomsviking Rhymes, Asta Sollilja began her education. When she had spelled her way through one stanza, Bjartur leaned back in his chair with half-closed eyes and chanted. Every verse that she read she learned by heart, the chant as well, humming them away to herself whenever she was alone. All the love-songs in this group of ballads were addressed to the same girl; she was called Rosa. Asta Sollilja never inquired who the girl commended so highly by these songs might be, but she saw her together with her father, and loved her with him in the primitive, rugged language of the

Rhymes, reminiscent of nothing so much as the pious but despairing cuts in the carving of her grandmother's spindle-holder [Laxness, 1946, p. 166].

Isak cannot read and write his wife learns to do it only in prison; his children do not go to the school. Isak teaches them how to love the earth. School knowledge belongs to the civilization and it could be destructive to human nature. Isak's eldest son Elyseus is a good example of this as he loses connection with soil and for Hamsun it means he loses himself:

Poor Elyseus, all set on end and frittered away. Better, maybe, if he'd worked on the land all the time, but now he's a man that has learned to write and use letters; no grip in him, no depth. For all that, no pitch-black devil of a man, not in love, not ambitious, hardly nothing at all is Elyseus, not even a bad thing of any great dimensions [Hamsun, 1921, vol. 2, p. 231].

He moves to America, the country, which symbolizes the industrial development of society. For Isak's world, his son's move is destructive. Bjartur's youngest son Nonni goes to America as well, but it does not result in a crash of personality; for him it is opportunity to improve his life, to become a self-made man. This aspect alludes to Laxness' way in life.

Even the most earth-bound man that ever existed was never so earth-bound that he would not go to America. It is said that for the past hundred years the most earth-bound men in the world have gone to America, in large steamships, over a vast ocean. The one thing that hinders the most earth-bound men from forsaking their land is not the land itself, and not man's ties with the land, but the lack of money with which to reach America. Just as Iceland's dalesmen, the core, the flower, the life-blood, and the backbone of the nation, the healthy rural culture in person, had emigrated to America over a period of forty years, inane of expression as the Israelites in the desert... [Laxness, 1946, p. 382].

Both Hamsun and Laxness lived in the USA, but they had different experiences of living in exile, which engendered their attitude to modern civilization and progress. They each rejected capitalism and tried to find a better means of social development, but their conceptions varied greatly. Laxness hoped to change the world for the best through socialist ideas; for Hamsun only one solution was acceptable and that consisted of returning to one's roots, to the archaic, and the natural form of being. Hamsun rejected industrial civilization, feminism, and liberal ideas. In the *Growth of the Soil*, the hero who presents the au-

thor's position is fellow countryman Geissler. He helps Isak to buy land and to liberate Inger. He supports Isak all the time because Isak is the soul of the land. His speech in the end of novel is central to understanding Hamsun's ideas.

There you are, living in touch with heaven and earth, one with them, one with all these wide, deep-rooted things. No need of a sword in your hands, you go through life bareheaded, barehanded, in the midst of a great kindness. Look, Nature's there, for you and yours to have and enjoy. Man and Nature don't bombard each other, but agree; they don't compete, race one against the other, but go together. There's you Sellanraa folk, in all this, living there. Fjeld and forest, moors and meadow, and sky and stars — oh, 'tis not poor and sparingly counted out, but without measure. Listen to me, Sivert: you be content! You've everything to live on, everything to live for, everything to believe in; being born and bringing forth, you are the needful on earth. 'Tis not all that are so, but you are so; needful on earth. 'Tis you that maintain life. Generation to generation, breeding ever anew; and when you die, the new stock goes on. That's the meaning of eternal life. What do you get out of it? An existence innocently and properly set towards all. What you get out of it? Nothing can put you under orders and lord it over you Sellanraa folk, you've peace and authority and this great kindness all round. That's what you get for it You lie at a mother's breast and suck, and play with a mother's warm hand [Hamsun, 1921, vol. 2, pp. 243–244].

Laxness in his novel describes personages who say very similar words to Geissler: the old poetess and her son Ingolfur Arnarson. The Icelandic author wants to show the complete hypocrisy of bourgeois society. They pronounce just words, words, words, and sometimes lie.

“Townfolk”, she said, “have no conception of the peace that Mother Nature bestows, and as long as that peace is unfound the spirit must seek to quench its thirst with ephemeral novelties. And what is more natural than that the townsman's feverish search for pleasure should mould people of an unstable, hare-brained character, who think only of their personal appearance and their clothes and find momentary comfort in foolish fashions and other such worthless innovations? The countryman, on the other hand, walks out to the verdant meadows, into an atmosphere clear and pure, and as he breathes it into his lungs some unknown power streams through his limbs, invigorating body and soul. The peace that reigns in nature fills his mind with calm and cheer, the bright green grass under his feet awakens a sense of beauty, almost of reverence. In the fragrance that is borne so sweetly to his nostrils, in the quietude that broods so blissfully around him, there is comfort and rest. The

hillsides, the dingles, the waterfalls, and the mountains are all friends of his childhood, and never to be forgotten. They are a grand and inspiring sight, some of our mountains. Few things can have had such a deep and lasting influence on your hearts as their pure, dignified contours. They give us shelter in their valleys and bid us give shelter, too, to those who have neither our size nor our strength [Laxness, 1946, p. 22].

Ingolfur talks all the time about how to improve a farmer's life and he is a founder of the co-operative society, but his real aim is to make a political carrier, and in the end of novel he became a prime minister. Laxness does not hide the ironical intonation when he writes about all his deeds. Ingolfur Arnarson plays an evil role in the life of the hero because Bjartur follows other people and takes money from this co-operative society to build a house. As a result, his farm was sold due to debt. Laxness does not believe in honest business people and politicians. Geissler looks like an angel from a hagiography who comes to declare God's will. His character is also legendary like the figure of Isak. Ingolfur Arnarson is not the devil, he is just a part of this bourgeois world, a part of reality, where Bjartur and other farmers should live.

Hamsun describes righteous people living their lives according to the commandments, but Laxness describes only humans. The mythological and real worlds meet face to face in these two novels. Hamsun creates the ideal model of human existence while Laxness shows the contemporary reality in all its ugliness and it is his answer to Hamsun's dream of perfect world. Laxness has been involved in a specific ideological competition with Hamsun where the Icelandic writer provides his vision of the development of civilization and tries to show that there is no way back to the past, to patriarchal existence. Undoubtedly, Laxness as a novelist took much from Hamsun's manner of writing, such as making characters and writing about nature, describing the world and the human being. However, Laxness and Hamsun saw the world from different perspectives and created different types of national characters.

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ГАМСУН И ЛАКСНЕСС: ПРОТИВОСТОЯНИЕ ИЛИ ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫЙ ДИАЛОГ?

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Роман «Независимые люди» Халлдора Кильяна Лакснесса был опубликован в 1934 году и в настоящее время считается одним из лучших исландских романов. Фактически это произведение стало откликом на роман Гамсуна «Плоды земли», в котором крестьянские патриархальные отношения представляли в идеализированном свете. В обоих романах центральным является образ гордого, независимого человека, существующего изолированно от общества и цивилизацией. Оба эти персонажа представляют национальные типы: Бьярту — исландский, Исак — норвежский, но они также воплощают некую универсальную личность, обладающую способностью действовать по собственному усмотрению во благо или во зло. Гамсун воспроизводит идеальную модель бытия, его герой является победителем в борьбе с цивилизацией, а герой Лакснесса предстает средоточием самых ярких черт исландского национального характера: Бьярту суров, педантичен, образован, вспыльчив, но обладает большим упорством. Его идеи и стремления очень схожи с целями Исака, но они оказываются утопическим. Он приносит только горе и смерть всем, кого любит, и тем, кто любит его. И Гамсун, и Лакснесс критиковали капиталистические отношения, задаваясь одним и тем же вопросом: что является наибольшей ценностью в этой жизни? Но пришли к совершенно разным ответам: Гамсун пытался найти свой идеал в патриархальном крестьянстве, а Лакснесс с энтузиазмом относился к коммунистическим идеям. Это было фактически идеологическое противостояние: Лакснесс, отрицая убеждения Гамсуна, весьма способствовал левой идеологии в ее наступлении на демократию. Несомненно, что Лакснесс как автор очень многое

заимствовал у Гамсуна, и его роман можно рассматривать как художественное переосмысление романа Гамсуна.

Ключевые слова: норвежская литература, исландская литература, Гамсун. Лакснесс, роман.

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**RECEPTIONEN AF DEN OLDISLANDSKE LITTERATURARV I DEN
ISLANDSKE DIGTNING I AFSLUTNINGEN AF DET 20. ÅRHUNDREDE:
DIGTE AF SIGURÐUR PÁLSSON**

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Artiklen drejer sig om et tilfælde receptionen af den oldislandske litteratur i den islandske digtning fra århundredeskiftet 20.-21. årh., nemlig en digtcyklus "Ljóð námu menn" (1988) efter Sigurður Pálsson. Eftersom receptionen af de oldislandske kultur og litteratur på Island i 20.-21. årh. er meget tekstcentreret (det er især Forfatterens skikkelse, der er vigtig for den), drejer de fleste digtes indhold i cyklen sig om skabelsen af nogle islændingesagaer, som de islandske læsere er fortrolige med. I digterens fortolkning ligner sagaskribenterne moderne romanforfattere, men også kulturhelte fra myter. Det er enten sagaforfatterne selv, eller sagaskrivningsprocessen, der bliver mytologiseret på forskellig måde, får nogle universelle tidløse træk; henvisingerne til de konkrete sagaers indhold bliver dog minimiseret. I cyklens afslutningsdigt er det Islands landnam, der bliver mytologiseret, nøglebegivenheden for hele den islandske kultur, og den viser sig også at være uadskillelig fra digtning og skabning. I løbet af perioden, der bliver betragtet i artiklen, udgør temaerne, forbundet med den oldislandske litteratur, vigtige topoi i den islandske nationale kultur. Det vil sige, at de digtere, der vælger dem som emne for deres digte, må komme i berøring med deres høje status i den nationale kultur. Hos Sigurður Pálsson er skildringen af den oldislandske kulturs nøglebegivenheder meget subjektiv, dog modsiger den aldrig disse topoi. Historismen og faktografien er næsten fraværende i cyklen og erstattet af mytologismen: sagaskrivningen bliver ligestillet med en kosmogonisk handling, og et lands bosættelse med en skabelsesproces.

Nøgleord: moderne islandsk digtning, Islændingesagaer, oldislandsk litteratur, reception, Sigurður Pálsson.

Den norrønelitteratur- og kulturarv har ofte været en inspirationskilde for kunstnere i forskellige lande og perioder, og dens reception i litteratur er blevet emne for mange forskere. (Se f. eks. [Clunies Ross and Lönnroth, 1999; Wawn, 2005; Det norrøne og det nationale, 2008]). I kortlægningen af den norrøne/oldislandske litteratur- og kulturarvs “fremtidsliv” har Island en meget speciel stilling. Det er både midtpunktet (eftersom det netop er på Island, de mest markante norrøne tekster er blevet bevaret eller skabt¹) og periferien (eftersom receptionen af den norrøne arv har udviklet sig dér ad helt andre veje end i de fleste andre lande). Denne særstilling skyldes det, hvordan forfattere nærmer sig til de norrøne originaltekster.

Hos forfattere udenfor Island foregår receptionen af den oldislandske litteratur som regel gennem nogle sekundære kilder: oversættelser af forskellige grader nøjagtighed, genfortællinger, andre tekster, inspireret af emnet osv. (Om receptionen af den norrøne kulturarv i Rusland se: [Sharypkin, 1980]). Normalt er det Eddadigte, nogle berømte islændingesagaer og drotkvad, der er objekter for receptionen. De ikke-islandske forfatters hovedstrategi er at skabe sin egen tekst efter de norrøne “opskrifter” (f. eks. en roman med et plot der ligner sagaernes handlingsforløb, eller et digt, hvor der gengives nogle af drotkvædes formelle særegenheder). Men eftersom det er i sekundære kilder, inspirationen bliver søgt, er det måske mere korrekt ikke at tale om den umiddelbare reception af den norrøne litteratur, men om de andres receptions opfattelse.

På Island er originalteksterne mere tilgængelige både for forfattere og læsere: selv om det islandske sprog har forandret sig med tiden, dog ikke i så høj grad, at teksterne, nedskrevet i det 13. årh., er blevet helt uforståelige for moderne sprogbrugere. (De yngste generationer har dog brug for kommentarer).

På trods af alt det, kan islændingenens reception heller ikke kaldes for umiddelbar: de ser nemlig på deres litterære arv gennem de forrige receptionernes “briller”. De oldislandske litteraturtekster og personer fra dem er blevet en vigtig del af den islandske nationale diskurs, i hvert fald, i det 20. årh. [Jón Karl Helgason, 1998]. Det vil sige, at enhver berøring med oldislandske tekster bliver for moderne islandske

¹ Derfor bliver begrebene “norrøn” og “oldislandsk” brugt som synonymmer i denne artikel, især når det drejer sig om islændingesagaer.

forfattere også berøring med deres høje status i kulturen. Normalt går de moderne islandske forfattere også ud fra, at deres læsere er fortrolige med de vedkommende oldislandske tekster til en vis grad, omend kun med de mest berømte citater og personer.

I Rusland er der en rigelig tradition både for sagaoversættelse og sagaforskning. (Her må man især nævne de grundlæggende værker af M. I. Steblin-Kamensky). Dog er receptionen af sagaerne i de senere tidsperioder ikke et hyppigt undersøgelsesemne hos de russiske forskere.

Receptionen af den oldislandske litteratur på Island i 1980–2010-erne er foreløbigt denne receptions mindst udforskede område, også på selve Island. Tekster fra den vedkommende periode, som er inspireret af den oldislandske litteratur, kan ikke kaldes for talrige. Dog drejer det sig om værker af forskellige genrer: historiske romaner, digte, børnebøger, den grafiske litteratur, rocktekster og forskellige eksperimentale bøger; ofte er der tale om værker af høj litterær kvalitet. Det er især to arter af oldislandske tekster, de moderne islandske forfattere helst henvender sig til: Eddas gudekvad, med plottet i midtpunktet [se: Markelova, 2019a] og islændingesagaer, med sagateksten selv i midtpunktet, med alle dens bevingede citater og genkendelige episoder [se: Markelova, 2019b; Markelova, 2019c].

I den islandske digtning i afslutningen af den 20. årh. er henvendelsen til den oldislandske litteratur, efter alt at dømme, kun sporadisk. Dog kan der være tale om bemærkelsesværdige digte.

Her vil jeg koncentrere mig om en digtcyklus "Ljóð námu menn" efter Sigurður Pálsson, som består af fire digte og blev først udgivet året 1988. Sigurður Pálsson (1948–2017) er en af de store og markante moderne islandske digtere, så hans forståelse af emnet må nok være repræsentativ.

Titlen "Ljóð námu menn" kan fortolkes på flere måder. Bliver det læst som ét ord, kan det muligvis tolkes som minearbejdere der graver efter digte²; og så ligner det også i en vis grad ordet "landnamsmænd", (dvs. dem, der deltog i Islands bosættelse, som er en af grundkoncepterne i landets historie). Bliver det læst som tre adskillige ord, får man sætningen "Digte tog folk" — eller måske også "Digte lærte folk". Som man får at se senere, er nogle af disse fortolkninger forbundet med digtenes indhold.

² Jeg takker Þórhildur Oddsdóttir (Islands Universitet) for denne tolkning.

Eftersom Sigurður Pálsson kun skrev på frie vers, er her ikke tale om nogen kontinuitet med den oldislandske digtning i formel henseende. Så er der cyklens indholdsmæssige aspekter, vi skal sætte i fokus.

Allerede ved første blik på cyklen “Ljóð námu menn” kan man tydeligt se, at de fleste digte drejer sig om forfattere af nogle markante oldislandske værker (nemlig nogle berømte islændingesagaer).

Hvad der angår begrebet af sagaforfatterskab som sådan, er det blevet analyseret af M. I. Steblin-Kamensky i bogen “Sagaens verden”. Der peger han på, at i det oldislandske sprog mangler der gloser, der svarer til begrebet “autor, forfatter” i det moderne forstand, og verber med betydning “at forfatte”, som gælder prosaværker. I denne forbindelse er det tale om en særlig type forfatterskab, den såkaldte “ubevidste forfatterskab”, eftersom dem, der skrev sagaerne ned, ikke havde opfattet sig som deres skabere, omend de selv havde opdigtet et eller andet i teksterne. Af forfatterskabets ubevidsthed følger sagaforfatterens (principielle) anonymitet [Steblyn-Kamensky, 2003, s. 153–154].

Midlertid er det netop forfatterbegrebet, der er afgørende for de moderne islænderes opfattelse af litteratur, og derfor kan spørgsmålet om sagaforfatterens personlighed være vigtig for dem. Her må man henvise til den islandske litteraturforsker Jón Karl Helgasons overvejelse, at siden den anden halvdel af den 20. årh. er det Forfatterens skikkelse, der står i midtpunktet i den islandske reception, som var trådt i stedet for Heltens skikkelse, der havde været receptionens midtpunkt før. [Jón Karl Helgason, 1998, bls. 11–13, 211 ff.].

Det første digt i cyklen hedder “Forfatteren af Njals saga” (Höfundur Njálu). Titlen udtrykker et af de vigtigste koncepter i det moderne islandske litteraturhistoriske felt: den ukendte geniale forfatter, den store litteraturhistoriske gåde. I digtet er tiden før det store oldislandske mesterværks skabelse beskrevet, den absolutte urtid, der bliver betegnet med udtrykket “*i árdaga*” (i årle dage), som kan henvise til mytologiske tekster. “Forfatteren af Njals saga” fremtræder i digtet alene (der nævnes ikke nogen andre mennesker) og har nogle præg af en kulturhelt: den giver fjeldet et navn. Det er værd at mærke, at uden for ham er der ikke nogen forfattere eller digtere, der bliver omtalt i digtet, men der bliver nævnt Gunnlaugur Scheving, den berømte islandske kunstner fra det 20. årh., der for det meste malede fiskeriscener eller livet på landet:

*Kýrnar jórtruðu og biðu
þolinmóðar eftir Scheving
Kálfarnir léku sér*
[Sigurður Pálsson, 2008, bls. 99]

*Køerne tyggede drøv
og ventede tålmodigt på Scheving
Kalvene legede omkring³*

På den måde bliver Forfatteren af Njals saga ikke kun repræsentant for den islandske litteratur, men for den islandske kultur i alle dens former. Kalvene og køerne i digtet er ikke kun en del af det idylliske landskab, men viser sig også at have med kultur at gøre: som Jón Karl Helgason peger på, er det kalvene, af hvis skind pergamentet skal fremstilles, for nedskrivningen af den geniale saga [Jón Karl Helgason, 1988, bls. 218] — så det kan siges, at de repræsenterer den oldislandske litteraturs ulegemliggjorte tilstand. Skildringen af verden før de markante værkes nedskrivning har i digtet præg af en kosmogonisk myte: en tilstand, der var, da der ingenting fandtes.

Det andet digt i cyklen er “Forfatteren af Vatnsdøla saga” (Höfundur Vatnsdælu). I dette digt har universet også mytologiske præg, dog på en anden måde end i det forrige digt. Her er det ikke sagaforfatteren selv, der bliver mytologiseret, men der er tale om skikkelser, der kan have mytologiske konnotationer: himmellegemer, heste og religionssymboler, både de hedenske og de kristne. I hele digtet er det kun én henvisning til den vedkommende sagas tekst: nemlig Ingimundur (sagaens hovedperson, den første landnamsmand i dalen Vatnsdal), ellers bliver sagaens indhold ikke gengivet i digtet.

*höfundur vatndælu
sofnaður fram á borð sitt
útskorið heillatáknum
undir krossinum*

*Forfatteren af Vatnsdøla saga
faldet i søvn ved bordet
udskåret med hellige tegn
under korset*

*sólin er að koma upp
í draumi hans
og tveir hestar*

*solen står op
i hans drøm
og to heste*

³ Alle eksemplerne er oversat af artikelforfatteren. Der findes oversættelser af Sigurður Pálssons digte til dansk (se: <https://www.forlagetvandkunsten.dk/112656/>), dog ikke af denne cyklus. Oversættelsen af cyklen til russisk er tilgængelig på siden: http://norroen.info/src/poe/sigurdur_palsson/hofundur_njalu.html, http://norroen.info/src/poe/sigurdur_palsson/hofundur_vatnsdaelu.html, http://norroen.info/src/poe/sigurdur_palsson/hofundur_laxdaelu.html, http://norroen.info/src/poe/sigurdur_palsson/landnamsljod.html. (accessed 29.10.2019).

koma í ljós við sjónarrönd
.....
af baki hestsins eina
stígur ingmundur
í flæðandi birtu morgunsólar

höfundur vatnsdælu hrekkur upp

sér tunglið flæða inn á borð sitt

[Sigurður Pálsson, 2008, bls. 100–101]

kommer til syne ved horisonten
.....

af den ene hest
står Ingimundur
i det flydende morgensolskin

Forfatteren af Vatnsdøla
saga vågner med et sæt

og ser måneskinnet flyde ind på sit
bord.

Forfatterens rolle her er passiv, da han bare er visionær, der drømmer noget (selvom han sidder ved sit bord, er skriveprocessen ikke med i digtet!). Men selve sagaen går gennem hele hans omverdenen i form af en række skikkelser, der gør krav på at være oprindelige og universelle.

Det tredje digt er “Forfatteren af Laxdøla saga” (Höfundur Laxdælu). Til forskel fra de to forrige tekster, er det selve skabelsesprocessen, der er i centrum her. Litteratur og natur smelter sammen: skaberkrisen bliver jævnført med den hårde vinter:

Harðindi og fannfergi
þriðja veturinn í röð
og það sem þyngra er:
ennþá ennþá ennþá
engin skýr svör engar skýrar línur

í sögu Laxdælai

[Sigurður Pálsson, 2008, bls. 102].

Kulde og sne
den tredje vinter i træ
og det, der er endnu værre:
ikke, ikke, ikke endnu
nogle tydelige svar, nogle klare
linjer
i laksdølenes historie

Når skaberkrisen forvandles til inspirationen, kan det sammenlignes med årstidsskifte: efter den hårde vinter kommer der Summardagurinn fyrsti — Den første sommerdag, der, ifølge den traditionelle islandske kalender, finder sted i slutningen af april. Og så kan man ”læse” den vordende sagas plot ud af landskabet:

Undir kvöld starir höfundur Laxdælu

á vesturloftið blóðstokkið
ástúð sólar
Les línur skýrar svörin skýr

Mod aftenen glori forfatteren af
Laxdøla saga
på himlens vestkant
hvor solens ømhed bløder
Læs de klare linjer de tydelige
svare

í vesturloftinu:

„Þeim var ek verst...“

[Sigurður Pálsson, 2008, bls. 102].

i solnedgangen:

“Ham var jeg værst...”

Sagaforfatterens indre tilstand, beskrevet i digtet, ligner ikke så meget en middelaldersskribent, der nedskriver/nedfælder de traditionelle mundtlige fortællinger, men snarere en moderne romanforfatter, der selvstændigt skaber sit værk. (Det må godt være, at sådan en fortolkning i grunden ikke er så anakronistisk, som det ser ud til, da procentdelen af forfatterens opdigt i forhold til den historiske sandhed i sagaer længe har været et diskussionsemne [se: Steblin-Kamensky, 2003, s. 136–151]). Det er faktisk en universel og tidløs skikkelse af en Digter, Sigurður Pálsson skaber her. Det er sammensmeltningen af hans skaberproces med de store naturfænomener (som årstids- og døgnskifte). Skønt digterskikkelsen er universel og almindeliggjort, er det dog ikke muligt at sætte hvilken som helst anden digter fra en hvilken som helst anden tidsalder i hans sted. Det er netop forbindelsen med en af de mest markante sagaer, der giver ham sådan en storslåethed.

Hvad der angår de adskillige islændingesagaers sted i den moderne islandske kultur, så bliver Njals saga først og fremmest opfattet som en tekst af en høj status, som alle bør kende. Men læsernes forhold til Laxdøla saga er evt. mere følelsesladet, ikke mindst fordi det drejer sig om kærlighed og kvindens skæbne. Sætningsfragment på oldislandsk, der bliver citeret i digtets slutning, er optakten til det mest berømte bevingede citat fra Laxdøla saga: “Þeim var ek verst er ek unni mest” — “Ham var jeg værst, som jeg elskede mest”. Sætningen tilhører Guðrún Ósvífrsdóttir, som i den giver en sammenfatning af sit liv. Både Guðrún og hendes omgivelses skæbne i sagaen er tragisk, så det må være forudsigeligt, at Forfatteren læser dem ud af den blodfarvede solnedgang, det uharmoniske naturbillede korresponderer endda med sagaens tragiske begivenheder. Det er omverdenen, der indgyder Forfatteren denne sætning — så det kan være fortolket sådan, at det er naturen eller landet selv, der skaber sagaen.

Det fjerde digt, “Landnamsdigtet” (Landnámsljóð) er det sidste og det længste i cyklen. Det er det eneste digt, der ikke er baseret på nogen af sagaerne. Islands landnam er utvetydigt nøglebegivenheden i landets historie og forudsætning for hele dets kultur. I digtet findes

der ikke nogen henvisninger til de historiske begivenheder i det 9. årh. indtil Ingólfur Arnarsons berømte sejlads, som blev beskrevet i “Landnamsbogen” og andre historiske og litterære kilder. Tværtimod er digtet en temmelig lang redegørelse for subjektive emotioner i en førstepersonsfortælling.

Ligesom i cyklens forrige digte, bliver der gjort krav for mytologisering. Landets opdagelse bliver ligestillet med dets skabelse:

*Héðan í frá er þetta nýja land
minn fasti staður
í óendanleikanum
Úr óskapnaðardjúpinu rís
hinn lifandi skapandi klettur*
[Sigurður Pálsson, 2008, bls. 104].

*Fra nu af bliver dette nye land
mit faste punkt
i uendeligheden
Fra urdybet stiger
den levende skabende klippe*

Her er de mytologiske henvisninger så universelle, at man både kan føre dem tilbage til den eddiske kosmogoni og til den bibelske skabelsesmyte, jfr.:

*Hingað var sex daga sigling
Sjöunda daginn námum við land
Fórum eldi um landið nýja*
[Sigurður Pálsson, 2008, bls. 105].

*Der har været en seks dags sejlads
herhen
På den syvende dag bosatte vi landet
Vi bar ilden omkring i det nye land*

Bosættelsestemaet er her tæt forbundet med et kærlighedstema: i digtet bliver der gennemgående omtalt en kvindeperson, som flytter til det nye land sammen med den digteriske “jeg”. Hun kan dog være en muse, for det er en harpe, der er hendes hovedattribut.

Det nye land viser sig ikke så meget at være et konkret geografisk begreb, men får også en mytologisk dimension, hvor tiden er cyklisk:

*Veturinn og nóttin koma og höggva
okkur í eldinn
En upp rísum við hvern morgun
í nýju landi okkar
Upp rísum við hvert vor
Árvakin hvern morgun hvert vor*

En ég er horfinn löngu horfinn

*Vinteren og natten kommer og
hugger
os i brænde
Men hver morgen genopstår vi
i vores nye land
Hvert forår genopstår vi
årle hver morgen hvert forår*

*Men jeg er forsvundet for længe
siden*

Lagður til hvílu í landinu síunga
En áfram leikur þú á gróttuna

situr við haug minn við gröf mína
[Sigurður Pálsson, 2008, bls. 106].

Lagt til hvile i det evigt ungeland
Men du bliver ved at spille på din
stenharpe

sidder ved min gravhøj ved min grav

Selvom digtcyklen “Ljóð námu menn” drejer sig om nogle grundfænomener i Islands historie og litteratur, kan digteren godt undvære henvisninger til historiske personer og begivenheder og nøjes med et minimum af henvisninger til sagaernes indhold. Han får lov til at undvære konkrete historiske detaljer, netop fordi det er grundfænomener, han digter om, nemlig begivenheder og tekster af en høj status, der udgør vigtige topoi i den islandske nationale kultur. Det er almindeligt, at nogle markante litteraturværker indskrænker sig i læsernes bevidsthed til faste tankebilleder. Den islandske litteraturforsker Jón Karl Helgason skriver i denne forbindelse:

“Det lyder nok paradoksalt — men for at et eller andet litteraturværk kan regnes for at være ‘klassisk’, skal det altid befinde sig i en konstant genskabelsesproces og hele tiden tilpasse sig de nye tider, læsere og media. Der er kun få sådan nogle værker, vi kender i deres oprindelige skikkelse, oftest kommer de til os, genskrevet talrige gange. Der er mange af dem, vi først og fremmest kender i form af enkle og genkendelige tegn: ‘Iliaden’ — en træhest, ‘Don Quixote’ — en gammel mand, der slås mod vindmøller, ‘Hamlet’ — en ung mand, der holder på et kranium og siger ‘At være eller ikke være...’ [Jón Karl Helgason, 2001, bls. 10].

Den slags sagaer bliver utvetydigt ofte til “enkle og genkendelige tegn”, både i de almene islandske læseres bevidsthed, og i de moderne islandske forfatteres værker. Sigurður Pálsson skaber i sine digte et originalt og subjektivt verdensbillede, der dog ikke modsiger de omtalte faste tankebilleder. Eftersom den islandske reception af den norrøne litteratur er meget tekstcentreret, er det skabelsen af markante tekster, der spiller hovedrollen i cyklen. Sagaskrivningen bliver ligestillet med en kosmogonisk handling, og et lands bosættelse med en skabelsesproces.

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THE RECEPTION OF THE OLD ICELANDIC LITERATURE IN THE ICELANDIC POETRY OF THE END OF THE 20th CENTURY: POEMS BY SIGURÐUR PÁLSSON

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The article deals with a certain case of perception of Old Icelandic culture in Icelandic poetry at the end of the 20th century, specifically the cycle of poems “Ljóð námu menn” (1988) by Sigurður Pálsson. The reception of Old Icelandic culture and literature in the 20th–21st century in Iceland is mainly text-centered and the figure of the Writer plays an important role in it. As a result, the subject of the majority of poems is the

creation of certain “sagas of Icelanders”, well-known to Icelandic readers. In Sigurður Pálsson’s interpretation, the authors of these sagas resemble modern feature writers as well as cultural heroes of myths. The sagas’ authors, or the creation process, are mythologized in different ways in the poems and acquire universal, timeless traits; at the same time, references to the contents of the certain sagas are minimized. In the final poem of the cycle, the settlement of Iceland is mythologized — and it also turns out to be unseparated from the literary creation. In the Icelandic culture of the 20th–21st centuries, subjects, concerned with Old Icelandic literature, are important national topoi. Poets, that chose them as subjects for their works, have to consider their high status in the national culture. Representation of key moments in the Old Icelandic culture and literature in Sigurður Pálsson’s poems is very subjective, but it does not contradict these topoi. In the cycle of poems examined here, historicism and factography are nearly absent and they are replaced by mythologism: writing a saga is equal to a cosmogonical act, and taking up a new land is comparable to the composing of a song.

Keywords: modern Icelandic poetry, Old Norse literature, the sagas of Icelanders, reception, Sigurður Pálsson.

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ТЕОРИЯ И ПРАКТИКА ПЕРЕВОДА

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THE MELODY OF DISTANT THINGS:

JOHAN FABRICIUS AS A CZECH WINDOW ON EXOTIC WORLDS*

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From an international point of view, Dutch-written literature is a periphery literature for some 24 million native speakers. Nevertheless, a fair amount of Dutch-written works have been translated into foreign languages, especially since World War II. Johan Fabricius (1899–1981) was during his life one of the most widely read popular Dutch authors. His works, especially his ‘immortal’ novel *De scheepsjongens van Bontekoe* (1924) is still edited in Dutch as well as abroad (the last Czech edition dating from 2012), are ranked among the most popular at home as well as abroad. However, in Central Europe his works were translated mainly into German and into Czech. This is no coincidence as Czech is one of the languages into which a good number of Dutch-written works are translated. Czech translations offer a mix of popular authors and typical ‘canon’ writers. In this article, the Czech reception is divided into several periods: between the World Wars, during the German occupation, the democratic years 1945–1948, the Communist period, and after 1989. The article provides information about the translators, (Lída Faltová (1899–1944) and Olga Krijtová (1931–2013) being the most important ones), publishers, print runs, and the reasons why certain books were not published in Czech. This occurred

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primarily in the periods 1945–1948 and 1949–1989. For each period, a short description of the background is provided. In the appendix, a complete survey of all the translations of Fabricius' works is given in accordance with the most recent situation.

Keywords: Johan Fabricius, translation, Dutch, Czech, exotic worlds, novels.

1. INTRODUCTION

A look in the database of the Dutch Literary Fund¹ indicates that some kind of 'foreign canon of Dutch-written literature' exists. This may seem logical as most translations after 1994 are published with the financial aid of Dutch and Flemish literary funds. The pre-war bibliography *Nederlandsche schrijvers in vertaling* by A.J. van Huffel [van Huffel, 1939] demonstrates that this was also the case in that period without subventions. The foreign choice of Dutch-written works to be translated aroused already astonishment before World War II, as shows a review by the renowned Dutch critic Menno ter Braak [ter Braak, 1939] about the 1939 exhibition *Nederlandsche schrijvers in vertaling* organized by Van Huffel in the Dutch Royal Library.

Variations in translation choices between different languages are due to the circumstances of the receiving literatures, like connections between translators, publishers or literary movements. In East Central Europe, the big number of literary translations from Dutch in the period 1845–1948 into Czech was caused by good connections between Czech publishers and literary agents with their German colleagues and the presence of translators specialized in Dutch. When after World War II chairs of Dutch language were founded in Poland and Hungary, these differences disappeared. One of them was the presence of the work of the novelist Johan Fabricius (1899–1981).

2. JOHAN FABRICIUS

Johan Fabricius² was one of the most read and translated Dutch authors during the twentieth century. Over the course of his long life, he

¹ Available at: <https://letterenfonds.secure.force.com/vertalingendatabase/search> (accessed: 02.01.2020).

² Data from Fabricius' life according to Bulthuis (1959), additions from G. J. van Bork, 'Fabricius, Johan', in: G. J. van Bork & ..., *Schrijvers en dichters. Dbnl Biografieënproject I*, 2004 — Available at: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bork001schr01_01/bork001schr01_01_0324.php (accessed: 19.11.2019), and Fabricius' personal archive in the Literatuurmuseum in The Hague.



Fig. 1. Portrait of Johan Fabricius in the translation *Z dvoji krve* (Praha: Horizont, 1948). Copy of the author

produced 106 titles, partly written for children and youth. His books were translated into twenty languages³, foremost into German — 27 titles in 59 editions; Czech is third with 19 translated titles in 35 editions (see attachment)⁴. After the first German translation *Eiko, der Junge vom Reigerhof* (1924) of Fabricius' first novel *Eiko van den Reigerhof* (1922), one German translation followed nearly every year at least up until 1934, often published within one year after the original. As Fabricius' own command of German was very good and his wife Ruth Fabricius-Freudenburg (1900–1968) was a native speaker of German, they were themselves often the translators of

his work.

Things changed, however, when Hitler came to power, especially after the public book burnings in May 1933 and the famous PEN-Congress in Dubrovnik in the same month. Fabricius, being present as a private member, was an eyewitness of the scene of 26 May, when the new PEN-president Herbert G. Wells (1866–1946) asked the German author Ernst Toller to give the opening speech and the official Dutch delegation supported in their behaviour the Nazi German delegation in their protest against this [Ross, 1999; Dorleijn, van Voorst, 2010].

After Dubrovnik, Fabricius' German publisher Zsolnay divided into a German and a Swiss division. While the Swiss part continued with its

³ In German (29 titles), English (22 titles), Czech (19 titles), Swedish (12 titles), French and Norwegian (6 titles), Danish and Finnish (5 titles), Spanish (3 titles), Indonesian (2 titles) and (in these languages just 1 title) in Afrikaans, Croatian, Estonian, Frisian, Hebrew, Indonesian, Italian, Polish, Slovenian and Slovak.

⁴ When counting the number of editions, Czech is even the second language, as 22 titles were translated in 31 editions into English. Data according to Bulthuis (1959, p.86-94), the database of the Dutch Literary Fund (see note 2) and www.worldcat.org (accessed: 01.01.2020).

former publishing policies, the German branches began to eliminate Jewish and 'degenerate' authors from their collections. Finally, Paul Zsolnay was forced to go into exile, his German and Austrian branches were 'arisiert', and Fabricius' works were placed on the Nazi list of forbidden books [Bulthuis, 1959, p. 45]. No German translations of his works appeared as of 1934, with the exception of one Swiss edition. When the Netherlands were occupied in May 1940, Fabricius managed to escape with his Jewish wife to England. During the War, he was engaged in *Radio Oranje*, the Free Netherlands broadcast aimed at occupied Netherlands.

In his free time, Fabricius wrote new novels, mainly with 'Dutch-Indies' themes, as exile awoke in him a longing for his birth land, occupied by the Japanese since 1942. Immediately after the liberation of Indonesia in August 1945, he visited the country as an allied war press journalist, thus being a witness to the *bersiap* atrocities of extremist groups resulting in thousands of victims among the European and Chinese inhabitants. The War and the exile situation caused alienation between him and his wife Ruth with whom he had three children. Divorce followed in 1963 and Fabricius began to live with his girlfriend Anneke Bleeker (1929–1999), who he married after the decease of his former wife in 1968. After the War, the Fabricius narration became somewhat old fashioned. His post-War novels were consequently less successful, with Czech translations once more being the exception.

3. FABRICIUS IN CZECH RECEPTION

Nineteen works in 35 editions in all of which 11 up until 1946 and 24 afterwards (including several reprints, often in very large print runs) provokes the question as to why Fabricius was so successful in Czech. The first translation of his works was of *Het meisje met den blauwen hoed* (1927), published in 1933 as *Dívka s modrým kloboukem* in a translation by Josef Mach (1883–1951). Presumably, the 1934 expensive black and white cinema production, produced under the direction of the Jewish-Austrian director Rudolf Meinert (1882–1943)⁵, would have played

⁵ Meinert fled in 1933 through Prague to the Netherlands. Because of the anti-refugee policy of the Dutch government, he went to France in 1937, where he was seized after the Nazi occupation, probably killed in 1943 in Majdanek.

a role. Mach probably used the German 1928 translation because he did not speak Dutch⁶.

A major role in the introduction of Fabricius' works into the Czech literary field was played by Lída Faltová (1899–1944), the first Czech translator focusing on Dutch-written literature. Between 1932 and 1944, she translated 38 Dutch-written titles, of which many were reprinted, mostly for the Social-democrat publishing houses Melantrich and Družštevni práce [Cooperative Labour, hereafter DP], the latter interested in good storytellers. She had a good nose for Dutch-language books that could be interesting and recommended Fabricius' work, being fully comparable with the wishes of DP's target audience. In the years 1933–1936, she translated the three parts of Fabricius' Italian trilogy⁷, being from an international perspective his most successful work alongside *De Scheepsjongens van Bontekoe* (1924, The Cabin Boys of Bontekoe). The first part, *Komedianten trokken voorbij* (1931, Players Passed By) was published in 1933 as *Jeli tudy komedianti*. One year later, the second volume, *Melodie der verten* (Melody of Distant Things), was released the same year as the original as *Melodie dálek*. The third part *De dans om de galg* (1934, Dance around the Gallows) came out in 1936 as *Tanec kolem šibenice*. The publisher began with a circulation of 7,000 copies for each volume. Apparently the sales went well, because the edition was increased to 7,300 copies for the last part, while at the same time both earlier parts were reprinted. During the war, the entire trilogy came out in a circulation of 7,700 pieces⁸. The trilogy was well received and received positive reviews⁹.

⁶ According to the colophon, the rights were in the possession of Zsolnay, the publisher of the German translation.

⁷ This trilogy consisted of the novels *Komedianten trokken voorbij* (1931), *Melodie der verten* (1934) and *De dans om de galg* (1934) about the baby girl Marietta, left by a vagant troop of theatre players in an inn, in eighteenth century Italy. She falls in love with a Cardinal with whom she has a son, Benedetto. The boy was spoiled by his mother and came to no good. In the last part he is sentenced to the gallows.

⁸ Figures according to the communication of DP to the Press Office of the Presidium of the Ministers' Council of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, 8 February 1941 and January 1942 (PNP 70/57, part 220/13 korespondence DP s ostatními úřady).

⁹ Cf. *Panorama* 12 (1934), back page of no. 3 in the section *Kritika o našich knihách* [Critics about Our Books]. The trilogy was, along with other books by Fabricius in the period 1934–1938, always among the ranking list of the 40 best selling books that *Panorama* published regularly. Fabricius was usually among the first 15 books.

In 1934, Faltová also translated *Leeuwen hongeren in Napels* (1934, The Lions Starve in Naples) which as *Lvi hladovějí v Neapoli* was published by DP in a print run of 8,000 copies. This book was also published in German (1934), English (1935), Swedish and Spanish (1937). Reception was poor in Germany but positive in the Czech Republic, where a second print run of 3,000 copies in the same year was needed.

Internationally, Fabricius' most famous book is *De Scheepsjongens van Bontekoe* translated by Faltová in 1935 as *Plavčící kapitána Bontekoea*. With over one hundred thousand copies in eight editions in all up until 2012, this is probably one of the most successful Dutch-written books in Czech translation. The book was explicitly promoted by the publishing house as youth literature¹⁰.

In summer 1934, Fabricius and his wife Ruth took a Central European trip, visiting also Prague, where they met Faltová. He described himself for recognition as “*Tall and thin, my wife is small and will have a handkerchief in her hand*”. He joked that he hoped not to suffer the fate of ‘his ancestor’ Philips Fabricius¹¹. He also used his visit to prepare his book about the Jewish intellectual Siegfried van Praag [Kneidl, 2005, p. 328–329]. During the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, several works were reissued notwithstanding the fact that Fabricius was as an active fighter against the Nazi regime on the German black list.

4. CZECH RECEPTION OF FABRICIUS IN THE FIRST FREE YEARS

In the short democratic period of the years 1945–1948, a reprint of the sold out *Plavčící kapitána Bontekoea* was published, as well as four new translations by new translators as Faltová died in 1944. Of them, Josef Mach, already had experience with Fabricius. He translated *Hotel Vesuvius* (1947) on the basis of the English translation *Hotel Vesuvius: a Gay Novel of Grapes, Wine and Sunshine*, the Czech title copying the English one. As far as is known, Czech is the only language besides English and Dutch in which this novel exists. The print run of 5,500 copies

¹⁰ Cf. e. g. the back cover of the last issue of *Panorama* 15 (1937), ‘Reading for our boys and girls’, and of *Panorama* 16 (1938), 249, section ‘For children under the Christmas tree’.

¹¹ This Fabricius was the secretary of the Catholic governors who had been thrown out of the castle during the so-called Prague defenestration in 1618 by representatives of the Czech Estates.

was a rather large number for that time, paper being in limited distribution.

At the end of 1946, the novel *Nacht over Java* was published in Czech as *Noc nad Jávou* after the English translation. In this work we find for the first time a typical phenomenon from the Communist period: an afterword by an 'expert' showing the reader the 'right interpretation'. In this case, it presented a short biography of Fabricius followed by a comparison between the Japanese occupation of Java and the German occupation of the Czech lands. The author of this afterword, Donát Šajner (pseudonym of Jaroslav Šajner, 1914–1990), had been the director of the publishing house Evropský literární klub (ELK) since 1943, where the translation was published. After 1948, he was one of the officials of Socialist Realism and from 1972 until his retirement in 1982 secretary of the writers' association Svaz českých spisovatelů during the so-called normalization period. The Czech language was also the only besides English into which this novel was translated. The print run was quite large with 10,000 copies.

In 1947, *Ostrov démonů*, the Czech translation of *Eiland der demonen*, was the second Indonesian novel by Fabricius published by a smaller Prague publishing house, Jaroslav Koliandr. It was the first book Ella Kazdová (1909–1982) translated from Dutch. Although the cover text explicitly states that the book was translated from Dutch, the colophon and the agreement refer to the title *Démons à Bali* of the 1945 French translation. Given the relatively high price of 75 Czechoslovakian crowns at the time (100 Kčs for the bound version), the circulation of 4,000 items was quite large. The cover text emphasizes the novel's exotic sides.

The fourth translation was *Z dvoji krve* of *Halbloed* by Milada Šimsová (1904–1992) who had begun to translate from Dutch during the war. In this edition, which came out in 1948 in 4,448 copies, there is an afterword as well, this time by Alois Humplík (1909–1966), again from someone who would later play a 'party-true' role. His afterword discusses Fabricius and his most important works, focusing primarily on the exotic atmosphere. Remarkably, the Czech translation was the first to be known in a foreign language. The book was also later translated into German (1954), French (1957) and Hebrew (1959).

The reason these novels were published by five different houses was the paper distribution. During 1945–1948, Czechoslovakia was governed by a coalition of the Communist Party KSČ with several demo-

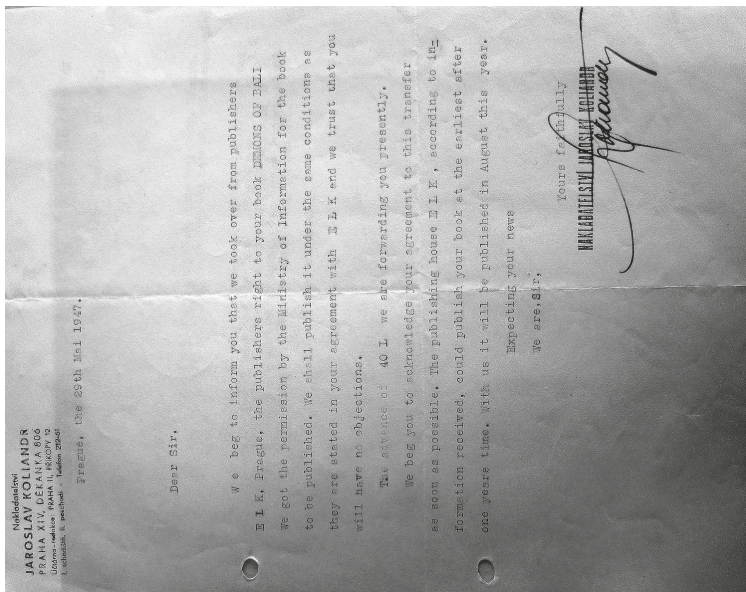
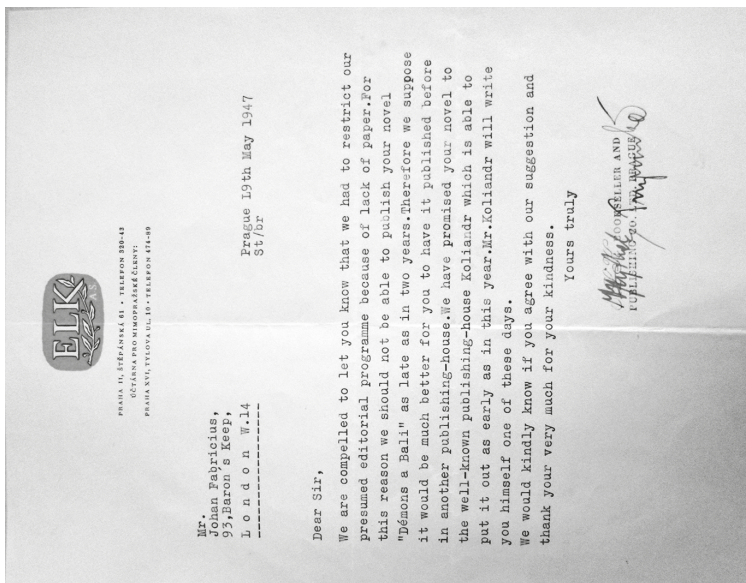


Fig. 2. Twice Eiland der Demonen (The Demons of Bali). Left (a) the letter (19 May 1947) in which ELK communicates that they cannot publish because of paper shortage and right (b) the letter of Koliandr (29 May 1947)

cratic parties. The KSČ occupied strategic ministries such as Information and Culture, ensuring paper distribution. In the case of *Ostrov démonů*, letters to Fabricius from ELK of 19 May 1947 and of Koliandr of 29 May 1947 show that the latter took over the publication because ELK did not receive the assigned paper. Another ELK planned edition of *Mario Ferraro's ijdele liefde*, for which an agreement is in Fabricius' records, was cancelled for the same reason.

The archives also tell us about two other non-editions. At the turn of the year 1947, Fabricius' youth novel *Flipje* (1936) about the little rascal Flip Valckenier was reviewed by Mirko Pašek (1910–2002) and Pavel Eisner (1889–1958). Both were positive but felt that the novel was not 'literary enough' to be published. The fate of the *Java Revisited* (1947) is even more typical for that time. Fabricius depicted in the book his experiences as official War reporter in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) during the winter of 1945/6, including the cruelties of the *bersiap*. Eisner remarked at the end of his review of 7 April 1948:

The book embarrasses us. Our public opinion is generally predominantly sympathetic to the camp of the Indonesian revolutionary movement. Not entirely logical: we ignore the reality that Sukarno was undoubtedly a collaborator with the Japanese and therefore indirect, but extensive, damaging and dangerous to our national interests. Fabricius' convincing account also shows that the Indonesian Revolutionary Guards were thugs who fatally resembled the well-known SS, namely, crafty murdering, pillaging sadists and cowards. Czech people cannot stand these kinds of people.

It is a convincingly truthful and at the same time very captivating book. It is by no means a book by a colonial imperialist. It is, however, the duty of the reviewer to point out that neither the tenor of the book nor its facts are in accordance with our semi-official verdict on the Indonesian revolutionary movement. The reviewer therefore recommends that this political point of view should be subject to closer scrutiny.

5. VICTORIOUS FEBRUARY AND ITS AFTERMATH

Eisner's remarks foreshadowed the period to come. During the year 1947, tensions between the democratic parties and KSČ grew. When the Communist Minister of Interior purged the National Police Force from all non-Communist members in 1948, the majority of the government members voted for a withdrawal of these illegal decisions. When the Minister refused, twelve democratic ministers resigned, expecting that

the crisis would provoke early elections which the KSC would have lost. Gottwald proposed, however, to President Edvard Beneš (1884–1948) a minority government that would rule until the elections planned in autumn 1948. Under the pressure of strikes and street terror, the President accepted on 25 February 1948. Afterwards, the Parliament accepted on 9 May 1948 a Communist constitution — many democratic MP's at that time had already fled because of the terror abroad or were arrested for semi-legal reasons. The date 25 February was later declared an official Communist State Holiday as 'Victorious February'.

Between February 1948 and March 1949, the Communist government exerted increased pressure on the publishing houses. Finally, on 4 March 1949, all the private houses were nationalised and in the years 1950–1951 new combined state publishing houses with names such as the State Publishing House for Beautiful Literature, Music and Art were set up, this being a process known as 'ressortisation' [Šimeček, Trávníček, 2014, p. 324–333]. The quality of the editions deteriorated to such an extent that the books looked worse than editions from the last 1945 war months. During 1948, the Communist Ministry of Information and Enlightenment took over all the public libraries and published strictly secret lists on the grounds of which they should be purified of all 'objectionable' literature. Some 27.5 million books were eliminated in all in an attempt to wipe the parliamentary democratic First Czechoslovak Republic from memory [Wögerbauer, 2015, p. 1130–1132; Engelbrecht, 2018].

On the first list from 1949–1950, counting 7,579 titles, Fabricius is represented with five novels [Šámal, 2009, p. 274, nos. 1483–1487]: *Dívka v modrém klobouku* (1933); *Hotel Vesuvio* (1948); *Noc nad Jávou* (1947); *Ostrov démonů* (1947); *Z dvojí krve* (1948), all classified as 'escapist literature'. The first concerned his novel about a soldier based on his experiences from his service time in the Dutch army, the second a cheerful novel about the Italian bum Renato Colleoni, living on the beautiful island of Capri in Hotel Vesuvio just before World War II and misusing his Fascist uniform to impress young ladies. The latter three novels give impressions from Indonesia in a way that was then, to speak with Eisner, no longer in accordance with the official judgment on Indonesia.

Interestingly, his most successful novels, *Plavčíci kapitána Bontekoea* (1935) and *Italská trilogie* (1933–1936) were not eliminated. Presum-

ably, Fabricius' narration of the heroic struggle of the poor cabin boys Padde Kelemeijn and Peter Hajo, and of the main protagonists of the *Italian Trilogy*, the poor girl Marietta and her son Benedetto, illustrating the harsh circumstances of simple people in eighteenth century Italy, was in accordance with the official literary ideology of Socialist Realism. Literature in this style should evoke the idea of reality, focusing on scenes from the everyday life of people — especially illustrating the struggle of lower class (proletarian) people. No new Fabricius edition was published, however, during the Stalinist years.

6. FABRICIUS DURING THE COMMUNIST REGIME

When Czechoslovak publishers began after Stalinist times to be once more interested in Fabricius' works, it was a good job for him. The first book to be edited was a reissue of his acclaimed *De scheepsjongens van Bontekoe* in Faltová's translation but now accompanied by a long afterword by the historian Vladimír Kadlec (1905–1969) focusing on the 'first bourgeois revolution' by the Dutch against the 'greedy Spanish tyrants'¹². The agreement signed in 1958 with the State Publishing House for Children's Literature through the mediation of the state literary agency Dilia stated royalties of 10,000 Dutch guilders¹³, of which 20 % was paid in advance. Most Communist countries paid only in non-convertible currency, a fact that e. g. the in the Eastern Block popular Communist author Theun de Vries (1907–2005) often regretted [Perry, 2011, p. 50–51].

Even where Dilia deducted as usual a mediation fee of 10 % and a the 2 % fee for the Czechoslovak Literary Fund¹⁴, Fabricius' royalties remained some 31.5 to 78 cents per copy — his Dutch publishing houses paid normally 30 to 35 cent per copy. The following reissues of 1966 and 1977 had even larger print runs.

¹² This afterword was present in the edition of 1966 but was left out as of the 1977 edition.

¹³ This would be today some € 31,840.

¹⁴ The deducted sums were explained by Dilia to the Amsterdam publishing house Querido in a letter of 16 November 1957 in connection with the first translation by Olga Krijtová (LM, 2 Que Correspondentie Drijvers, map 1). Till 1968, Dilia was obliged to withheld also an income tax, after that year their payment order contained a notice that income taxes should be paid by the author in his own country. Pre-War private literary agencies mostly withdrew a fee of 15 % for mediation.

The first newly translated book was *Herinneringen van een oude pruik* (1968, *Memories of an Old Wig*) being published only three years after the original as *Vzpomínky staré paruky* in a translation by Olga Krijtová (1931–2013) who built up a similar cordial relationship with Fabricius as had Faltová before the war. As with most of his translations, the book was published by Odeon, the most important publisher of literature. This was seemingly the only translation of this historical novel about the innovator of the Italian comedy Carlo Goldoni (1707–1793). One year later, the romantic novella *Yoshi?* set in Japan was issued in a translation by Ella Kazdová as *Pamatuješ, Joši?* being also the only known translation. The back flap explicitly indicates that the combination of romance, clash of cultures and exoticism (Japan) is of interest for the reader.

In the same Far East, the novel *Wij, Tz'e Thsi, Keizerin van China* (1968, *We, Tz'e Thsi, Empress of China*) is situated, published in 1971 as *Tajný deník čínské císařovny: Císařovnin životní příběh jak jej sama sepsala a jak jej doslovem opatřil její vrchní eunuch Li Lien-jing. Fiktivní deník* [*The Secret Diary of the Chinese Empress: the Life Story of the Empress as She Wrote it Down and with an Afterword by her Supreme Eunuch Li Lien-jing. A Fictional Diary*]. The translator Krijtová discussed in a letter to Fabricius the transliteration of the Chinese names that was checked by Prague sinologists. This translation, with four Czech editions with more than a quarter of a million copies over forty years, was by far Fabricius' most successful Czech translation, being the only foreign edition. It seems that novels about exotic environments, once denounced as 'escapist literature', were now a good publication argument. The exotic environment of the Antilles certainly also played a role in the decision to publish *Het geheim van het oude landhuis* (1965, *The Secret of the Old Country House*) in a print run of 35,000 copies. The official translator Stanislava Hřebíčková (*1935) was a colleague of Olga Krijtová who occasionally also translated from Dutch. She was presumably covering for the real translator, Krijtová herself, who received a publication ban in 1971 because of her protest against the brutal occupation of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 that ended the Prague Spring.

The five last translations from Fabricius are situated in Europe. Two of them concern a murder case: the play in three acts *Hendrik Jacobus Jut, of De dubbele moord aan de Bogt van Guinea* (1974, *Hendrik Jacobus Jut, or The Double Murder on the 'Bogt of New Guinea'*), a Hague folk drama, was presented in the Czech translation *Otec neznámý* [*Father Unknown*]

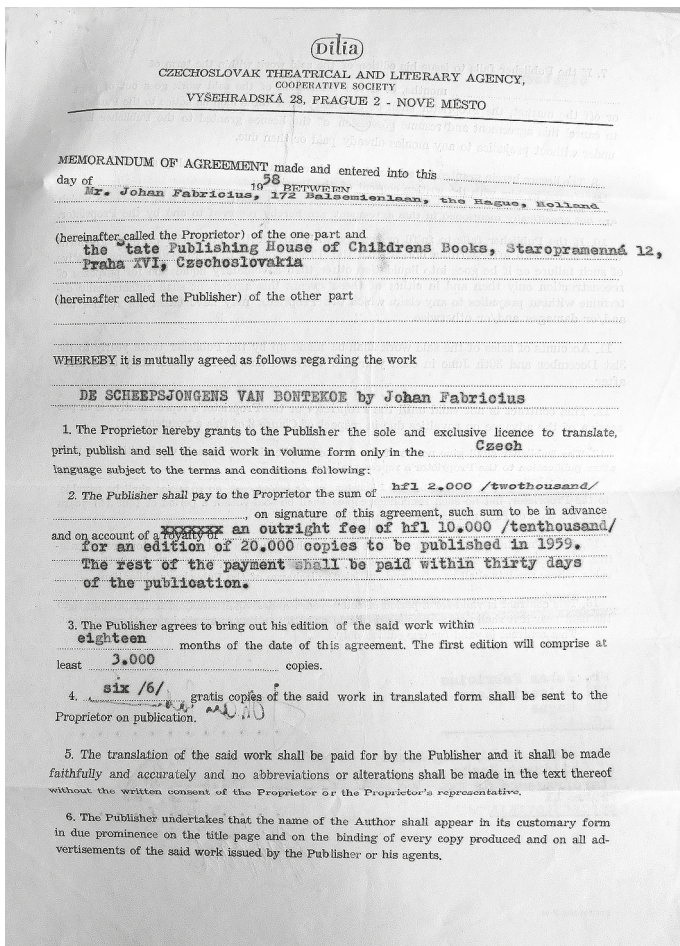


Fig. 3. Agreement of DILIA for Fabricius' De scheepsjongens van Bontekoe, 1958

by Ella Kazdová in Prague¹⁵ — it is quite remarkable that this Czech production from May 1975 was on stage just within one year after the original play. The second murder case was *Jongensspel* (1963, A Boys' Play), a

¹⁵ Typoscript edition by DILIA in Prague as publication no. 10 097. The title page gives as the original Dutch title *Vader onbekend*, a retranslation of the Czech title.

novel adaptation of a 1960 controversial murder case that came to court in 1963, being by Fabricius on behalf of the newspaper *De Telegraaf*. Olga Krijtová made the translation *Klukovská hra* from this novel, published in 1984 with 48,000 copies by the Prague publisher Mladá fronta [The Young Front]. It was accompanied by an afterword by Karel Čech (1944–2015), a member of Mladá fronta's editorial board, presenting criminality as a typical capitalist feature.

In 1978, the historical novel *De grote geus* (1949, The Big Beggar) was published. It had been translated by Krijtová three years earlier but was upheld due to her publication ban. Her former student Milena Perglerová (*1935) functioned as cover translator. The novel was very successful with 72,000 copies and was published again in 2003, this time with the name of the right translator. The last work that appeared in book form was *Toontje Poland* about the Alkmaar grocery son Dorus Poland (1795–1857) who made a career in the army of Napoleon and later in the colony of the Dutch East Indies. The translation *Tonek z Napoleonovy armady* (1981), once more by Krijtová, was published in a circulation of 70,000 copies at the Prague publisher of youth literature Albatros. Finally, for an issue of the magazine *Světová literatura* [World Literature], two students of Krijtová translated two stories from the collection *De bruiden in bad en andere duistere daden* [The Brides in Bath and Other Dark Deeds] that was released in the year of Fabricius' death. The publication was accompanied by an *in memoriam* written by Krijtová.

7. FABRICIUS AFTER COMMUNISM — AN EPILOGUE

Only a few foreign authors could boast that their works were published in the Interwar period, during German occupation, in the first free post-War years, during Communism, and even after 1989. Apart from the new issue of his *Wij, Tz'è Tshi, Keizerin van China* in 1994 and the above-mentioned new 2003 edition of *De grote geus*, two more editions of *De scheepsjongens* were issued, the last in 2012. Thus, Czech translations of Fabricius' works were issued over a time span of nearly 80 years.

A part of this success story is that Czech society, like Dutch, is a relatively egalitarian one. Well-told stories about ordinary people set in historical periods or connected with historical events do well in all periods and under all regimes. Fabricius was undeniably a born storyteller

as few writers were. Even the pre-War literary critic Menno ter Braak (1949), being mostly very negative about best-selling 'easy reading writers', acknowledged this fact in his reviews.

The close connection between the Czech book market with the German undoubtedly played a role as well. At least until 1938, Czech publishers issued mostly translations of books that did well in Germany. Finally, the translators played a relatively large role in transmitting works from smaller literatures. The choice of Lída Faltová clearly plays a role here, while the translations of often recent work by Fabricius after World War II were due to Olga Krijtová, especially when it comes to novels that were only published in Czech.

The large print runs during Communism were a consequence of the system. The protagonists in Fabricius' novels such as *Paddeltje in De scheepsjongens van Bontekoe* were ordinary people who with some goodwill could be counted as 'working class' types. Fabricius presented historical facts preferably through the eyes of common people which corresponded to the premises of Socialist Realism. Furthermore, the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands was officially seen as a 'precursor of Socialism'. The extensive afterword in *Velký Géz* by the historian Josef Polišenský (1915–2001), full of due references to Soviet historians and explicitly quoting the important Dutch historian Jan Romein as a 'Marxist historian', is a clear witness to this. Finally, the system was keen to have some international focus, which means that Fabricius also acted as a sort of 'show-foreigner'. All this means that Fabricius acquired a position among the Dutch-language writers translated into Czech for a major part of the twentieth century that is only comparable to that of Hendrik Conscience a century earlier.

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**МЕЛОДИЯ ДАЛЕЙ: ЙОХАН ФАБРИЦИУС —
ОКНО ДЛЯ ЧЕХОВ В ЭКЗОТИЧЕСКИЕ МИРЫ**

Для цитирования: *Engelbrecht W. W. K. H. The melody of distant things: Johan Fabricius as a Czech window on exotic worlds // Скандинавская филология. 2020. Т. 18. Вып. 1. С. 142–167.*

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С точки зрения мирового литературного процесса литература на нидерландском языке, на котором говорит всего 24 миллиона человек, — это более или менее периферийное явление. Однако большое количество нидерландских книг переведено на иностранные языки, особенно после Второй мировой войны. Йохан Фабрициус (1899–1981) был при жизни одним из самых читаемых нидерландских писателей. Его произведения, в первую очередь бессмертная книга для юношества «Юнги на корабле Бонтеку» (1924), до сих пор переиздающаяся как в Нидерландах, так и за рубежом (последнее чешское издание увидело свет в 2012 г.), входит в число самых популярных литературных произведений как на родине писателя, так и за границей. Тем не менее, из европейских языков произведения Йохана Фабрициуса переведены преимущественно на немецкий и чешский. И это не случайно, так как именно на чешский язык переведено вообще исключительно много нидерландскоязычных книг. Среди них — как легкая, популярная литература, так и серьезные классические произведения. В данной статье история рецепции нидерландской литературы в Чехии разделена на ряд периодов: время между двумя мировыми войнами, время немецкой оккупации, демократическое время с 1945 по 1948 г., годы правления коммунистической партии и, наконец, время после 1989 г. В статье приводится информация о переводчиках (важнейшими из которых являются Лида Фальтова (1899–1944) и Ольга Крейтгова (1931–2013)), издателях, тиражах, а также о причинах, по которым чешские переводы тех или иных книг в итоге не были опубликованы. Данное явление особенно характерно для периодов 1945–1948 (из-за нехватки бумаги) и 1949–1989 (из-за цензуры). В статье вкратце обрисована специфика каждого из выделенных периодов. В приложении приводится полный обзор всех переводов произведений Фабрициуса на сегодняшний день.

Ключевые слова: Йохан Фабрициус, перевод, нидерландский, чешский, экзотические миры, романы.

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Survey of all translations of the works of Johan Fabricius

Original Dutch title	German translation	English translation	Czech translation	Other translations
<i>Eiko van den Reigerhof</i> (1922)	<i>Eiko, der Junge vom Reierhof</i> (1924)			<i>Riddarfjelden</i> (1935, SW)
<i>Hansje Bluf, of Het zangersfeest van koning Hangelip</i> (1923)	<i>Prahlhänschen oder das Sängersfest bei König Hängelippe: ein Märchen</i> (1924)			<i>Hans Storskyter og hans merkelige eventyr hos Kong Hengelebe</i> (1924, NW), <i>Pralhans</i> (c1924, DA); <i>Jasiek Samochwał czyli uroczystość śpiewacza u króla wargali</i> (1924, PL)*
<i>De scheepsjongens van Bontekoe</i> (1924)	<i>Kapitän Bontekoes Schiffsjungen</i> (1926, 21926, 31926, 41929, 51929, 61937, 71938, 81949, 91953, 101964, 111970, 121981, 131991)	<i>Java ho! The adventures of four boys amid fire, storm and shipwreck</i> (1931, 21933)	<i>Plavčici kapitána Bontekoea</i> (1935, 21940, 31946, 41958, 51966, 61977, 72010) <i>Plavčici kapitána Bontekoea</i> (1996 — new translation)	<i>Peter Dekksgut. Kaptein Bontekoes Skibsgutter</i> (1934, NW); <i>Skibsguttene i Ursbogen</i> (19352, NW); <i>Skeppskamraterna</i> (1934, SW); <i>Kapteeni Bontekoen laipva-pojat</i> (1945, FI), <i>Cap sur Java</i> (1948, FR); <i>Kapitan Bontekoe in njegovim mornarčki</i> (1975, SL); <i>Plavčici kapitána Bontekoea</i> (1975, SK); <i>Kipper Bontekoe laevapoisid</i> (1994, EST), <i>De skipsjongens fan Bontekoe</i> (2015, FRIS)

<i>Hans de klokkeluiders</i> (1925)	<i>Hans, der Glöckner: ein Wintermärchen in 5 Bildern</i> (1925)			
<i>Nachtegaal</i> (1925)	<i>Nachtegaal: die Liebe eines Malergesellen</i> (1927)			
<i>De wondere avonturen van Arretje Nof</i> (1926–1927); 1. <i>Barrebar, de wildeman uit de bergen</i> (1926); 2. <i>Het rooverseiland in de Perzische zee</i> (1927); 3. <i>De draak en de Chineesche prinses</i> (1927); 4. <i>Brekkek-kwak-kwak en de zeven</i> (1927); 5. <i>De vroolijke bruiloft van Arretje en Annetje</i> (1927)	<i>Barrabart, der Wildemann aus den Bergen: ein Märchen-Bilderbuch</i> (1927); <i>Die Räuberinsel im Arabischen Meer: ein Märchen-Bilderbuch</i> (1928); <i>Die Prinzessin von China und der Drache: ein Märchen-Bilderbuch</i> (1929)			

* This Polish translation is missing in the survey by Bullhuis (1959, p. 86–94). According to the title description, it was translated from Danish, which causes some doubts about its accuracy. The translator Paweł Hulka-Laskowski (1881–1946) translated mostly from German, English and Czech.

Original Dutch title	German translation	English translation	Czech translation	Other translations
<i>Het meisje met den blauwen hoed</i> (1927)	<i>Das Mädchen mit dem blauen Hut</i> (1928, 21931)	<i>The girl in the blue hat</i> (1932, 21933)	<i>Divka s modrým kloboukem</i> (1933)	<i>Djevojka s modrím šestrom</i> (1930, CR)
<i>Charlotte's groote reis</i> (1928)	<i>Charlottens große Reise</i> (1929, 21929)			<i>Charlottes resa</i> (1943, SW)
<i>Mario Ferraro's ijdele liefde</i> (1929)	<i>Mario Ferraros eitle Liebe</i> (1930, 21932)	<i>Vain love</i> (1931); <i>The love of Mario Ferraro</i> (1937)	(Agreement signed with Sfinx in 1947, not published)	<i>Mario Ferraros obyckliga kärlek</i> (1936, SW)
<i>Venetiaansch avontuur</i> (1931)	<i>Abenteuer in Venedig</i> (1932)			<i>Venetsian seikkailija</i> (1934, 21960, FI)
<i>Komedianten trokken voorbij</i> (1931)	<i>Marietta</i> (1933, 21954)		<i>Jeli tudy komedianty</i> (1933, 21941)	<i>Komedianterne drog forbi</i> (1934, DA); <i>Komediantier drogo förbi</i> (1934, SW); <i>Marietta, Komediantier drog forbi</i> (1936, 21945, NW); <i>Marietta</i> (1936, FI); <i>Mariette fille du hasard</i> (1961, FR)
<i>Leeuwen hongeren in Napels</i> (1934)	<i>Löwen hungern in Neapel. Roman</i> (1934)	<i>The Lions starve in Naples</i> (1934, two editions, 21935)	<i>Lvi hladovějí v Neapoli</i> (1934)	<i>Lejon hungra i Neapel</i> (1937, SW); <i>Leones hambrientes en Nápoles</i> (c1937, SP)
<i>Melodie der verten</i> (1934)			<i>Melodie dálek</i> (1934, 19412)	<i>Marietta's Søn</i> (1935, DA), <i>Melodie ur fjärran</i> (1935, SW); <i>Mariettan poika</i> (1936, 21959, FI); <i>Mariettas Sömm</i> (1937, NW)

<i>De dans om de galg</i> (1934)			<i>Tanec kolem šibenice</i> (1936, 19412)	<i>Dansen kring galgen</i> (1935, SW); <i>Dansen om galgen</i> (1936, DA); <i>Dansen om galgen</i> (1936, NW)
<i>Dansen om galgen</i> (Omnibus of Komedianten trokken voorbij, <i>De dans om de galg, Melodie der verten</i>) (1936)		<i>The son of Marietta: Marietta, Mother and son, Benedetto</i> (1936, UK); <i>The Son of Marietta: Players passed by, Melody of Distant Things, The dance around the gallows</i> (1936, USA)	<i>Italská trilogie: Jeli tudy komedianty, Melodie dálek, Tanec kolem šibenice</i> (1934, 21973; audio 1981)	
<i>Flipje</i> (1936)	<i>Flipje, Roman eines Dreikäsehochs</i> (1950, 21954)	<i>Flip wonders why: a novel</i> (1947); <i>The world at six</i> (1950)	(not published; review reports in archive DP, 1947 and 1948)	
<i>Kasteel in Karinthië</i> (1938)		<i>A Castle in Carinthia</i> (1940, 2 editions)	(ms. <i>Zámek v Korutanech</i> , undated in archive DP)	<i>Slottet in Kärnten</i> (1940, SW), <i>Un castillo en Carintia</i> (1961, SP)
<i>Eiland der demonen</i> (1941)	<i>Insel der Dämonen: ein Roman über Bali</i> (1951)	<i>No return from Bali</i> (1941)	<i>Ostrov démonů. Román</i> (1947)	<i>Démons à Bali</i> (1945, FR), <i>Demonernas ö: en roman från Bali</i> (1941, NW); <i>Demonernas ö: en roman från Bali</i> (1944, SW); <i>Demonien Saari</i> (1945, FI); <i>Demonernes O</i> (1947, DA); <i>Demontos en Bali</i> (1953, SP)

Original Dutch title	German translation	English translation	Czech translation	Other translations
<i>Nacht over Java</i> (1944)		<i>Night over Java</i> (1944, 21946)	<i>Noc nad Jávou</i> (1947 = 1946)	
<i>Hoe ik Indië terugvond</i> (1947)		<i>Java revisited</i> (1947)	(not published; review report in archive DP, 1948)	
<i>Hotel Vesuvius</i> (1947)		<i>Hotel Vesuvius: a gay novel of grapes, wine and sunshine</i> (1945, UK, 1947, USA)	<i>Hotel Vesuvio: Veselý román o hroznech, víně a sluneční záři</i> (1948)	
<i>Halvbloed</i> (1946) = Dutch adaptation	<i>Ma Sarinah und die Kinder ihres Blutes</i> (1944); <i>Halbbblut</i> (1954)	<i>A Malayan tragedy</i> (1942) = original	<i>Z dvojí krve. Román z Indonésie</i> (1948)	<i>Halvblod</i> (1947, SW), <i>Boung le métis</i> (1957, FR); <i>Ben táarovet</i> (1959, HEB)
<i>Brandende aarde</i> (1949)		<i>East Indies Episode</i> (1949)		
<i>De grote geus</i> (1949)	<i>Das Festival der Bettler</i> (1951, 21952)	<i>The beggars' banquet</i> (1951)	<i>Velký géz</i> (1978, 22003)	
<i>De grote beproeving</i> (1950)	<i>Die große Heimsuchung</i> (1951)	<i>The great ordeal</i> (1951)		
<i>Mijn huis staat achter de kim</i> (1951)		<i>A Dutchman at large: memoirs</i> (1952)		<i>Mitt hem är bortom symranden</i> (1957, SW)

<i>Langs de Leie: twee variaties op een thema</i> (1952)			<i>The pike Beelzebub: two variations on a theme, one in major and one in minor</i> (1953)		
<i>De nertsmantel</i> (1953)	<i>Der Nerzmantel: Novelle</i> (1954)				
<i>Gordel van smaragd</i> (1953)			<i>Girdle of Emerald</i> (1955)		
<i>Toernooi met de dood. Roman uit het jaar van de grote pest te Florence</i> (1954)			<i>Mortal pageant: a romance of the year of the Great Plague in Florence</i> (1956)		
<i>Nacht zonder zegen</i> (1955)					<i>Nuit maudite</i> (1959, FR)
<i>Setoewo, de tijger</i> (1956)	<i>Setuwo, der Tiger</i> (1958)		<i>Setuwo the tiger</i> (1957)		<i>Setoewo de tyger</i> (1957, AFR), <i>Setuwo la tigre</i> (1958, IT); <i>Setouwo, le tigre</i> (1959, FR)
<i>Het roversiland in de Perzische zee</i> (1958)	<i>Die Räuberinsel im Arabischen Meer: ein Märchen-Bilderbuch</i> (1958)				
<i>De heilige paarden</i> (1959)	<i>Die heiligen Pferde</i> (1960, 21970)				

Original Dutch title	German translation	English translation	Czech translation	Other translations
<i>Mijn Rosalia</i> (1961)	<i>Rosalie</i> (1964)			
<i>Herinneringen van een oude pruiik</i> (1963)			<i>Vzpomínky staré paruky</i> (1966)	
<i>Jongensspel</i> (1963)			<i>Klukovská hra</i> (1984)	
<i>Dag, Leidseplein</i> (1965)	<i>Jungweibersommer: meine Hochzeitsreise mit Kleopatras</i> (1976, 21978)			
<i>Het geheim van het oude landhuis</i> (1965)	<i>Die Schmuggler der San Antonio Bucht</i> (1967)		<i>Tajemství starého venkovského sídla</i> (1972)	
<i>De avonturen van Jantje en zijn vrienden Koko en Sebastiaan</i> (1966)	<i>Jan, Koko und der Hund Sebastian</i> (1969)			
<i>Weet je nog, Yoshi?</i> (1966)			<i>Pamatuješ, Joši?</i> (1969)	
<i>Heintje heeft kabouters op zolder</i> (1967)	<i>Heinjes ganz besonderer Winter</i> (1969, 21973)			
<i>Wij T'ze Hsi, Keizerin van China</i> (1968)			<i>Tajný deník čínské císařovny</i> (1971, 21987, 31994, 42012)	

<i>Een reis door het nieuwe Indonesië</i> (1973)		<i>A sentimental journey</i> (1971)		
<i>De duivel in de toren</i> (1971)		<i>The devil in the tower. Seven diabolical tales</i> (1973)		
<i>Hendrik Jacobus Jut, of De dubbele moord aan de bogt van Guinea</i> (1974)			<i>Otec neznámý.</i> (adaptation for the stage) (1975)	
<i>Toontje Poland</i> (1977)			<i>Tonek z Napoleonovy armády</i> (1981)	
<i>De schreeuw van de witte kakatoe</i> (1978)				<i>Tertiakan kakatua putih</i> (1984, IND)
<i>De zwaluwen van Klappanoengal</i> (1979)				<i>Burung-burung walet Klapanung- gal</i> (1986, IND), <i>Mayor Jantje, cerita Tuan Tamah Batavia abad Ke-19</i> (theatre adaptation, 2008)
<i>De bruiden in bad en andere duistere daden</i> (1981)				<i>Čest mladé dámy</i> (1982), <i>Nevěsty ve vaně</i> (1982)

AFR — Afrikaans, CR — Croatian, DA — Danish, EST — Estonian, FI — Finnish, FR — French, FRIS — Frisian, HEB — Hebrew, IND — Indonesian, IT — Italian, NW — Norwegian, PL — Polish, SP — Spanish, SW — Swedish.

Source: Data according to Bulthuis (1959, p. 86–94), the database of the Dutch Literary Fund (see note 2) and www.worldcat.org.



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VICTOR TOPOROV'S TRANSLATIONS OF DUTCH POETRY (1946–2013)

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Victor Toporov (1946–2013) was a brilliant literary critic and writer of the “sixties” generation, who decided during his school years “not to fit into any system” and to maintain his independence. In 1969 he graduated from the department of German Philology of Leningrad State University; being a creative person he suffered from the absence of freedom of the press as he could not publish his own poems. As a result, he found a niche for himself in translating poetry. Many of his translations from German and English are both true to original texts and sound like quality Russian verses. But the situation with translations from Dutch is different. Comparing the source and target texts we come to the conclusion that the translator sought to create vivid and colorful Russian poems, without sticking to the original text. In particular, many of his translations of Lucebert's poems are so far from the Dutch originals that they can be considered a case of literary mystification similar to the hoax of Vladimir Lifshitz (1913–1978), who published his own poems and passed them off as translations of works by a non-existent British poet James Clifford. Toporov's translations from Dutch have a perfect form (a clear rhythm, vivid rhymes), their vocabulary is very informal, and he often uses bold neologisms.

Keywords: Dutch poetry, poetry translation, Victor Toporov, Bredero, Lucebert.

The translations of Viktor Toporov from the Dutch language are one of the brightest and most idiomatic chapters in the history of translation in our country. Speaking about his poetic translations, it is impossible not to recall the popular phrase of Vasily Zhukovsky that a translator in prose is a slave, a translator in verse is a rival. To understand the “Topo-

rov effect”, before turning to a comparison of the Dutch and Russian texts, it is necessary to at least briefly outline the multifaceted creativity and the special place of this outstanding author in the literary world of Leningrad and St. Petersburg.

Victor Toporov was a poet, translator, literary critic, essayist, publisher (after Perestroika he worked as editor-in-chief of the publishing house “Limbus-Press”), founder of literary awards (among others, the “National bestseller” award), author of brilliantly tart epigrams, and a serious chess player. He thought of himself as a “newspaper writer” [Toporov, 2018, p. 6]. Playing on his own surname, he named his column in the newspaper “Smena” “Literary Axe”: his literary criticism has always been devastating. Among Toporov’s books the most popular is *Double Bottom* with a self-explanatory subtitle “Confessions of a scandal-maker” [Toporov, 1999]. “Toporov had the reputation of an acrimonious ridiculist whose words and epigrams created during long kitchen gatherings were repeated throughout the city”, Gennadi Sosonko writes about him [Sosonko, 2014], a Dutch Grandmaster and a friend of the future author in the chess club for schoolchildren in the Leningrad Palace of Pioneers. Toporov, however, with his ruthless self-irony, describes his own role in the human community even more harshly. Recounting how, in the sixth grade, he suddenly got tired of studying, he writes: “I, as I understand it retroactively, have suddenly grown dissatisfied with the idea of fitting into a system, any system, for a long time anyway. In class, I’ve fully mastered the art of performing two roles at once: that of a leader and a jacket, which I retain in various circles to this day” [Toporov, 1999].

The reluctance to fit into any system and to obey any rules seems to have been the most important driving force of Toporov-Literator. He told of his reasons for turning to the translation of poetry in his interview with Elena Kalashnikova: “I wrote poems, but I understood that no one would ever publish them; I was engaged in philology, but, on the one hand, I recoiled from academic science and on the other, with my temperament, I did not have any prospects in it. At the junction of these two rather successful occupations, poetic translation seemed only natural. Among the people who advised me to translate was Brodsky” [Kalashnikova, 2001].

There are three comments on the above quotation. Firstly, he refused to publish his own poems, which he had written since a young age. He bequeathed them to his daughter Aglaya so that they could be published

after his death [Toporov, 2015, p. 5–6]. Secondly, the future translator's acquaintance with "academic science" was undoubtedly deep, as it took place during his studies at the Department of German Philology, Leningrad State University (1964–1969), which was famous for teaching fundamental theoretical disciplines. Thirdly, the good relations between Brodsky and Toporov were well-founded: back in 1964, Toporov's mother, a well-known Leningrad lawyer, "defended at the famous trial the "infamous parasite" Joseph Brodsky, and the Nobel Prize laureate at every opportunity sent her greetings from a faraway New York" [Sosonko, 2014].

Toporov translated both poems and prose. His prose translations, as far as we know, were only from English and German, including such masterpieces as "The Watcher" by Charles Maclean (1999) and "The Seventh Royale" by Donald Stanwood (2000). The number of languages from which Toporov translated poems was wider and included Danish and Dutch. As far as we know, he never used interlinear crib. Dutch poetry held a very special place in his translation work: in the 1970-80s, by our estimates, about 1000 lines of his translations of Dutch and Flemish poets were published in various collections [Scheltiens, 2003, p. 266].

In an interview with Elena Kalashnikova, Toporov speaks about three types of translations he was engaged in (our numeration, IM, SR): "(1) There are translations in which my translation skills, as I understand it, are extremely high, there are quite a few such works... These are "Lara", an early translation from Byron, and "The Ballad of Reading Gaol" by Wilde, poems by Goethe. (2) Also, there are poems which I have put through my own mind, which I translated instead of writing my own. They are very dear to me. These include translations from Gottfried Benn, Paul Celan, Wystan Hugh Auden, and the Dutchman Lucebert, three quarters of which was created by me. For these works, the professional judgment ranged from "brilliant success" to "total failure". (3) Should it be just a commercial order, I try to make sure that the translation is normal, no more than that" [Kalashnikova, 2001].

Indeed, many translations that Toporov assigned to the first type have been masterfully done, which is not difficult to see by comparing them with other translations of the same poems. Thus, in the 80s, a selection of tapewritten translations of *The Raven* by Edgar Poe, without any indication of the translators, was circulating in Leningrad so that readers could rate the translations. Later, the names of the translators and the points they scored were reported. Toporov received the high-

est marks, leaving behind Dmitry Merezhkovsky, Konstantin Balmont, Valery Brusov, and many others. His translations are distinguished by the technical impeccability of the verse, lucky findings in translation, and proximity to the original both in spirit and in letter.

Translations from the “Dutchman Lucebert”, were assigned by the translator to the second category and he admitted that when working on them, he sought more self-expression than accuracy. This group, as we will try to show, includes most of his translations of Dutch poets. The very choice of authors to translate is quite significant. Besides the poet and artist Lucebert (1924–1994), whose shocking performances in front of the Amsterdam public in the 1950s and 1960s caused scandals, and whose paintings were exhibited at the Hermitage in the 21st century [Michajlova, 2013, p. 222–226], it is necessary to name two more authors, from whose works more than a hundred lines were translated by Toporov: a Flemish writer Hugo Claus (1929–2008) and a Dutch poet of the 17th century Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero (1585–1618). Russian Wikipedia, though somewhat simplifying his image, characterizes Claus in the following way: “Anarchist in his political views, rebel by temperament, irreconcilable critic of traditionalism in life, politics, religion, and culture”¹. The lyrical hero of Bredero is a simple fellow, who likes to have fun in a company of friends, an unsuccessful lover, who is rude, full of self-irony, and turns his thoughts to God in difficult moments. In the end, it is impossible to forget Toporov’s translations of the so-called “Songs of the Geuzen” — rousing verses that urged the participants of the Dutch uprising of the 16th century to fight against the Spanish oppressors. All these authors are united by their rebellious spirit, their “reluctance to fit into the system”, which was characteristic of the Leningrad translator.

When asked by Elena Kalashnikova whether his translation style changed over the years, Toporov answered: “No, it didn’t. <...> All the creative techniques I invented during my active translation studies, that is, at the age of 23–35. Now I can resort only to them, I am no longer looking for new ones” [Kalashnikova, 2001].

We shall try to identify the main “creative techniques” in three of Toporov’s translations. The Tables 1–3 below contain fragments from the source text and their interlinear crib. The published translation is provided below.

¹ https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Клаус,_Хюго

Table 1. The Songs of the Geuzen “De tiende penning” (“Tenth token”)

<p>De Spaensche hoochmoet valsch en boos, Sandt v een Beudel God- deloos, Om v Godloos te maken, Gods woort rooft hy door menschē gloos, En wil v tghelt ontscha- ken.</p>	<p>Испанское высокомерие лживое и злое Шлет вам безбожного палача, Чтобы и вас сделать без- божниками, Он крадет слово Божье, давая ему человеческие комментарии, И хочет забрать ваши деньги.</p>	<p>Spanish arrogance lying and evil Sends you a godless execu- tioner, To make you godless, too, He steals God’s word by giving him human com- mentary, And he wants to take your money.</p>
<p>Want gheeftmen dick van thienen een, Daer blijft ten lesten een noch gheen, Woll mach den Herder stillen, Dees Wolf is met Woll noch Melck te vreen, Hy wil de schaepkens vil- len.</p>	<p>Потому что если часто давать от десяти один, То в конце концов не останется ни одного, Пастух довольствуется шерстью, А этому волку шерсти и молока мало, Он хочет содрать с ове- чек шкуру.</p>	<p>Because if you often give ten to one, In the end, there won’t be one left, The shepherd is satisfied with the wool, And this wolf doesn’t have enough wool and milk, He wants to skin a sheep.</p>

Испанцы Вешателя шлют,
И тот, верша неправый суд,
Ярится, как Антихрист.
Он идолов расставил тут
И наши деньги вытряс.
<...>

Десятой долею, подлец,
Он разоряет нас вконец,
Казня еще суровой.
Уже не шерсти от овец —
Пастушьей хочет крови.

[The Songs of the Geuzen, 1974, p. 434]

We see that the translator brilliantly reproduces the combative spirit of 16th century songs, preserves the meter (iambic tetrameter and trimeter) and stanza (aaBaB). The use of modern colloquialisms (“wiper”, “scoundrel”, “finally”) makes the text sound very vivid. The main factual background of the original (existence of religious and economic contradictions between Catholic Spaniards and Protestant

Dutchmen, introduction of the alcabala tax) is conveyed truthfully, whereas the striking metaphor - comparison of a Spaniard with a wolf, who, in contrast to a shepherd, pulls off a sheep's skin - is enhanced to an extreme degree, as if it is doubled: a Spanish wolf threatens the life of the shepherd himself.

Table 2. Gerbrand Bredero. Boeren-gezelschap (“The fest of farmers”)

<p>Arend Pieter Gijzen, met Mieuwes, Jaap, en Leen, en Klaasje, en Kloentje, die trokken samen heen naar 't dorp van Vinkeveen; wangt ouwe Frangs, die gaf z'n gangs, die werd er of'ereên.</p>	<p>Аренд Питер Гейзен, с Мивесом, Йапом и Леном, и Класьен, и Клунтье, все вместе отправились в деревню в районе Винкевейн, потому что старый Франс отдал своего гуся всем на забаву².</p>	<p>Arend Pieter Gijzen with Mieuwes, Jaap and Leen, and Klaasje and Kloentje all went together to a village in the Vinkeveen area, because old Frans gave his goose away for everyone's amusement.</p>
<p>Arend Pieter Gijzen die was zo rein in 't bruin, z'n hoed met bloemfluwiel die zat hem vrij wat kuin, wat scheefjes en wat schuin, zodat ze bloot, ternauwernood stongd hallef op z'n kruin.</p>	<p>Аренд Питер Гейзен был одет по моде в коричневое, его шляпа с бархатным цветком сидела у него на голове изящно немного набекрень и наискосок, так что она едва-едва, только наполовину прикрывала макушку.</p>	<p>Arend Pieter Gijzen was dressed fashionably in brown, his hat with a velvet flower was sat gracefully on his head a bit tilted and on the slant so it barely, only half-covered the top of the head.</p>

Арендт Питер Гейзен, друзья и кумовья
 Затеяли пирушку в сторонке от жнивья –
 На травке, у ручья.
 Кому бутыл, чтоб лечь в ковыль,
 А им — нужна бадья.

Арендт Питер Гейзен — на что уж пить мастак —
 Знай льет из штофа в шляпу, да не нальет никак,
 Чуть стоя на ногах.

² Gansafrijden, ganstrekken — “riding the goose”, “goose stretching”, a Dutch folk pastime: a competition where participants had to pull off the head of a goose fastened to a rope stretched between trees. It was forbidden in 1920 [Michajlova, 2013, p. 170].

Кончатъ пора, кто пьем с утра,
 Лужайка не кабак!

[Bredero, 1983, p.121]

The translator preserves the form of the Dutch poem: a peculiar rhythm (iambus with regular alternation of six, three, and four-meter lines) and rhyming (a stanza of five lines, of which the first, second, third, and fifth are bound with one rhyme and the fourth is semi-rhymed). The original technique of Bredero — a long rendering of the characters throughout the poem aims at creating the impression that it is a story of a real event, on the one hand, and the effect of a populous and crowded event, on the other. Toporov in the first verse somewhat weakens these effects by naming only the three names of the main character. But he adds an extra letter “t” to the first name, so it looks more exotic and Dutch, referring to the spelling of the name “Rembrandt”. As for the content, in addition to the name of the main character, there is only one word in the translation that has a match in the original: it is “hat” in the second stanza. All the other elements of the set-up, including the picture of fashionably dressed townspeople coming to a village festival, disappear completely from the text and are replaced by the picture of a drinking party. In the original, stanzas 3, 4, and 5 describe the outfits of Arend(t)’s companions, local peasants, and village girls who came to the festival, and only in stanza 6 (i.e. in the second half of the poem) begins the story of the merry meeting.

Thus, the translator carefully copies the form of the original in this poem and preserves and develops only one main idea from the content — the danger of excessive drinking of alcohol — leaving out all social, ethnographic, historical, and cultural motives.

Table 3. Lucebert. *aan de kinderen* (“To children”)

kinderen der roomse schoot kromgefluisterd door gereformeerde dood neem af het kruis sta op	дети (святого) римского (католического) лона покоренные шепотом реформатской смерти снимите крест встаньте	children of the (Holy) Roman (Catholic) creed subdued by a whisper of reformatory death take off the cross and stand up
kneed aardse duiven uit het dagelijks brood	слепите земных/мирских голубей из хлеба насущ- ного/повседневного	make earthly/worldly pigeons out of daily bread.

This most famous poem by Lucebert was translated twice: in 1977 by Victor Toporov and in 1999 by Dmitry Zaks:

если и бессмертны ваши души
это ли причина бить баклуши
божий дух не высеет пшеницы
и сикстинская за вас не разродится
[Lucebert, 1977, p. 307]

отпрыски римского лона
реформаторской смертью нашептанные наветы
сними крест распрами колена
из насущного хлеба слепи голубиные крылья светлые
[Lucebert, 1999, p. 358].

The Dutch source, in which literally every word involves a certain word game and has a “double meaning”, seems to be untranslatable. We have previously analyzed the play of words in this poem [Michajlova 2007, p. 128]. We shall consider here only one line as an example: *neem af het kruis sta op*. The line uses the reverse word order (should have: *neem het kruis af sta op*), which is a sign of a hidden meaning. The first four words can be understood as “take off the cross (from the neck)”, but there is undoubtedly a reference to the gospel story of the descent from the cross (Kruisafneming), while the last two words literally mean “get up”, but they also refer to the Easter greeting of Christus is opgestaan “Christ is risen”.

Toporov creates a vivid and witty poem with the general theme “God helps those who help themselves”. The poem by Zaks is extremely difficult to comprehend, the play of words is indistinct, and with all the closeness to the original, it produces an impression of a “loosey-goosey” poem.

The abovementioned and many other translations of Bredero and Lucebert by Toporov are so far from the original verses of these poets that they can be viewed as a case of literary mystification similar to that of Vladimir Lifshitz (1913–1978), who published his own poems, passing them off as translations of the English battle poet James Clifford [Losev, 2001]. In the absence of freedom of speech, such mystifications seem to be one of the few opportunities for creative artists to express themselves.

Let us try to list the translation principles and “creative techniques” of Toporov as a translator.

1. Creation of measured verses with clear rhythm, vivid rhymes, witty word play, and vocal writing.
2. The use of conversational tonality, modern colloquialisms, and bold neologisms: the use of words that attempt to surprise.
3. Enhancement of original highlights, both in content and form.
4. Liberal treatment of the content: lyricism, metaphysics, and religious motives disappear in the translations of poems; instead, the translator willingly adds descriptions of fights, drinking, rough lovemaking, as well as visceral images and anarchist ideas.

These translations, as a whole, testify to the translator's undoubted skill, inner freedom, and fearlessness — positive properties that compensate for the unjustified lack of piety in relation to his foreign fellow penmen. The vivid memorable poems he created seem to awaken readers' interest in the originals more than the more accurate, but sometimes completely colourless, translations of Dutch poetry by other translators.

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**ВИКТОР ТОПОРОВ (1946–2013) —
ПЕРЕВОДЧИК НИДЕРЛАНДСКОЙ ПОЭЗИИ**

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В. Л. Топоров (1946–2013) был ярким литературным критиком и писателем поколения «шестидесятников», уже в школьные годы принявшим для себя решение «не вписываться ни в какую систему» и во всем сохранять независимость. Закончив немецкое отделение ЛГУ и ощущая потребность в поэтическом творчестве, в условиях отсутствия свободы печати нашел для себя нишу в поэтическом переводе. Множество его переводов немецкой и английской поэзии сочетают техническое мастерство с близостью к оригиналу. Для перевода с «редкого» нидерландского языка В. Л. Топоров отбирал поэтов, отличающихся мятежным духом и потому близких ему. Анализ этих переводов, их сопоставление с текстами-источниками показывает, что переводчик стремился создать яркие и запоминающиеся русские стихи, не придавая значения вопросу о близости к оригиналу. В частности, многие его переводы Люсеберта (1924–1994) настолько далеки от реальных стихов этого нидерландского поэта, что их в большой мере можно считать случаем литературной мистификации, подобной мистификации Владимира Лифшица (1913–1978), который публиковал свои собственные стихи, выдавая их за переводы английского поэта-фронтовика Джеймса Клиффорда. В. Л. Топоров не отрицал, что голландца Люсеберта «на три четверти выдумал». Для переводов В. Л. Топорова характерна чеканность формы (четкий ритм, яркие рифмы, звукопись), использование стилистически сниженной лексики, смелых

неологизмов. Основной переводческий прием — это усугубление броских элементов оригинала как в содержании, так и в форме.

Ключевые слова: нидерландская поэзия, поэтический перевод, В. Л. Топоров, Бредеро, Люсеберт.

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КУЛЬТУРА И КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ СВЯЗИ

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**AEN DE ZUYDTZIJDE VAN NOVA ZEMBLA...
NEDERLANDSE REISVERHALEN UIT
DE 17^{de} EN 18^{de} EEUW IN DE UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK
WROCLAW (POLEN)**

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Dit artikel presenteert Nederlandse oude drukken uit de Universiteitsbibliotheek Wrocław (Polen), een van de rijkste collecties van *neerlandica* buiten Nederland en Vlaanderen. Concreet: de reisverhalen uit de Nederlanden uit de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw die in deze collectie bestudeerd kunnen worden. Onder hen bevindt zich *De Waerachtighe beschrijvinge vande drie zeylagien (...) by noorden Noorvveghen, Moscovien ende Tartarien (...)* van Gerrit de Veer in de uitgaven van 1619 (met grote aandacht voor het leven aan de Witte Zee en op Nova Zembla, als ook de inwoners van deze gebieden: Nenetsen, Lappen en Russen). Er zijn hier ook reisverhalen over expedities naar het Zuidelijk halfrond van de wereld, zoals het *Iovrnael* van Hendrick Ottsen over Rio de la Plata uit 1617 (waar o. a. de pinguïns worden beschreven), de *Beschrijvinghe* van Pieter de Marees of werken van Olfert Dapper uit de late 17^{de} eeuw over Afrikaanse landen. De late 17^{de} en de vroege 18^{de} eeuw worden hier vertegenwoordigd door de *Driejarige reize naar China* van Eberhard IJsbrant Ides en Adam Brand, als ook *Reizen over Moskovië, door Persië en Indië* uit 1714 van Cornelis de Bruyn. Er wordt hier ook een korte geschiedenis van de bibliotheek in Wrocław voorgesteld — en een antwoord gegeven op de vraag hoe het komt dat in deze (in de wereld tamelijk onbekende) Poolse stad Wrocław zo'n rijke collectie aan *neerlandi-*

ca te vinden is. De bijdrage wordt afgesloten met een uitnodiging, ook aan de Russische collega's, om de oude drukken in de collectie in Wrocław te bestuderen.

Sleutelwoorden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Wrocław, Nederlandse reisverhalen 17^{de}–18^{de} e., *Oost- ende West-Indische Voyagien*, Nova Zembla, Oost-Indië, *Reizen over Moskovië*.

1. INLEIDING

200 jaar geleden, in 1820, verscheen een lang, meer dan zevenhonderd verzen tellend dichtwerk van de in zijn tijd zeer gewaardeerde dichter Hendrik Tollens (1780–1856). Het droeg de titel *Tafereel van de overwintering der Hollanders op Nova Zembla, in de jaren 1596 en 1597* en het vertelde over een roemrijke episode uit de geschiedenis van zijn vaderland: de eerste Nederlandse ontdekkingsreizen die door hem gezien werden als het begin van de Gouden Eeuw. De tekst ervan werd een jaar eerder, in 1819, met de gouden ereprijs van de Hollandsche Maatschappij van Fraaije Kunsten en Wetenschappen bekroond. Het gedicht beschreef eerst de heldendaden van stadhouder Maurits van Oranje in de strijd tegen de Spaanse tirannie, en verbond zijn persoon met “werelds overvloed” die nu naar Nederland zou komen:

Kastielje kromp terug voor Maurits heldendegen,
En de Ooster-indiaan, op Javaas kust begroet,
Bevrachtte Neerlands vloot met 's werelds overvloed [Tollens, 1855, p. 99].

En daarna kwam Tollens over naar zijn hoofdthema — de overwintering op Nova Zembla:

Een ander stout bedrijf vangt Heemskerk aan te wagen!
Hij waakt zijn nachten door, doormijmert gansche dagen,
Doorkruist den aardbol, meet de zeeën, smelt ze in één:
Hij wil door 't ijzig Noord naar 't zengend Oosten heen.
Langs Nova Zemblaas kust, in storm en sneeuw verloren,
Wil hij naar China voort, en d'Indus op gaan sporen [Tollens, 1855, p. 100].

Het (poëtische) verhaal van Tollens over Nova Zembla, over de schipper, latere vice-admiraal Jacob van Heemskerk en de beroemde zeevaarder Willem Barents werd toen zeer populair. Men kan zeggen: opnieuw. Want Tollens kende die reisbeschrijving uit het prosawerk van een van de deelnemers aan de expeditie “Om de Noord” (zo de titel van het boek van Vibeke Roeper en Diederick Wildeman) Gerrit de Veer [Roeper, Wildeman, 1996]. Het verscheen, verrijkt met tientallen ko-

pergravuren en kaarten, in 1598 in Amsterdam onder de titel *De Waerachtighe beschrijvinge vande drie zeylagien / drie Jaren achter malkanderen deur de Hollandtsche ende Zeelandtsche Schepen / by noorden Noorvveghen, Moscovien ende Tartarien nae de coninckrijcken van Catthay ende China ghedaen*. In hetzelfde jaar verschenen ook vertalingen in het Duits, Frans en Latijn, een jaar daarop in het Italiaans, en in 1609 in het Engels. Het werd later opnieuw in het Nederlands uitgegeven: in 1619, ook in Amsterdam [De Veer, 1619]. En nog later volgden andere reisverhalen, van andere reizigers, naar andere werelddelen...

Jawel: verhalen over reizen naar verre landen werden, en worden nog steeds, zeer graag gelezen. Interesse voor verre landen en hun bewoners was, en is, altijd groot. Voor de Russische lezers zouden de leuzen “Rondom de wereld” of “Honderd paden — honderd wegen” niet onbekend zijn. “Вокруг света”, het oudste tijdschrift over reizen (ouder dan *National Geographic*; binnenkort zullen wij het 160. jubileum vieren) en “Сто путей — сто дорог”, een populaire boekenserie uit de late 20^{ste} eeuw, zijn wel bekend.

En ook de ‘drie zeylagien’ van Gerrit de Veer naar Nova Zembla zijn voor de Russische lezers niet onbekend. In 2011 verscheen in Moskou de vertaling van Irina Michajlova — onder de titel *Арктические плавания Виллема Баренца 1594–1597 гг.* (Arctische tochten van Willem Barentsz 1594–1597) [De Veer 2011]. De beschrijvingen van de tragische overwintering in het later beroemd geworden ‘Behouden Huys’, als ook andere avonturen op Nova Zembla vinden geïnteresseerde lezers.

De Nederlandse reisverhalen uit vroeger eeuwen kunnen vandaag óók in hun originele 17^{de}- en 18^{de}-eeuwse uitgaven in de Nederlandse taal gelezen worden — en dat niet alleen in Nederlandse bibliotheken. Zij worden ook in buitenlandse boekencollecties bewaard. Een van de rijkste collecties van *neerlandica* buiten de Lage Landen is de Universiteitsbibliotheek in de Poolse stad Wrocław (BUWr). Zij telt duizenden oude drukken uit Amsterdam, Antwerpen, Brussel, Franeker, ’s Gravenhage, Leiden of Leuven. Daaronder: tientallen reisverhalen [Kozioł, 2016]. Uitreraard ook dat van Gerrit de Veer.

Dit artikel stelt zich twee doelen: ten eerste wil het de Wrocławse collectie van *neerlandica* aan de Russische lezers voorstellen; ten tweede is het bedoeld als een uitnodiging voor de Russische collega-onderzoekers om de oude drukken in deze collectie (niet alleen in het Nederlands, ook in het Latijn, Duits, Frans of Spaans) te bestuderen...

2. AEN DE ZUYDTZIJDE VAN NOVA ZEMBLA...

De Waerachtighe beschrijvinge vande drie zeylagien... van Gerrit de Veer [De Waal, 2000, p. 495–496, Roeper, Wildeman, 2004, p. 31–33, Bostoën e. a., 2001, p. 19] kan men dus, zoals gezegd, in het origineel uit 1619 in Wrocław vinden. Het is te vinden in een grote verzameling van reisverhalen onder de titel *Oost-indische ende VVest-indische voyagien*. Zij werd door Michiel Collijn, de opvolger van Cornelis Claessoon, in Amsterdam uitgegeven en draagt nu het catalogusnummer BUWr 539554.

De context van de expeditie was duidelijk: men wilde naar China (en in die tijd dacht men ook dat er ten noorden van Peking nog een ander land was, met de naam Cathay; daarvan komt het Russische woord Китай), men wilde naar Oost-Indië — om ook van “s werelds overvloed” (zoals Tollens dat later formuleerde) te kunnen genieten. Maar — in het Zuiden waren Portugezen en Spanjaarden. Men dacht dus aan de “Noordelijke route” [Gramberg, 2001, p. 76]. Daar waren geen Portugezen en geen Spanjaarden; en daar was óók een (vrije) zee. Deze Noordoostpassage, zoals ze werd genoemd, bedacht de Antwerpse koopman Balthasar de Moucheron die na de val van Antwerpen in het Zeeuwse Middelburg woonde en rijke handelscontacten met Archangelsk aan de Witte Zee ontwikkelde [Horensma, 1988, p. 125–131; Niedekker, 1989, p. 253–258]. Men hoopte langs deze weg naar China te kunnen komen, zonder de vijand te ontmoeten. Maar... daar was ijs en daar waren witte beren.

De jonge de Veer die aan twee van de drie reizen deelnam, was een goed verteller. Zijn beschrijvingen van de natuur, van de flora en de fauna die de zeelieden konden observeren, zijn door de auteur op een zeer levendige manier opgebouwd. De dramaturgie van het verhaal werd vaak bewust aangescherpt. Zo werd de tekst voor elke lezer aantrekkelijk gemaakt [Kozioł, 2016, p. 214]. Vooral de beschrijvingen van ontmoetingen met de witte beren moesten de aandacht trekken:

Den 6. September smorgens zijn eenige Bootsgesellen aen't vaste Lant gegaen om gesteenten te soecken/een maniere van Diamanten/die op't Staten Eylant mede seer vele waren. Int soecken van de steentjes ist geschiet alsser twee maets by malcanderen lagen/datter een witten mageren Beyr is listelijck aengekomen / ende greep den eenen van dees twee in sijn neck: de selfde niet wetende wie't was/riep: wie grijpt my daer van achteren: sijn maet die by hem inde cuyl lach/lichte sijn hoof op om te sien wie't wesen mocht/ende sach dattet een eysselijcken Beyr was/roepende/och maet 'tis een Beyr/ende stont midts dien wel wacker op ende liep wech. De Beyr beet den eenen



Fig. 1. Gerrit de Veer, *De Waerachtighe beschrijvinge...*, p. 18^f (BUWr 539554). Gevecht met een witte beer

terstont thoof in stucken/ende zoch het bloet daer uyt [De Veer, 1619, p. 17^v, BUWr 539554].

Deze keer was de beer de (gruwelijke) winnaar (zie afb. 1). Maar andere keren kwam het beter voor de Nederlanders: zij waren de gevaarlijke beesten machtiger, omdat zij over schietwapens beschikten:

Doen liepen wy alle flux ten hyuse uyt na den Beyr toe/ende vonden hem noch levendich/dat hy sijn hoofd noch na ons toe op-beurde/als oft hy sien wilde wie't hem ghedaen hadde: maer wy hem noch niet vertrouwend/diens cracht wy wel eer beproeft hadden/schoten hem noch met twee musketten int lijf/daer deur hy sterf/ende wy sneden hem den buyck op/ende haeldent inghewant uyt (...) [De Veer, 1619, p. 46^v, BUWr 539554].

Andere exotische dieren waren de walrussen:

Dit sijn wonderbaerlijcke stercke zeemonsters/veel grooter als een Os/en houden haer mede inde Zee/hebben hyden gelijk Zee-robben/met seer cort hayr/haer muyl der Leeuwen muyl gelijk/houden haer dickwils op ys (...) [De Veer, 1619, p. 7^v, BUWr 539554].

Ook de door de Veer beschreven natuurfenomenen trokken de aandacht. Hij was de eerste Europeaan die — “aen de zuydtzijde van Nova Zembla” — dat zag wat later het Nova Zembla-effect werd genoemd [Van de Werf e. a., 2000, p. 120–126]; de eerste zon na de poolnacht:

Den 24. Januarij [1597] was 't moy/ clær weder/ met een w. Wint/ doen ben ick met Jacob Heemskerck en noch een derde uyt ons hutte ghegaen na de Zee-strandt/ aen de zuydtzijde van Nova Zembla/ alwaer buyten ons gissinge/ ic aldereerst de kunnen vander sonne sach/ daer over wy ons fluxx wederon na ons huys ofte hutte spoeden/ om 'tselvige Willem Barentsz. en d'ander maets voor een blijde tijdinghe te vercondigen. Willem Barentsz. als een cloeck en ervaren Stuerman/ wilde dat geensins gelooven/ als ontrent noch 14. dagen voor den tijt zijnde/ dat de sonne aldaer en op die hoochte openbaren souden. Daer teghen streden wy hardt/ dat wy de son ghesien hadden/ daer over diverse weddinghen gheschieden [De Veer, 1619, p. 44^r, BUWr 539554].

De Veer beschreef ook de bewoners van de gebieden bij de Witte Zee en Nova Zembla: de Nenetsen en de Lappen — en ook de Russen. De eersten waren volgens hem “*meest wilde menschen*”; later nuanceert hij zijn mening: “doch niet al te wildt”; en zij gebruiken „goet verstant”. De Lappen, door hem vrij zakelijk beschreven [zo Kozioł, 2016, p. 216], verdienden zijn medelijden omdat ze

armelijck leefden vant overschot dat haer de Russchen gaven/ so een stuck visch en eenige hoofden die de Russchen weg wierpen/ dat sy met grooter danckaerheit opnamen [De Veer, 1619, p. 75^v, BUWr 539554].

De Russen zelf werden door de Veer positief voorgesteld. Dat kan men bij de afbeelding van de bewoners van Lapland lezen (afb. 2) waar de Veer schrijft:

Afbeeldinge hoe dat wy na lange omswerven aende westzijde vande witte Zee quamen/ daer wy een Russche Lodgie vonde[n] met 13. Russchen/ die ons groote vrientschap deden/ ende ons in haer hutten namen en[de] spijsden/ daer by oock 2. Lappen met haer wijven ende kinderen [De Veer, 1619, p. 76^f, BUWr 539554].

Het verhaal over Nova Zembla van Gerrit de Veer, in de uitgave van 1619, bevindt zich, zoals bekend, in de Universiteitsbibliotheek Wrocław — naast, zoals gezegd, tientallen andere reisverhalen uit de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw in de Nederlandse taal. En naast duizenden oude drukken uit de Nederlanden. Er zijn hier theologische werken, medi-

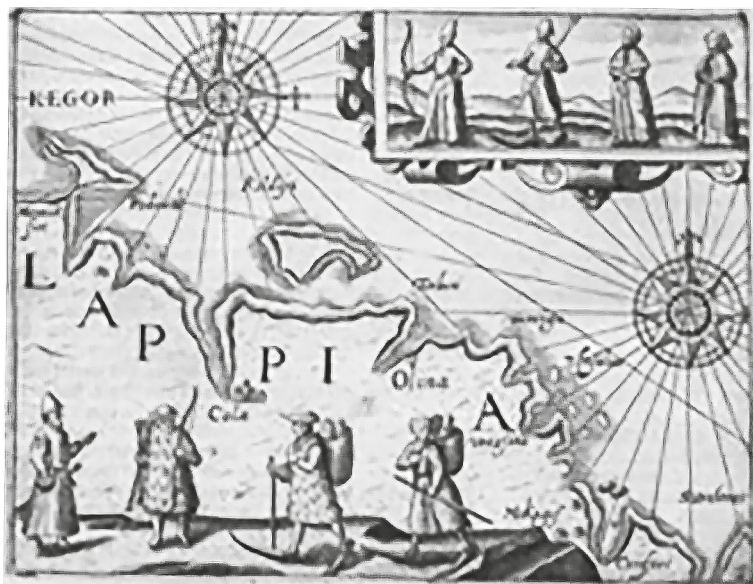


Fig. 2. Gerrit de Veer, *De Waerachtighe beschrijvinge...*, p.76^r (BUWr 539554). De bewoners van Lapland

sche en filosofische traktaten, boeken over geschiedenis, architectuur en kunst — tot aan de nieuwste poëziebundels uit die tijd, van Joost van den Vondel, Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Geerbrandt Adriaenzoon Bredero of Jacob Cats [Skura, 1996].

Men kan zich wel met recht afvragen hoe het komt dat in de universiteitsbibliotheek van deze (in de wereld tamelijk onbekende) Poolse stad Wrocław zo'n rijke collectie aan *neerlandica* te vinden is.

3. UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK WROCLAW (BIBLIOTEKA UNIWERSYTECKA WE WROCLAWIU)

Het antwoord op de zojuist gestelde vraag is zeer complex. Zo complex als de geschiedenis van deze stad, de historische hoofdstad van Silezië [Davies, Moorhouse, 2002].

Zij staat bekend onder verschillende namen: in het Latijn Vratislavia, in het Tsjechisch Vratislav, in het Duits Breslau, in het Pools Wrocław. De oudere Nederlanders kennen deze stad als 'Breslau',

de jongere als 'Wrocław'. En in het Russisch bestond ooit de vorm "Бреславль". Silezië heeft — samen met zijn hoofdstad, met een regelmaat van ca. 200 jaar, zijn heersers gewisseld [Bartsch, 1985; Czapliński e. a., 2002]. In de vroege middeleeuwen was het een Slavisch land met veel Poolse invloeden, vanaf de 14e eeuw kwam het onder de Boheemse kroon. In 1526 werd het Habsburgs en in 1741 werd het door de koning van Pruisen Frederik II veroverd. Op die manier werd het in 1871 onderdeel van het Duitse Keizerrijk, tot het einde van de Tweede Wereldoorlog. In 1945 kwamen hier de Polen (men denke in deze context ook aan Kaliningrad). En zo werd ook de stad Pools. De nieuwe inwoners troffen hier onder andere uiteraard ook sporen van de oude cultuur aan; daaronder collecties van middeleeuwse handschriften, incunabelen en oude drukken.

Deze Wrocławse collecties groeiden door de eeuwen heen. De talen van de werken waren vooral Latijn en Duits — de talen van de politieke en culturele elite van deze stad, ook onder de Tsjechische koningen in de middeleeuwen, ook onder de Habsburgers in de Renaissance en de Barok. En — dat is in de context van de hier gepresenteerde reisverhalen van belang — de Duitssprekende Sileziërs konden toen de Nederlandse taal zonder grote moeite verstaan.

Er is meer: veel Sileziërs waren in die tijd in contacten met de Nederlanden zeer geïnteresseerd. In de 16^{de} eeuw was vooral de link naar Antwerpen levendig, in de 17^{de} eeuw de link naar Amsterdam en ook naar de beroemdste Hollandse universiteit in Leiden. Silezische kooplieden en Silezische studenten brachten ook de nieuwste publicaties in boekvorm mee op de terugweg. Zo groeiden in Wrocław boekencollecties, waarin ook werken uit de Nederlanden verzameld werden. De eerste belangrijke collectie was die van Thomas Rehdiger, een Breslaus patriciërszoon en een in heel Europa bekend verzamelaar van kunst en van boeken die de intellectuele centra van Europa bezocht: Antwerpen, Leuven, Venetië of Keulen [Frank, 1998, p.37-39]. Zijn collectie (die hij bij testament aan zijn geboortestad vermaakte) telde ca. 300 handschriften en 6.000 drukken [Noack, 1999, p. 126]. De *Bibliotheca Rehdigerana* werd later door de boekencollectie van Albrecht von Sebisch verrijkt, student in Leiden en later de grootste architect en vestingbouwer in Silezië. Later vormden deze collecties de eerste openbare bibliotheek, de *Stadtbibliothek*.

Maar niet de universiteitsbibliotheek; een universiteit existeerde hier niet. Pas in 1702 ontstond de Habsburgse jezuïetenacademie die echter

vanaf 1741, onder de Pruisen, moeilijke tijden moest doorstaan. In de vroege negentiende eeuw werd de universiteit gereorganiseerd en met de *Universitas Viadrina* uit Frankfurt (Oder) verenigd. Ook de universiteitsbibliotheek groeide nu, door de hele 19^{de} eeuw — tot de ramp van de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Aan het einde van deze oorlog in 1945 werd de universiteitsbibliotheek grotendeels verspreid of vernield.

De Polen moesten die bibliotheek dus opnieuw organiseren. Ze hadden de (in de oorlog niet vernielde) *Stadtbibliothek* en meerdere Silezische kerkelijke en privé-collecties (zoals bijvoorbeeld de 18^{de}-eeuwse *Majoratsbibliothek* van Graaf York uit Klein Oels / Oleśniczka) overgenomen, en de in de oorlog verspreide boeken terugverzameld. Op die manier ontstond de huidige Poolse *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu*.

Zo zijn dus met deze belangrijkste bibliotheek in Wrocław de namen van de oude boekenverzamelaars verbonden: Rehdiger, Sebisch, York. Hun collecties vormen nu de basis van de rijke verzameling van oude drukken en handschriften. Daaronder zijn, dat weten wij reeds, duizenden, soms unieke, *neerlandica* (het grootste *unicum* is het enige exemplaar in de wereld van Jan van der Noots *Verscheiden Poetixse Wercken*, Keulen 1572, BUWr 320294 [Porteman, Waterschoot, 1990]). En ook: Nederlandse reisverhalen.

4. NEDERLANDSE REISVERHALEN IN BUWR

Het verhaal over Nova Zembla van Gerrit de Veer is niet het enige reisverhaal in deze Poolse collectie. In zijn *Oost-indische ende VVest-indische voyagien* had Michiel Colijn naast hem ook nog reisverhalen van andere auteurs gepubliceerd — met beschrijvingen van andere landen. Nadat namelijk de Noordwestpassage als de route naar China en Oost-Indië niet mogelijk bleek, werd besloten om toch via de Atlantische Oceaan, en dus langs de Zuidelijke route, te varen; ondanks de aanwezigheid van Portugezen en Spanjaarden. Het ontstaan van de VOC in 1602 was daarbij een belangrijke gebeurtenis. De WIC kwam pas veel later, in 1621 — maar toch ondernamen de Nederlanders reeds vroeger reizen naaar, zoals de titel zegt, het andere deel van de wereld: West-Indië.

Zo vinden wij in dit convoluut het *Iovrnael oft daghelijcx-register van de voyagie na Rio de Plata, ghedaen met het schip ghenoomt de Silveren Werelt [...] onder [...] het bevel van Cornelis van Heems-kerck van Hendrick Ottsen* [Ottsen, 1617, BUWr 539554], en het *Historisch ende*

vvijdtloopigh verhael, van 'tghene de vijf schepen (die int jaer 1698 [sic!] tot Rotterdam toegerust zijn [...]) wedervaren is van Barent Janszoon Potgieter [Potgieter, 1617, BUWr 539554]. De auteur van deze tweede tekst was chirurgijn, theoloog en cartograaf die tijdens de reis nauwkeurige kaarten van verre landen maakte. Hij was ook een goed verteller. Dit kunnen wij bijvoorbeeld zien in zijn beschrijving van de op het zuidelijk halfrond van de wereld levende pinguïns:

Dese Voghels/waer van ick de gedaente noch de natuere niet en hebbe beschreven/worden Pinguins genoemd van wegen here vetticheyt/want het selve in onse sprake soo veel te seggen is. (...) alsoo datse van verde Pigmeen ofte kleyne mannekens schijnen/ghelijck dat by die voorgaende afteekeninge (...) ghenoechsam te bemercken is. Dese Pinguins leven alleen by den visch, hoe wel zy ghekoockt zijnde, daer gantsch niet naer en smaken: maer daer en teghens soo goedt van smaeck dat het te verwonderen is [Potgieter, 1617, p. 68-69, BUWr 539554].

Een volgende reisbeschrijving uit de collectie Colijn is de *Historiale beschrijvinghe, inhoudende een waerachtich verhael vande reyse ghedaen met acht schepen van Amsterdam, onder't beleydt van den knoeckmoedighen admirael Iacob Cornelisz. Neck* uit 1619 [Van Neck, 1619]. Hoewel het onder de auteursnaam van Van Neck staat, is het in feite een compilatie van meerdere teksten over deze reis. Men vindt hier de eerste beschrijving van het eiland Mauritius; er zijn hier veel vissen — en ook veel schildpadden:

Hier zijn groote menichte van Schiltpadden die seer groot zijn, jae so groot dat vvy met ons vieren op een Schiltpadde stonden, ende kroop also met ons voorts, in vvelcke schelpen vvy met ons thien hebben geseten [Van Neck, 1619, p. 5^r, BUWr 539554].

Op Mauritius waren ook zeer veel vogels; en onder hen de (nu uitgestorven) dodo:

Oock zijn daer noch meer ander ghevogelte, die seer groot zijn als by ons de Swanen, met groote hoofden, ende op het hoofd een vel, ghelijck of sy een kapken op het hoofd hadden, sy en hebben gheen vloghels, dan in plaetse van haer vloghels staen drie oft vier svverte pennekens, ende daer haer steert soude staen, hebben sy vier ofte vijf kleyne gekrulde pluymkens, zijn van couleur grauachtich. Dese vogels noemden vvy VValchvoghels (...) seer tay om eten vwaren, doch de mage met de borst vvas seer goet (...) [Van Neck, 1619, p. 5^r, BUWr 539554].

Een volgende tekst in de verzameling Colijn is de *Beschrijvinghe ende historische verhael, vant Gout koninckrijck van Guinea* van Pieter de Marees, eveneens uit 1617 [De Marees, 1617, BUWr 539554]. Hij beschreef de reis langs de westkust van Afrika: de huidige landen Ghana en Guinea. Hij wijdde veel aandacht aan de flora van deze gebieden: bomen, gewassen, vruchten. Zo beschrijft hij de ananas:

De Ananas is mede een delicaete ende welriekende fruyt/ ende de beste van smaeck diemen onder alle fruyten vinden mach / (...) sy is van de groote als een Melloen/ schoon van couleur/ siende uyt den gheelen/ groenen/ ende Incarnaten. Als hy begint rijp te worden/ soo vergaet hem de groenicheyt in Orangie couleur/ is liefelijck van smaeck/ ende aenghenaem van reuck/ gheelijck een Abricot, so dat den reuck van verre te riecken is [De Marees, 1617, p. 72^v, BUWr 539554].

De weg uit Europa langs de west- en zuidkust van Afrika en langs het eiland Mauritius, bracht de Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië. Willem Lodewijckszoon, een volgende auteur uit de verzameling Colijn, beschreef de *Historie van Indien, waer inne verhaelt is de avonturen die de Hollantse schepen bejegendt zijn* (Lodewijckszoon, 1617, BUWr 539554). Hij beschreef zeer gedetailleerd de regio's die hij onderweg zag (Kaap de Goede Hoop, Madagaskar, Sumatra), flora en fauna van deze gebieden (ook, net als Potgieter, de pinguïns), en de bewoners ervan: Hottentotten, Javanen, Chinezen. Over de eersten lezen wij:

Dese lyuden zijn van ghedaente wat cleynder/ als de lyuden van hier te lande/ bruyen ros van couleur/ doch d'een bruynder dan d'ander/ gaen naeckt/ hebbende eenen ossen-huyt mantels-wijs geront/ t' hayr teghen haer lichaam aen/ met eenen breeden riem vanden selven om haer middel/ d'een eynde hangende voor haer schamelheyt/ eenige draghen berderkens onder de voeten/ in plaets van schoenen [Lodewijckszoon, 1617, p. 5^t, BUWr 539554].

De volgende auteur in deze verzameling was Olivier van Noort. Hij had over de hele wereld gereisd en stelde het in zijn *Beschrijvinge vande voyagie om den geheelen werelt-kloot* voor (Van Noort, 1618, BUWr 539554). Zijn stijl was zakelijk, hij had niet echt veel oog voor de omringende flora en fauna. Behalve, alweer (zoals bij Potgieter en Lodewijckszoon), voor de pinguïns (zie ook afb. 3):

Dese Voghels ofte Pinguins en konnen niet vliegghen/ hebben maer twee kleyne Vleughelkens aen de zijdt/ oft het leyren lapkens waren/ zijn van de

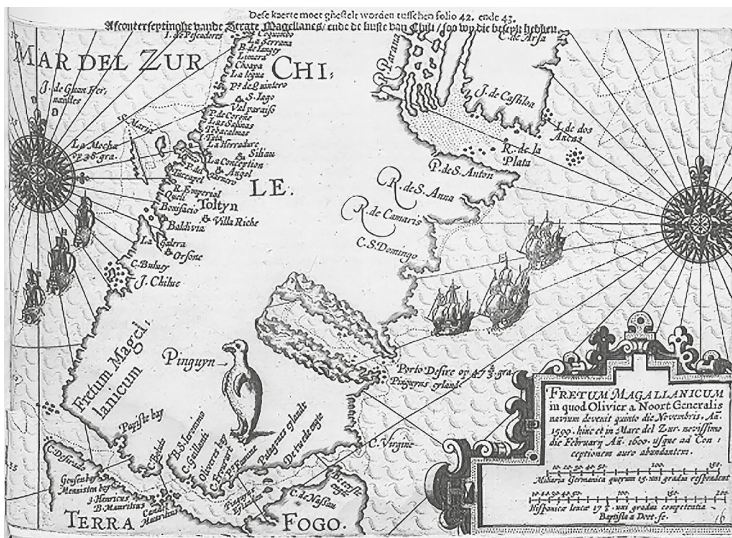


Fig. 3. Olivier van Noort, *Beschrijvinge van de Voyagie om den geheel- en werelt-kloot*, na p. 42 (BUWr 539554). De Straat van Magellaan

grootte gelijk een Gans/ ende gheneeren haer in de Zee/ maer eer sy daer in komen/ kan mense met duysenden op't landt betrapen/ also dat wy-se met Stocken doodt sloeghen. 'Twas in de tijdt datse broeden ende Eyeren leyden/ soo dat wy in diversche reysen wel by de vijftich duysent Vogels ende Eyeren daer af haelden / waer mede wy seer gesterckt wierden ende op de been quamen [Van Noort, 1618, p. 26, BUWr 539554].

Een auteur is in de Wrocławse universiteitsbibliotheek zelfs met twee reisverhalen aanwezig. Het is Joris van Spilbergen die eerst in het convo-luut van Colijn met zijn *Historiael journael, van tghene ghepasseert is van weghen drie schepen [...] anno 1601 [...] tot int' eylant Celon* [Van Spilbergen, 1617] wordt gepresenteerd, en later in een ander werk een aan Colijn zeer gelijkende titel gebruikt: *Oost ende West-Indische SPIEGEL* [Van Spilbergen, 1619, BUWr 410785]. Deze titel is, naar het gebruik van de tijd, nog veel langer en kondigt de reis door de Straat Magellaan aan ("met eenighe Battalienen so te water als te lant"), als ook "de Australische Navigatien" (zie afb. 4).

Er zijn in de Wrocławse Afdeling Oude Drukken uiteraard ook veel andere Nederlandse reisverhalen, niet alleen uit de vroege 17de eeuw,



Fig. 4. Joris van Spilbergen, *Oost ende West-Indische SPIEGEL*....., p. 18^r (BUWr 410785). Titelpagina

maar ook uit latere jaren. Enkele worden hier genoemd. Willem Cornelisz. Schouten heeft het *Iournal ofte beschrijvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse (...) inde iaren 1615. 1616. en 1617* geschreven [Schouten, 1618, BUWr 402961]. Dirck Albertsz. Raven was de officiële auteur van het *Journael van de ongeluckighe voyagie (...) naer Groenlandt, in den iare 1639* [Raven, z. j., BUWr 016680]. Jacques l'Heremite signieert voor het *Journael van de Nassausche vloot, ofte Beschrijvinghe van de voyagie om den gantschen aertkloot* [l'Heremite, 1652, BUWr 494014]. Johan Nieuhof beschreef *Het gezantschap Der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, Den tegenwoordigen Keizer van China* [Nieuhof, 1665, BUWr 553558]. De tekst is zeer rijk versierd met stadsgezichten, kopergravuren, kaarten van verschillend format, “met over de 150. Afbeeldstels, na 't leven in Sina getekent”, zoals de lange titel vermeldde. Het werd ook vertaald in het Frans (ook in Wrocław aanwezig, BUWr 367241).

In de laatste decennia van de 17^{de} eeuw kregen teksten over verre landen een meer en meer wetenschappelijk karakter. Een concreet voorbeeld vormen de werken van de Amsterdamse geleerde, arts en ge-

schiedschrijver Olfert Dapper. Hij was auteur van een lange reeks van aardrijkskundige werken in folio formaat die in heel Nederland werden gelezen. Exemplaren van zijn lijvige boeken zijn ook in Wrocław te vinden. Tot deze boeken behoort onder andere de tweede druk van de voor het eerst in 1668 verschenen *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Lybien, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie ...* [Dapper, 1676, BUWr 506496] en ook de *Naukeurige beschryving der eilanden in de archipel der Middellantsche Zee* [Dapper, 1688, BUWr 506498].

De voorstelling van de Nederlandse reisverhalen in de collectie van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Wrocław begon met Gerrit de Veers beschrijving van de reis naar Nova Zembla. Ze wordt afgerond met reisteksten over Rusland en zijn buurlanden uit de late 17^{de} en de vroege 18^{de} eeuw, dus uit de tijd van tsaar Peter de Grote. Voor Silezië was die tijd verbonden met een veranderd cultuur-maatschappelijk perspectief. De Nederlandse Gouden Eeuw ging in de laatste decennia van de 17^{de} eeuw naar zijn einde toe, interesse voor de Nederlanden verminderde bij de Sileziërs aanzienlijk, de cultuurtaal werd nu het Frans. Zelfs in Nederland werden de boeken vaak in deze taal gedrukt.

Maar ook in deze tijd las men in Wrocław boeken over verre landen — in het Nederlands. Bekende auteurs van die reisverhalen waren de koopman Eberhard IJsbrant Ides met zijn reisgezel Adam Brand, en Cornelis de Bruyn.

Ides, een in Duitsland geboren nazaat van Nederlandse handelaren, en zijn partner in zaken Brand, maakten vaak reizen naar Moskau. Ides was later handelsvertegenwoordiger bij de admiraliteit in Archangelsk (waar hij waarschijnlijk ook overleed). Beiden ondernamen namens de Russische tsaar een officiële reis naar China. En daarna verscheen de beschrijving van deze reis onder de titel *Driejarige reize naar China* (een vertaling ervan in het Russisch, door M. I. Kazanin, werd in 1967 onder de titel *Заниски о русском посольстве в Кумай 1692–95* (Notities over het Russische gezantschap naar China (1692–95) gepubliceerd [Ides, Brand, 1967].

De universiteitsbibliotheek in Wrocław bezit ook een exemplaar van Ides' *Driejarige reize naar China* [Ides, 1704, BUWr 509795]. Deze reis werd “te lande gedaan door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides”, en ging “van Moskau af, over Groot Ustiga, Siriana, Permia, Sibi-

rien, Daour, Groot Tartaryen tot in China”, zoals de titel vermeldde. In dit werk, dat aan Peter de Grote werd opgedragen, werden

behalven de gemelde Landstreeken, de Zeden der woeste Volken, ten aanzien van hunnen Godsdienst, Regeeringen, Huwelyken, dagelykschen Handel, Kleedinge, Woningen, Onderhoud, Dood en Begraafnisschen naaukeurlyk beschreven (...) [Ides, 1704, titelpagina, BUWr 509795].

Er werd hier ook nog “eene beknopte beschryvinge van China, door eenen Chineeschen Schryver t' zamengesteld” [Ides, 1704, titelpagina, BUWr 509795], toegevoegd.

Cornelis de Bruyn, aan het begin van zijn leven schilder en later reiziger, maakte twee zeer lange reizen: in de jaren 1678–1684 door Klein-Azië en in de jaren 1701–1708 door Moskovië, Perzië en Indië. De eerste reis beschreef hij op veel pagina's in folio formaat onder de titel *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, Door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia, De Eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio, &c.* [De Bruyn, 1698]. De weg voerde ook door Egypte, Syrië en Palestina. In Wrocław zijn er twee exemplaren van dat werk (BUWr 01783/I en BUWr 366110).

De tweede reis werd door De Bruyn beschreven in zijn boek, eveneens in folio formaat, getiteld *Reizen over Moskovië, door Persië en Indië* uit 1711. De Bruyns werk werd populair; drie jaar later verscheen een tweede uitgave. De Wrocławse universiteitsbibliotheek bezit een exemplaar van deze uitgave, in één convoluut met *Reizen (...) Door (...) Klein Asia* [De Bruyn, 1714, BUWr 01783/II].

In *Reizen over Moskovië* stelde De Bruyn voor, zoals hij reeds op de titelpagina aankondigde,

de beroemste lantschappen en steden, ook de byzondere dragten, beesten, gewassen en planten, die daar gevonden worden: voor al derzelve oudheden, en wel voornamentlyk heel uitvoerig, die van het Heerlyke en van oudts de geheele werrelt [sic!] door befaemde Hof van Persepolis, by den Persianen Tchilminar genaemt (De Bruijn, 1714, titelpagina, BUWr 01783/II).

Cornelis de Bruyn is, de Russische lezers weten dat uiteraard, een zeer populaire, graag beschreven en vaak in het Russische vertaalde schrijver. Een vertaling, uit het Frans door P.P. Barlov, verscheen in 1873 in Moskau (onder de titel *Reizen door Moskovië*). Precies 100 jaar later werd hij in het tijdschrift *Vokrug Sveta* door Nina Michajlovna Molje-

va beschreven als “Gollandets v Moskovii” (Een Hollander in Moskau) [Moljeva, 1973]. En in hetzelfde jaar verscheen De Bruyn in de antologie van M. M. Suchman onder de titel “Inostrantsy v drevney Moskve XV-XVII vv.” (Buitenlanders over het oude Moskau. Moskau in de 15^{de}–17^{de} eeuw) [Suchman, 1973].

5. BESLUIT

De Nederlandse reisverhalen uit de Universiteitsbibliotheek in het Poolse Wrocław vormen een interessante en intrigerende collectie. In deze bijdrage werden ze in het kort voorgesteld. Men ‘reist’ in deze teksten als het ware over zo veel verre landen: van Nova Zembla over Mosковиë naar China en van Guinea over Zuid-Afrika naar Oost-Indië. Dat is nog niet alles: in Wrocław kan men ook talrijke reisteksten van andere, niet Nederlandse auteurs, bestuderen. Soms zijn deze teksten in het Nederlands geschreven, onder anderen van Fernando Mendez Pinto, Francis Pretty, Walter Raleigh, William Lithgow, Urbain Souchu de Rennefort, Pietro della Valle, Edward Browne of Claude Jourdan. Er zijn hier ook boeken uit Nederland in andere talen; in de 18^{de} eeuw vooral, zoals gezegd, in het Frans: van François de le Coigneux Bachaumont of Claude Lullier.

In al deze werken zijn uiteraard verschillende perspectieven te ontdekken en te bestuderen: cultuur-historisch, literair-historisch, boek-historisch... Onderzoek naar deze teksten biedt dus zeer veel mogelijkheden. Daarom wordt deze bijdrage afgesloten met een uitnodiging, ook aan de Russische collega’s, om de oude drukken in de collectie in Wrocław te bestuderen.

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AEN DE ZUYDTZIJDJE VAN NOVA ZEMBLA... DUTCH TRAVEL BOOKS OF THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES IN THE LIBRARY OF WROCLAW UNIVERSITY (POLAND)

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The article presents early printed Dutch books from the Wrocław University Library (Poland), one of the richest collections of *neerlandica* outside the Netherlands and Flanders. Attention is given to travel books from the Netherlands in the 17th and 18th centuries. Among them is *De Waerachtighe beschrijvinge vande drie zeylagien ... by noorden Noorvveghen, Moscovien ende Tartarien...* ('*The True Description of the Three Sea Voyages ... along North Norway, Moscovia and Tartaria...*') by Gerrit de Veer in the 1619 edition (which focuses on life on the White Sea and on Novaya Zemlya, and to the inhabitants of these areas: Nenets, Lapps, and Russians). There are also travel books about expeditions to the Southern Hemisphere of the world, such as the *Iovrnael* ('*Journal*') by Hendrick Ottsen about Rio de la Plata from 1617 (where penguins are described), the *Beschrijvinghe* ('*Description*') by Pieter de Marees, or works by Olfert Dapper from the late 17th century about African countries. The late 17th and early 18th centuries are represented by Eberhard Ijsbrant Ides' and Adam Brand's *Driejarige reize naar China* ('*Three Years' Journey to China*'), as well as *Reizen over Moskovië, door Persië en Indië* ('*Travels across Moscovia, Persia and India*') from 1714 by Cornelis de Bruyn. The article also presents a brief history of the library in Wrocław and provides an answer to the question of why such a rich collection of

neerlandica can be found in this (rather unknown) Polish city of Wrocław. The article ends with an invitation to Russian and other colleagues to study the old prints in the Wrocław collection.

Keywords: University Library Wrocław, Dutch travel books 17th–18th c., *Oost- ende West-Indische Voyagien*, Nova Zembla, East Indies, *Reizen over Mosковиë*.

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**SOVIET FIELD OF HONOUR, LEUSDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS: THEN AND NOW**

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Sovjet Ereveld — Soviet Field of Honour or the Soviet/Russian War Cemetery in Leusden/Amersfoort in the Netherlands are various names of the cemetery where Soviet soldiers are buried. The Soviet Army never stepped on Dutch territory and all the men lying there were prisoners of war. The story told here is about 101 soldiers, Soviet Uzbeks, of whom 24 were martyred in the Amersfoort concentration camp and the remaining 77 were executed by the Nazis in the Koedriest forest on 9 April 1942. Together with other Soviet warriors, totaling 865, they are buried in Leusden under similar grey tomb plates, with illegible Cyrillic names that are often misspelt. These soldiers were forgotten until 1999 when a young journalist Remco Reiding started his investigations and attracted public attention to the fate of the soldiers. Now the Dutch people visit the graves, bring flowers and light candles, adopt the graves, contact the next of kin, and make it possible for them to come to the Netherlands and learn that their grandfathers were not lost in action, but rather they have found peace and remembrance in a strange land. Who are the people carrying out these activities, what makes them act this way, and what do they themselves think about it? These and other questions were included in a questionnaire conducted by the authors; the results are partly presented in the article. The responses demonstrate deep compassion, gratitude to the Soviet army for fighting the Nazis, emotional involvement, human and political wisdom, and a degree of openness that is emotionally powerful.

Keywords: Soviet Field of Honour, Soviet prisoners of war, Cemetery, Leusden, the Netherlands, Remco Reiding, survey responses, volunteers and adopters, memory of the buried.

For the 75th anniversary of the end of the Second World War

1. THE WAR-TIME STORY

At the very beginning of the German invasion of the Soviet Union in September 1941, the Germans brought one hundred and one prisoner of war from the Soviet Union to the detention Camp Amersfoort intending with their miserable look to kindle antipathy to the Russians and attract the Dutch to their side. They were called Russians, which at the time was a synonym for Soviet, though actually, they were mainly from Uzbekistan. The Nazis meant to demonstrate them to the local population as Untermenschen (sub-humans) and treated them accordingly, brutally abusing and insulting them. Twenty four of the soldiers were starved and beaten to death already in the camp. When the fascists realized that their plan had failed and the local citizens had shown sympathy for the desolate, hungry and sick people, they had no need of them and on 9 April 1942, the remaining 77 were shot. A monument, known as the 'De Koedriest' Monument (or the Russian Monument) was erected on the spot where, after the war, a mass grave with the bodies of 77 Russian prisoners of war was uncovered. This is where the execution had taken place, in the Koedriest wood. The inscription on the monument reads, *'To the glorious sons of the Soviet people that fell in the struggle against the German occupying power in 1941–1945. From the grateful motherland'*¹. The bodies of all 101 Soviet soldier were buried in a specially designated part of a big city cemetery Rusthof in Leusden.

After the War, a few more Soviet military burials from different parts of the Netherlands were moved to Leusden; the remains of 865 Soviet soldiers (Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Armenians, and Georgians) found peace at Leusden, where, on 18 November 1948, the Soviet War Cemetery was founded. For a very long while, that was a "forgotten place". Rows of grey stones with unreadable names in Cyrillic on them, no information, no flowers, no visitors. The graveyard was only looked after by the state *Oorlogsgravenstichting* (War Graves Foun-

¹ Available at: <http://sovjet-ereveld.nl/2820-2/?lang=en> (accessed: 07.05.2020).

dation) — it is still in charge of the cemeteries and no alterations can be done without its permission.

2. “ONE PERSON IS NEEDED TO MAKE A CHANGE”: REMCO REIDING

In 1999, a young journalist Remco Reiding got an assignment from the newspaper he worked for to write about the forgotten place. His task was to try tracing the relatives of at least one soldier. Since then he has been dedicated to this cause with his soul and time and determination. By now, due to Remco’s effort, much has been written and said about the tragedy and the Soviet War Cemetery, both in the Netherlands and in Russia as well as in other countries. In 2019, the Russian First TV Channel had an ample heart-felt presentation², [Blagoy, 2018]; Russian newspaper articles appeared [Strokan, 2015; Filatova, 2017]. BBC spoke about the history of the concentration camp [Qobil, 2017] and the Field of Honour³. The Dutch press publishes articles whenever May Days are approaching [Tempelman, 2012; Engbers, 2013; Ververs, 2019; Heerde, 2019; Jong, 2020; Koch, 2020]. Remco Reiding himself published an intense and dramatically captivating book, “*Kind van het Ereveld* [Child of the War Cemetery]” [Reiding, 2012] translated into Russian as “*Ditya Polya Slavy*” [Reiding, 2015], which had a wide acclaim in Russian press [Mesnyankina, 2015; Smirnov, 2015; Suvorova, 2020]. The Russian language version is completely sold out.

Remco Reiding conducted his investigations in archives, attracted public attention to the fate of the Soldiers. He also managed to find the families of several soldiers. At this moment, 205 families have been informed about the last place of burial of their beloved father, grandfather or brother or uncle. However, the most important endeavor is that he has attracted the local population to participate in various activities. Now the Dutch people visit the graves, bring flowers and lit candles, adopt the graves, contact the next of kin and make it possible for them to come to the Netherlands. By the end of 2019, already 450 people participate in the programme of adoption, and out of the 865 Soviet graves

² Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hpYdHZEjGf8> (accessed: 07.05.2020).

³ Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MJemA8U_roU (accessed: 07.05.2020).

more than 530 are now adopted. Due to these people, the War Cemetery in Leusden cannot be called a forgotten place anymore. Every year, on April 9, there is a memorial meeting by Koedrist Monument; on May 3, there come around 50-60 adopters to put flowers on the graves as well as the photos of the found soldiers, on the Christmas Eve there are candles lit by all the graves on December 24.

As often, one person is needed to make a change. Remco has fulfilled this role here bringing this place to the attention of people and in this way to increasing the understanding of the enormous sacrifices made by the soldiers of various former Soviet republics during WWII.

3. THE PEOPLE

In 1999 Remco Reiding was alone. 10 years later, they were three: Remco, his wife and his newspaper boss Alex Engbers, whose idea had been to find a relative and write about the *Sovjet Ereveld*. In 2010, the Foundation “*Stichting Sovjet Ereveld*” was formed to support the activities of searching the families and keeping the memory of the soldiers alive. Now, after the ten years of the Foundation in action, merely the core of the volunteers, the group of the most active participants, grows in numbers, while the May Day march and the Koedriest memorial procession amount to hundreds of people.

The aim of the present research is to find out who the participants are, what motivates them in their activity in relation to the cemetery, what they feel and think about this cause and in this way to come to a new understanding of cultural values of the Dutch society.

Obviously, the adopters and volunteers are those who feel most deeply committed to the dead soldiers and their next of kin. People from many different backgrounds are there helping; they think that doing the work at the cemetery together represents an honorable act. A woman of 80+ says that she takes part as her health allows her. The participants realize that in a way they are becoming a team, they are glad to have an opportunity to meet and socialize. One of them, a woman, a historian of 42 years of age, told us, “It is good to meet other people and learn about why others take an interest in this (which is mostly during the adopters’ day). But mostly I think it is important to pay respect to the men and women who lost their lives so that we can live in freedom”.

Who are these adopters, and what is their story?

The method used to achieve our aim was an internet survey enquiry targeted at the Foundation participants. With our objective in mind, we compiled a short Questionnaire and distributed it among the people at random. More than thirty responses came from men and women (equally) between 38 and 82 years of age (one student of 20), seven of them retired. We know their age, sex and occupation — in a way they represent a cross section of the Dutch society, a diversity and unity. The Survey is anonymous, the participants volunteered to disclose their names; nevertheless, the authors can assist in contacting the respondents if necessary.

We did not expect very much of the feedback, anticipating rather brief and formal responses. What we have got in answers is astounding, expressing amazing openness, compassion, emotional and human wisdom, heart-felt sympathy and a lot more. For that reason, we will only comment on things that are in common in several answers and otherwise quote the responses. In addition, we are able to include some statistics about the distribution of the responses in thematic groups.

4. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

4.1 How did you learn about the Soviet War Cemetery and when did you start supporting the Foundation?

With very few exceptions, all adopters and volunteers who took part in our questionnaire have learnt about the Soviet War Cemetery within the last 10–20 years, after Remco Reiding started his activities and there came more publicity about the place and his investigation. About half of the people (45 %) heard about the cemetery for the first time through mass media: local and national TV, local and national newspapers and internet. About 15 % of the recipients met Remco while visiting the National Monument [Detention] Kamp Amersfoort, where he is giving regular tours, or read his book “The Child of the War Cemetery”. The activities of the Foundation in the past 10 years brought the story of the Field of Honour to the central channels of Russia and BBC, as well as Georgia, Ukraine⁴, Uzbekistan⁵, etc. In all these cases, people were

⁴ Available at: https://34.ua/razyskivayutsya-rodstvenniki-voennoplennyh-pogibshih-naterritorii-niderlandov-v-konce-velikoj-otechestvennoj-vojnny_n2552 (accessed: 07.05.2020).

⁵ Available at: <https://alif.tv/101-uzbek-protiv-gebbelsa-znaete-li-vy/> (accessed: 07.05.2020).

inspired by the story of the graveyard, the fate of the soldiers who are buried there and the personal story of Remco.

“I was highly impressed by the story Remco told that day. It had a great impact and made me think about sacrifices in life. That is something Remco did by starting his search. In my opinion Remco is a great example of doing thing for someone else without expecting something in return” (Willem Goes, 38, Learning & Development advisor).

Around 22 % heard about this place through personal contacts: from Remco, from other people already supporting the Foundation or through a Russian relative (wife, daughter-in-law, mother, girl friend) or a friend living in the Netherlands, etc. “Via a Russian friend in St. Petersburg who had seen a news item about the Field of Honor on Russian television”. (Father Johannes, 51, priest).

There are people who knew about the cemetery for a longer time. We were impressed to hear the story of a man, who used to visit the War Cemetery back in the 1950s when it was yet a forgotten place.

“I got to know the Soviet Field of Honor as a child at the hands of my parents. Every year on May 9, the *Association of Russian women in the Netherlands (Nederland vereniging van Russische vrouwen)*, rented a coach to go to the Field of Honor in Leusden or to the Field of Honor on Texel. There, together with members of the Soviet embassy, we spoke of the enormous sacrifices made by the Soviet Union during the Second World War” (Peter Arends, 71, retired, son of Anastasia Guranda from Krasnodar, Russia).

A small number of people specifically searched for a military grave to be adopted, which is quite a usual thing to do in the Netherlands. “I was looking for an adoption of a grave of a soldier. After a search on the internet I came to the site of the Soviet Field of Honor in Leusden” (Ron Klunder, 56, independent advisor).

Out of the whole number of the adopters, there are 20 % living in Leusden and Amersfoort, a small town and a bigger city on the border of which the cemetery is situated. People get to know about the Cemetery through local mass media, clubs, and organizations. Here is a touching story of a woman learning about the Field of Honour while organizing her son's funeral.

“In 2018 my son died and I wanted to give him a beautiful ceremony in order to celebrate his life — with speeches, ritual and music. One of the songs (next to the modern ones) I chose was the Russian orthodox ‘Vechnaya Pamyat’, by

the Don Cossack Choir. The lady who helped me organizing the funeral was a little surprised by my choice. 'Are you aware there is a Soviet War Cemetery, next to this crematorium?' she said. I wasn't aware of that fact. We visited the site and I was deeply moved. My thoughts were with all those mothers — who, unlike me, never had the chance to say goodbye to their beloved children. All those young boys who died in a country far, far away. After my son's funeral I visited the Field of Honor with friends (his and mine) — and we prayed" (Annelize Raateland, 64, teacher).

Thus, we see that the public awareness of the Cemetery is growing, embracing more and more people, those who are not indifferent, who are open for a social function and/or emotional involvement.

4.2. Why did you decide to support the Foundation (as an adopter or as a volunteer)? Why has it become important for your life?

The response to these questions is so profound; you can hear real voices and feel authentic human sincerity in every reply, so the answers need little commentary. We could identify five major reasons for people to become a part of the Foundation.

4.2.1. *“Engaged in a horrible war, badly treated, far from family and home”*

A quarter of the recipients in their answers mention the soldiers being “...without reason, driven by the Nazi Germans back to this place of disaster here in Europe. They couldn't go anywhere and only spoke Russian. There they were starved or shot. Those soldiers also had a family!” (anonymous, female, 74, retired).

We were impressed how much gratitude people show to the soldiers for their fight against the Nazi.

“The feeling that these brave boys have given their lives for the freedom of many and are buried in a foreign country... These guys should never be forgotten”. (Ron Klunder, 56, independent advisor) “Due to him [the adoptee] and millions of others my family and I can live in freedom” (Sasha Grond, 20, Teachers' Training College student).

You also see a lot of empathy and compassion shown for the soldiers and their families:

“I am someone who has always said, a person should never die alone. These people died alone and under degrading conditions. Terribly, sure, if you realize that the world was completely strange to them. In the distant Netherlands. They deserve care and attention after their death, so that history remains alive” (Sjoerd Bleeker, 58, a shoemaker).

“Because these dead have no one, they are far away from home, all alone, abroad. Because they were treated very badly: tortured and abused by the Germans. ... Because they are people!” (Mick Kurtz, 61, retired).

People taking care of a stranger’s grave often find ways to become somehow connected with the soldier, paying as much respect as to a family member.

“I have decided to support the Foundation so that we can hopefully name the “men” and relatives. I have become the adopter of grave nr. 832, Ignati Fedotovitch Dementev. A young man who was sent into the war and rested in the Netherlands at the end. Heartbreaking. On the photo by his stone he is depicted with a balalaika” (Joke, 70, retired).

4.2.2. “... *The struggles and sacrifices of the Red Army*”

In the world with so many war conflicts people keep saying that it is very important that the story of the World War II be passed on to the future generations. “So that we can try to prevent something as terrible as a war happening again” (Gerard Threels, 65, finance controller). We have been observing lately a rising interest in the Netherlands to the role the Soviet Union had played in the fight against the Nazi. A number of the recipients accept the fact that for a long while the role of the Soviet Union has not been highlighted in the West.

“I have never realized that so many Soviet soldiers had died for our freedom. I think I owe them my gratitude” (W.H. de Boom, 75, retired).

The effort of the Soviet Union and especially the price in human lives paid for the victory is still shocking to many people in the West.

“For most of people it is an eye opener when I tell them that the SU sacrificed as many people as there are Dutch citizens right now. I tell them, “Just imagine waking up alone in Holland tomorrow, that’s how many are dead” (Arjan van Willigenburg, 46, flight planning officer).

The role of the Soviet Union is seen at this moment as important, indispensable, and essential and sometimes even decisive: “The So-

viet Union freed Europe from the German enemy” (Mick Kurtz, 61, retired).

“For me it is important to keep the story alive, to never forget what happened in those years. And especially over here in the West, the stories of WWII were coloured from an American-British-Canadian point of view. We hardly ever heard about the struggles and sacrifices of the Red Army. I think maybe nowadays this is changing a bit. But still, most documentaries are about the British/American/Canadian battles. They were the ones that actually liberated the Netherlands (even the Polish soldiers are often forgotten, although they played an important role as well), and after WWII the Soviet Union was ‘the enemy’, so that part of the war got too little attention” (Kathelijne Jongeling, 42, Historian at municipal archives).

4.2.3. “Adoption felt logic and important”

The research has shown that for a quarter of the recipients participation in the cause has a special personal meaning: being a Russian or Uzbek, having a grandfather who never came home after that war; a Russian wife, girlfriend, mother, future daughter-in-law; experience of working or living in Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Uzbekistan; military background, participation in the War operations of the modern world, learning Russian, interest in Russian culture, etc.

“Both of my grandfathers were reported missing; our attempts to find anything about them were futile. I think that we, Russian people, compatriots of these deceased here, should remember of them and do whatever possible” (Irina Ouzkikh, 56, assistant teacher).

“My father was a prisoner in the detention Camp Amersfoort, we wanted to adopt a grave of one of the Russians from Camp Amersfoort” (Anja van der Starre, 53, Hospice Coordinator).

Sometimes the adopters are asking to choose a grave of a soldier from a specific country, region or city, or a certain age or religion to get any possible individual connection with the soldier. The adoption of a grave can become a gesture of gratitude not only for the soldiers themselves but also for the whole people of the country.

“My twin brother and his family (wife and daughter) died in the MH17 plane crash that took place on the 17th of July 2014. From the moment that disaster took place I was impressed by the help that the local population gave in or-

der to take care of the bodies and human remains. As they took care of the remains of my family, I urgently felt the need to do something in return. The least I could do was to adopt a grave of a Soviet soldier who came from the area of where the disaster happened. It is a silent “thank you” to the Ukrainian population” (Willem Goes, 38, Learning& Development advisor).

There is so much of human wisdom, emotional sophistication and caring in the words. In this last case, one might expect an opposite reaction, that of finding an enemy. Instead, spiritual subtleness and deep understanding are manifested.

4.2.4. “A good cause”

The importance of the efforts to learn as much as possible about the nameless graves, to find the next of kin, to let the families know that their dear relative is not missing, that he has his burial place, that the graves are taken care of and the memory of the perished soldiers is kept alive is considered to be an important matter and that is why is worth being supported (15%).

“I have learnt that it is possible to adopt a grave and pay money that will go to a good cause: remembrance and respect to the perished so that they are not forgotten. This is the least that the living may do for those who gave their lives in the slaughter machine and carnage of the war” (Galina Pudovkina, 56).

4.2.5. “Global brotherhood, symbolism”

By the means of adoption, people in some cases are making a statement, express their hope for a better world without war conflicts, the world where mercy knows no country borders, or separation into friend or foe.

“We are aware of the fact that many youngsters from around the globe have given up their lives for the freedom of others. There people deserve our respect. As they are buried far and away, their own families cannot take care of their graves. It is a sign of global brotherhood to take care of that for them” (Judith Bartel, 46, Museum Curator/Exhibition maker).

Russians in the Netherlands remember of their former country showing, in a way, their link with it.

“When I was thinking of adopting a grave, it was a turbulent time. The USSR did not exist anymore; the former Soviet republics had chosen their own path

of development. Some interstate friction began to appear. At the same time, after all, they had fought with fascism shoulder to shoulder — Uzbeks, Georgians, Russians, Ukrainians, and others. I am f Russian. I have adopted the graves of Georgian, Russian and Ukrainian soldiers. As a symbol of friendship and reconciliation between different countries” (Galina Pudovkina, 56).

Sjoerd Bleeker, a shoemaker, 58 years of age shows an even deeper sense of the symbolism of the cause:

“This cemetery might have even more significance if you think of the symbolism. These brave men are buried in a strange ground far away from home. They most likely never visited us before or knew about us. I hope their souls found rest. They are ambassadors to Soviet/Russian history. Even more importantly — to our history. Our countries have been friends. We have a history that goes centuries back. Let these brave men remind us about it. And never forget”.

In the Netherlands participation in charity, being a member of a non-profit organization is very common⁶, [Witlox, 2019]. According to the “Giving in the Netherlands” survey 88 percent of people regularly donate money to charities, “On average, every family in the Netherlands gives 216 euros per year,” says Rene Bekkers [Bekkers, 2019]. In some cases one is choosing the most appealing organization, which in our case turned out to be the Foundation.

“I had money to spend, and I have some ties with Russia. I like to make a small contribution to intensify the relationship between the Dutch and the Russians. I think there is more that unites us, and the Second World War is a good example. By the way, I am also a friend of the Hermitage” (Ton van der Hoeven, 60, civil servant in Amsterdam).

Or like one of the very first supporters of the Foundation Bert and Ina are saying,

“From our Christian outlook on life, we are diaconally involved. The work that Remco does supports a human being in need. This applies to both foreigners and people of a different religion”. The syncretism, polyphony and emotional register of the responses analyzed above show the relevance the theme of war and war sacrifices for the Dutch.

Other questions of the survey, not included here, are: 1) If you have children/grandchildren, do you take them to the War Cemetery? Do

⁶ <https://www.geveninnederland.nl/geveninnederland/> (accessed: 07.05.2020).

you tell them the stories about the soldiers and the world war? If yes, why do you find it important? 2) Why was the Soviet War Cemetery for half a century a forgotten place? Why did it change in the last 25 years? 3) Do you have any additional information or remarks? The answers to these are so insightful, sincere and enlightening that they require a separate study.

5. FOR CONCLUSION

This year, the whole world is marking the 75th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, which for the people of the Soviet Union is the Great Patriotic War. The war was different for different countries, peoples and people. Some want to forget it, some contemplate on its nature and impact, others cannot forget the tragedy as it has entered almost every family or household. The Dutch people, whose opinion we have been asking in this project, do not want to forget it and they remember the role of the Soviet Army in the liberation of Europe. Most of all, though, they feel that they must not forget the human sacrifice, they feel sincere compassion for the prisoners, who perished in Nazi camps and are buried in a strange land, for the families of the victims; they think that history should stay alive. All this has become part of their cultural identity, culture becoming a link between the two countries.

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СОВЕТСКОЕ ПОЛЕ СЛАВЫ В ЛЕЙСДЕНЕ, НИДЕРЛАНДЫ: РАНЬШЕ И СЕЙЧАС

Для цитирования: *Myachinskaya E., Demers N., Demers B. Soviet field of honour, Leusden, the Netherlands: Then and now // Скандинавская филология. 2020. Т. 18. Вып. 1. С. 198–212. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2020.113>*

Советское поле Славы в Нидерландах находится в местечке Лейсден, рядом с военными кладбищами воинов-союзников в Амерсфорте. Мы рассказываем о месте захоронения 101 пленного воина-узбека, из которых 24 были замучены в лагере, а 77 расстреляны нацистами 9 апреля 1942 г. в лесу Кудрист. На Поле славы покоится 865 советских воинов различных национальностей под рядами одинаковых надгробий, на которых сразу после войны были лишь имена, написанные по-русски, часто с ошибками, или вовсе безымянные, и родственников определить было невозможно. После 50 лет забвения появился молодой голландский журналист Ремко Рейдинг и стал писать про это место. С тех пор Поле славы стало делом всей его жизни: в архивах он отыскивал имена погибших, писал о кладбище в самых разных СМИ, написал пронзительную книгу, переведенную на русский язык. организовал Фонд Поля Славы. Но самое главное, он привлек местных жителей, которые теперь ежегодно возлагают цветы и зажигают свечи по памятным датам; берут шефство над могилами, внося определенную сумму. На деньги Фонда приглашаются родственники погибших, которых удалось разыскать, и которые только сейчас узнали, что их деды и прадеды не пропали без вести, что об их могилах заботятся и их помнят. Кто же эти люди, и что заставляет их чтить память солдат, им неизвестных и с ними не связанных? Мы составили анкету и предложили заполнить ее активистам Фонда. Результаты опроса (частично) представлены в настоящей публикации. В ответах — удивительное сочувствие погибшим и их родственникам, благодарность Советской армии за победу над фашизмом, глубокое понимание роли Советского Союза, восхищение деятельностью Ремко Рейдинга и еще много трогательного и ранее неизвестного. Поразительна та открытость и человеческая мудрость, которая наполняет все тексты ответов.

Ключевые слова: Советское поле Славы, советские пленные солдаты, военное кладбище, Нидерланды, Лейсден, Ремко Рейдинг, анкетный опрос, волонтеры и опекуны, память о павших воинах.

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CORRIGENDUM

Schulte M. Raskhet i de eldre runeinnskrifter. En runologisk og lingvistisk kommentar til den nyfunne Rakkestadsteinen fra Øverby i Østfold. *Scandinavian Philology*, 2019, vol. 17, issue 1, pp. 73–96.
<https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2019.105>

The discovery of the Proto-Norse Rakkestad-stone came in summer 2017. In October 2017 the field-archeologists from Østfold municipality and the researchers from the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo started scanning the visible runes on the narrow side of the stone. The present author developed his own interpretation of the runic inscription on the narrow side in spring 2019, partly on the basis of open-accessible articles in the media, his own inspection of the stone on the 22nd of March 2019, and the then unpublished article «Iriken på Øverby i Vingulmark» which has finally been launched on the 15th November 2019 (see *Viking* 82, pp. 63–98).

The present author apologizes for having quoted and discussed the unpublished material in this manuscript, despite the authors' wish not to do so. The author accepts that the publication of the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo is entitled to be the first publication on this topic, and that it has the priority of being the first publication. The date of publication for the author's own article in *Scandinavian Philology* is being corrected, and the author will refer to his own article with the year 2020.

The following corrigendum refers to the final version of the article «Iriken på Øverby i Vingulmark» as it is published in *Viking* 82 [2019].

The corrigenda are as follows:

Page 75, line 10–12: Bidraget bygger på grundige forarbeider av arkeologene Karoline Kjesrud, Magne Samdal, og Frode Iversen

has to be read:

Bidraget bygger på grundige arbeider av filolog Karoline Kjesrud, senioringeniør Magne Samdal, arkeolog og konservator Sigrid Mannsåker Gundersen, overingeniør Justin J.L. Kimball, språkforsker Harald Bjorvand og arkeolog Frode Iversen [...].

Page 76, line 1-2: (se rapporten av skann- og fotogrammetriundersøkelsen i Iversen mfl., 2019; ...)

has to be read:

(se “Metode for dokumentasjon og identifikasjon av innskriften” i Iversen, mfl. 2019, s. 66-69; ...).

Page 76, line 12: [Iversen mfl., 2019]

has to be read:

[Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 77-79, med figur 7-8].

Page 76, line 30: (sml. [Iversen mfl., 2019])

has to be read:

(sml. [Iversen mfl. 2019, s. 64-65]).

Page 76, line 33 to page 77, line 7: *the quotation is deleted.*

Page 77, line 10-11: (se den detaljerte rapporten i Iversen mfl., 2019)

has to be read:

(se detaljundersøkelsen og tolkningen i Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 71-74).

Page 77, line 25-26: (se den utførlige arbeidsrapporten i [Iversen mfl., 2019])

has to be read:

(se “Metode for dokumentasjon og identifikasjon av innskriften” i [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 66-69]).

Page 77, line 33-35: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019] bekrefter at “siste del av linje 1 skal avgjort leses som **runoR**, *rūnōR*.”

has to be read:

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 70] bekrefter at “siste del av linje 1 leses som **runoR**, *rūnōR*.”

Page 79, line 20: *add* (se [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 71-72]).

Page 79, footnote 4: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019] fremhever at “[s]kannresultatene har [...] vært av avgjørende betydning for lesningsforslaget [dvs. **lu**].”

has to be read:

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 70] fremhever: “Vi velger likevel å ta utgangspunkt i de innhuggede sporene, og da er lesningen **lu** å foretrekke.”

Page 80, line 19: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl. 2019]

has to be read:

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 71].

Page 80, line 24: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019]

has to be read:

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 71-72].

Page 81, line 1: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019]

has to be read:

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 63, 72-73].

Page 82, line 1-5: Frode Iversen og Karoline Kjesrud mfl. [Kjesrud mfl., 2019] foreslår å lese de to første tegnene på kantsiden som **Iu**), og de tilføyer:

Denne lesningen er usikker, og vi kan ikke utelukke at de første huggete linjer kan være en ukjent **ek**-ligatur, eller en “feilristning” som runologer tidligere har foreslått for å få til lesningen av andre **ek**-ligaturer.

has to be read:

Frode Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 70] foreslår å lese de to første tegnene på kantsiden som **Iu**), og de tilføyer:

Denne lesningen er usikker, og vi kan ikke utelukke at de første huggede linjer kan være en ukjent **ek**-ligatur, eller en “feilristning”.

Page 82, line 13: Bjorvand (i [Frode mfl., 2019])

has to be read:

Bjorvand (i [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 74]).

Page 83, line 28: (se rapporten i [Iversen mfl., 2019])

has to be read:

(se [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 70]).

Page 84, line 20: *Add* (sml. Mees [2003]; [Düwel 2015, s. 282, 284]; og [Iversen mfl. 2019, s. 63–64, 90–93]).

Page 85, line 37, footnote 11: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019]

has to be read:

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 89–93].

Page 90, line 12: Iversen mfl., 2019

has to be read:

Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 90–93.

Page 93, line 16–18: Iversen F., Kjesrud K., Bjorvand H., Kimball J.J.L., Gundersen S.M. Irilen på Øverby i Vingulmark. *Viking*, 2019 [manuskriptversjon mottatt hos Østfold fylkeskommune, 22. mars 2019]

has to be read:

Iversen F., Kjesrud K., Bjorvand H., Kimball J.J.L., Gundersen S.M. Irilen på Øverby i Vingulmark. *Viking*, 2019, vol. 82, S. 63–98.

Schulte M. Raskhet i de eldre runeinnskrifter. En runologisk og lingvistisk kommentar til den nyfunne Rakkestadsteinen fra Øverby i Østfold. *Scandinavian Philology*, 2019, vol. 17, issue 1, pp. 73–96. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2019.105>

Sommeren 2017 ble den urnordiske Rakkestadsteinen oppdaget i Østfold. I oktober 2017 startet fylkeskonservatoren fra Østfold fylkeskommune og forskerne fra Kulturhistorisk museum skanningprosessen av de synlige runene på steinen. Forfatteren la fram sin egen tolkning av runeinnskriften på kantsiden våren 2019, delvis på grunnlag av åpent tilgjengelige medieinnslag, sin egen befarung den 22. mars 2019, og KHMs artikkelmanus “Irilen på Øverby i Vingulmark” som ble lansert den 15. november 2019 (se *Viking* 82, s. 63–98).

Forfatteren beklager at han har sitert og gått i dialog med det upubliserte materiale av dette artikkelmanuset, på tross av at han ble bedt om ikke å gjøre det. Forfatteren godkjenner at KHMs publisering fremgår som første publisering om temaet, og at den har første publiseringsprioritet. Publiseringstidspunktet for forfatterens artikkel i *Scandinavian Philology* korrigeres, og han kommer til å sitere den med publiseringsåret 2020.

Det følgende corrigendum har referanser til den ferdigstilte artikkelen “Iriilen på Øverby i Vingulmark” slik den er publisert i *Viking* 82 [2019].

De enkelte corrigenda er følgende:

Side 75, linje 10-12: Bidraget bygger på grundige forarbeider av arkeologene Karoline Kjesrud, Magne Samdal, og Frode Iversen

rettes til

Bidraget bygger på grundige arbeider av filolog Karoline Kjesrud, senioringeniør Magne Samdal, arkeolog og konservator Sigrid Mannsåker Gundersen, overingeniør Justin J.L. Kimball, språkforsker Harald Bjorvand og arkeolog Frode Iversen [...].

Side 76, linje 1-2: (se rapporten av skann- og fotogrammetriundersøkelsen i Iversen mfl., 2019; ...)

rettes til

(se “Metode for dokumentasjon og identifikasjon av innskriften” i Iversen, mfl. 2019, s. 66-69; ...).

Side 76, linje 12: [Iversen mfl., 2019]

rettes til

[Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 77-79, med figur 7-8].

Side 76, linje 30: (sml. [Iversen mfl., 2019])

rettes til

(sml. [Iversen mfl. 2019, s. 64-65]).

Side 76, linje 33 til side 77, linje 7: *sitatet utgår.*

Side 77, linje 10-11: (se den detaljerte rapporten i Iversen mfl., 2019)

rettes til

(se detaljundersøkelsen og tolkningen i Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 71-74).

Side 77, linje 25-26: (se den utførlige arbeidsrapporten i [Iversen mfl., 2019])

rettes til

(se “Metode for dokumentasjon og identifikasjon av innskriften” i [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 66-69]).

Side 77, linje 33-35: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019] bekrefter at “siste del av linje 1 skal avgjort leses som **runoR**, *rūnōR*.”

rettes til

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 70] bekrefter at “siste del av linje 1 leses som **runoR**, *rūnōR*.”

Side 79, linje 20: *Det tilføyes* (se [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 71-72]).

Side 79, fotnote 4: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019] fremhever at “[s]kannresultatene har [...] vært av avgjørende betydning for lesningsforslaget [dvs. **lu**].”

rettes til

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 70] fremhever: “Vi velger likevel å ta utgangspunkt i de innhuggede sporene, og da er lesningen **lu** å foretrekke.”

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rettes til

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 71].

Side 80, linje 24: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019]

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Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 71-72].

Side 81, linje 1: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019]

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Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 63, 72-73].

Side 82, linje 1-5: Frode Iversen og Karoline Kjesrud mfl. [Kjesrud mfl., 2019] foreslår å lese de to første tegnene på kantsiden som **lū**), og de tilføyer:

Denne lesningen er usikker, og vi kan ikke utelukke at de første huggete linjer kan være en ukjent **ek**-ligatur, eller en “feilristning” som runologer tidligere har foreslått for å få til lesningen av andre **ek**-ligaturer.

Dette rettes til

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Denne lesningen er usikker, og vi kan ikke utelukke at de første huggede linjer kan være en ukjent **ek**-ligatur, eller en “feilristning”.

Side 82, linje 13: Bjorvand (i [Frode mfl., 2019])

rettes til

Bjorvand (i [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 74]).

Side 83, linje 28: (se rapporten i [Iversen mfl., 2019])

rettes til

(se [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 70]).

Side 84, linje 20: *Tilføy* (sml. Mees [2003]; [Düwel 2015, s. 282, 284], og [Iversen mfl. 2019, s. 63–64, 90–93]).

Side 85, linje 37, fotnote 11: Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019]

rettes til

Iversen mfl. [Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 89–93].

Side 90, linje 12: Iversen mfl., 2019

rettes til

Iversen mfl., 2019, s. 90–93.

Side 93, linje 16–18: Iversen F., Kjesrud K., Bjorvand H., Kimball J.J.L., Gundersen S.M. Irilen på Øverby i Vingulmark. *Viking*, 2019 [manuskriptversjon mottatt hos Østfold fylkeskommune, 22. mars 2019]

rettes til

Iversen F., Kjesrud K., Bjorvand H., Kimball J.J.L., Gundersen S.M. Irilen på Øverby i Vingulmark. *Viking*, 2019, vol. 82, s. 63–98.

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