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ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

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INTERROGATIVES AS A MEANS TO EXPRESS POLITENESS IN THE DANISH LANGUAGE*

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Despite the change in the Danish communication style caused by the transformation of the social-political and cultural life of the Danish in the late 1960s, which made a number of polite forms obsolete, the Danish language has various ways to express polite requests. One of the most common strategies congruent with the principle of politeness and efficiency is the use of conventional interrogative sentences with the verbs *gide*, *ville*, *kunne*, verbs in the present tense and a construction *er du sød at*. The article examines these interrogative sentences gleaned from dialogues in contemporary Danish television series. The most polite of all the conventional requests are questions with *vil/ville*, which can be used in a formal setting or in correspondence. They appeal to the addressee's willingness to perform an action, to a greater extent than questions with *kun/kunne*, and they are meant to avoid encroaching upon the interlocutor's freedom. The construction *er du sød at* is classed among the formulas of a high degree of politeness and often presupposes a significant status distance between the interlocutors. Questions with *gide* are used when social and status distance between the interlocutors is insignificant. Combinations of *gide* and *vil* with phasal verbs denoting the ending of an action indicate that these constructions perform a prohibitive function. In the case of questions in the present tense, the interlocutors, as a rule, are engaged in a common activity and the effect of the proposed action is in the interest of both parties. A chara-

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characteristic feature of the speech act of requests is the use of modal particles, first and foremost, *ikke* and *lige*. The particle *lige* is a culture-specific lexical item which indicates that the favour done by the listener is insignificant, but in spite of a lesser threat posed by the speaker, his expressed will is imposed since it is the speaker who decides for the listener how insignificant his request is. The particles *godt* and *nok* are used in insistent requests, while combinations with *bare* imply a mutually satisfying way to solve the problem at hand.

Keywords: the Danish language, politeness, interrogative questions, indirect requests, communication style.

Numerous contemporary studies conducted in various dimensions are devoted to the study of politeness. Works by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, Paul Grice, Robin Lakoff, and Geoffrey Leech describing the politeness phenomenon have become classical and laid the foundations for further research into the matter as reflected in different languages [Brown, Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1973; Grice, 1975; Leech 1983]. Many Danish scholars examine politeness in socio-cultural terms and in the framework of etiquette proper [Andersen, 2014; Olesen, 2009; Steno, 2011; AP, 2010; Christensen, 1999]. Linguistic studies touching upon the category of politeness, as a rule, are devoted to separate aspects — the etiquette formulas of greetings [Hørning, 2015; Lund, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2015; Ronnøe, 2015; Gurova, 2017], the Thou-You forms of communication [Bjerrum, 1995; Hagemann, 1988; Hansen, 1998; Gurova, 2016]. The class of imperative speech acts also ranks high in the works by Danish researchers [Hansen, 1974; Durst-Andersen, 1995; Talbro, 2000; Hansen, 2002; Christensen, 2008; Nikulicheva, 2016]; over the recent years a number of contrastive studies related to the phenomenon of politeness in different cultures and identifying culture-specific elements of Danish communication behaviour as compared with other linguocultures have been published [Mosegaard Hansen, 1998; Fredsted, 2005; Holberg, 2014; Rykov Ibsen, 2016].

While examining the issues related to the phenomenon of politeness one must consider the following aspects.

- Politeness is a nation-specific category which cannot be defined unequivocally since different peoples see it in a different way [Larina, 2009, p. 130]. This perception stems from a certain system of values acting as vital guiding principles reflected in language and discourse. Thus, Carsten Levisen and Sophia Waters claim that, contrary to the English word *politeness* reigning supreme in

the Anglo English realm of meaning, the Danish words *høflighed* 'pleasant togetherness' and *tryghed* 'sense of security' are of much greater prominence in discourse. [Levisen, Waters, 2015, p.249]. It is no wonder that from the English standpoint the Danish look rude and impolite [Booth, 2017, p. 53] because the Danish language lacks the familiar formulas of etiquette the English hold dear: there is no equivalent of the English *please*, and, according to Richard Jenkins, the Danish just ask for something without further ado: "Two pastries", "A coffee, thanks", or "I'll have two of those, there", and so on. [Jenkins, 2011, p.43]. In the anthropologist Dennis Nørmark's opinion, politeness is always conditioned by the expectations of society, and in Denmark these expectations are rather subdued since everyone must be equal and nobody must stand out [Steno, 2015, s. 44]. The use of polite phrases widens the gap between communicants as the interlocutor's social role in this case becomes either more or less important, which, from the viewpoint of Danish native speakers who are used to conversing as equals, is far from desirable [Steno, 2015, s. 44].

- Both the surrounding world and language on the whole, speaking etiquette, which objectivizes the communicative category of politeness, is subject to change. Changes in socio-political and cultural life of the Danish at the end of the 1960s and the ubiquitous shift to 'thou' had an impact on the manner of behaviour and resulted in the informality that many other Europeans find too unsubtle [Palmgren, 2008, s. 10]. Many formulas of etiquette are gradually receding from active usage or start being used in the joking-ironic vein. For example, as Jenkins points out, 'vær så venlig' found in dictionaries and phrase books as an equivalent of 'please' literally means 'to be friendly' and is used rather infrequently in an ironic or sarcastic sense [Jenkins, 2011, p. 42]. Another example is a question-request with the modal verb *ville* 'would'. Otto Jespersen in *The Philosophy of Grammar* published almost a hundred years ago points out the difference in the use of questions with *vil* and *vil ikke*: in Danish "Vil De række mig saltet?" is generally a command, and "Vil De ikke række mig saltet? a polite request ("Would you mind passing the salt?") [Jespersen, 1924, p. 323]. Even though in the contemporary Danish language

both questions are taken as a polite request, the only difference is that with *ikke* the speaker is warier in imposing his will and seems to be foreseeing a negative response from his interlocutor. It should be noted that the speaking behaviour of contemporary people is often charged with aggressiveness. It stems from a number of adverse processes occurring in extralinguistic reality, first of all, with the acceleration of time, multi-tasking and the increase in the amount of received information. It is no wonder that a Danish company providing cellular communication services launched a campaign entitled 'Tal ordentligt' ('Speak politely') that includes making and promoting video commercials appealing to cooperative communication [Tal ordentligt].

- The degree of politeness of a certain phrase is rather conventional in principle as it can often be identified only in a context after analyzing the situation, intonation, nonverbal components, age, role and social standing of interlocutors, the nature of their relations prior to this communication, their psychological mode and physiological state. Rather indicative in this sense is an episode from the serial "Unit One" / "Mobile Unit" (Rejseholdet). An employee of Unit One, Allan Fischer, feels embarrassed seeing his colleague Gaby kiss his partner Johnny, a contract truck owner, responsible for moving the Rejseholdet mobile office between locations:

Fischer: *Nårh... Kunne I ikke skride hen og gøre det et andet sted, så jeg kunne få arbejdet lidt.* "Look... Can't you piss off and do that somewhere else so that I can get some work done?"

Johnny: *Jo-jo. Må jeg lige spørge dig om noget?* "Ok, ok. Can I just ask you something?"

Fischer: *Jaja.* "Of course".

Johnny: *Hvorfor skal du altid snakke så grimt til mig, hvad?* "Why do you always have to be so rude to me?"

Fischer: *Gør jeg det?* "Am I?"

Johnny: *Jamen kan du ikke høre det? Hvad? Du gør da mig sgu i dårligt humør, mand, hvis nu du bare sagde: "Det var hyggeligt at møde dig, Johnny, jeg har sgu noget arbejde, så er I ikke søde at smutte" — æhm — så ville jeg blive meget glad.* [lille hehe-latterlyd] "Can't you hear yourself? Eh? Man, you bloody ruin my mood. If only you'd say: 'It was great to meet you, Johnny, but I've

got some work to do so please just push off' — er — that would make me happy" [little laugh]

Fischer: *Jaja, men var det ikke det, jeg gjorde?* "Of course, but wasn't that what I did?"

Johnny: *Tænk over det.* "Think about it".

Fischer: *Var det ikke det, jeg gjorde? Det var da det, det var da det jeg gjorde.* "Wasn't that just what I did? That was what I did" (Rejseholdet, s. 2, afs. 7, 37:56).

Technically, a request question with the verb *kunne* and the negative *ikke* is polite. The use of the verb *skride* 'clear out' in the infinitive form with the adverb *hen* cannot be perceived as rude, contrary to the imperative *Skrid* 'get out!' The request is expressed without emotion, in a neutral tone, but Johnny, nonetheless, takes it as rudeness, which is clarified by a wider context. Fischer is worried about his friend and colleague, Thomas La Cour, who is suspected of murder. Moreover, his married life is in a mess, and before Johnny's appearance Gaby was asking him about his home life. Thus, the request is caused by Fischer's psychological state, and under different circumstances it may have never happened. Johnny's outburst is the outcome of the nature of relations prior to the communication situation. A little earlier, Johnny in the company of Fischer voices his opinion of La Cour's guilt, to which Fischer irritably retorts that Johnny happens to be the driver for their mobile office, and the case itself is classified. It must be Fischer's repeated demonstration of authority that provokes Johnny, who wants to be treated as an equal. That is why, the request, technically worded in accordance with the etiquette rules, is taken as impolite, even rude.

Thus, politeness is a nation-specific category that reveals itself in established etiquette formulas and conditioned by a particular communicative situation. Since it is the situation that affects the degree of politeness, the material under study is dialogues taken from a number of television series which present various situations of communication involving members of different social groups. Although they cannot be classed as spontaneous conversations since they are part of the script where all lines must sound authentic by definition, it is highly possible to make conclusions as to the frequency of real-life politeness formulas.

Despite some polite etiquette phrases being of active use, the Danish language boasts a large number of means to express a request. According to the latest studies, the Danish style of communication is characterized by the use of direct strategies of inducement: the part of imperative utterances (in the form of bald imperatives or an imperative with modal particles) is quite prominent in informal conversation [Durst-Andersen, 1995, 2011; Holberg, 2014; Rykov Ibsen, 2016; Nikulicheva, 2016; Heinemann, Steensig, 2017; Gurova, 2020]. Another common strategy is the use of conventional indirect requests in the form of questions.

Politeness is deemed to be the main reason behind indirect requests [Searle, 1975], but, according to Eva Ogiermann, the dimensions of politeness and indirectness do not run parallel, and they are related distinctively in different cultures [Ogiermann, 2009]. As Anna Wierzbicka points out, not only do different cultures require various uses of indirect devices, but also the very notions of 'directness' and 'indirectness' fail to be universal, which makes the scholar stop differentiating between 'direct' and 'indirect' speech acts in general, at least, until a precise definition of these terms has been formulated [Wierzbicka, 2003, p. 88]. In this article, which is not a cross-cultural study, an indirect speech act is an act of communication which is complicated in comparison with the corresponding direct act by one interpretative step: it must be taken by the addressee to understand the intentional state of the speaker.

Conventional requests in the form of questions comprise questions with modal verbs *kan/kunne* 'can/could', *vil/ville* 'will/would', the verb *gide* 'to bother, to feel like, to take trouble to', verbs in the present tense and the construction *er du sød at gøre noget* 'would you be so kind / please'. All of them are subject-oriented, that is, they are meant for the listener.

Requests with the verb *gide* are very frequent in informal conversation. According to Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen, they are used when the social and status distance between interlocutors is insignificant, contrary to questions with *vil(le)* that presuppose a wider distance [Mosegaard Hansen, 1998, s. 26]. Requests with *gide* may be conditioned by the age factor. E. Hansen notes that the younger generation prefers using *gider*, while the elder generation *vil* [Mål & Mæle, 1997, s. 4]. The same goes for the use of the infinitive with the particle *at* after the verb *gide*: Danes younger than 50 do not see a mistake in such a use [Nyt fra

Sprognævn, 2015, s. 14–15]. The status proper of the verb *gide* has been ambiguous throughout the history of the Danish language. In the contemporary Danish language, *gide* does not belong to modal verbs and in informal conversation it occurs more often together with the particle *at* [Hansen, Heltoft, 2011, s. 765, s. 778]. Etymologically, the verb *gide* is related to the Old-Islandic *geta*, Gothic *bigitan* and derives from the root *gribe* ‘to catch’. Initially it was used as an auxiliary verb meaning *få* ‘to get’, *kunne* ‘could’, later *have lyst til* ‘feel like’. In the 17th century, the verb starts combining with infinitives without the particle *at*, and it was not until the 20th century that first occurrences of a full infinitive (with *at*) could be traced [Hansen, Heltoft, 2011, s. 1426–1427].

Among the set expressions in Den Danske Ordbog are questions **Gider du ikke nok (at) / Gider du lige (at)** (roughly, ‘Could I (ikke nok) get you to (lige)... / Do you mind...’), which are used in informal speech to mitigate the inducement. A synonymous phrase, according to Den Danske Ordbog, is *vær så venlig at* ‘(would you) be so kind’. The sources examined for this article did not feature the combination *gide + ikke + nok*. Yet, combinations with imperatives are very frequent. Normally, modal particles are considered in combination with imperatives and are deemed a distinguishing feature of the Danish communication style [Durst-Andersen, 1995, 2011; Holberg, 2014; Rykov Ibsen, 2016; Krylova, 2004, 2009, 2012, 2015; Nikulicheva, 2016; Heinemann, Steensig, 2017]. The analysis of the chosen material accords with this idea shows that modal particles that are used to express various pragmatic shades of the speaker’s will are characteristic of not only directives, but also of the speech act of requests in general. Historical modal particles (dialogiske partikler) are a rather recent phenomenon. This class of words was formed only in the 19th century [Dansk Sproghistorie, Bind 3, s. 225] and it encompasses a number of lexical items shading pragmatic meanings of the utterance.

In the contemporary Danish language, **gide** is used largely in negative and interrogative sentences [Jensen, 1997, s. 160]. The analysis of the assembled data shows that in conventional requests **gide** can be used without modal particles (1), with negation **ikke** (2), (4), (6), and with modal particles **lige** (3), (4), **godt** (5), (6), less often with **bare** (7), and these requests presuppose certain physical or mental efforts made by the addressee, that is, they are requests for action, not for a thing or permission.

- (1) Old artist to her assistant: *Rene, gider du lave en kop (te) til Signe?* “Rene, would you mind making Signe a cuppa?” (Arvingerne, s. 1, afs. 1, 10:19)
- (2) Policeman to a colleague: *Gider du ikke at skrive til dem (svensk politi) igen?* “Would you mind writing to them (Swedish police) again?” (B., s. 3, afs. 7, 9:30)
- (3) Teenager to a girlfriend: *Gider du lige tænde?* (et lys i en kage) “Can you just light it? (light on a cake)”. (Jul., afs. 3, 10:27)
- (4) Granddad to his grandson: *Gider du ikke lige give mig den mappe, der ligger i den øverste skuffe derovre?* “Can you just give me the file that’s over there in the top drawer?” (Theo, afs. 2, 15:53)
- (5) Fisher to a mentally handicapped man: *Gider du godt gå derover? Gå nu derover!* “Just go over there. Get over there!” (R., 3 s., 7 afs., 39:28)
- (6) Woman to her husband:
 - *Har du ikke lyst til at tage ned og leje en film?* “Wouldn’t you like to go down and borrow a film?”
 - *Nej, lad os heller høre den smukke musik.* “No, let’s rather listen to the beautiful music”.
 - *Gider du ikke godt, Manfred? Jeg har lyst til at se en rigtig god film.* “Please Manfred. I want to see a really good film”. (R., s. 3, afs. 3, 41:05)
- (7) Ginger to a policeman: *Gider I ikke bare gå med? Han (hendes ven) har det pissetårligt. Lad mig gå!* “Can’t you just come? He’s (her friend) feeling really bad. Let me go!” (Nårst., s. 1, afs. 3, 42:05)

The negative *ikke* is a salient feature of indirect speech in the Danish language. According to Claus Faerch and Gabriele Kasper, the Danish when speaking German use negatives in requests more often than the Germans do, since they model upon the structure of their native language [Faerch, Kasper, 1989, p. 227]. When forming a request with *ikke*, the speaker, as it were, expects a worst response, so he mitigates the threat for the addressee. Yet, Trine Heinemann’s study examining home help service data demonstrates that a negative interrogative request presupposes the speaker’s entitlement to the utterance, while the proposed act is perceived by the addressee as something that must be performed as a matter of course — contrary to the question without negation,

which does not allow for this right [Heinemann, 2006]. For example, in (2) the policeman Alf, speaking to his subordinate, asks him, in order to step up the investigation, to repeat the enquiry to the Swedish police which is a routine practice in a particular situation for the superior and the subordinate.

Though not a true marker of politeness, the particle *lige* is a frequent, culture-specific lexical item having no analogies in cognate Scandinavian languages. *Lige* is not perceived by the Danish as a magic word like the English 'please' or the Russian 'pozhalujsta', but "Danish-speaking children are socialized into *lige* use, and *lige* thinking, from an early age" [Levisen, Waters, 2015, p. 248]. Linguistic studies regard *lige* as a modifier of the imperative or as part of the so-called imperative construction [Nikulicheva, 2016, s. 101]. Per Durst-Andersen classes the particle *lige* as an expression unit that immediately evokes a description (descriptive modalizers) that further points to a modality (alethic possibility). [Durst-Andersen, 1995, p. 641]. The particle *lige* usually occurs in contexts when, first, the speaker does not expect from the addressee that he will object, second, when the proposed act is not supposed to be taxing for the addressee [Hansen, Heltoft, 2011, s. 1072; Levisen, Waters, 2015, p. 260; Nikulicheva, 2012], and, third, when for both the speaker and the hearer this act is part of a common project [Heinemann, Steensig, 2017, p. 139; Samtalegrammatik]. Carsten Levisen and Waters point out that the condensed semantic meaning of *lige* immediately makes a reference to the social norm which prescribes an informal, but anonymous, style of using directives [Levisen, Waters, 2015, p. 261]. The analysis of the assembled data reveals that this assertion can be applied not only to directives, but also to conventional requests. Thus, in (3) the teenager Bob, waiting on the people at a family function, asks his friend Sus to help him light the candle on the cake. The question with *gide* mitigates his willed expression, providing the addressee with an illusion of a pragmatic option, but the marker *lige* testifies to the insignificance of favour, thereby the speaker decides for the hearer how trifling his request is. The ability of *lige* to couple with imperatives, modal verbs and verbs in the present tense in conventional requests (see below) demonstrates that this particle is characteristic of the speech act of requests on the whole. Since *lige*, along with other particles, is of great importance for successful natural communication and proves difficult for foreigners in mastering the Danish language, a pedagogical script, framed in English

Natural Semantic Metalanguage for learners of Danish, compiled by Levisen and Waters is of particular practical value:

- a. many people think like this:
- b. when I want to say to someone else something like this: “I want you to do something”, at many times it is good if I can say one other word at the same time
- c. this word is *lige*
- d. when people say this word, they think like this:
- e. I want you to do something
- f. this is not something big, you can do this in one moment
- g. in can't be bad for you to do it
- h. people do things like this at many times
- i. it is good if people can think like this about many things
- j. it is good if people can think like this at many times [Levisen, Waters 2015, p. 260].

The particle **godt** is used with the verb *gide*, modal verbs *ville*, *kunne*, *turde*, *måtte*, mental verbs and verbs of feeling and perception and has an affirmative meaning contrary to the negative *ikke* (meaning ‘negation of negation’) [Jensen, 1997, s. 156; Krylova, 2016, s. 189]. Thus, in the sentence *Jeg vil godt lave mad i morgen* ‘I will cook a meal tomorrow’, the speaker voices his will to perform the opposite to the negative act, that is, he is not unwilling to cook a meal = agrees to cook it [Jensen, 1997, p. 163]. As the verb *gide* is associated with negative sentences, the particle *godt* in indirect requests enhances the positive meaning of the utterance. For example, in (5) the policeman Fischer tries to prevent a fight and urges the mentally challenged man to leave Otto alone, but then, when the latter will not listen, uses the directive form of the imperative. In (6), the wife, suspecting her husband of a crime, pleads with her husband in an attempt to make him leave home on the pretext of borrowing an interesting video. Thus, the particle *godt* is used with the verb *gide* in insistent requests, functionally resembling the particle *nok*.

The particle *bare* also occurs in the combination with *gide*, telling the hearer that he needs to make a minor effort caused by the verb to reach the desired effect [see on a similar meaning of bare + imperative Krylova, 2012; Heinemann, Steensig, 2017; Samtalegrammatik]. In (7), homeless Ginger tries to talk the policemen into helping her un-

conscious friend, instead of checking the car stolen by her, that is, to perform a simple act of saving the man, rather than examining the car.

Levisen and Waters single out the *gider-du-lige* construction, which shows that one is disappointed with somebody else's breaking the norm; it thereby acts as a discouragement of socially improper behavior by adducing a number of examples with phasal verbs of the ending, such as *lade være med, stoppe*, etc. [Levisen, Waters, 2015, p. 256]. Moreover, the particle *lige* is part of the set expression *Gider du lige?* with prohibitive connotation conveying a meaning of tiredness or displeasure caused by the words or actions of the partner.

- (8) Mother: *Vi mødtes d.1.december. Kan du huske det, John?* "We met on the first of December. Can you remember that, John?"
Father: *Ja, du skulle have nyt køkken.* "Yes, you were supposed to get a new kitchen."
Mother: *Og du skulle installere.* "And you were supposed to set it up".
Father: *Og der blev installeret.* "And it was set up".
Mother (highly pregnant) laughs.
Their daughter Sus: *Gider I lige?* "Do you mind?" (Jul., afs. 1, 04:33)

The analysis of the data makes it possible to conclude that the verb *gide* is frequently used in the prohibitive function and not necessarily in combination with the verb *lige*:

- (9) La Cour to Fischer: ***Gider du holde op med det*** (rygning) *herinde* (inde i bilen)? "Would you mind stopping that (smoking) in here (in the car)?" (R., s. 4, afs. 1, 33:15)
(10) Tom's mother to a policeman: ***Gider du ikke slukke for det horn*** (politisirene)? "Would you mind turning that honking off?" (police siren) (Jul., afs. 11, 09:59)
(11) Lotte to her friend: ***Og gider du godt lade være med at flirte med min nabo, Sigrid!*** "Can't you stop flirting with my neighbour, Sigrid!" (Mvpc, afs. 3, 20:54)

Contrary to questions with *gider*, requests with ***vil/ville*** can be used in an official setting and in correspondence as the most polite of all conventional questions. They appeal to the willingness of the addressee to perform an action and, sooner than questions with *kan/kunne*, they are meant at saving a 'negative face' of the interlocutor (the term denoting

the natural wish of the interlocutor not to be hampered by outsiders). Yet, on the other hand, it is more difficult to answer these questions in the negative since the implicit reason for refusal will be the hearer's lack of willingness and not the external factors [Mosegaard Hansen, 1998, s. 25–26]. In the same way as in questions with *gider*, **vil** can be used without modal particles (12), with negative **ikke** (13), (14), (16), (17) and modal particles **lige** (14), **godt** (15), (16), and **nok** (17).

- (12) A reader to the writer signing his books: **Vil du skrive her?** “Can you sign here, please?” (Fr., afs. 1, 23:07)
- (13) Policeman to bank employees: **Vil I ikke fortælle om Nicky Rasmussens generelle økonomiske forhold?** “Can you just tell us about Nicky Rasmussen’s general financial situation?” (B., s. 3, afs. 7, 6:55)
- (14) Signe to her little-known stepbrother Frederik in the flower shop where she works and which she is to close at the end of the working-day:
**Vil du ikke lige vende dig om så jeg kan gemme dem her (penge-
ne)? Undskyld. Bare så du ikke ser...** “Can’t you just turn round so that I can hide this (money)? Sorry. Just so that you won’t see...” (Arv., s. 1, afs. 4, 23:20)
- (15) Gaby to Johnny on the answering machine: Hej, det er mig. **Vil du godt ringe med det samme?** “Hi, it’s me. Can you ring me back at once?” (R., s. 3, afs. 12, 25:24)
- (16) Tilde to classmates: **Vil I ikke godt skrive under? Kom nu. Pleas-
se?** “Can you just sign this? Come on. Please?” (Kl., s. 1, afs. 3, 3:25)
- (17) Woman who has lost her family, in the hospital ward to Unit One’s boss: **Vil du ikke nok gå?** “Can’t you just go?” (R., s. 3, afs. 9, 25:07)

These particles convey the same pragmatic meanings as they do in combination with *gider*. Contrary to the particle **godt**, which in indirect requests enhances the positive meaning of the utterance, the particle **nok** conveys the speaker’s doubt in the speaker’s possibility or the hearer’s willingness to perform an action [Togebay, 1979, p. 20; Krylova, 2004, p. 98], owing to which the question (17) turns into an insistent request.

Vil can also be used with verbs of the final phase in the prohibitive function.

Mother, irritably, to her younger daughter who is fiddling around with the candles:

- (18) *Alma, vil du godt lade være med det der?* “Alma, can you just stop that?” (playing with the light) (Theo, afs. 20, 3:40)
- (19) Andreas to his girlfriend Signe:
- *Hey, hold op! Du kan ikke stå og råde i hendes papirer.* “Hey, stop that! You can’t just rummage around in her papers”.
 - *Jeg skal have den kontrakt.* “I need that contract”.
 - *Vil du ikke godt stoppe?* “Can you please just stop?” (Arv., s. 1, afs. 6, 7:25)

Questions with **kan/kunne** appeal to the addressee’s possibility of performing an action and are classed among polite requests in the Danish language. Yet, according to Mosegaard Hansen, they are not as polite as those in the French and English languages [Mosegaard Hansen, 1998, s. 25]. **Kan** in questions can be used without modal particles (20), with negative **ikke** (21), (24) and with modal particles **lige** (22), (23), **bare** (24), **måske** (25), as well as be accompanied by extra markers of politeness (22), (23).

- (20) Nurse to Theo, whose grandfather is at home in a coma:
Jeg er bare lige ved at vende ham. Kan du række mig puden? “I’m just turning him over. Can you give me the pillow?” (Theo, afs. 12, 15:49)
- (21) Policeman to a colleague: *Kan du ikke få en kendelse?* “Can’t you get an order?” (B., s. 3, afs. 3, 5:16)
- (22) Nicky to his little son: *Kan du lige blive og lege, skat?* “Can’t you just stay and play, kiddo?” (B., s. 3, afs. 7, 14:38)
- (23) Granddad to his grandson: *Theo, kan du lige række mig den skitse der? Så er du sød.* “Theo, can you just hand me that sketch? Thanks a lot. There’s a good lad”. (Theo, afs. 1, 12:52)
- (24) Theo to his parents: *Kan I ikke bare lade mig være i fred?* “Can’t you just leave me alone?” (Theo, afs. 14, 17:18)
- (25) Faun to a girl: *Så kan du måske fortælle mig, hvad man siger om mig her på Jorden?* “Then maybe you can tell me what they’re saying about me here on Earth?” (Theo, afs. 20, 6:58)

Combinations with the particle *godt* are possible, but the assembled data does not feature them. In insistent requests in colloquial speech,

the borrowed English *please* sometimes occurs, filling the lexical gap in the Danish language. It usually has a narrower pragmatic function: it is a ‘please of begging’ pronounced with a lengthened vowel and characterized by a specific intonation [Levisen, Waters 2015, p. 250].

- (26) Theo to the fantasy creature: *Undskyld, men kan du ikke please hjælpe os op herfra?* “Sorry, but couldn’t you please help us out of here?” (Theo, afs. 6, 7:15)

Questions with *kan* can also be subject-oriented and express not only a request for action but also for permission (27) or they may introduce a suggestion (28):

- (27) Granddad to the attending doctor:
Kan jeg så ikke tage hjem? Jeg vil faktisk være hjemme hos mig selv. “Can’t I go home then? I’d just like to be at home”. (Theo, afs. 2, 3:44)
- (28) Alf to his mistress:
Kan vi ikke snakke om noget andet end arbejde? “Can’t we talk about something else than work?” (B., s. 3, afs. 7, 35:01)

Questions with **kunne**, distinguished with a higher degree of doubt, are regarded as more polite.

- (29) A policeman trying to ease a conflict between colleagues:
Kunne vi lige prøve at tale ordentligt? “Can we just try to speak properly to one another?” (B., s. 3, afs. 2, 40:07)

With a significant gap in the authority between the parties, such utterances can be accompanied by extra markers of politeness.

- (30) The teacher to the pupil who does not want to have a classmate in her project:
Sara, kunne du ikke godt være sød at give Tilde lidt plads. Husk nu, at to er bedre end en. “Sara, can’t you be nice and give Tilde a bit of space. Remember that two are better than one”. (Kl., s. 1, afs. 3, 3:42)

Questions with the verb in the present tense also belong to the most common strategies as they correspond both to the principles of politeness and efficiency [Talbro, 2000, s. 15]. Frequently the situation itself presupposes the emergence of such a request since the communicants

are engaged in a common activity and the result of the proposed action is of mutual interest, and not only in the interest of the speaker. Here, with the request thus worded, especially in combination with *lige*, it is virtually impossible for the hearer to refuse [Levisen, Waters, 2015, p.254]. Such questions can be used without modal particles (31), with negative **ikke** (32), (34) and the modal particle **lige** (33), (34). Since a request often demands an immediate response without being insistent, combination with *godt* and *nok* do not occur.

- (31) Wife to her husband, while opening the boot: *Tager du poserne?* “Can you take the bags?” (Arv., s. 1, afs. 4, 9:02)
- (32) Sus to her friend Bob: *Giver du ikke et nummer på din cello?* “Don’t you want to play something on the cello?” (Jul., afs. 7, 15:29)
- (33) The restaurant’s proprietor to the cook: *Tænder du lige ovnen?* “Can you just put the oven on?” (Nårst, s. 1, afs. 4, 07:32)
- (34) Gro to her father: *Thomas, hjælper du ikke lige?* “Thomas, can you give me a hand?” (Laying the table) (Arv., s. 1, afs. 3, 41:04)

Thus constructed, these questions can also be taken as an invitation.

- (35) Boss of Unit One to a colleague: *Går du ikke med op til et glas vin?* “Want to go up and have a glass of wine?” (R., s. 3, afs. 10, 31:54)

The construction **er du sød at** (lit. ‘are you sweet to’) has a more polite variant **vil du være sød at** and a more unceremonious one in the form of imperative **vær (lige) sød at**. Moreover, as an extra marker of politeness the construction **så er du sød** is used in postposition to the main request, as in (23) or as part of predicative (**kunne**) **være sød**, as in (30). The examined data feature largely the forms of the present tense and most examples reveal a significant authority gap between the interlocutors wherein the superiors have to resort to a polite form of request to mitigate their will expression. The particles fitting this construction included *ikke*, *lige* and a single *bare*.

- (36) Doctor to a patient’s daughter: *Er du sød at vente her?* “Would you mind waiting here?” (Arv., s. 1, afs. 1, 36:44)
- (37) Teacher to a pupil: *Er du ikke sød at sætte Theo ind i juleopgaven?* “Can you just explain the Christmas assignment to Theo?” (Theo, afs. 5, 2:29)

- (38) Boss to a policeman: *Alf, er du sød lige at komme ind på mit kontor? Og sluk lige den cigaret, ikke?* “Would you mind coming into my office, Alf? And can you put your cigarette out?” (B., s. 3, afs. 9, 42:56)
- (39) Policeman to homeless Ginger: *Er du sød lige at træde ud en gang?* “Can you just step out for a moment?” (Nårst, s. 1, afs. 3, 41:31)

The analysis makes it possible to conclude that conventional requests with *gide, vil, kan* verbs in the present tense and the construction *er du sød at* constitute common strategies in the Danish language. The most polite are questions with *vil/ville, er du sød at, kan/kunne*. Questions with *gide* are used when the social-and-status distance between interlocutors is negligible. The choice between *gide* and *vil* can be determined by the age factor, but it has not been confirmed by the results of our study, which may be accounted for by the young age of scriptwriters of the series under study. Combinations of *gide* and *vil* with verbs of the final phase allow us to speak about the prohibitive function of such constructions. In the case of questions in the form of the present tense, communicants, as a rule, are engaged in common activity and the result of the proposed action is in common interest and not only in the interest of the speaker. Characteristic of the request speech act is the use of modal particles, first of all, *ikke* and *lige*. The particles *godt* and *nok* are used in insistent requests, and combinations with *bare* imply an optimal action to solve the existing problems.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Arv. = Arvingerne, 2014–2017 (The Legacy)
 B. = Bedrag, 2019 (Follow the Money)
 Jul. = Julestjerner, 2012 (lit. Christmas Stars)
 Theo = Theo & den magiske talisman, 2018 (Theo & The Magic Talisman)
 R. = Rejseholdet, 2000–2004 (Unit One)
 Nårst. = Når støvet har lagt sig, 2020 (When the dust settles)
 Мывс = Mens vi presser citronen, 2015 (lit. While we squeeze a lemon)
 Fr. = Fred til lands, 2019 (lit. Peace in this land)
 Kl. = Klassen, 2016–2019 (The Class)
 s. = sæson (series)
 afs. = afsnit (episode)

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ВОПРОСИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЯ КАК СРЕДСТВА ВЫРАЖЕНИЯ ВЕЖЛИВОСТИ В ДАТСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ*

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Несмотря на изменение датского стиля коммуникации, связанного с переменами в социально-политической и культурной жизни датчан в конце 1960-х, и выход из активного употребления ряда вежливых оборотов, в датском языке существуют разные способы для выражения вежливых просьб. К одной из самых распространенных стратегий, соответствующих принципу вежливости и эффективности, относится использование конвенциональных вопросительных предложений с глаголами *gide*, *ville*, *kunne*, глаголами в форме настоящего времени и оборотом *er du sød at*. Указанные вопросительные предложения рассматриваются в данной статье на материале диалогов из современных датских сериалов. Самыми вежливыми из всех конвенциональных просьб являются вопросы с *vil/ville*, которые могут употребляться в официальной обстановке и корреспонденции. Они апеллируют к желанию адресата осуществить действие и направлены в большей мере на сохранение негативного лица собеседника, чем вопросы с *kan/kunne*.оборот *er du sød at* относится к формулам с высокой степенью вежливости и часто предполагает значительную статусную дистанцию между собеседниками. Вопросы с *gide* используются, когда социальная и статусная дистанция между собеседниками незначительны. Сочетания *gide* и *vil* с фазовыми глаголами конца свидетельствуют о наличии у данных конструкций прохибитивной функции. В случае с вопросами в форме настоящего времени коммуниканты, как правило, вовлечены в общую деятельность, при чем результат от предполагаемого действия часто находится в общих интересах. Характерной чертой речевого акта просьбы является использование модальных частиц, прежде всего *ikke* и *lige*. Частица *lige* является особой культурно-специфичной лексемой, которая сигнализирует о незначительности услуги, оказываемой слушающим, однако несмотря на уменьшение угрозы со стороны говорящего, его волеизъявление оказывается навязанным, так как говорящий сам решает за слушающего, насколько незначительна его просьба. Частицы *godt* и *nok* используются в настоячивых просьбах, а сочетания с *bare* подразумевают оптимальное действие для решения имеющейся проблемы.

Ключевые слова: датский язык, вежливость, вопросительные предложения, косвенные просьбы, стиль коммуникации.

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ELEMENTS OF OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY IN NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS FOR FOREIGNERS

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This article discusses the Norwegian language textbooks for foreigners *Stein på stein* and *Her på berget*, published from 1995 to 2015. These textbooks are analyzed as tools for promoting the official ideology and as sources of information showing how Norwegians would like to present their society and themselves to representatives of other nations. Such an interpretation is considered to be possible since these publications are primarily designed for immigrants who are planning to come to Norway for permanent residence. Norwegian language courses are expected to provide future citizens of Norway with the necessary knowledge about the society, culture and history of the country, and allow them to become acquainted with the values and lifestyle of Norwegians. The focus of the article is one of the most popular series of textbooks published by Cappelen Damm: *Stein på stein* and *Her på berget*. Over the course of twenty-five years, new editions of these textbooks have been published: for example, the first edition of the textbook *Stein på stein* was published in 1990, and the last one in 2015. The new editions show changes in the image of Norwegian society, shifts on emphasis, the themes that were important to discuss in different editions, and some new concepts and topics that the authors of the textbooks considered necessary to introduce in the new editions. When analyzing the texts, the authors single out several lexical ideologemes, the so-called “values” (*verdier*), which can be considered especially significant in the self-presentation of the Norwegian nation. Such ideologemes as “equality” (*likestilling / likhetstanke*), “democracy” (*demokratiet*) and “environmentally conscious” (*miljøbevissthet*) are analyzed. The article considers the political background for the actualization of these concepts in educational texts; the development of the seman-

tic fields, the core of which are the mentioned ideologemes; the organization of these concepts in the text and model characters of the textbooks as bearers of these “values”.

Keywords: teaching Norwegian, Norwegian language textbooks, educational texts, social values, ideologemes, model characters, concept.

This article discusses some elements of official ideology (social values) used in Norwegian textbooks for foreigners. Since textbooks written in Norway by Norwegian specialists are widely used in different Russian higher educational institutions while learning the Norwegian language, it seems to be very important to make teachers clearly understand the political prerequisites for making changes to these textbooks, and what elements of ideology the Norwegian authorities considered necessary to integrate into the textbooks for foreigners.

The famous Russian sociologist Tamara M. Dridze claims that “Via texts learners get acquainted with social values and norms, with different data and information accumulated by people during practical and theoretical activities, learn to distinguish what is important for his/her participation in social life and for joint activities with other people” [Dridze, 1984, p.240]. It is necessary to note that in textbooks authors are modeling “an ideal world” and it means that not all Norwegians consider the values which are “preached” to foreigners studying Norwegian important, or that they live according to these approved ethical guidelines. This should be clearly understood by students who learn about Norwegian society from textbooks.

Two textbooks from the same series have been selected for analysis: “*Stein på stein*” (three editions: 1998, 2005 and 2014) and “*Her på berget*” (three editions: 1995, 2008 and 2015)¹. These textbooks are standard manuals for teaching immigrants in compulsory Norwegian language courses, the final stage of which is an exam for obtaining Norwegian citizenship. SpS is oriented towards grown-ups studying Norwegian and corresponds to the level B1. It contains a certain number of dialogues, articles from different Norwegian newspapers and discussions. HpB, on the other hand, raises themes tightly connected with sociology, public relations and corresponds to the level B2. It includes narrative texts, interesting data and information which inspires the learners to speak on different topics and hold discussions, as it is stated in the introduction: “*Målet med tekstene er at de skal øve opp språkferdigheter, gi nyttig infor-*

¹ The following abbreviations are used hereafter in the article: SpS and HpB.

masjon og samtidig inspirere til samtaler og diskusjoner i klassen.” (HpB, 2015, p. 3)

There have been significant changes in the structure of textbooks after 2005 when the Ministry of Education adopted new methodological directives — “*Læreplan i norsk og samfunnskunnskap for voksne innvandrere*”. This plan stipulates, in particular, the ideological component.

“*Opplæringen skal bidra til at deltakerne:*

- *får kunnskap om viktige historiske, sosiale, økonomiske, kulturelle, rettslige og politiske forhold i Norge — og at de kan uttrykke kjennskap til disse forholdene;*
- *utvikler kunnskap om egne rettigheter, muligheter og plikter i det norske samfunnet — og at de kan bruke denne kunnskapen i hverdagen;*
- *reflekterer over og samtaler om grunnleggende verdier og utfordringer i det norske samfunnet knyttet til demokrati, likestilling og menneskerettigheter — og at de kan uttrykke egne meninger om slike spørsmål*” [Læreplan i norsk og samfunnskunnskap for voksne innvandrere, 2012, p. 4].

The new methodological directives seem to be one of the reasons why the 2005 edition of the SpS textbook added such chapters as “*The Welfare Society*” and “*Human Rights and Equality*” that were missing in the first edition. Thus, the new textbooks have become more “ideologically consistent”. The second common feature associated with the changes in methodology is the larger applied component of the textbook. The amount of material providing a general understanding of Norwegian culture, language and history has diminished compared to the aspects that an immigrant needs in everyday life. For example, in the 2005/2014 editions of SpS, much of the chapter “*Work and Career Choice*” is a detailed description of how to write a job application and CV and how an interview is conducted. This information was not available in the previous edition. Such a change can be explained by the nature of the citizenship exam (Norskprøve).

Unlike other similar exams, the university Trinn 3 and Bergenstest, with their general humanitarian orientation, this exam has an applied character and is meant to test the student’s ability to use language knowledge in everyday life. For example, the written part of the assignment requires that the applicant write a complaint to a housing coop-

erative, an email to a transport company asking them not to cancel the bus route, etc.

Taking these factors into account, we can assert that the new editions of the textbooks reflect not only changes in the directives (which in turn is caused by certain shifts in immigration policy), but also changes in the official ideology of the state.

1. SOCIAL VALUES

What did the authors of the textbooks rely on when choosing elements of the official ideology or “Norwegian values”? It can be reasonably assumed that the report of the Values Commission (*Verdikommisjonen*) in 2001 was taken as a foundation. January 30, 1998 the first government of Kjell Magne Bondevik appointed the Values Commission, which should “*bidra til en bred verdimeslig og samfunnsetisk mobilisering for å styrke positive fellesskapsverdier og ansvar for miljøet og fellesskapet.*” It seemed to be important “*å motvirke likegyldighet og fremme personlig ansvar, deltagelse og demokrati*” [Verdikommisjonens sluttrapport].

There were significant changes in the social, political and economic life of Norway in the 1990s which were the precondition for establishing this commission. Norway became a part of the European Economic Area (EEA) and thus integrated into the EU’s internal market. At this time, revenues from oil production and sale were growing, and the state formed the Government Pension Fund with a cross-party agreement to use the money for investments abroad in order to finance future pension obligations. Such changes influenced public consciousness significantly. As the famous sociologist Ottar Hellevik writes in his book *Det norske samfunn*: “På første halvdel av 90-tallet får vi også et litt mer moderne verdisyn. Deretter ser vi en klar tendens i moderne retning fram til 1999. Viktige bidrag til utviklingen i denne perioden er økende vektlegging av egne behov, hedonisme og seksuell frigjorthet. Nordmenn la mindre vekt på selvrealisering og toleranse” [Torsøe, Wangen].

Most likely, it was considered necessary to establish the “values of Norwegian society” on the state level in order to combat the growing “egoism” of society. The Commission has been working for three years now. The work of the Commission has resulted in a report in three volumes, published in 2001, which formulated the Commission’s point of view on such values as “freedom”, “community” (*felleskap*), “human

value” (*menneskeverd*), tolerance in multicultural Norway, “sustainable land usage” (*miljøbevissthet*), etc. It further postulates how respect for these values should be manifested in medicine (for example, the prohibition of euthanasia as respect for the value of human life, respect for patients with alcohol and drug addiction or mental disorders), in politics, business, industry, and how schools should educate students in the spirit of these values. It is obvious that these ideas are approved in the new *Læreplan*.

The concept of “value” is of much greater importance in the social and cultural life of Norway than, for example, in Russia. The work of the Values Commission is just one of many manifestations of the relevance of this concept. Since 1985, Norway has had a government program that conducts comprehensive statistical surveys every second year (*Norsk Monitor*) with about 3,800 participants over 15 years. This sociocultural study is aimed at exploring the values, opinions and patterns of behavior in Norwegian society. The project defines “values” as “*individenes oppfatning om hva som er grunnleggende mål for tilværelsen (målverdier), og om hvordan disse målene skal nås (middelverdier). Verdien er individets oppskrift for det gode liv og det gode samfunn*” [Hellevik, 2001, p. 259].

“Norwegian values” are the subject of many sociological studies, in addition to Ottar Hellevik we can also name the main “expert” on “typically Norwegian”, Thomas Hylland Eriksen with his famous book “*Typisk norsk*” (1993). Among his newest writings is the book “*Kulturforskjeller i praksis. Perspektiver på det flerkulturelle Norge*” (2020) written in cooperation with Torun Arntsen Shajjad. There are also publications that criticize the official ideology, for example, a book written by Norwegian politician and journalist with Finnish background, Sanna Sarromaa [Sarromaa, 2016].

The notion of “values” is also constantly raised in the press. In 2017, a heated debate about “Norwegian values” erupted in such newspapers as *VG* and *Adresseavisen*. The concept became a weapon in the parliamentary election campaign when parties accused each other of a lack of respect to Norwegian values or even an “attack” (*angrep*) on them. [Welhaven, 2017]. Nowadays this topic also does not lose its relevance, and in the central newspaper *Aftenposten* on May 3, 2020, an article appeared with the following title “*Vil pandemien endre nordmenns holdninger og verdier?*” [Bratland Hansen].

2. IDEOLOGEMES

We have identified several fundamental ideologemes, so-called “social values”, guided, first of all, by the importance that is given to them in the textbooks, but also drawing on other sources, for example, the Norwegian media.

1. **Likestilling/likhetstanke.** One of the main lexical ideologemes that has a special place in Norwegian society is *likestilling* or *likhetstanke*. Equality is one of the main concepts that define the ideology of modern Norwegian society. This topic is discussed in all textbooks without exception, while the context can vary greatly: work, education, family, politics, monarchy, etc. There is a clear semantic boundary between the words *likestilling* and *likhetstanke*. The semantic field *likhet* includes such concepts as *egalitær* and *homogen*.

Norge er et egalitært samfunn, og med det mener vi at tanken om å være lik hverandre, står sterkt. (HpB, 1995, p. 23).

Et flerkulturelt samfunn. Norge — et homogent samfunn? (HpB, 2008, p. 18)

At the same time, if in the first textbooks the word *likhet* in the topic of education is used in the meaning of “the absence of social inequality or inequality by geography or gender” and the issue of the rights of people with disabilities is only briefly touched upon, then in the textbook from 2015 this topic is discussed in more detail, and people with special needs or with different religious beliefs are taken into consideration.

Likhetstanken ser man også innenfor skolesystemet. Det er vanlig at alle barn på samme alder går samme klasse. Man skiller ikke elevene etter kjønn, evner eller prestasjoner... Også elever med sykdommer eller handicap eller andre spesielle problemer skal så langt det er mulig, gå i vanlig skole sammen med sine jevnaldrende. (HpB, 2015, p. 31–32)

It should be noted that the semantic field of vocabulary associated with the sphere of social assistance to disabled citizens is constantly developing, in connection with an attempt to choose politically correct designations for taboo words. An example is in the late 1990s when the word ‘*uføre*’ (disabled) was actively used. At the moment, it is no longer considered to be politically correct and it has been replaced by the concept of *utviklings-eller funksjonshemmete* (people with disabilities).

Elever med sykdommer, funksjonshemninger eller andre spesielle problemer skal, så langt derer mulig, gå i vanlig skolesammen med elever på sammealder. Tanken er at det er bra for alle å møte ulike mennesker og lære av hverandre. (HpB, 2015, p. 48)

As for the word *likestilling*, in the first editions it was interpreted exceptionally as 'gender equality'. A considerable part of the texts discuss the women's role in the workplace, in family, and in politics. In this case, the real meaning of the ideologeme is not the presence or absence of equality, but "the struggle for equality".

Selv om menneskeettighetene gjelder for alle, er det fortsatt stor forskjell på kvinner og menn på verdensbasis, skriver UNICEF. (SpS, 2014, p. 151)

The general meaning of everything that is said about gender equality in both the 1995 textbook and the 2014 textbook is expressed in the following words: "*Norge på mange måter er kommet langt i likestillingsarbeidet, kan vi ikke lene oss tilbake og være fornøyd med situasjonen i dag. Vi må hele tiden fortsette å arbeide for reell likestilling mellom alle innbyggerne.*" (SpS, 2005, p. 127)

At the same time, due to the changes that are clearly seen in the usage of vocabulary and the introduced concepts, we can observe that the work is proceeding quite successfully. The official term *foreldrepermisjon* 'parental leave', used in the textbook of 1998 (the decree itself was adopted in 1993), in the course of time turned into a more informal and abridged version — *pappaperm.*

Flere tar pappaperm. (SpS, 2005, p. 120)

...Men fremdeles er det 15% som ikke tar pappapermisjon i det hele tatt. (ibid.) Jeg har nettopp etablert mitt eget firma (er blitt drosjeeier), og det er umulig å ta ut mange ukers pappapermisjon. (SpS, 2014, p. 135)

The change shows that it has become quite an ordinary thing.

As for other types of discrimination, they are given less importance. For example, in the first editions, there are few sentences about discrimination against immigrants.

Et annet område... er likestillingen av innvandrere. På dette området er den reelle situasjonen ofte mindre bra enn det kan se ut til på papiret. (SpS, 2005, p. 126)

In the latest edition, this problem is discussed on two pages and contains the official regulations on the prohibition of discrimination.

2. **Democracy.** In the textbooks, the word *folkestyre* ‘democracy’ is most often used, perhaps as a broader one. All editions of the HpB textbooks contain a certain amount of texts about the Norwegian parliament, branches of government and elections. At the same time, it is important to note that the amount of material varies considerably, and in the latest edition, for example, the juridical branch of government is very briefly mentioned (if we compare the extent in the editions of 1995 and 2015, the ratio is approximately 4 to 1). The fact that it is apparently important for the authors of the textbook to use the word *folkestyre* instead of *demokrati* is obvious since the word *folk* appears repeatedly in the texts when referring to authorities:

Folkestyret utøves gjennom de representantene som folket velger til Stortinget. (HpB, 1998, p. 139)

Folkets makt kommer til uttrykk hver gang det er valg. (HpB, 1998, p. 140)

...Det er folket som har makten i landet. (HpB, 2008, p. 120; HpB, 2015, p. 132)

Folkeavstemning: politikerne får folkets råd. (HpB, 2008, p. 121; HpB, 2015, p. 132)

Kong Olav ble kalt folkekonge. (HpB, 2015, p. 120)

Å være folkelig blir altså sett på som noe positivt. (ibid., p. 120).

Paradoxical as it may seem, the ideologem *democracy* is most clearly manifested in the fragments which present monarchy. We can note that in the latest edition the amount is significantly reduced in comparison to the 2008 edition. However, in this case it is remarkable, first of all, not due to the material changing, but due to the fact that it has remained unchanged, namely the concept of *folkekonge* ‘the folk king’.

The king becomes a symbol of Norwegian democracy. He is not just a nominal ruler, but the folk king. The textbooks tell how King Haakon treated foreign ambassadors with fish meatballs in the post-war years, and King Olav took the tram during years of fuel shortages. It is also mentioned in the latest edition that Crown Princess Ingrid Alexandra was recently transferred to an elite private school, the fact which the people, accustomed to the “people’s king”, did not like and that there does exist strong opposition in society to elite education and the separation of children on this principle. Here again we see that regardless of the change in meanings, the ideologeme of the royal family does not change.

3. **Miljøbevissthet.** The ideologeme, which appeared recently and is actively developing, can be defined by the word *miljøbevissthet* ‘envi-

ronmental awareness'. It is safe to name the event that gave rise to this ideologeme: a report provided by the UN climate committee in 1995 on the dangers of climate change. This problem has existed for a long time and has attracted public attention, but it was this report that can be considered the starting point for the emergence of the ideologeme.

In the field of linguistics, the ideologeme *miljøbevissthet* is the most productive of all of the above mentioned, since all new units from this semantic field appear in the language, for example, *flyskam* 'shame when using an airplane': the feeling that a person with high environmental awareness has when he/she flies in an airplane because they understand that airplanes pollute the atmosphere to a great extent, thereby contributing to global warming.

The object of our study clearly shows how actively this ideologeme is progressing. In the first editions of the textbooks, there was no mention about environmental problems. At the same time, considerable attention is paid to this problem in the latest editions in both textbooks. For example, SpS provides practical advice on how to save energy, while HpB introduces the concepts of *fornybar* — *ikke fornybar* energy and talks about alternative energy sources: bioenergy, solar panels, and the usage of water and wind energy.

3. TEXT ORGANIZING

As the researchers note, educational texts perform informative, cognitive and creative functions. Foreign language textbooks are characterized by various forms of discourse: dialogues, disputes, description texts, etc.

It should be emphasized that between the SpS and HpB textbooks there is a significant difference in the choice of the form of discourse: in SpS we see a number of dialogues, simulated situations, while in HpB there are very few simulated dialogues and the structure of the narrative prevails. At the same time, different textbooks show different models of relations between participants in dialogues: in SpS, the conversations are built on everyday topics without any disagreements, while in HpB the interlocutors defend diametrically opposite points of view when speaking about an actual topic.

The editions of the same textbook also differ significantly in this respect. In the 1995 edition of HpB there are no dialogues at all, in the

2008 edition two dialogues are included in the book (on returning from maternity leave and on royal power), and in the 2015 edition there are three of them: job interview, parental dialogue about the child's workload outside of school, and the discussion on the introduction of a new tax on driving a car. In all editions of SpS there are 5 dialogues in the chapter "*Hva driver du med?*". However, the difference is quite obvious: there are 13 dialogues on different themes in the 2005 edition of SpS and 17 dialogues in the 2014 edition. A majority of the chapters start with dialogues.

An educational text is intertextual by nature, and these textbooks are no exception: the chapters include newspaper articles, comics, fiction, legal documents, excerpts from discussions on social networks, etc.

When talking about text organization, headings need to be considered as they are an important element of any text. Since it is traditionally considered that educational texts are written in the scientific genre, one would expect that the headings would also correspond to the rules of the genre: defining the subject of presentation, accurate, devoid of stylistic devices, and free from ambivalence. This is true in most of the textbook corpus. However, there are some exceptions. Noticeably, most of the titles are related to the texts in which the actual ideologemes are considered. This is especially remarkable when comparing different editions of the same textbook. At the same time, a change in the perception towards a particular problem also becomes apparent.

An example of the change in perception is evident when examining the ideologeme *likhet* in the context of a multicultural society. In the 1995 edition of HpB the corresponding chapter is titled "*Noen likheter og forskjeller i samfunnet*" (p. 20), and one of the subchapters has the following heading "*Et flerkulturelt samfunn?*" (p. 27). A heading with a question mark signals that the notion of a "multicultural society" will be further questioned, and the students are invited to a discussion about whether Norwegian society is truly multicultural. In the 2008 edition, the attitude towards this problem is clearly changing: the entire chapter is titled "*Et flerkulturelt samfunn*" (p. 15), and the statement that Norwegian society is homogeneous is under question here (subchapter "*Norge — et homogent samfunn?*" (p. 18). Finally, in the 2015 edition, the idea of the possible homogeneity of society disappears altogether even though the chapter is still titled "*Et flerkulturelt samfunn*" (p. 34) and it speaks about different groups of national minorities.

The most expressive changes in attitudes are visible in the headings for the chapter on environmental protection. For example, in the 2015 edition of SpS such a heading as “*Natur eller olje?*” appears. Let us recall that the ideologeme is absent in the 1995 edition of HpB, but in subsequent editions large chapters are devoted to environmental problems. If in the 2008 edition the chapter title contains elements with a certain emotional load: “*Miljø og klimatrussel*” (p. 39), then in the 2015 edition the chapter is titled more impassively — “*Klima og miljø*” (p. 68). It should be mentioned that although Norway and a number of other countries adhere to the official point of view on the significance of the anthropogenic factor in climate changes, this is not an undisputable truth within the international community. Subheadings “*Hva kan du og jeg gjøre?*” (HpB, 2015, p.74) and “*Rapporten som forandret verden*” (HpB, 2008, p.40) in terms of expressiveness and the use of rhetorical techniques are close to the media headlines; they contain not only an informational function, but also a persuasive function.

4. MODEL CHARACTERS IN THE TEXTBOOKS

By the model characters, we mean both characters from the texts of dialogues and historical figures, which are described in textbooks. Considering fictional characters, it is interesting to note that they are carriers of *likestilling* ideas: women in dialogues advocate a progressive, “ideologically correct” point of view more often than men. Therefore, in the 2015 edition of HpB, it is a woman who defends the correctness of the introduction of a tax on cars, substantiating it with a concern for nature and offering to use public transport (p. 70). In parentheses, it should be noted that the introduction of such a tax (the so-called *bompenger*) in large cities caused discontent among many Norwegians, provoking numerous protests, among which one can mention the establishment of the *Folkeaksjonen NEI til mer bompenger* party in 2018.

The dialogue between parents about the extracurricular activities of their children is also of interest (HpB, 2015, p.32). The interlocutors are discussing children participating in different activities in their free time, and the conversation is conducted not by two mothers as Russian learners would expect, but by a mother and a father. The father does not refer to the wife’s opinion about the need to enroll the child in this

or that club, he defends his own point of view: “Jeg synes det er viktig at ungene har interesser, og at de har venner i ulike miljøer” (ibid.). In other words, this situation reflects the full participation of Norwegian fathers in the lives of their children, which is discussed in more detail in the chapters on equality, family and everyday life as well as the welfare state. For example:

Det har vist seg å ha positive effect å reservere deler av fødselspermisjon for far. Nå er det 77 % av fedrene som er hjemme i tre eller fire uker. (SpS, 2005, p. 120)

The development of the *likestilling* idea is also noticeable in the selection of historical figures mentioned in the textbooks. In the 1995 edition of HpB, in the chapter “*Noen kjente nordmenn*”, out of four personalities only one is a woman (Sigrid Undset). In the 2008 edition, the ratio is about the same: out of 6 personalities two are women (the writer Amalie Scram and the sculptor Inger Sitter). As for the structure of the 2015 textbook it has changed: at the end of each chapter, a subchapter “*Profilen*” has been added. The authors provide readers with the biography of a famous person, which is a kind of embodiment of the main idea of the chapter. At the end of the chapter “*School and Higher Education*”, the world-famous mathematician Niels Henrik Abel is given as an example, and in the chapter “*Internasjonale forhold*” — Alfred Nobel. It is worth noting that in the chapters about work and power distribution, concerning equality which feminists are fighting for, biographies of women are given: Gerd Kristiansen, Kristin Skogen Lund (as a representatives of trade unions) and Inger Louise Valle (the politician who put forward the idea of a “Humane prison”). Otherwise, the distribution is as follows: 9 men and 5 women, while none of the latter are cultural figures.

5. CONCLUSION

In light of the above-mentioned analysis, the following conclusions can be made:

- changes which have taken place in the structure of the content of textbooks can be explained not only by the necessity in updating the material and methodology, but also by shifts in the official ideology of the state, which are reflected in the official school directives;

- the most active of the three considered ideologemes *likestilling*, *demokrati* and *miljøbevissthet* develop vocabulary in the field of the environment. It should also be noted that in textbooks this topic is presented most expressively, including the headings;
- elements of the official ideology in the textbooks are expressed directly not only in the texts, but also are clearly seen in the elements of the structure. Thus, for example, the choice of model characters in the textbooks is motivated by *likestilling* ideas.

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ЭЛЕМЕНТЫ ОФИЦИАЛЬНОЙ ИДЕОЛОГИИ В УЧЕБНИКАХ НОРВЕЖСКОГО ЯЗЫКА ДЛЯ ИНОСТРАНЦЕВ

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Статья посвящена анализу учебников норвежского языка для иностранцев «Stein på stein» и «Her på berget», вышедших в свет с 1995 по 2015 год. Эти учебники рассматриваются как инструменты для пропаганды официальной идеологии и источники информации о том, каким образом норвежцы стремятся показать свое общество представителям других наций. Подобная трактовка представляется возможной, поскольку данные издания рассчитаны в первую очередь на иммигрантов, собирающихся постоянно проживать в Норвегии. Предполагается, что на курсах норвежского языка будущие граждане Норвегии получат необходимые знания об обществе, культуре и истории страны, познакомятся с ценностями и укладом жизни норвежского общества. Объектом исследования стала одна из самых популярных серий учебников, выпускаемых издательством Каппелен Дамм: «Stein på stein» и «Her på berget». На протяжении двадцати пяти лет выходили новые редакции этих изданий: так, первое издание учебника «Stein på stein» вышло в 1990 г., а последнее на сегодняшний день — в 2015 г. Новые редакции учебников демонстрируют, каким образом поменялось изображение норвежского общества, как сместились акценты, какие темы представлялось важным осветить в разные годы, а также какие новые понятия и языковые единицы авторы учебника сочли нужным ввести в новых редакциях. При анализе текстов авторы выделяют несколько лексических идеологем, так называемых «ценностей» (*verdier*), которые можно считать особенно значимыми в самопрезентации норвежской нации. Речь идет о таких понятиях, как «равенство» (*likestilling/likhetstanke*), «демократия» (*demokratiet*) и «осознанное отношение к окружающей среде» (*miljøbevissthet*). В статье рассматриваются политические предпосылки актуализации этих понятий в учебных текстах, развитие семантического поля, ядром которых служат эти

идеологемы, организация этих понятий в тексте и модельные персонажи текстов учебников как носители данных «ценностей».

Ключевые слова: преподавание норвежского языка, учебники норвежского языка, учебные тексты, ценности общества, идеологемы, модельные персонажи учебников.

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COLLECTIVE NOUNS DENOTING TREES IN THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

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This article discusses the collective names of trees used in the Scandinavian languages, as well as the formation process of similar collective names in Eastern and Western Germanic. It should be emphasized that the Northern Germanic languages used the suffix **-ijan* for creating collective nouns which denote 'a group of trees', e. g. ON. *birki* n. coll. 'birch forest', Icel. *birki* 'birch forest; birch', Norw. *birki* 'birch forest', Swed. *björke* 'birch forest, birch grove' (< PG. **berkijan* n. coll. 'a group of birches, birch forest, birch grove' – PG. **berkō* f. 'birch, *Betula*'). The same suffix denoting collectivity and originating from the Proto-Indo-European language is also present as **-bje* in most Slavic languages, cf. Ru. dial. *берѣзье* n. coll. 'birch forest, birch twigs'; OPol. *brzezie* n. 'birch grove or forest'; Cz. *březí* n. 'small birch-grove, also *břízí* n. 'birch twigs, birch-wood'; Slovak *brezie* n. 'small birch-forest, birch-grove'; SC. *brêzje* n. coll. 'birch forest', Sloven. *brêzje* n. 'id.' (< PSi. **berzbje* n. coll. 'group of birches, birch forest, birch-grove' – PSi. **bërza* f. 'birch, *Betula*'). Further possible traces of the same suffix can be found in the Baltic languages (cf. OPrus. *pannean* n. 'mossy fen' vs. Go. *fani* n. 'mud', OSax. *feni* n. 'fen') suggesting that the Proto-Indo-European collective suffix can be reconstructed as **-ijom* (n. coll.). It seems probable that some northern Indo-European tribes used the derivative word **b^herh₂gijom* (n.) to denote 'a group of birch trees', especially 'a birch grove' or 'a birch forest'.

Keywords: archaism, collectives, Danish, etymology, Germanic-Slavic relations, Indo-European languages, Norwegian, Old Norse, Proto-Germanic, Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Slavic, Scandinavian peoples, Swedish language, tree names, word-formation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Collective nouns (*nomina collectiva*) when defined from a descriptive point of view are denominal derivatives with a singular form (*singularia tantum*) demonstrating a collective meaning and function revealing the sense of ‘multiplicity and collectivity of what is specified in the base’, e. g. ON. *birki* n. coll. ‘birch forest’ ← ON. *björk* f. ‘birch (a deciduous tree: *Betula*)’; Icel. *þelli* ‘pinewood’ ← Icel. *þöll* f. ‘young pine tree’; Far. *eskja* n. coll. ‘ash grove’ ← Far. *ask* f. ‘ash tree’; Go. *awēpi* n. ‘herd of sheep’ ← PG. **awiz* f. ‘sheep’, OE. *imbe* n. coll. ‘swarm of bees’ ← PG. **imbiō* f. ‘bee’ (cf. MDu. *imme* f. ‘bee’); OSax. *saherahi* n. coll. ‘sedgy place’ ← PG. **sahazaz* m. ‘sedge’ (cf. OHG. *sahar* m. ‘sedge’); OHG. *chindahi* n. coll. ‘a group of children’ vs. G. *Kind* ‘child’. The number of collective nouns denoting trees, animals or people found in Indo-European languages attest this e. g. Lat. *quercētum* n. coll. ‘oak forest, oak wood’ ← Lat. *quercus* f. ‘oak tree’; Ved. *gávyam* and *gavyám* n. ‘cattle, herd of cows’, also *gávyā* f. ‘a cow-herd’ ← Ved. *gáuh* m./f. ‘ox; cow’; Lith. *gaujà* f. ‘flock, pack, herd, bunch, band, gang’; Latv. *gauja* f. ‘crowd, a lot of (people); multitude’ (originally ‘a herd of cows’); Gk. Lac. *βούα* f. ‘a band of young boys’, originally **g^uóujā* f. ‘a herd of cows’ [Kaczyńska, 2019, p. 93–103].

The research in this paper examines North Germanic collectives in *-i*, which seem to refer to the plant world, especially trees. The lexical evidence strongly hints that at one time it was a productive formation in Nordic languages. Today, however, as evinced in modern Scandinavian languages, collective nouns have lost productivity. Despite this, it is still possible to find some items with the preserved collective meaning in Norwegian, Swedish or Danish (e. g. Norw. *birki* ‘birch forest’, Swed. *björke* ‘birch forest, birch grove’, Dan. *æske* ‘ash grove’). There are numerous examples where the old collective nouns denote a single tree (e. g. Icel. *elri* n. ‘alder tree’ vs. ON. *elri* n. coll. ‘alder grove’; Icel. *heslí* ‘the common hazel, *Corylus avellana* L.’ vs. ON. *hesli* n. coll. ‘hazel shrub’; Elfd. *áyve* n. ‘yew tree’ (<PG. **īwījan* n. coll. ‘yew grove’) vs. Swed. *ide* ‘yew grove’ (<PG. **īwīþijan* n. coll. ‘id.’) — a frequently used language process common in the singularization of old collective nouns. This phenomenon appears as

early as in the Old Norse period, cf. ON. *espi* n. ‘aspen’ (originally n. coll. ‘a group of aspen trees; aspen forest or grove’) vs. Swed. dial. *äspe* ‘Espenwäldchen / aspen grove’ ← ON. *ǫsp* f. ‘aspen’, Swed. *asp* ‘id.’ [de Vries, 1977, p. 106]; ON. *greni* n. ‘Tanne, Fichte / fir, spruce’ (orig. n. coll. ‘a group of fir trees; fir forest’) vs. Norw. *grene* ‘Tannenwald / fir forest’ ← ON. *grǫn* f. ‘Tanne / fir’, Norw. *gran* ‘id.’ [de Vries, 1977, p. 187].

The aim of our paper is to compare some selected Nordic and Scandinavian tree collectives in *-i* with their possible Slavic equivalents in **-bje*, as well as to demonstrate the common origin of the North Germanic and Slavic collective nouns.

2. TREE COLLECTIVES IN SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

Within collective nouns, the Old Norse and Scandinavian derivational type in *-i* (< PG. **-ijan*) deserves closer attention for three reasons. Firstly, the collectives in *-i* in the North Germanic languages create a number of nouns which refer exclusively to a group of trees (e. g. ON. *elmi* n. ‘elm forest’, *elri* n. ‘alder grove’; Icel. *beyki* n. ‘beech forest, beech grove, beech’; Far. *eskja*, Dan. *æske* ‘ash grove’; Norw. *birki* ‘birch forest’, Swed. *björke* ‘birch forest, birch grove’), whereas Gothic and the West Germanic languages use the same collectives to denote items referring to natural phenomena including also animals (cf. Go. *fairguni* n. ‘mountain range’; Go. *fani* n. ‘mud’, OSax. *feni* n. ‘fen’; OE. *imbe* n. coll. ‘swarm of bees’ and so on). Secondly, the North Germanic tree collectives seem to have exact cognates in the Slavic tree collectives in *-bje* [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 35], cf. OPol. *brzezcie* n. ‘birch forest’, Pol. *brzezcie* n. ‘birch grove or forest’; Cz. *březí* n. ‘small birch-grove’, also *břízí* n. ‘birch twigs, birch-wood’; Sla. *brezje* n. ‘small birch-forest, birch-grove’; SC. *brêzje* n. ‘birch forest’, Sloven. *brêzje* n. ‘id.’; Ru. *берёзье* n. ‘birch forest, birch twigs’ (< PSL. **berzōje* n. coll. ‘birch grove, birch forest’). Thirdly, the Proto-Germanic suffix **-ijan*, attested in the North Germanic languages as ON. *-i*, Icel. *-i*, Far. *-ja*, Norw. *-i*, Swed. *-e*, Dan. *-e*, clearly represents the same origin as the suffix *-bje* in the Slavic languages, cf. OCS. *-ije*, ORu. *-ije*, Pol. *-e* or *-ie*, Cz. *-í*, Sla. *-ie*, SC. *-je*, Sloven. *-je*. The suffix can be reconstructed as **-ijom* in Proto-European. This observation seems to suggest that the Germanic and Slavic collectives share a common heritage.

It is worth emphasizing that Proto-Slavic **-bje* is “the most productive derivational affix used when forming collective nouns primarily

from the names of inanimate objects, and especially from the names of trees, shrubs, berries” [Sławski, 2011, p.61] (our own translation). Moreover, it is often claimed that the Slavic collectives in **-bje* acquired productivity most notably in the lexicon related to the plant world [Bernstein, 1985, p.362]. In Old Church Slavonic, the following collectives are attested, e. g. *bylīje* ‘grass’, *vr̃bīje* ‘willow’, *d̃obīje* ‘trees’ etc. Likewise, in Old Russian texts, one can find numerous plant collectives, e. g. ORu. *derevije* ‘trees’, *kropivije* ‘nettle’, *kustovije* ‘bushes, shrub thickets’, *smokvije* ‘fig trees’. The same development seems to be attested in North Germanic languages.

In the following two sections (3 and 4) we intend to demonstrate that the Old Norse and Scandinavian collectives in **-ijan*, like the Slavic ones in **-bje*, refer exclusively to plants, especially trees.

3. OLD NORSE LEXICAL EVIDENCE FOR TREE COLLECTIVES

There are numerous collective formations denoting trees in Old Norse, as well as the modern Scandinavian languages. Below are quoted the most plausible or probable examples.

3.1. ON. *birki* n. coll. ‘Birkenwald / birch forest’, Icel. *birki* ‘birch forest; birch’, Far. *birki*, Norw. *birki* ‘birch forest’, (Nynorsk) *birkje*, *byrkje*, Swed. *björke* ‘birch forest, birch grove’ < PG. **berkijan* n. coll. ‘birch forest, birch grove’ [Falk, Torp, 1910, p.74–75, s. v. *Birk*; Jóhannesson, 1956, p.623; de Vries, 1977, p.37, s. v. *birki*; Magnússon, 1989, p.56; Bjorvand, Lindeman, 2000, p.77–78; Orel, 2003, p.42]. The collective noun in question plainly derives from the Proto-Germanic dendronym **berkō* f. ‘birch’ (cf. ON. *björk* f. ‘birch’, Icel. *björk* ‘id.’, Far. *björk* ‘id.’, Norw. *björk* ‘id.’, Swed. *björk* ‘id.’; Du. *berk* c.; OE. *beorc* f. ‘id.’¹; OHG. *biricha*, G. *Birke* f. ‘id.’ [Bjorvand, Lindeman, 2000, p.77–78; Wessén, 2002, p.44; Orel, 2003, p.43; Levitskiy, 2010, p.98; Kroonen, 2013, p.61]) by means of the Proto-Germanic suffix **-ijan*.

3.2. ON. *eldi* n. ‘Wald / forest’ [de Vries, 1977, p.99] < PG. **aldijan* n. coll. ‘a group of trees, forest’. There is no obvious arboreal motivation for this appellative found in the Germanic languages. Of course, it is

¹ The English lexical material (OE. *beorc* f., *birce* f. ‘birch’, E. *birch*) is worth considering. OE. *beorc* f. ‘birch’ derives from PG. **berkō* f. ‘birch’. The Modern English *birch* cannot be a reflex of OE. *beorc*. It evidently derives from OE. *birce* f. ‘birch’, which seems to represent a singularized nomen collectivum **berkiō* f. ‘a group of birches; birch forest or grove’.

possible to derive the Old Norse appellative from PG. *aldaz adj. 'old', cf. Lat. *altus* adj. 'high' [Orel, 2003, p. 13; Kroonen, 2013, p. 20]. If this derivation is correct, then the voiced dental stop *d, caused by Verner's Law, suggests the original oxytone stress of the collective noun (PG. *aldijan < *alþiján n. coll.). It is worth emphasizing that ON. *eldi* can be related to OSwed. *alda* 'oak with acorns / fruchtttragende Eiche' (originally 'old & high tree'). This observation leads us to the conclusion that the meaning of ON. *eldi* is nothing other than 'oak-forest'.

3.3. ON. *elmi* n. 'elm forest', Swed. dial. *älme*, *alme* 'elm grove / dunge av almar' < PG. *almijan n. coll. 'elm forest' [Falk, Torp, 1910, p. 21, s. v. *Alm*; Jóhannesson, 1956, p. 72; Wessén, 2002, p. 10]. Note that the Proto-Germanic tribes used the term *almaz (m.) for denoting 'a singular elm tree', cf. ON. *almr* m. 'elm tree', Icel. *álmur* m., Far. *álmur*, *almur* m. 'id.'; Norw. (Nynorsk) *alm*, Dan. *alm/elm*, Swed. *alm*, OE. *elm*, OHG. *elm(o)* [de Vries, 1977, p. 7; Magnússon, 1989, p. 12; Bjorvand, Lindeman, 2000, p. 31–32; Orel, 2003, p. 83; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 65], cf. also OE. *ulmtrēow*, OHG. *ëlm-boum*, MHG. *ulm-boum*, G. *Ulme* f. 'elm' (← Lat. *ulmus* f. 'elm, elm tree').

3.4. ON. *elri* n. 'alder grove', Icel. *elri* n. 'alder tree' < PG. *alizijan n. coll. 'alder grove' [de Vries, 1977, p. 101; Orel, 2003, p. 15; Kroonen, 2013, p. 22]. The collective noun in question derives from PG. *alisō / *alirō f. 'alder', cf. Sp. *aliso* m. 'alder tree' (a Gothic loanword); Du. *els* c., OE. *alor*, E. *alder*; OHG. *elira*, also *erila*, G. *Erle* 'alder' [Orel, 2003, p. 15; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 65; Kroonen, 2013, p. 22] and it seems to demonstrate either an initial accent (see 3.7, 3.9) or an oxytone stress (see 3.2; 3.11; 5.3).

3.5. ON. *eski* n. 'Eschenwald, Eschenholz; Speer, Schachtel / ash forest, ash wood; spear, (ashen) box', as well as Icel. *eski*, Far. *eskja*, Norw. dial. *øskja*, Dan. *æske* 'Eschenwäldchen / ash grove', seem to derive from PG. *askijan n. coll. 'ash forest, ash grove' [Falk, Torp, 1910, p. 34, s. v. *Ask*; Jóhannesson, 1956, p. 90–91; de Vries, 1977, p. 106, s. v. *eski*; Orel, 2003, p. 26], cf. also MDu. *esch* 'ashen box', *esche* 'ash'. Note that the Proto-Germanic term *askaz m. / *askō(n) f. 'ash tree' is securely attested in most Germanic languages, cf. ON. *askr* m. 'ash tree'; OE. *æsc* m. 'id.', E. *ash*; OHG. *asc* m. 'ash'; Far. *ask* f. 'ash', ODu. *aska* f., G. *Esche* f. 'id.' [Orel, 2003, p. 26; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 79; Kroonen, 2013, p. 38].

3.6. ON. *espi* n. 'aspen / Espe', OSwed. *æspe-* (attested in toponymy) and Swed. dial. *äspe* 'Espenwäldchen / aspen grove' represent a collective noun *aspijan denoting originally 'a group of aspen; aspen forest or

grove' [Falk, Torp, 1910, p. 25, s. v. *Asp*; de Vries, 1977, p. 106, s. v. *espi*], cf. ON. *oþsp* f. 'aspen', OE. *æsp*, E. *aspen*; Du. *esp*, OHG. *aspa* f. 'aspen', G. *Espe* f. 'id.' (< PG. **aspō*, earlier **apsō* f. 'aspen', *Populus tremula* L.' [Orel, 2003, p. 26; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 80; Kroonen, 2013, p. 39]).

3.7. ON. *fyri* n. 'Föhrenwald / fir-forest', Norw. *fyre*, Swed. dial. *fyre* 'id.' (< PG. **furhijan* n. coll. 'fir forest'), cf. ON. *fura* f. 'fir', OE. *furh* f. 'id.'; OHG. *vor(a)ha* f. 'id.', G. *Föhre* f. 'fir' (< PG. **furhōn* f. 'fir') [Orel, 2003, p. 120; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 197; Kroonen, 2013, p. 161]. The Proto-Germanic collective noun demonstrates an original barytonesis (PG. **furhijan*).

3.8. ON. *greni* n. 'Tanne, Fichte / fir, spruce' (orig. n. coll. 'a group of fir trees; fir forest'), Icel. *greni* 'id.', Norw. *grene* 'Tannenwald / fir forest' < PG. **granijan* n. coll. 'id.' [de Vries, 1977, p. 187]. It derives from ON. *grøn* f. 'Tanne / fir', Icel. *grön* f. 'id.', Norw. *gran* 'id.', Swed. *gran*, Dan. *gran* 'id.' < PG. **granō* f. 'fir tree' [de Vries, 1977, p. 193].

3.9. ON. *hesli* n. 'Haselstaude / hazel shrub', Icel. *heslí* 'the common hazel, *Corylus avellana* L.', Norw. *hesle-* (in the Norway toponymy); OSwed. *häsle*, Dan. *hæssel*, *hasle-træ* 'hazel tree' < PG. **haslijan* n. coll. 'hazel grove' [Jóhannesson, 1956, p. 256; de Vries, 1977, p. 225, s. v. *hesli*], cf. ON. *hasl* m. 'hazel tree', OE. *hæsel* m., E. *hazel*; MDu. *hasel* m. 'id.'; OHG. *hasal* m. and *hasala* f. 'hazel tree', G. *Hasel* f. 'id.' < PG. **haslaz* m. 'hazel' [Orel, 2003, p. 164; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 251; Kroonen, 2013, p. 213], cf. OIr. *coll* m. 'hazel', OW. *coll* 'id.', Lat. *corulus*, *corylus* f. 'hazel tree'. The Proto-Germanic **s* indicates that the accent of the collective noun was originally placed in the initial position.

3.10. ON. *ilstri* n. 'Lorbeerweide [= bay willow, *Salix pentandra* L.]; Norw. *ilster*, Swed. dial. *ilster*, *hilster* 'common sallow, *Salix cinerea* L.' [de Vries, 1977, p. 285] < PG. **el(u)strijan* n. coll. 'willow shrubs', cf. ON. *jölstr* f. 'bay willow', Swed. *jolster*, dial. *jalstr*, *justr*, *alster* 'willow' < PG. **elustrō* f. 'a kind of willow' [de Vries, 1977, p. 295].

3.11. ON. *lindi* n. 'Lindenwald, Lindenholz / lime forest, lime wood' < PG. **lindijan* n. coll. 'lime forest' [Pokorny, 1959, p. 677; de Vries, 1977, p. 357] represents a collective noun derived from PG. **lindō* f. 'lime tree, *Tilia* L.', cf. ON. *lind* f. 'lime tree', Far. *lind* f. 'id.', Elfd. *lind* f. 'id.'; OE. *lind* f. 'id.'; OSax. *linda* f. 'lime tree', Du. *linde* c. 'id.'; OHG. *linta* f. 'id.', G. *Linde* f. 'id.' [Levitskiy, 2010, p. 359]. The Germanic dendronym goes back to IE. **lentā* f. 'a kind of tree' (< PIE. **lent-éh₂*), cf. Lith. *lentà* f. 'board, plank', Latv. *leņta* f. 'id.' [Orel, 2003, p. 240; Kroonen, 2013, p. 338]. The Proto-Germanic voiced stop **d* (< IE. **t*) clearly documents

the effect of Verner's law. In other words, both the basic term for 'lime tree' and the related collective noun demonstrate an oxytone stress (PG. **lindijan* n. coll. < **linþiján* n. coll. < PIE. **lentiǵm*).

3.12. ON. *tyrvi* n. 'Kienholz / pinewood', Icel. *tyri* 'id.', Norw. *tyri* 'pine-wood', Swed. *tyre, töre* 'trockenes Holz / dry wood, brushwood' < PG. **terwijan* n. coll. 'pine trees' [de Vries, 1977, p.603; Magnússon, 1989, p.1076; Wessén, 2002, p.487], cf. MHG. *zirben* m. 'pine' (< PG. **terwjan*-m.) and ON. *tjara* f. 'tar', OE. *tierwe* f. 'tar', E. *tar*; Du. *teer* n./c. 'tar' (< PG. **terwō* f.) [Orel, 2003, p.405; Kroonen, 2013, p.514], cf. Lith. *dervà* f. 'pine-wood, tar'; MW. *derw* 'oaks' (sg. *derwen*), Bret. *deru, derw* 'oaks' (< PC. **derwos* adj. 'firm (as an oak)', m. 'oak' [Matasović, 2009, p.96]).

3.13. ON. *þelli* n. 'junges Kieferholz; Schiff / young pine(wood); ship'; Icel. *þelli* 'pinewood' < PG. **þalnijan* n. coll. [de Vries, 1977, p.608] seems to attest to a collective formation derived from PG. **þalnō* f. 'young pine', cf. ON. *þoll* f. 'junger Fichtenbaum'; Icel. *þöll* f. 'id.'; Norw. *toll, tall*; Swed. *tall*, Dan. *tall* 'id.'; LG. dial. *Dale* 'pine / Kiefer' [de Vries, 1977, p.631].

4. FURTHER SCANDINAVIAN EVIDENCE FOR TREE COLLECTIVES

The collective nouns indicating trees are not productive formations in the modern Scandinavian languages. Many of them are secondarily singularized. In other words, their original collective semantics has been lost. It is worth emphasizing that additional formations are attested in the Scandinavian linguistic area.

4.1. Icel. *beyki* n. 'Buchenwald, Buchenwäldchen, Buche / beech forest, beech grove, beech' [Falk, Torp, 1910, p.126; Jóhannesson, 1956, p.597; de Vries, 1977, p.69; Magnússon, 1989, p.53] preserves this collective sense, though it also demonstrates a singulative meaning ('a single beech tree' [Bérvik, Böðvarsson, 1962, p.71]). It securely derives from ON. **bæki* n. coll. 'beech forest' (cf. the Old Norse compound *bækiskógr* m. 'beech forest' < NG. **bōkija-skōgaz* m. 'id.²) < PG. **bōkijan* n. coll. 'a group of beech trees' [Magnússon, 1989, p.53; Orel, 2003, p.51; Kroonen, 2013, p.72]).

² The Old Norse compound noun *bækiskógr* m. 'beech forest' seems to contain the original adjective **bōkijaz* 'of beech, beechen' and ON. *skógr* m. 'forest / Wald'. Of course, the first part of the compound can also derive from ON. *bæki* 'beech / бѣк' (< **bōkijan* n. coll. 'a group of beech trees'), if such a noun existed in Old Norse, as some researchers believe [Zalizniak, 1965, p.206].

4.2. Elfd. *åyve* n. ‘yew tree’ (<PG. **īwijan* n. coll. ‘yew grove’) and Swed. *ide* ‘yew grove’ (<PG. **īwīþijan* n. coll. ‘id.’). According to Kroonen [2013, p. 271], both the Elfdalian and Swedish terms represent collective nouns derived from the basic term for ‘European yew, *Taxus baccata* L.’, cf. ON. *ýr* m. ‘yew’, OE. *īw*, *ēow* m. ‘yew’, E. *yew* ‘id.’; OHG. *īwa* f. ‘yew’, G. *Eibe* f. ‘id.’ (<PG. **īwaz* m. / **īwō* f. ‘yew’ [Levitskiy, 2010, p. 302]) by means of two parallel and evidently cognate suffixes: PG. *-*ijan* (<PIE. *-*iōm*) and PG. *-*īþ-ijan* (<PIE. *-*it-* and PIE. *-*iōm*).

5. OTHER PROTO-GERMANIC COLLECTIVES

Collective nouns in *-*ijan* are also attested in East Germanic (i. e. in Gothic) and West Germanic languages. It is clearly apparent that they are not productive formations and rarely refer to the tree terminology. Generally, they seem to represent a Proto-Germanic heritage. Some of them may represent traces of a Northern Indo-European vocabulary.

5.1. Go. *fani* n. ‘mud’, ON. *fen* n. ‘fen, bog’, OE. *fen* n. (also m.) ‘marsh, mud’, E. *fen*; OSax. *feni* n. ‘fen’, MDu. *veen*, *vene* n. ‘bog’, Du. *veen* n. ‘bog’, *ven* n. ‘small lake’; OHG. *fenni* n. ‘swamp’, G. *Fenn* n. ‘id.’ <PG. **fanijan* n. ‘fen, swamp’ [Orel, 2003, p. 92; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 165; Kroonen, 2013, p. 128]. According to Guus Kroonen, the Proto-Germanic term in question represents a collective noun “potentially identical” to OPrus. *pannean* n. ‘mossy fen’ (as if from Proto-Baltic **paniijan* n. ‘marsh, swamp / Sumpf’ [Trautmann, 1923, p. 20]). Theoretically, the Germanic and Baltic formations go back to the Northern Indo-European collective noun **poniōm* or the like.

5.2. Go. *fairguni* n. ‘mountain range’ and OE. *firgen* n. ‘mountain’ seem to represent a collective noun derived from PG. **fergunijan* n. coll. ‘the range of mountains’ [Orel, 2003, p. 99; Kroonen, 2013, p. 136]. A related collective noun (of the feminine gender) is attested in OHG. *Firgunnea* f. ‘Ore Mountains’ (<PG. **fergunjō* f. coll.). See also a North Germanic singulative attested in ON. *ffjörgyn* f. ‘Mother Earth’ (<PG. **ferguni-* f.).

5.3. OE. *imbe* n. ‘swarm of bees’; OHG. *impi* m. ‘swarm of bees’, also ‘bee’, MHG. *imbe*, *imme* m. ‘swarm of bees’ (<PG. **imbijan* n., secondarily **imbijaz* m. ‘id.’) vs. MDu. *imme* f. ‘bee’ (<PG. **imbijō* f.). According to Kroonen [2013: 117], “[t]he neuter OE *imbe* continues a collective **imbja-*, but OHG *impi* and MDu. *imme* in the sense of ‘bee’ probably represent different formations, i. e. **imbja-* and **imbjō*”. The West Germanic collective noun **imbijan* (neuter *o*-stem) ‘swarm of bees’ seems

to be related to Greek ἐμπίς (gen. sg. ἐμπίδος) f. (secondary *d*-stem) ‘gnat’ [Pokorny, 1959, p. 311]. The primitive oxytone stress of the Proto-Germanic collective noun **imbijan* (earlier **imfiján*) documents the Proto-Indo-European archetype **h₁empiiōm* n. coll. ‘swarm of insects (esp. gnats or bees)’. The place of accent is clearly indicated by Verner’s law.

There are also collective nouns in the Eastern and Western Germanic languages, demonstrating a complex suffix **-iþ-ijan* [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 149], as well as a secondary suffix **-ah-ijan*, attested only in the West Germanic languages [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194], e. g.

5.4. Go. *awepi* n. ‘flock od sheep’, OE. *eowde*, *eowede* n. ‘id.’, OHG. *ouwiti*, *ewiti* n. ‘id.’ < PG. **awīþijan* or **awidijan* n. ‘flock od sheep’ n. coll. — PG. **awiz* f. ‘ewe’ < PIE. **h₃éwis* m. / f. ‘sheep’ [Lehmann, 1986, p. 52; Orel, 2003, p. 31; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 84; Kroonen, 2013, p. 45]. The Proto-Germanic collective noun in **-ijan* seems to contain an additional suffix **-iþ-* (see additionally 4.2)³.

5.5. OFris. *kedde* n. ‘herd’; MDu. *cudde* n./f. ‘herd’, Du. *kudde* c. ‘id.’; OHG. *kutti* n. ‘herd’, G. Bav. *kütt* n./f. ‘flock of birds’ < PG. **kudijan* n. coll. and **kudijō* f. coll. ‘herd, flock (of cows)’ ← PIE. **g^uh₃eus* m./f. ‘ox, cow’ [Kroonen, 2013, p. 308–309]. The West Germanic languages demonstrate the collective noun of neuter gender, as well as that of feminine gender.

5.6. OHG. *chindahi* n. coll. ‘Kinderschar / a group of children’ (as if from PG. **kind-ah-ijan* n. coll. ‘id.’) ← OHG. *chind* n. ‘child’, G. *Kind* n. ‘id.’ (< PG. **kinþan* / **kindan* n. ‘child’) [Orel, 2003, p. 212; Kroonen, 2013, p. 288]. The collective noun in question contains the complex suffix **-ah-ijan* [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

5.7. OHG. *steinahi* n. coll. ‘stony ground / steinigés Gelände’ (as if from PG. **stain-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *stein* m. ‘stone’ (< PG. **stainaz* m. ‘stone’). Claims that that the Old High German collective derives, in fact, from the Proto-Germanic adjective **stainahaz* ‘stony’ (cf. Go. *stainahs* adj. ‘id.’⁴) by means of the simple suffix **-ijan* [Kra-

³ It is worth emphasizing that Guus Kroonen compares the Germanic terms in question with Lith. *avidė* f. ‘sheepfold’, deriving them finally from the Proto-Indo-European archetype **h₃eui-d^hh₁-iōm* n. coll. ‘flock of sheep’ [Kroonen, 2013, p. 45].

⁴ Note that OE. *stānīz* adj. ‘stony’ and OHG. *steinag* adj. ‘id.’ derive from PG. **stainagaz* adj. ‘stony’ [Makaev, 1966, p. 40; Orel, 2003, p. 369], which represents an alternative variant of Go. *stainahs* (< PG. **stainá haz* adj. ‘stony’) [Guhman, 1958, p. 205], caused by an accentual difference (Verner’s law). The double reflex of PG. **-h-* in OHG. *steinahi* n. coll. ‘stony ground’ and OHG. *steinag* adj. ‘stony’ is noteworthy.

he, Meid, 1967, p. 194; Lehmann, 1986, p. 321; Matasović, 2014, p. 40.] should not be dismissed. Of course, we agree that the adjectives in **-aha-* suppose a principal source for creating the West Germanic collective nouns in *-ahi*.

It is worth noting that a number of collective nouns in *-ahi*, attested in West Germanic, refer to plants, including trees:

5.8. OHG. *aganahi* n. coll. ‘Spreu / chaffs’ ← OHG. *agana* f. ‘chaff’ (< PG. **aganō* f. ‘chaff, awn’ < **ahanō* f.) [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

5.9. OHG. *eihhahi* n. coll. ‘Eichengehölz / oak-wood’ (as if from WG. **aik-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *eih* f. (*i*-stem) ‘oak’ (< PG. **aiks* f. ‘oak’) [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

5.10. OHG. *ascahi* n. coll. ‘Eschengehölz / ash-wood’ (< WG. **ask-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *asc* m. ‘ash’ < PG. **askaz* m. ‘ash tree’ [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194; Matasović, 2014, p. 40].

5.11. OHG. *boumahi* n. coll. ‘Baumreichen Ort / a place full of trees’ (as if from WG. **bag^{um}-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *boum*, G. *Baum* m. ‘tree’ (< PG. **bag^{um}maz* m. ‘beam, tree’) [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

5.12. OHG. *rōrahi* n. coll. ‘Röhricht / field of reeds, rushes’ (as if from WG. **rauz-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *rōr* n. ‘reed (stalk)’ (< PG. **rauzan* n. ‘id.’) [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194], cf. Go. *raus* n. ‘reed’ (< PG. **rausan*) [Orel, 2003, p. 299; Kroonen, 2013, p. 407].

5.13. OSax. *saherahi* n. coll. ‘sedgy place’ ← PG. **sahazaz* m. ‘sedge’, cf. OHG. *sahar* m. ‘sedge’, MHG. *saher* m. ‘id.’ [Kroonen, 2013, p. 421].

5.14. OHG. *wīthahi* n. coll. ‘Weidicht / willow thickets’ (as if from WG. **wīp-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *wīda* f. ‘willow’, G. *Weide* f. ‘id.’ [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

It is obvious that the West Germanic collectives in *-ahi* (e. g. OHG. *ascahi* n. ‘ash-wood’ < PG. **askahijan* n. coll. ‘a group of ash trees’; see 5.10) indicate a related and complex formation which seems to be secondary when comparing North Germanic tree collectives in *-i* (e. g. ON. *eski* n. ‘ash forest, ash-wood; spear, box’, Icel. *eski* ‘ash forest, ash grove’, Far. *eskja*, Norw. dial. *øskja*, Dan. *æske* ‘ash grove’ < PG. **askijan* n. coll. ‘a group of ash trees; ash forest, ash grove’, see 3.5). Both collective nouns are parallel and not identical from the morphological point of view. They attest to the so-called “derivational doublets” as in PSl. **berzovje* and **berzbje* n. coll. ‘a group of birch trees’ (see 6.1 and fn. 5), **bukovbje* and **bučbje* n. coll. ‘a group of beech trees’ (see 7.1).

6. COGNATE TREE COLLECTIVES IN THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES

The North Germanic tree collectives in *-i* (< PG. **-ijan*) should not be treated as a native innovation for two reasons. Firstly, the East and West Germanic languages demonstrate obvious traces of collectives ending with **-ijan* (see 5.1–5.3 and additionally 5.4–5.14). Secondly, it is possible to quote numerous Proto-Slavic tree collectives in **-bje*, as well as North Germanic ones in **-ijan*, which seem to indicate an identical form of derivation and the same or similar meaning. It is highly probable that certain Slavo-Germanic pairs represent an Indo-European heritage. The following points discuss these Slavic collectives and their North Germanic equivalents:

6.1. OPol. *brzezje* n. ‘birch forest’, Pol. dial. *brzezje* n. ‘birch grove or forest’; Cz. *březí* n. ‘small birch-grove’, also *břízí* n. ‘birch twigs, birch-wood’; Sla. *brezje* n. ‘small birch-forest, birch-grove’; SC. *brêzje* n. ‘birch forest’, Sloven. *brêzje* n. ‘id.’; Ru. *берёзье* n. ‘birch forest, birch twigs’ (< PSl. **berzbje* n. coll. ‘birch grove, birch forest’ [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 35; Habrajska, 1995, p. 122–123])⁵. The Proto-Slavic tree collective seems to designate an exact cognate and equivalent of PG. **berkijan* n. coll. ‘birch forest, birch grove’ (3.1). The Nordic and Slavic forms regularly derive from PIE. **b^herh₂ǵijom* n. coll. ‘birch grove, birch forest’, originally ‘a group of birch trees’. It should be emphasized that some Slavists have reconstructed the adjective **berzbjъ* [Trubachev, 1974, p. 208] or **berzъ* ‘birch-colored, with white spots, stripes’, cf. Cz. *břízí* adj. ‘of birch’ [Sławski, 1974, p. 212].

6.2. OPol. *drzewie* n. coll. ‘growing trees, arbores’ [Habrajska, 1995, p. 139], also ‘wood, lignum’; OCz. *dřievie*, *dřevie* n. ‘growing trees, forest; (fire)wood, a certain amount of wood’, Cz. *dříví* n. ‘(fire)wood, a certain amount of wood’, dial. ‘growing trees, forest’; Sla. *drievie*, dial. *drevie* n. ‘drwa’; Sloven. *drévje* n. ‘trees’; SC. *drjêvlje*, *drêvlje* n. ‘growing trees; wood’ [Frančić, 1961, p. 38]; CS. *дръвие* n. ‘trees, wood / arbores; ligna’; MBulg. *дръвие* n. coll. ‘(growing) trees’; ORu. *деревиe* n. ‘trees’; Ru.

⁵ There is a derivational doublet in the Slavic languages: SC. *brêzovlje* n. coll. ‘small birch-forest / lasek brzozowy’ [Frančić, 1961, s. 48]; Sloven. *brêzovje* n. ‘birch grove’; Cz. *březoví* n. ‘small birch-grove’, also *břízoví* n. ‘birch twigs’; Ru. dial. *березовье* n. coll. ‘birch trees’ (< PSl. **berz-ov-bje* n. coll. ‘a group of birch trees; birch forest, birch grove’) [Trubachev, 1974, p. 207; Sławski, 1974, p. 213]. It is evident that the collective noun in question derives from the adjective **berzovъ* ‘of birch’, e. g. OCz. *březový* ‘of birch’, Pol. *brzozowy* adj. ‘id.’ [Trubachev, 1974, p. 205–206; Sławski, 1974, p. 211–212].

dial. *дєрвѣ* n. 'growing trees', also 'large, thick tree'; BRu. dial. *дзєрѣвье* n. 'większa ilość drzew'; OUkr. *дєрєвье* n. 'trees / arbores' < PSl. **dєrvьje* n. coll. 'growing trees; wood' [Trubachev, 1977, p. 213; Sławski, 1979, p. 59–60]. In our opinion, the Proto-Slavic collective **dєrvьje* cannot be separated from PG. **terwijan* n. coll. '(pine) wood' < IE. **deruǵjom* n. coll. 'a group of (pine) trees' (see 3.12).

6.3. OPol. *olsze* n. coll. 'alder grove' [Rykiel-Kempf, 1985, p. 21; Habrajska, 1995, p. 192]; OCz. *olšie* n., Cz. *olší* n. 'alder grove', Sla. *olšie* n. 'id.'; Ru. dial. *олѣшье* n. 'alder grove', *алѣшье* n. 'alder tree'; BRu. *алѣшша* n. 'alder grove'; Sloven. *ôlšje* n. 'alder grove'; SC. *jôšje* n. coll., also *jëlâšje*, *jelšje* n. coll. 'alder grove, alder forest' < PSl. **olbšьje* / **jelbšьje* n. coll. 'a group of alder trees', cf. Pol. *olsza* f. 'alder, *Alnus* L.'; Ru. *ольха* f. 'id.'; SC. dial. *jëlša* f. 'id.' [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 34; Trubachev, 2005, p. 83]. The Proto-Slavic collective noun **olbšьje* seems to be identical to PG. **alizijan* n. coll. 'alder grove' (see 3.4) from the point of view of the semantics and Indo-European word-formation.

6.4. Ru. dial. *освѣ* n. 'aspen forest, aspen grove / осиновый лес, осинник', also 'a single aspen tree' and 'aspen-wood; aspen twigs' < PSl. **opsьje* n. coll. 'aspen forest, aspen grove' [Trubachev, 2005, p. 98]. The Proto-Slavic lexeme is also attested in Czech and Polish place names, cf. Cz. *Vůsí, Osí, Vosí*; Pol. *Osie, Zaosie* [Borek, 1988, p. 90; Bańkowski, 2000, p. 434]. The basic term **opsa* is reflected in HSorb. *wosa* f. 'aspen, *Populus tremula* L.', LSorb. *wósa* f. 'id.'; Pol. dial. *osa* f. 'aspen, *Populus tremula* L.'; BRu. *acá* f. 'aspen' [Trubachev, 2005, p. 93], as well as many derivatives, e. g. **opsica* f. 'aspen', **opsičina* f. 'id.', **opsika* f. 'id.' and **opsina* f. 'id.' [Trubachev, 2005, p. 93–96]. It resembles PG. **aspō* f. 'aspen' not only semantically, but also phonologically, though a metathesis of consonants (**Ps* > **sp*) should be considered for the Proto-Germanic language [Levitkiy, 2010, p. 80]. It seems highly probable that PG. **aspijan* n. coll. 'aspen forest, aspen grove' (see 3.6) represents an exact (though metathesized) cognate of PSl. **opsьje* n. coll. 'id.'⁶.

6.5. PSl. **jьlmbьje* n. coll. 'elm grove': onomastic reflexes of this word are seldom identified in Polish toponymy: *Ilmie* [Bańkowski, 1972,

⁶ It is worth emphasizing that the Baltic names for 'aspen' (OPrus. *apse* f. 'id.', Latv. *apse* f. 'id.', Lith. *āpušė* f. 'id.'), as well as Arm. *op'i*, gen. pl. *op'ēac'* (*ā*-stem) 'white poplar, *Populus alba* L.' [Witczak, 1991, p. 65–75], regularly derive from a similar archetype **opsijā* f. 'aspen' (< PIE. **h3eps-ijeh2* f. 'id.'). However, it is impossible to check whether the archetype in question originally represented an old collective noun in **iǵā* or not.

p.282; 2000, p. 540]. Polab. *jělmüvë* (*jělmüvə*) n. ‘elm (grove)’ points to the derivational doublet **jvl(ь)movьje*. It derives from OPol. *ilem*, Pol. *ilm* m., także *ilma* f. ‘elm, *Ulmus*’, Polab. *jělmə* f. ‘elm tree’ < PS. **jvl(ь) m̃* m. / **jvl(ь)ma* f. ‘id.’, cf. Cz. *jilm* m. ‘elm, *Ulmus*’, also *jilma* f. ‘id.’, [Trubachev, 1981, p.222]. The North Germanic collective noun **almijan* n. ‘a group of elm trees’ (see 3.3) represents an alternative formation demonstrating a full degree of the root or an apophonetic *o*-vocalism.

6.6. OCz. *lútie* n. ‘young lime tree; twigs’; Ru. *лутьѣ* n. ‘young lime trees to be stripped of their bark’, dial. ‘young lime grove / молодой липняк’; Ukr. *луття* n. ‘young lime trees; twigs of a willow’ [Vasmer, 1986, p. 536] < PS. **lɔtvje* n. coll. ‘young lime grove’ [Trubachev, 1990, p. 162; Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 35–36]. The Proto-Slavic collective is undoubtedly related to PG. **lindijan* n. coll. ‘lime forest’ (see 3.11), though it demonstrates a zero-grade or apophonetic *o*-vocalism of the root.

It can be concluded that there are four exact cognates among the Slavic and North Germanic tree collectives (see 6.1–6.4). On the basis of lexical data, we can confidently reconstruct the following Indo-European archetypes: PIE. **b^herh₂ǵiiom* n. coll. ‘a group of birch trees’; PIE. **deruiiom* n. coll. ‘a group of (pine-)trees’; PIE. **h₂elisiom* n. coll. ‘a group of alder trees’; PIE. **h₃epsiom* n. coll. ‘a group of aspen trees’. Two further equivalents seem to be possible (see 6.5–6.6), though they demonstrate some peculiar features e. g. a semantic divergence or an apophonical variant (NG. **almijan* n. coll. ‘a group of elm trees’ vs. PS. **jělmvje* n. coll. ‘id.’) or both (NG. **lindijan* n. coll. ‘lime forest’ vs. PS. **lɔtvje* n. coll. ‘young lime grove’).

7. PARALLEL TREE COLLECTIVES IN SLAVIC AND GERMANIC

There are numerous tree collectives demonstrating parallel formations discernable in the North Germanic and Slavic languages. The following section reviews three selected examples.

7.1. OPol. *bucze* n. coll. ‘beech forest’ [Borek, 1988, p. 88; Habrajska, 1995, p. 123], Pol. dial. *bucze* ‘id.’; Cz. *bučí, boučí* n. ‘beech trees; young beech forest’; Sla. *búčie* ‘beech grove’; SC. dial. *bučje* n. ‘beech forest; beech pulp’; Bulg. dial. *búče* ‘beech grove’; Ukr. dial. *бучя* n. coll. ‘beech trees; beech-wood’ < PS. **bučvje* n. coll. ‘beech grove, beech forest’ [Sławski, 1974, p. 433; Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 37]. The derivational

doublet **bukovъje* (cf. OPol. *bukowie* n. coll. 'beech forest; beech nuts'; Cz. *bukoví* 'beeches, beech forest'; SC. *bùkkòvlje* n. 'beeches'; Sloven. *bùkovje* n. 'beech forest') is also attested in the West and South Slavic languages [Sławski, 1974, p.444; Habrajska, 1995, p.124]. Both collective nouns were created on the basis of PSl. **bukō* m. / **buky* f. 'beech, *Fagus*' (← PG. **bōk-* 'id.') though it should be noted that Icel. *beyki* n. 'beech forest, beech grove, beech tree' (< PG. **bōkijan* n. coll. 'beech forest') may only represent a parallel formation (see 4.1).

7.2. SC. *jāsēnje* n. coll. 'ash forest, ash grove' [Frančić, 1961, p.37]; Sloven. *jesēnje* n. 'ash forest'; Cz. *jasaní*, dial. *jasení* n. 'a group of ash trees' (< PSl. **jasenъje* n. coll. 'a group of ash trees, ash forest, ash grove') [Trubačev, 1974, p.80]. The collective noun in question derives from PSl. **asenō* m. or **asenō* f. 'ash, *Fraxinus*', cf. SC. *jāsēn* m. 'ash'; Sloven. *jāsen*, *jésen* m. 'common ash, *Fraxinus excelsior* L.'; Cz. *jasan*, dial. *jasen*, *jasen̄* m. 'ash'. The Proto-Germanic term **askaz* m 'ash, *Fraxinus*' is etymologically related to the Proto-Slavic dendronym as well as Lat. *ornus* f. 'the wild mountain-ash' (< OLat. **osēnos*), Lith. *úosis* f. 'ash', OIr. *uinnius* f. 'ash tree', MIr. *onn* f. coll. 'ash trees' (< PC. **osnā*) and so on [Pokorny, 1959, p.782; Matasović 2009, p.300–301]. Theoretically, NG. **askijan* n. coll. n. 'a group of ash trees, ash forest, ash grove' (cf. 3.5), WG. **askahijan* n. coll. 'id.' (cf. 5.10) and the Proto-Slavic collective **jasenъje* 'id.', should be treated as three parallel derivations.

7.3. SC. *jêlje* n. coll. 'fir forest, fir branches' (as if from PSl. **edlъje* n. coll. 'a group of fir trees; fir forest') derives from SC. *jêla*, *jêla* f. 'fir tree, *Abies*' (< PSl. **edla* f. 'id.'), cf. OPol. *jedła*, Pol. *iodła* f. 'fir tree', Polab. *jadlā* f. 'id.', LSorb. *jedła* f. '*Abies alba* Mill.', HSorb. *jêdla* f. 'fir tree'. Undoubtedly, the North Germanic collective **granijan* n. 'a group of fir trees; fir forest' (3.8) derives from a completely different nominal root. It appears to be a parallel and unrelated formation. However, we cannot exclude an alternative possibility that PSl. **edla* f. 'fir tree' is related not only to OPrus. *addle* f. 'fir tree', Lith. *ėglė* f. 'id.', Latv. *egle* f. 'id.', OIr. *aidlen* f. '*Abies*', Corn. *etlen* f. 'ash tree', Bret. *aedlen* f. 'fir tree', Alb. *halë* f. 'Austrian pine, black pine, *Pinus nigra* L.', but also (if we accept a simple metathesis of consonants) to OSwed. *alda* f. 'oak with acorns' (see 3.2). If the suggested comparison is correct, then PSl. **edlъje* n. and NG. **aldijan* n. 'forest' (3.2) could easily be treated as two cognate collectives. Note that the metathesis of a consonant cluster is attested in the different pair of collectives denoting 'a group of aspen trees' (see 6.4).

There are numerous tree collectives in **-bje* in Slavic languages demonstrating the same semantics as the Scandinavian collective nouns in **-ijan*, e. g.

7.4. PSl. **lěščbje* n. coll. 'a group of hazel trees' or PSl. **orešbje* n. coll. 'id.' [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 37] vs. NG. **haslijan* n. coll. 'id.' (3.9);

7.5. PSl. **lozbje* n. coll. 'a group of willows' or PSl. **orkytbje* n. coll. 'id.' or PSl. **vǫrbvje* n. coll. 'id.' [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 38] vs. NG. **ilustrijan* n. coll. 'id.' (3.10) or WG. **wīpahijan* n. coll. 'id.' (5.14).

7.6. PSl. **lipbje* n. coll. 'a group of lime trees' vs. NG. **lindijan* n. coll. 'id.' (3.11).

7.7. PSl. **tisbje* n. coll. 'a group of yew trees' vs. NG. **īwijan* or **īwīpijan* n. coll. 'id.' (4.2).

All the parallel formations (7.1–7.7) seem to prove the ancient productivity of the tree collectives in **-ijom* in both the Slavic and North Germanic languages.

8. INDO-EUROPEAN DERIVATION

The two preceding sections of this paper have endeavoured to demonstrate that the Northern Germanic neuter collectives in **-ijan* and the Slavic ones in **-bje*, denoting a group of trees, represent a common formation which should be treated as a Late Indo-European heritage (see especially 6.1–6.4). The collective suffix can be reconstructed as IE. **-ijom*. The derivation of the Germano-Slavic collectives may easily be explained from the point of view of the Indo-European word-formation. Previous research has suggested four phases of derivation [Sławski 1974, p. 86; 2011, p. 61]:

- 8.1. a specific plant name;
- 8.2. a denominal adjective in **-iġo-* derived from the plant name;
- 8.3. an abstract formation in **-iġom*;
- 8.4. a singular collective name in **-iġom*.

There is little existing lexical evidence attesting the third phase (8.3) of this suggested development in Slavic languages. Most etymologists reconstruct numerous Proto-Slavic collective nouns (8.4); however, they are unable to distinguish convincing traces of abstract nouns derived from trees (8.3)⁷. Moreover, it is extremely difficult to include

⁷ Note that Cz. *břízí* n. 'birch twigs, birch-wood' can hardly represent a *nomen abstractum*. Moreover, Cz. *břízovní* n. 'birch twigs' demonstrates a concrete meaning.

Slavic forms in this class of nouns when comparing the abstract and perceived sense of noun (e. g. ‘wood of a specific tree; branches or twigs of the same tree; an item made of the wood’). The perceived (concrete) sense in question seems to be secondary in comparison to the basic collective meaning (‘a group of specific trees’). This is why the third phase (8.3) is sometimes treated as secondary or even rejected by researchers [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 32–33].

Table 1. The derivation of collectives in **-vje* in the Slavic languages

Lp.	8.1	8.2	8.3	8.4
	a specific plant name	a denominal adjective derived from the plant name	an abstract formation in <i>*-ijom</i>	a singular collective name in <i>*-ijom</i>
birch in Slavic (Czech examples are used)	OCz. <i>břieza</i> f. ‘birch’, Cz. <i>bříza</i> f. ‘id.’ (<PSL. <i>*bërza</i> f. ‘birch, <i>Betula</i> ’)	(1) Cz. <i>břízí</i> adj. ‘of birch’ (<PSL. <i>*berzbjv</i> adj.) (2) OCz. <i>březový</i> ‘of birch’ (<PSL. <i>*berzovb</i> adj. ‘of birch’)	no obvious traces are registered (see fn. 7) no traces (see fn. 7)	(1) Cz. <i>březí</i> n. ‘small birch-grove’, (<PSL. <i>*berzbje</i> n. coll.) (2) Cz. <i>březoví</i> n. ‘small birch-grove’ (<PSL. <i>*berzovbje</i> n. coll.)

Source: our own work.

The North Germanic lexical material included and explained in Table 2 demonstrates no abstract noun derived from appellatives for ‘ash tree’⁸, ‘beech’⁹ or ‘birch’. It may be observed that much research treats the Germanic formations in **-ahijan*, **-ijan* or **-ipijan*, which demonstrate the concrete meaning ‘wood of a specific tree’ (vel sim.), as typical collective nouns and not abstract nouns, hence OHG. *asahi* n. ‘ash-wood’

Most Slavists agree that both Czech forms derive from the collective nouns **berzbje* and **berzovbje*, respectively.

⁸ In our opinion, the meanings ‘ash-wood’, ‘spear made of ash tree’ and ‘(ashen) box’, which are attested for ON. *eski*, cannot derive from an abstract noun. Furthermore, OHG. *asahi* n. ‘ash-wood’ evidently represents a collective noun and not an abstract one.

⁹ ON. *ǫlbæki* n. ‘beer cask made of beech-wood’ (<PG. **alub-bōkijan* n.) cannot be interpreted as a compound derived from an abstract noun.

and *eihhahi* n. 'oak-wood' are usually included in the *nomina collectiva* [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194; Matasović, 2014, p. 40].

Table 2. The derivation of tree collectives in the Germanic languages

Lp.	8.1	8.2	8.3	8.4
	a specific plant name	a denominal adjective derived from the plant name	an abstract formation in *-ijom	a singular collective name in *-ijom
1. ash tree	ON. <i>askr</i> m. 'ash tree', Icel. <i>askur</i> m. 'id.', Norw. <i>ask</i> , OSwed. <i>asker</i> , Swed. <i>ask</i> , Dan. <i>ask</i> 'id.' (< PG. * <i>askaz</i> m.)	(1) ON. <i>eskja</i> f. 'earth', originally 'an area grown by ash trees' [de Vries, 1977, p. 106] (if it is a substantivized adjective * <i>askijaz</i> adj. 'of ash tree, ashen') ? the adjective * <i>askahaz</i> 'of ash tree; ashen' is not attested	there is no noun with an abstract semantics (see fn. 8) no example	ON. <i>eski</i> n. coll. 'ash forest', Icel. <i>eski</i> 'id.', Far. <i>eskja</i> 'id.', Norw. dial. <i>øskja</i> 'id.', Dan. <i>æske</i> 'ash grove' (< PG. * <i>askijan</i> n. coll.) (2) OHG. <i>ascahi</i> n. 'ash-wood' (orig. n. coll.)
2. beech	ON. <i>bók</i> f. 'beech', Icel. <i>bók</i> , Far. <i>bók</i> , Norw. <i>bøk</i> , <i>bøk</i> , Swed. <i>bok</i> , Dan. <i>bøg</i> 'id.' (< PG. * <i>bøk-</i> f.)	ON. <i>bæki</i> adj. 'of beech, beechen' (< PG. * <i>bøkijaz</i>), attested in ON. <i>bæki-skógr</i> m. 'beech forest' [de Vries, 1977, p. 69]	no abstract noun is found (see fn. 9)	Icel. <i>beyki</i> n. 'beech forest, beech grove, beech' (< PG. * <i>bøkijan</i> n. coll.)
3. birch	ON. <i>björk</i> f. 'birch', Norw. <i>björk</i> 'id.', Swed. <i>björk</i> 'id.' (< PG. * <i>berkō</i> f.)	(1) ON. <i>birkja</i> f. 'birch sap', Norw. <i>byrkja</i> 'id.' (< PG. * <i>berkijō</i> f.). It seems to derive from the adjective * <i>berkijaz</i> 'of birch' (2) ON. <i>birkinn</i> adj. 'of birch-wood'	no example is attested	(1) ON. <i>birki</i> n. coll. 'birch forest', Icel., Norw. <i>birki</i> 'id.', Swed. <i>björke</i> 'birch forest, birch grove' (< PG. * <i>berkijan</i> n. coll. 'birch forest, birch grove')

Source: our own work.

9. CONCLUSIONS

To the best of our knowledge, neither the Slavic collective suffix **-bje* has ever been compared to the Germanic collective suffix **-ijan* nor vice versa in the basic comparative grammars of the Indo-European, Germanic or Slavic languages [Brugmann, Delbrück, 1906, p. 187–189; Meillet, Vaillant, 1934, p. 357–358; Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 70–72; Sławski, 1974, p. 85–87; 2011, p. 60–61; Jurišić, 1992, 52–54; Matasović, 2014, p. 145–146]. Nevertheless, the lexical material gathered and presented in the present paper leads to the conclusion that the North Germanic as well as the Slavic affixes at issue are descended from a common ancestor, which was most probably Late Indo-European or Northern Indo-European.

Supporting this conclusion is not only the phonological correspondence but also its derivational function and semantics. The emergence and development of the Proto-Indo-European derivation in **-ijom* (n. coll.) may be charted in the following sequence:

- (1) a specific plant name;
- (2) a denominal adjective in **-ijō-* derived from the plant name;
- (3) a singular collective name in **-ijom* being a substantivized neutrum of the denominal adjective, derived from a specific plant name.

The following pairs of the Proto-Germanic and Proto-Slavic arboreal collectives seem to derive from a common Indo-European archetype:

PG. **berkijan* n. coll. (3.1) = PSl. **berzbje* n. coll. (6.1) < PIE. **h²er-h₂ǵijom* n. coll. ‘a group of birch trees, birch forest, birch grove’;

PG. **terwijan* n. coll. (3.12) = PSl. **dervbje* n. coll. (6.2) < PIE. **deruijom* n. coll. ‘a group of (pine) trees, (pine) forest’;

PG. **alizijan* n. coll. (3.4) = PSl. **olbšbje* n. coll. (6.3) < PIE. **h₂elisiom* n. coll. ‘a group of alder trees, alder forest, alder grove’;

PG. **aspijan* n. coll. (3.6) = PSl. **opsbje* n. coll. (6.4) < PIE. **h₃epsiom* n. coll. ‘a group of aspen trees, aspen forest, aspen grove’.

Apart from reconstructing the common etymon of the collectives in **-ijom* using Slavic and Germanic material as is argued in the present paper, there may be other issues worth examining: firstly, other functions of the Proto-Slavic suffix **-bje* and the Proto-Germanic **-ijan*, and secondly, possible cognate suffixes in other Indo-European branches.

LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS

Alb.	— Albanian	Norw.	— Norwegian
Arm.	— Armenian	OCS.	— Old Church Slavich
Bav.	— Bavarian	OCz.	— Old Czech
Bret.	— Breton	OE.	— Old English
BRu.	— Belorussian	OFris.	— Old Frisian
Bulg.	— Bulgarian	OHG.	— Old High German
CS.	— Church Slavich	OIr.	— Old Irish
Corn.	— Cornish	OLat.	— Old Latin
Cz.	— Czech	ON.	— Old Norse
Dan.	— Danish	OPol.	— Old Polish
Du.	— Dutch	OPrus.	— Old Prussian
E.	— English	ORu.	— Old Russian
Elfd.	— Elfdalian (Övdalian)	OSax.	— Old Saxon
Far.	— Faroese	OSwed.	— Old Swedish
G.	— German	OUkr.	— Old Ukrainian
Gk.	— Greek	OW.	— Old Welsh
Go.	— Gothic	PC.	— Proto-Celtic
HSorb.	— High Sorbian	PG.	— Proto-Germanic
Icel.	— Icelandic	PIE.	— Proto-Indo-European
IE.	— Indo-European	Pol.	— Polish
Lac.	— Laconian	Polab.	— Polabian
Lat.	— Latin	PSl.	— Proto-Slavic
Latv.	— Latvian	Ru.	— Russian
LG.	— Low German	SC.	— Serbo-Croatian
Lith.	— Lithuanian	Sla.	— Slovak
LSorb.	— Low Sorbian	Sloven.	— Slovenian
MBulg.	— Middle Bulgarian	Sp.	— Spanish
MDu.	— Middle Dutch	Swed.	— Swedish
MHG.	— Middle High German	Ukr.	— Ukrainian
MW.	— Middle Welsh	Ved.	— Vedic
NG.	— North Germanic	WG.	— West Germanic

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СОБИРАТЕЛЬНЫЕ ИМЕНА СУЩЕСТВИТЕЛЬНЫЕ, НАЗЫВАЮЩИЕ ДЕРЕВЬЯ В СКАНДИНАВСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ

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В статье рассмотрены выступающие в скандинавских языках собирательные названия деревьев, а также процесс становления сходных с ними собирательных названий в восточногерманских и западногерманских языках. Следует подчеркнуть, что для образования собирательных существительных, обозначающих группу деревьев, северогерманские языки использовали прежде всего суффикс **-ijjan*, напр., старонорд. *birki* ср. р. собир. 'березовый лес', исланд. *birki* ср. р. 'березовый лес, березовая роща', вторично 'березовое дерево', норв. *birki* 'березовый лес', швед. *björke* 'березовый лес, березовая роща' (< прагерм. **berkijan* ср. р. собир. 'группа берез, березовая роща, березовый лес' — прагерм. **berkō* ж. р. 'береза'). Тот же суффикс, обозначающий коллективную и происходящий из индоевропейского языка, в большинстве славянских языков фиксируется также как **-vje*, ср. рус. диал. *берэзье* ср. р. собир. 'березы, березовый лес, ветки березы'; др.-польск. *brzezie* ср. р. собир. 'березовый лес'; чешск. *březí* ср. р. 'березовый лес', а также *břízí* ср. р. 'березовая поросль, ветки березы, древесина березы'; свц. *brezie* ср. р. 'березовая роща'; сербохорв. *brězje* ср. р. собир. 'березы, березовый лес', словенск. *brězje* ср. р. 'березовый лес' (< праслав. **berzъje* ср. р. собир. 'группа берез, березовая роща, березовый лес' — праслав. **bërza* ж. р. 'береза'). Другие потенциальные следы присутствия данного суффикса можно найти в балтийских языках (ср. старонорд. *pannean* ср. р. 'мшистая топь' в соотношении с готск. *fani* ср. р. 'грязь', др.-сакс. *feni* ср. р. 'топь'). Это подсказывает, что индоевропейский суффикс, образующий собирательные существительные, можно реконструировать как **-ijom*. Кажется также, что некоторые индоевропейские племена использовали дериват **b^herh₂ǵijom* для обозначения группы берез, прежде всего «березовой рощи» или «березового леса».

Ключевые слова: архаизм, коллективы, этимология, германо-славянские отношения, индоевропейские языки, древнескандинавский язык, норвежский язык, протогерманский язык, скандинавские народы, шведский язык, названия деревьев.

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**THE PERCEPTION OF NATIVE VS. NON-NATIVE DANISH SPEECH:
BENT AND BRADLOW'S MATCHED INTERLANGUAGE SPEECH
INTELLIGIBILITY BENEFIT REVISITED**

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The main objective of the study was to test the applicability of Bent and Bradlow's matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit to the Danish-Polish language pair. We aimed to verify whether it was easier for Polish students of Danish to understand a Danish native speaker or a Polish speaker with a proficient command of Danish. Sixteen Polish students, divided into two groups of eight, listened to two recordings of two Danish texts: one recorded by a native speaker of Danish and the other one — by a native speaker of Polish who is a graduate of Danish philology from a Polish university. Before the experiment, all of the recordings were evaluated in terms of traces of foreign accent using a 7-point Likert scale, the experts being native speakers of Danish. The evaluators assessed the Polish native speaker's pronunciation as proficient, but they identified certain segmental and suprasegmental features in his speech that are common indicators of a foreign accent in Danish. During the experiment, participants were asked to fill in each recording transcript with twenty missing words. The analysis of the results revealed that the participants scored higher when listening to the text recorded by the Polish speaker. Hence, the matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit was observed in a study using Polish as L1 (native language) and Danish as a foreign language. The study may provide a valuable insight into the question of non-native speech perception, foreign-accented speech and the veracity of the matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit for the Polish–Danish language pair.

Keywords: matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit; Danish speech; native and foreign-accented speech.

1. INTRODUCTION

In a globalised world, where people learn foreign languages in order to be able to communicate with people all over the world, the question of the perception of foreign-accented speech appears to be of the crucial importance. The question of foreign accent has been widely discussed in phonetics and phonology [Flege, 1988; Bongaerts et al., 1997; Flege and Liu, 2001; Flege and Fletcher, 1992; Piske, MacKay and Flege, 2001; Weil, 2001; Ioup, 2008; Munro, 2008; Sebastián-Gallés, 2008]. Researchers have tried to define the notion of foreign-accented speech and enumerate its features [Ioup, 2008; Munro, 2008]. At times, foreign-accented speech has been perceived as a deficiency. For instance, Greene and Wells claimed that “foreign accent, being of the nature of imperfect or defective speech, is the result of incorrect articulation and enunciation and is therefore classified, from our therapeutic viewpoint, as stammering speech” [Greene, Wells, 1927, p.24, as quoted in Munro 2008, p.193]. This notwithstanding, apart from being treated as a speech deviation, foreign accent may also be perceived as an inherent part of second language learning, i. e. as a feature of interlanguage not fully devoid of L1 interference. In addition to being a natural stage in the process of learning a language, foreign-accented speech may also facilitate speech comprehension, which has been shown by Bent and Bradlow (2003).

Bent and Bradlow [Bent, Bradlow, 2003, p.1600] came up with the idea of the ‘matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit’ according to which “a native language match between a non-native talker and a non-native listener facilitates speech intelligibility” [Bent, Bradlow, 2003, p.1606]. The researchers carried out an experiment in which native speakers of Chinese, Korean and English were asked to read aloud several English sentences. Then, their task was to recognise some words from the previously recorded sentences. It was observed that native English speakers were the most intelligible for native English listeners. However, when the listener was a non-native English language user, they understood non-native English speakers equally well as native ones, or even better. This phenomenon was referred to as the interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit (ISIB) [Bent, Bradlow, 2003, p.1600]. Interestingly, “this interlanguage intelligibility benefit extended to the situation where the non-native talker and listeners came from different language backgrounds, giving rise to the mis-

matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit” [Bent, Bradlow, 2003, p. 1600].

Similar to Bent and Bradlow (2003), as early as in the 1970s, Smith and Rafiqzad (1979) noticed that foreign-accented speech could be more intelligible to non-native listeners than native speech. Nevertheless, no talker-listener native language match was identified in the study [Smith, Rafiqzad, 1979]. Elsewhere, Imai, Flege and Walley (2003) tested the intelligibility benefit in a word recognition task. The hypothesis that native Spanish listeners would recognise more English words produced with a Spanish accent than without accent was corroborated in the study. It was also confirmed that native English listeners recognised fewer English words produced with a Spanish accent than without traces of foreign accent [Imai, Flege, Walley, 2003, p. 846].

Bent and Bradlow’s (2003) interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit was also tested in more recent research. Hayes-Harb et al. (2008) examined the intelligibility of both native and Mandarin-accented English utterances for native Mandarin and native English listeners. The authors found that when listening to Mandarin-accented English speech, native Mandarin participants outperformed native English participants in identifying traces of foreign accentedness in English words. Nevertheless, Mandarin-accented English speech was not considered to be more comprehensible than native English speech by native Mandarin participants (2008: 664). Hence, the ISIB for non-native listeners was observed, but not for talkers. Similar results in support of the ISIB for listeners were obtained by Xie and Fowler (2013). Elsewhere, Podlipský, Šimáčková and Petráž (2016) compared the notion of intelligibility of foreign-accented speech with its credibility. The authors found evidence in support of the ISIB for both the matched and mismatched condition. However, Podlipský, Šimáčková and Petráž found that “matched and mismatched non-native listeners tend to trust native statements more” [Podlipský, Šimáčková, Petráž, 2016, p. 30]. Hence, even though foreign-accented speech may be more comprehensible to both matched and mismatched non-native listeners, the *intelligibility* benefit shall not be extended to include *credibility* ratings of native and non-native speech.

Importantly, in some other studies, no evidence of the ISIB was found [e. g. Munro, Derwing, Morton, 2006; Wang, Van Heuven, 2015]. This raises the question as to whether the intelligibility benefit may be modulated by a given language pair, the phonological systems of the

languages involved, or the language proficiency of a non-native speaker. Thus, the present study was conducted to test the perception of native and non-native speech in the context of the Danish-Polish language pair.

2. AIM

The main purpose of the experiment was to investigate whether it was easier for Polish students of Danish to understand a Danish native speaker or a Polish speaker with a proficient command of Danish. In other words, the experimental study was designed to test the applicability of the matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit proposed by Bent and Bradlow (2003) to the Danish-Polish language pair. It was examined whether there was a statistically significant difference in comprehension of a Danish native speaker and a non-native speaker who has achieved a proficient command of Danish as a foreign language in the group of Polish students of Danish.

3. PARTICIPANTS

Participants recruited for the study were sixteen first-year students of Danish language and culture at the Faculty of Modern Languages and Literatures at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań. Four of them were male and twelve of them were female. Their age ranged from 20 to 26 years old ($M=20.9$; $SD=0.94$). All of them had completed 8 months of intensive language training in Danish at the university (approximately 240 hours) prior to the experiment. None of the participants suffered from a hearing impairment that could compromise their ability to comprehend texts presented in the form of audio recordings.

4. MATERIALS

The materials used in the study comprised four recordings of two Danish texts (see Appendix). The recordings were of equal length and delivery rate, as well as lexical and syntactic complexity (LIX readability formula developed by Carl-Hugo Björnsson — Text 1 = 27; Text 2 = 29, indicating equal text difficulty). The LIX index uses both a word factor and a sentence factor, and takes into account the number of long words and average sentence length. Texts with a score not exceeding 30 are interpreted as very easy. The texts were prepared in such a way that they would be adjusted to the participants' command of Danish. Both texts were stories

about people who met in Denmark and decided to get married. They were adapted from the original texts featured as extra reading materials for the Danish language coursebook, *Det kommer!* [Jeppesen, Maribo, 2008]¹. Two parallel versions of each text were prepared: one recorded by a native speaker of Danish and the other — by a native speaker of Polish with a proficient command of Danish. The Polish speaker was a graduate of Danish as a foreign language from Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

The length of each recording and the number of words in both texts are provided in Table 1.

Table 1. The length of recordings and the number of words

	Native speaker of Danish	Non-native speaker of Danish
Text 1	3 min 00 sec (464 words)	3 min 02 sec (464 words)
Text 2	2 min 59 sec (472 words)	3 min 00 sec (472 words)

5. PROCEDURE

Before the experiment the participants were informed about the procedure of the experiment and asked to sign the informed consent form. In the course of the experiment, each participant listened to two recordings of speeches in Danish, i. e. one delivered by a native speaker of Danish, while the other one — by a native speaker of Polish with a proficient command of Danish. Right before listening to each recording the participants were provided with a transcript, each time with twenty words missing. The participants were not allowed to read the text before listening to the audio recording. The words missing comprised mainly short words of high frequency. The participants were informed that they would listen to both recordings only once. Their task was to insert the missing words as they listened to the recording. Such a procedure was designed to investigate whether it was easier for the students to recognise the Danish words uttered by the native speaker of Danish or Polish. The experiment was conducted in two groups of eight students. In order to minimise the effect

¹ The texts are available through the publisher's website at https://ny.alfabetadigital.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Supplerende_1%C3%A6setekster_Det_kommer_2udg.pdf (p. 44 and 46).

of confounding variables, the order of recordings was counterbalanced across the participants, i. e. one of the groups listened to the native speaker recording first and then the text recorded by the non-native speaker, while the other group listened to the recordings in the reverse order.

After the experiment, the authors collected and coded the scripts filled in by a given participant. A participant's result was based on the number of correctly recognised Danish words. For each correct answer one point was given. Thus, the maximum score for each recording was 20 points. IBM SPSS Statistics 21 software was used to perform a statistical analysis of the results.

It was hypothesised that the matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit [Bent, Bradlow, 2003] would apply to the Danish-Polish language pair. Hence, the participants would score equally or even higher when listening to the text recorded by the Pole with a proficient command of Danish, compared to the native speaker of Danish.

6. NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE SPEAKER EVALUATION

Before the experiment was conducted, all four recordings were evaluated in terms of traces of foreign accent by native speakers of Danish. Text 1 recorded by the native speaker and Text 2 recorded by the non-native speaker were rated by three native speakers of Danish. Text 2 recorded by the native speaker and Text 1 recorded by the non-native speaker were evaluated by three other native speakers of Danish. The raters' task was to provide answers on a 7-point Likert scale indicating foreign accentedness, with 1 indicating highly accented speech and 7 indicating native-like speech. The raters were also asked to briefly justify their answers. They were not informed about the language background of either speaker. The raters' assessment is provided in Table 2.

With regard to the text recorded by the native speaker of Danish, the evaluators gave a unanimous answer ($M = 7$; $SD = 0$). On the other hand, scores given to the native speaker of Polish ranged from 3 to 6 ($M = 5$; $SD = 1.26$). They assessed his pronunciation as proficient but enumerated certain features which might suggest that he is not a native speaker of Danish, i. e. incorrect word stress in a couple of examples, incorrect pronunciation of back vowels. However, the evaluators' general impression was that the speaker's accent is of very good quality with minor disfluencies which might give away his language background.

Table 2. Native and non-native speaker evaluation

Evaluator no.	Assessment of the native speaker	Assessment of the non-native speaker
1	7	6
2	7	3
3	7	4
4	7	5
5	7	6
6	7	6

7. RESULTS

A statistical analysis was performed to test whether there was a difference in comprehension of native vs. non-native Danish speech, i.e. whether the participants would score higher when filling in the transcript of the text recorded by the non-native speaker of Danish. Out of the maximum of 20 points the participants scored on average 11.19 points for the text recorded by the native speaker and 13.13 points for the text recorded by the non-native speaker of Danish (i.e. the native speaker of Polish). A paired-samples t-test showed that there was a statistically significant difference in the participants' scores for the native ($M=11.19$; $SD=2.20$) and the non-native Danish speech ($M=13.13$; $SD=2.28$); $t(15)=-3.564$, $p=0.003$, which might point to the fact that it was easier for the participants to comprehend non-native Danish speech, in comparison to the native speaker of Danish. In this way the authors' hypothesis was confirmed in the course of data analysis. Thus, evidence of Bent and Bradlow's (2003) ISIB was found in the present study. It appears that traces of foreign accent may indeed facilitate speech intelligibility when listeners share the native language of the speaker.

8. DISCUSSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The obtained results in support of the matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit proposed by Bent and Bradlow (2003) are in line with previous research [Imai, Flege, Walley, 2003; Hayes-Harb,

Smith, Bent, Bradlow, 2008; Xie, Fowler, 2013; Podlipský, Šimáčková, Petráž, 2016]. The results of the present study showed that the ISIB may also apply to the Danish-Polish language pair. On a local level, this might be explained by the fact that Polish speakers of Danish do not assimilate sounds as much as native speakers of Danish would do it. This, in turn, might facilitate comprehension of Danish speech. Even if a non-native speaker of Danish with a proficient command of the language makes a mistake, Polish students may not find it hard to understand what has been said because such mistakes often stem from the differences between the phonological systems of Danish and Polish and, hence, there is a great probability that they would make the same mistake. To give an example, Polish students of Danish may find it difficult to distinguish between Danish front vowels. The Danish language is believed to pose a challenge to learners as it has as many as ten front vowels [Grønnum 2007, p. 140], compared with Polish three front vowels [Nagórko, 1996, p. 34]. To summarise, features of a phonological system of one's L1 may potentially compromise the perception of sounds in a foreign language.

From the didactic point of view, the obtained results might suggest that understanding a native speaker of Danish poses a challenge to Polish students of Danish. As observed in the present study, the overall intelligibility score for native Danish speech was 2 points lower than for non-native Danish speech. This discrepancy might point to the importance of foreign language courses offered by native speakers. Listening to Danish native speech may help Polish students to effectively communicate with Danes in the natural language environment.

As for further research, the study may be extended to test Bent and Bradlow's *mismatched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit*. In such a study, the perception of Danish used by a native speaker of a language other than Polish and Danish would be investigated. Furthermore, the effect of the listeners' L2 (Danish) proficiency on the emergence of the ISIB could be tested in a study with two experimental groups, i.e. first-year as opposed to third-year students of Danish. Similarly, the speaker's L2 proficiency could be tested as an independent variable in further research on the ISIB in the Polish-Danish language pair. In the study presented in this paper, the mean score of the Polish speaker was 5 out of 7 points. A native speaker of Polish with a near-native command of Danish and a mean score exceeding 6 points could be

recruited for another study. Furthermore, data from more participants could be analysed to give the study more external validity and, thus, to obtain more reliable results. For the sake of group homogeneity, only first-year students of Danish were tested in the study. However, the experiment could be conducted in two or three consecutive years in order to collect a more representative sample of first-year students of Danish. Despite these limitations, nevertheless, the study might hopefully provide a valuable insight into the question of non-native speech perception, foreign-accented speech and the veracity of the matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit for the Polish-Danish language pair. Further research is, however, needed to understand how the ISIB may be modulated by the speaker's and listeners' L2 proficiency.

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**ВОСПРИЯТИЕ РОДНОЙ И НЕРОДНОЙ ДАТСКОЙ РЕЧИ:
ГИПОТЕЗА БЕНТА И БРЕДЛОУ О ПРЕИМУЩЕСТВАХ
ВЗАИМОПОНЯТНОЙ МЕЖЪЯЗЫКОВОЙ УСТНОЙ РЕЧИ**

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Основная цель исследования состояла в том, чтобы проверить гипотезу Бен-та и Бредлоу о преимуществах внятности межъязыковой устной речи по отношению к датско-польской языковой паре. Мы стремились проверить, легче ли польским студентам, изучающим датский язык, понять носителя датского язы-

ка или носителя польского языка, владеющего датским языком в совершенстве. Шестнадцать польских студентов-данистов, разделенные на две группы по восемь человек, прослушали две записи двух датских текстов: одну записал носитель датского языка, а другую — носитель польского языка, выпускник датского отделения филологического факультета польского университета. Перед экспериментом все записи оценивались с точки зрения следов иностранного акцента по 7-балльной шкале Лайкерта, причем оценивающими экспертами были носители датского языка. Эксперты оценили произношение носителя польского языка как компетентное, но они выявили в его речи определенные сегментальные и супrasegmentальные особенности, которые являются общими индикаторами иностранного акцента в датском языке. В ходе эксперимента участникам предлагалось заполнить каждый протокол записи пропущенными словами — всего двадцать слов. Анализ результатов показал, что участники набрали больше баллов при прослушивании текста, записанного польским спикером. Таким образом, преимущество внятности межъязыковой устной речи наблюдалось в исследовании с использованием польского языка в качестве L1 (родного языка) и датского языка в качестве иностранного. Это исследование может дать ценное представление о восприятии неродной речи, речи с иностранным акцентом и о пользе взаимопонятной межъязыковой устной речи польско-датской языковой пары.

Ключевые слова: гипотеза о преимуществах взаимопонятной межъязыковой устной речи; устная речь датского языка; устная речь с родным и иностранным акцентом

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APPENDIX

Text 1

Anna fra Spanien og Mathias fra Danmark

I sommeren 2000 havde Anna ingen for ferien og vidste ikke, hvad hun ville. En hendes veninder fortalte hende om SCI. Organisationen arrangerer frivillige arbejdslejre for unge mennesker i hele verden. SCI er en forkortelse for Service Civil International. Det er en fredsorganisation grundlagt i 1920. Anna havde ikke så mange penge, så hun var nødt til at vælge et i Europa. Hun ville gerne væk fra sommervarmen i Barcelona, så hun et projekt i Danmark. På Svanholm i Nordvestsjælland hun restaurere og male vinduer i en gammel bygning. Hun skulle gøre det sammen med 11 andre unge fra mange forskellige lande.

I Barcelona boede Anna i bofællesskab sammen med to andre. Men på Svanholm var de 120 mennesker, voksne og børn, boede, arbejdede og spiste sammen. Det var nyt og spændende for Anna. På Svanholm mødte hun Mathias. Han var op i bofællesskabet, hvor han nu arbejdede som kok. Alle i Annas arbejdsgruppe skulle lave mad fra deres eget land én gang. Anna lave den spanske nationalret, paella. Men skulle hun tale med kokken om indkøbene til paellaen.

Anna set Mathias i køkkenet, men hun havde aldrig talt med ham. Hun syntes, han så sød ud, selv om han ikke lignede Brad Pitt. Og han var nem at tale med. Det var, som om hun altid havde kendt ham. Men det var jo sommerferie, tænkte hun, og så bliver man nemt forelsket.

..... tre uger på Svanholm tog Anna hjem og fortsatte sine studier i turisme. I juleferien hun igen til Svanholm og senere kom Mathias ned til Anna. Alt i alt rejste de frem og tilbage i tre år, mens Anna gjorde uddannelse færdig. De savnede hinanden meget, når de ikke var sammen. Til sidst besluttede de at sammen i Barcelona, hvor Mathias fik job som kok og lærte spansk. Men så fik Anna lyst til at komme til Danmark igen og bo på Svanholm. Det gjorde de i et år, men nu arbejder de begge to på restaurant og bor i deres lejlighed.

Selv om Anna og Mathias har forskellig baggrund, tænker de på samme måde. De har også mange fælles interesser. De kan lide at rejse, de er interesserede i fremmede kulturer, de kan lide samme musik. De er begge lidt stille. De er hverken super sporty eller partymennesker, som Anna udtrykker det. De kan lide at være hjemme og have venner på og lave mad til deres venner.

Anna og Mathias er gift, men for to uger var de til bryllup på Svanholm. Og nu har de også lyst til at blive gift og holde bryllup med deres familier og alle deres venner.

Text 2

Jannie fra Malaysia og Allan fra Danmark

Jannie, der hedder Hui Siah på kinesisk, har altid drømt om at komme til udlandet og opleve andre kulturer. En dag hun og kiggede på verdenskortet og tænkte på, hvor hun gerne hen. Der var for mange malaysiere i Australien, USA og England, syntes Jannie. Så hun kiggede på lande, hun kendte, og endte med Danmark. Der ville hun gerne hen.

Kort tid efter var hun på et kursus arrangeret AIESEC. På kurset fortalte trainees fra mange forskellige lande, hvordan det var at bo og arbejde i Malaysia, var så anderledes end de, de kom fra. Jannie var med i en gruppe på 10, der skulle lave et tredages projekt sammen. I gruppen var også Allan, der havde været i Malaysia som trainee i ØK i et år. Fordi han var dansker, blev Jannie straks interesseret i at tale med ham.

..... AEISEC-kurset begyndte Jannie og Allan at gå ud sammen med en gruppe venner. De blev ikke forelsket ved første blik. Det kom lidt efter lidt. Allan prøvede at forlænge sit i Malaysia, men det var ikke muligt. I stedet han til Kina i fire måneder for at lære kinesisk. I de fire måneder mailede og sms'ede de sammen hver dag. Derefter var Allan nødt til at hjem til Danmark. De næste otte måneder, besøgte Allan Jannie én gang, og hun besøgte ham én gang. Da Allan besøgte Jannie i Malaysia, blev de forlovet. De syntes to, det var svært at være kærestes og bo så langt fra hinanden.

Men Jannie kom til Danmark, rejste hendes søster og hendes søsters mand til Danmark for at besøge Allan og hans familie. Det var ikke, fordi de bestemme, hvem Jannie skulle giftes med, men de ville gerne være sikre på, at det var et seriøst forhold. Og det var det. Jannie ville have en, hun kunne leve sammen med resten af sit liv. Og ham hun fundet. Jannie og Allan blev gift på rådhuset i København i 2004. I 2005 de bryllupsfest i Malaysia med 170 gæster. I Malaysia er det et lille bryllup, men Allan syntes, det var et meget stort bryllup.

Jannie valgte Allan, fordi hun syntes, han var moden og havde begge på jorden. Og så tænker han altid på andre og er meget beskeden. Allan valgte Jannie, fordi han syntes, hun er en stærk, åben kvinde, der har let til smil. De synes begge, at de er heldige, at de har hinanden. Når Jannie er færdig med ph.d., vil de gerne have børn og blive gamle sammen.

En lille ekstra historie: For 30 år rejste Allans til Frankrig med AIESEC og mødte en fransk kvinde! Så Allan er halvt franskmand og halvt dansker.



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A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF MAROLLIEN DIALECT FEATURES

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The article provides an overview of the lexical and grammatical features as well as the sociopolitical environment of Marollien that originated in the 18th century as a dialect on the territory of Brussels. Marollien is essentially the Dutch language in its Brabantian dialect, strongly influenced by French. There are literary works, performances, and musicals written and staged in Marollien, as well as dictionaries and journals published in it. Historically, the Marollien dialect is a sociolect: it was generally used by Belgians coming to Brussels from Wallonia in search of a job and settling in one of the districts of Brussels — Marolles. A special emphasis is placed on lexical features of the dialect: gastronomic and everyday vocabulary are looked at and the examples of French loanwords and Southern Dutch language norm deviations are provided. Standard Dutch calques in French, when translating idioms in particular, are also identified. The differences between Dutch, French, and Marollien place names are illustrated. In the field of morphology and word formation, there is a regular mixture of Germanic and Romanic stems which is indicated. Examples of Marollien phonetic features are also provided. The article acknowledges frequent code switching in Marollien speech, which by and large resembles the phenomenon of linguistic interference. Due to the fact that Marollien is rapidly disappearing, the Brussels-Capital region is trying to support the dialect: various activities are being organized in order to propagate its use and enhance its prestige. Nevertheless, Marollien is not included in the well-known citizen initiative “Marnix Plan”, aimed at developing the methodology for the sequential study of several languages for all segments of the population in Brussels. This initiative is also discussed in the article.

Keywords: the Marollien dialect, Brabantian dialects, the City of Brussels, Belgium, Flanders, Dutch.

The region of Flanders embraces four main dialect groups comprising a large number of dialects: Brabantian (53 dialects), East Flemish (69 dialects), West Flemish (34 dialects), and Limburgian (61 dialects) [Nederlandse en Vlaamse dialecten]. Both Limburgian and West Flemish are the most commonly used spoken varieties in daily speech of Flanders and differ from Belgian Dutch and Dutch in its common (standard) norm the most [Claeys, 2001].

Limburgian dialects are mainly spoken in the south-east of the Netherlands, as well as in the north-east of Belgium and in bordering western regions of Germany. The Limburgish variant is still regarded as a dialect in Belgium, while in the Netherlands since 1997 it is officially recognized as a regional language. A distinctive feature of Limburgian dialects in Belgium is a large number of French loanwords.

Despite the fact that the West Flemish variant differs from Standard Dutch roughly as much as Afrikaans, it is not considered to be a distinct language. West Flemish dialects are widely used in the west of Flanders. The spread of the dialects is explained by the fact that the introduction of Northern Dutch (the Netherlands Dutch, the basis of Standard Dutch) met resistance from the literary movement of the area in the latter half of the 19th century. One of the most prominent figures of the movement was Guido Gezelle [Weijnen, 1966].

The role of big cities in the evolution of languages and dialects is undeniable. As centres of manufacturing, commerce, culture and education, they “accumulate” regional features of a topolect. The influence of such features, focused within urban areas, extends beyond agglomerations. Urban dialect can therefore to some extent provide an overview of a dialect group it belongs to. Brabantian group can be in some way represented by the dialects of Brussels and Antwerp, East Flemish by the dialect of Ghent, and West Flemish can be represented by the dialect of Bruges. The Limburgian dialect group comprises related but quite different dialects and cannot be represented by a dialect of a city.

There are some 250 thousand speakers of Limburgian dialects in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands each. A span across three countries is not exclusive for the Limburgian dialect group. West Flemish dialects are spoken in the Netherlands, in the south of Zeeland province (Zeelandic Flanders) by 80 thousand speakers, as well as in Hauts-de-France, the northernmost region of France (Westhoek, or Maritime Flanders), with 20 thousand people speaking a distinctive Franco-Flemish dialect.

Belgium per se has 900 thousand West Flemish dialects speakers. East Flemish dialects are also spoken in the Netherlands: there are some 60 thousand speakers in the east of Zeeland province (Zeelandic Flanders). Belgium has around 210 thousand speakers of East Flemish dialects. Brabantian dialects are also widespread in some Dutch provinces — about 200 thousand speakers in North Brabant, and approximately 60 thousand speakers in southern Gelderland and in Limburg. There are around 870 thousand Brabantian dialects speakers in Belgium distributed quite heterogeneously between two of the Brabant provinces. Flemish Brabant, which surrounds Brussels-Capital Region, has around 160 thousand speakers, and in Antwerp Province there are about 710 thousand speakers. As an isolated from French-speaking Belgium community province, Antwerp is the only Belgium region without any adjustment for French. The whole province can use nothing but Dutch on a daily basis [Van der Gucht, De Caluwe, Jansen, 2017].

Over the past 20 years the number of the aforementioned dialects speakers has fallen drastically. An average number of citizens fluent in regional languages has dropped by 18% in Flanders and is at the moment around 33% of the total population, though the majority understands their native speech and is able to keep the conversation going. The Flemish Brabant province suffered the largest decline, with the dialect being a native language for just 17% of the population. The same holds true for both East and West Flemish dialects regions: only 19% of citizens are proficient in East Flemish dialects and 55% are proficient in West Flemish dialects. The decline is twice as little in the Limburgian dialects areas with 26% of the speakers [Van der Gucht, De Caluwe, Jansen, 2017].

The linguocultural world view of languages or dialects speakers can be illustrated in examining colloquial and professional vocabulary and as to the dialects of the capital, the City of Brussels, the analysis can be performed from the standpoint of Gallicisms and archaisms inclusion, as well as the inclusion of the words that are rarely used in Standard or in Belgian Dutch.

There is a specific Brabantian dialect in Brussels called Marollien (some linguists presume it to be a sociolect). It is also known as “Brusseleir” in academic literature which is not entirely accurate since the region of Brussels has residually at least two more spoken varieties — Bargoens (the language of vagrants, street vendors and street performers) and a

dialect of the Molenbeek municipality. Marollien is the dialect with the most remarkable representation: there are literary works, performances, and musicals written and staged in Marollien, as well as dictionaries and journals published in this language variant [Wanet, 2000]. Sometimes “Brusseleir” is seen as a variant of French spoken in the capital city. Marollien, however, is a Germanic variant with numerous inclusions from Romance languages.

Originally it was the South Brabantian dialect that was spoken in Brussels. Beginning in the 18th century workers from Wallonia, the south of Belgium, started settling in the Marolles district, the south-west of the capital. That was the environment where Marollien originated, a dialect that differed from other Brabantian dialects in a large number of Walloon loanwords. Over time, its transformation into a working-class language became increasingly discernable as it absorbed French, Spanish, German, English, and Yiddish loanwords. Later in the 19th century as Brussels was being actively francized, Marollien was almost entirely replaced by French, which had become compulsory in governing and education. The figures from population censuses speak for themselves: in 1830 French speakers made up some 30 % of Brussels’ population, and over the course of a century the figure went up to 70 %. The number of Brussels’ French speakers is reported by current estimate to be over 90 % [Vanden Branden, 2014].

Despite the fact that nowadays Marollien is of interest mainly for linguists and culture experts, it is still a source of national pride for a small number of native speakers and is widely used in traditional puppet shows. Furthermore, various cultural activities are organized in order to support it. For example, in 2004 the Marolles neighbourhood (around 2000 residents) enjoyed a banquet arranged by authors of *The last of the Brusseliers* photobook presented to the public in the same year. What is more, an action group was set up in the Marolles to ensure Marollien’s inclusion into the list of 19 European Union official languages (with EU enlargement taken into account). Marolliens’ intentions are firm: the action group has already announced a competition to recruit interpreters from Marollien into main EU working languages — English, French, and German [An unusual holiday...].

In some cases, linguists define Marollien as an argot because it has developed expressive expletives and created a number of set phrases, proverbs, and sayings obscure for both Dutch and French speakers

while being a working-class language. That is why young people tend to use Marollien to scandalize their company. One of the most well-known Marollien sayings is an invective “skieve architect” (literally — “shameful architect”) that appeared in the late 19th century with the demolishing of the Marolles section to construct the Palace of Justice which resulted in many residents losing their houses.

Marollien lexical features essentially relate to any Belgian dialects lexical set. The City of Brussels, however, as the capital of the country, enriches gastronomic Marollien vocabulary first and foremost. Many words for traditional and local cuisine have Southern Dutch origins. Although there are French equivalents, Brussels’ French speakers prefer using Southern Dutch lexis. Below are some examples sequenced as “Marollien” — “Belgian Dutch” — “Standard French”:

“bloempanch” — “bloedpens” — “boudin noir” (a blood sausage);
“kip kap” — “kip kap” — “viande hachée, fromage de tête” (headcheese);
“plattekkeis” — “plattekees” — “fromage blanc frais” (cream cheese);
“smoutebolle” — “smoutebol” — “beignet” (a doughnut);
“stoemp” — “stoemp” — “purée de pommes de terre et de légumes” (vegetables and mashed potatoes).

A Walloon, who visits Brussels infrequently, may find these words incomprehensible as Marollien “kip kap” is “tête pressé” in Belgian French, as well as “plattekeis” is “maquée”, and “smoutebolle” is “croustillon” [Beardsmore, 1971].

In addition, the majority of Marollien lexical items borrowed from spoken varieties and dialects of Flanders are not present in Standard Dutch. As a result, the Dutch do not understand them. This is reflected with the following: Marollien “bloempanch” is “bloedworst” in Standard Dutch, as well as “kip kap” is “hoofdkaas”, “plattekkeis” — “kwar” or “wrongel”, “smoutebolle” — “oliebol”, and “stoemp” — “stamppot” [Wanet, 2002].

A similar situation appears in vocabulary related to social life and relationships. We see this with “chatterbox” in Marollien being “babe-laire”, in Southern Dutch — “babbeler”, in Standard Dutch — “babbelaar”, in Belgian Dutch — “berdelleur”, and in Standard French — “bavard”. A combination of Dutch and French in different spoken varieties with Walloon admixed produces belgicisms, generally specific to Brussels dialects. This is evident with the game of darts in Marollien being a Southern Dutch word “vogelpik”; in Standard Dutch howev-

er it is an English word “darts”, in Belgian French — “jeu de fleches”, and in Standard French — “jeu de fléchettes”. A café or a bar in Marollien is “caberdouche” — derived from the Southern Dutch lexical item “kabberdoe(ke)”, which is “kroeg(je)” in Standard Dutch, “estaminet” in Belgian French, and “bistrot” in Standard French. A French fries stall is a Southern Dutch word “fritkot”; which is “frietkraam” in Standard Dutch, “baraque à friture” in Belgian French, and “baraque de marchand de frites” in Standard French.

Despite all these forms being a defining characteristic of Brussels’ spoken varieties, they may be clear for a broader spectrum of Belgium population owing to radio talk shows and television with hosts using regional words and phrases. Recent instances of the “debrusselization” of Brussels’ dialect words are the lexical units “idiot” — “snul” (“sul” in both Southern and Standard Dutch, “abruti” or “crétin” in French variants), “brat, bastard” — “zinneke” (same in Belgian Dutch and Belgian French, “straathond” in Standard Dutch, and “chien bâtard” in Standard French), and “problem” — “stut” (“stoot” in Belgian Dutch, “problem” in Standard Dutch, “stuut” in Belgian French, and “problème” in Standard French). The last word was especially popularized in Wallonia because of an iconic comedian Marc Herman’s phrase “Y a un stuuût!” (“There’s a problem!”) [Francard, 2010].

Morphological features of Flanders’ dialects can be found in Marollien as well. The indefinite article likewise comes from an archaic form *eenen* and exists in the forms *ne*, *e* and *en*, for example, “ne pei” — “old man”, “en mei” — “old lady”, and “e peike”, “e meike” with a diminutive suffix.

The process of word formation involves Germanic stems rarely used or not compatible in Dutch spoken varieties. The lexical unit “labbekak” (“coward”) derives from Standard Dutch stems “laf” (“cowardly”) and “kak” (“shit”). Romance base morphemes are also used — the lexical item “pottepei” (“boozehound”) is based on the Standard Dutch stem “pot” (“pot”) and the Southern Dutch stem “pee” (“old man”, that comes from French word “père” (“father”)). The verb “kažoebere” (“to rummage through garbage cans”) supposedly derives from the French stems “caisse” (“box”) and “éboueur” (“garbage man”). Another French stem “régliſſe” (“licorice”) is quite obscured in the Marollien “calichezap” (“booze”), where also the Standard Dutch stem “sap” (“juice”) remains.

Another quite peculiar phenomenon of Marollien is verb formation with a Germanic suffix *-eire* added to a French stem verb, for example:

autoriseire (authorize) — from “autoriser”;
applaudisseire (applaud) — from “applauder”;
constateire (note, state) — from “constatater”.

Such forms are evident in the Marollien sentence “Deei mense kan’k-ik ni supportèire, die m’n schuune Vlamse taal konstant moete massacreire!”, which is “Je ne peux pas supporter ces gens qui doivent tout le temps massacrer ma belle langue flamande!” in French (“I can’t stand people who are desperate to obliterate my beautiful Flemish language!”). This sentence also demonstrates “ik” (“I”) subject reduplication: the subject does not split, it reduces one of its parts — “ik” to an ending *-k*, which essentially merges with the verb form “kan” — “kan’k”. It is worth noticing that the form “kan’k” corresponds to the rest of the subject in a French manner: “peux-je” — “kan’k-ik”. Nevertheless, Marollien, as any other Flanders dialect, has Dutch syntax at its core. Despite the decreasing number of speakers, Marollien syntactic structures are entrenched in both Brussels and Belgian variants of French: for example, the Marollien “wat ik nodig heb” (“what I need”) becomes “ce que j’ai besoin” in Belgian French and “ce dont j’ai besoin” in Standard French; “c’est” in French common norm sometimes in Belgian French turns into “ça est” under the influence of Standard Dutch “het is” [Treffers-Daller, 1994].

Furthermore, the Southern Dutch diminutive suffix *-ke* can be added to French noun stems in Marollien, for instance: “little boy” — “filske”. The opposite also holds true, adding the French suffix *-eur* to Dutch stems creates a new noun, as in “zwanze” (“joke”) — “zwanzeur” (“joker”).

Generally speaking, the Marollien Brussels dialect differs from other Flanders dialects in rather frequent code switching. Such a phenomenon also occurs beyond Belgium borders (Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments in northern France) in the Franco-Flemish dialect, which belongs to the West Flemish dialect group. However, historically the Franco-Flemish dialect is a combination of Picardian and West Flemish spoken varieties. Marollien, as mentioned above, combines Brabantian, Walloon, and French language variants.

Below are some more examples of code switching, Germanic or Romance stems are deliberately not pointed out:

“Ei aa gienen débouchonneur” — “He didn’t have a corkscrew”;
 “Il sort manger avec sa mokke” — “He’s out to grab a bite with his girlfriend”;
 “Ge zai nen imbecile” — “You’re an asshole”;
 “K’em a carrément de woeraait gezeit” — “I told him the truth straight out”;
 “Il est kroemmeneil zat” — “He is quite drunk”;
 “Op de chaussee is da te dangereus» — “It’s too dangerous on the carriageway”:
 “Allien mo vè aile t’amuzeire” — “Merely to amuse you”.

A striking example of code switching can be found in first lines of Victor Lefèvre’s (1822-1904) poem “Flup le Marollien” (“Flup the Marollen”) from the book *Le Marollien* (“The Marollens”) (1871) where French and Dutch words rhyme [Lefèvre, 1871]:

El frèr’ de Flup duvait partir pour l’guerre
 Il était kron et toch ! goed gekeurè!
 (Flup got his brother taken to war —
 He yet can fight, though was wounded before!)

In Brussels French sentences are quite often calques from Dutch, for instance:

J’espère que ça va pas continuer à rester durer. (I hope it won’t last.)
 (Ik hoop dat het niet gaat blijven duren.) or
 Arrive une fois, filske! (Come here, boy!)
 (Kom ‘ns, jongen!)

Idioms are translated word for word as well:

Il a une pièce dans ses bottes. (He is quite drunk)
 (Hij heeft een stuk in zijn laarzen (literally — He has crumbs in his boots)).

Dutch verb extensions can also sometimes be translated literally:

Nous sommes (o) chemin. (We are away.)
 (We zijn weg)

As we assume, the facultative *o* in French sentence may be related to the interferential influence of the corresponding English structure “We are away”.

Some quite illustrative differences in placenames in Dutch, French, and Marollien should be noted as well:

Oudergem — Auderghem — Âvergoum (Auderghem);
 Elsene — Ixelles — Olche (Ixelles);
 Hoogstraat — Rue Haute — Uugstroût (High Street);
 Oude Markt — Vieux Marché — Den Â Met’ (Old Market);
 de Vismarkt — le Marché-aux-Poissons — De Vismet’ (Fish Market).

The dialects of Brussels are captured in the famous play written by Frantz Fonson (1870–1924) and Fernand Wicheler (1874–1935) — *Le Mariage de Mademoiselle Beulemans* (1910), as well as in Joris d’Hanswyck’s (1878–1942) and Paul Van Stalle’s (1908–1995) play *Bossemans et Coppenolle* (1938). Marollien is also used in Théâtre Royal de Toone: some plays are performed in the three original languages of Brussels. The first novel including Brussels folklore is *La Famille Kaekebroeck* (*The Kaekebroeck family*, 1901), written by Léopold Courouble (1861–1937).

Best known for his series of comic albums *The Adventures of Tintin*, cartoonist Hergé, whose grandmother came from the Marolles, not only systematically used Brussels words and phrases in his comics but also published three albums entirely in Marollien. It is also fascinating that an artificial language of a fictional country Syldavie was as well based on this language variant. The country appeared in five Tintin albums, and Cyrillics was used for the artificial language’s written form.

One of Jacques Brel’s songs has a line which contributed to the popularity of the “Brusseleir” concept — “C’était au temps où Bruxelles brusseleait...” (“There was a time when Brussels spoke Brusseleir ...”).

The advice in Marollien “Ampløjeit zou veul Franse woude ni, de Vlomse langosje es abbondant genoeg!” (“Don’t use so many French words, Flemish is rich enough!”) sounds quite funny as there are at least three words of French origin.

Balancing Germanic foundation and Romance superstructure, Marollien is an example of a truly Belgian dialect, which is also reflected in its phonetic features. In all Flanders dialects except Limburgian ones, diphthongs are barely discernible. It is still however possible to note several features: The Standard Dutch *ei / ij* becomes *aai* in the Antwerp dialect, *ie* (long vowel) in the Bruges dialect, and *aa* in the Ghent dialect. In Marollien this diphthong combines both Antwerp and Ghent features. The same is with the Standard Dutch diphthong *ui*, which becomes *oei* in Marollien (*oui* in Antwerp, *u(u)* in Bruges, and *oai* in Ghent dialect). The Standard Dutch sound *aa* developed in a special way in Marollien. In the Northern Brabantian dialect, spoken in the Netherlands, the sound becomes *ao*, in the Antwerp dialect it is *au*, and in Ghent — *oa*. In the fading Leuven dialect it is *oo*, the sound transforms into *oe* in Marollien. As a result, “water” (“water”) is pronounced as “woeter” in Brussels.

The City of Brussels was also the first city to introduce adopted from high society French velar *r* to Brabantian. This feature is relevant only for two Flanders dialects — Brussels and Ghent ones [Quiévreux, 2015].

There is also a palatalization of *t* and *d* consonants in Marollien which makes them sound as *t(s)j* and *d(z)j* in a certain phonetic environment. A similar case is present only in some of the Limburgian dialects [Bakkes, Cromptvoets, Notten, 2003].

Marollien is rapidly disappearing and if it could be considered to be an interlingua for people speaking different languages before, then at the moment this spoken variety is being replaced by English. The Brussels-Capital Region is trying to support Marollien; the *Brusselse sproek* magazine is being published and various cultural activities are being organized. Still, Marollien is not included in the “Marnix Plan”, a well-known citizen initiative that is due to pragmatic features of the language situation in Brussels [Philippe van Parijs, unable data].

Since 2010, the “Marnix Plan” has been promoting the necessity of speaking three languages — French, Dutch, and English. The project is named after Philips of Marnix (1540-1598), who was born and brought up in Brussels. He was a renowned Dutch writer and statesman, an adherent of William, prince of Orange, who fought for the Netherlands to secede from Spain. Less famous is his work as the first Dutch cryptographer, who succeeded in deciphering secret Spanish documents. Philips of Marnix was fluent in seven languages, wrote books in French, Dutch, and Latin, and translated from Greek and ancient Hebrew. One of his works, *Ratio instituendae iuventutis (A Pedagogical Treatise of Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, 1583)* presents a number of ideas about simultaneous learning of several languages at a young age by the method of “immersion”. As a result of the book, Philips of Marnix was immortalized in a statue in front of a primary school opened in 1897 for illiterate boys from the Marolles, one of the poorest districts of Brussels. This is quite symbolic — in his book Philips of Marnix spoke about the upbringing of upper-class children. The “Marnix Plan’s” proponents believe this project is of great importance for all Brussels’ citizens, and, first of all, for children of foreign origin, who now form the majority of Brussels’ students [Philippe van Parijs, unable data].

One of the objectives of the “Marnix Plan” is to develop a methodology for the consistent learning of several languages for all of Brussels’

social groups, combining the priority of French, Dutch, and English with the encouragement of cultural integration of foreigners coming to the capital with their own languages.

In order to achieve the objective, it is necessary to change school curricula. However, not everything depends on education. A consolidation of all public forces is needed: from intellectual to political. The “Marnix Plan” is above all an attempt to discover as much as possible on successful existing enterprises, to stimulate development of new ones and to combine them all into one global effective project. The ideas of “Marnix Plan” are propagated via their website and regular public events. The goal is to convince citizens of Brussels that language learning and assisting others in language learning should become a common everyday activity.

There are 65 % of Belgians out of more than 1,2 million Brussels citizens, the remaining 35 % are of other nationalities. The inevitability of some “lingua franca” emergence, despite all the efforts of the “Marnix Plan” comes from the following figures. At the end of 2017, some 72 % of Brussels region citizens were of foreign origin (born or having one parent born outside of the country). Some 28 % have roots in one of the European Union countries, the rest are related to other countries. The majority of immigrants are from the Maghreb or from Turkey (around 25 %). This is a sharp contrast to the times of Marollien dialect emergence. The language is no longer able to save itself. It is precisely because of this why a professional linguistic recording of this vanishing phenomenon is important, as well as a smart language policy that could help to save this linguistic monument which has been significant in the historical events and sociopolitical transformations in Belgium. The Marollien dialect is an essential element in the kaleidoscope of Brabantian dialects.

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КРАТКИЙ ОБЗОР ОСОБЕННОСТЕЙ МАРОЛЬСКОГО ДИАЛЕКТА

Для цитирования: *Ulianitckaia L. A brief overview of Marollien dialect feature // Скандинавская филология. 2020. Т. 18. Вып. 2. С. 297–309.*
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В статье представлен обзор лексических и грамматических особенностей, а также социально-политического контекста образования марольского диалекта, бытующего на территории Брюсселя и ведущего свою историю с XVIII века. Марольский диалект представляет собой брабантский диалект нидерландского языка с сильным влиянием французского; на марольском написаны литературные произведения, поставлены спектакли и мюзиклы, существуют словари, выпускаются журнальные издания. С исторической точки зрения марольский диалект является, скорее, социолектом: на нем говорили приезжие из Валлонии в Брюссель в поисках работы бельгийцы, которые селились в одном из кварталов Брюсселя — Мароле. Особое внимание в статье уделяется лексическим особен-

ностям изучаемого диалекта: рассматривается гастрономическая, повседневная лексика, указываются примеры заимствований из французского языка, а также отклонения от общенидерландской языковой нормы. Выявляются кальки с нидерландской нормы во французском языке, в частности при переводе идиоматических выражений. Показываются различия в топонимах на нидерландском, французском и марольском языках. В области морфологии и словообразования отмечается регулярное смешение германских и романских основ. Приводятся также примеры фонетических особенностей марольского диалекта. В статье отмечается частое переключение кодов в речи марольцев, что, в общем и целом, напоминает явление лексической интерференции. В связи с тем, что марольский диалект, к сожалению, стремительно исчезает, брюссельский столичный регион оказывает всяческую поддержку диалекту: устраиваются различного рода мероприятия, направленные на распространение диалекта и повышение его престижа. Однако в известной гражданской инициативе «Marnix Plan», направленной на разработку методики последовательного изучения нескольких языков для всех слоев населения Брюсселя, марольскому диалекту не нашлось места. Об этой инициативе также рассказывается в данной статье.

Ключевые слова: марольский диалект, брабантские диалекты, Брюссель, Бельгия, Фландрия, нидерландский язык.

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METONYMI I RUBRIKKER I MODERNE DANSK DAGSPRESSE (DEN POLITISKE DISKURS)

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Artiklen handler om metonymi i rubrikker i dansk dagspresse inden for den politiske diskurs. Metonymi er en uundværlig del af et billedsprog og findes nok i alle verdens sprog. Karakteristisk for rubrikker er, at de gerne skal være ekspressive og give informationen om artiklens indhold i en meget kort form. Sådanne træk som billedlighed og vurderingsevne er typiske for metonymiske overførsler. Metonymi sparer også på sproglige ressourcer, fordi ved hjælp af metonymi er det muligt at erstatte lange beskrivelser med et ord. Det er således ikke underligt, at man tit bruger metonymi i pressesproget. Målet med vores undersøgelse er, at se nærmere på metonymiske overførsler i nyhedspressens rubrikker i forhold til deres hyppighed og typologi. Korpusset består af rubrikker fra tre online versioner af følgende aviser: Politiken, Jyllands Posten og Dagbladet Information. Tidsmæssigt omfatter undersøgelsen Folketingsvalget 2015. Vi har valgt denne periode, på grund af to ting. For det første, udskrives valget af statsministeren og der er en bestemt antal dage til at føre valgkamp i. Dermed får vi et klart afgrænset tekstmateriale. For det andet, er valgkampen meget interessant i forbindelse med den politiske diskurs. Vores undersøgelse viser, at metonymiske overførsler forekommer i over halvdelen af rubrikkerne. Årsager til den høje hyppighed kan være, såvel tiltrækning af læsernes opmærksomhed, som vurdering af politikerne og deres gerninger. Typologisk set findes der for det meste stedsmetonymi og metonymi baseret på en årsag-virkning overførsel. Vi ser oftest metonymiske overførsler af sådanne typer: “et politisk parti → partiets medlemmer”, “regeringen → ministrene” og “en politiker → politikken som gennemføres af politikeren”. Til en mere sjælden gruppe tilhører attributiv metonymi. Vi kan nævne metonymiske overførsler med danske politiske blokke, for eksempel rød blok eller blå blok, hvor farven peger på blokkens politiske orientering.

Nøgleord: det danske sprog, metonymi, metonymiske overførsler, rubrikker, den politiske diskurs.

Nyhedsartikler præger ofte vores opfattelse og vurdering af visse politiske begivenheder og politikere. I denne sammenhæng er det preserende at studere sproglige særheder af politisk orienterede tekster i dagpressen. Her i artiklen vil vi kigge tættere på metonymi som er et meningsdannende sprogsmiddel. Metonymi bruges hyppigt i avisprog og ikke mindst i artiklernes overskrifter (rubrikker) på grund af dens udtryksfuldhed og stor nytteværdi. En rubrik bør være iøjefaldende, for at læsere kan huske den, og den bør samtidig gengive information i en forkortet form. Hvis vi tager i betragtning den almene sprogøkonomi og menneskenes naturlige evne til at bruge en minimal mængde af sprogheder, er det ikke overraskende at metonymi forekommer tit i nyhedspressens rubrikker.

I artikler udtrykker journalister som regel deres forhold til forskellige fakta, begivenheder og fænomener. Her bruger man billedsprog, som forstærker tekstens indflydelse på læseren [Kajda, 2008, s. 58]. Vi spekulerer sjældent på, hvordan vi danner og opfatter metonymi, derfor kan den påvirke menneskenes bevidsthed. O. Aleshina og L. Bronzova mener, at “metonymi er en effektiv måde af den betydningsmæssige påvirkning, der fører til en ændring af modtagernes eksisterende politiske verdenssyn” [Aleshina, Bronzova, 2015, s. 85]. H. Arndt skriver, at “politikere er sprogbrugere som alle vi andre, og deres sprogbrug er hverken værre eller bedre end den almindelige dagligdags — den er blot i høj grad i fokus” [Arndt, 2009, s. 212]. Denne opmærksomhed til politikernes sprogbrug fremmer dannelsen af vores politiske synsvinkel, derfor kan man kalde massemedier for «den fjerde statsmagt». Ifølge E. Albæk og K. Vreese, spiller nyhedsmedier “en så central rolle for moderne politiske systemers funktionsmåde, at de reelt må siges at udgøre en politisk institution — på linje med tre grundlæggende politiske institutioner, som normativt er reguleret i alle demokratiske forfatninger” [Albæk, Vreese, 2010, s. 283].

Politikernes meninger og ytringer kan blive fortolket af journalister, for at opnå visse politiske mål, og dette kan med stor sandsynlighed virkeliggøres i rubrikker. Der er flere politiske opgaver, som skal løses af nyhedsmedier under valgkampene, når der opstår en forøget interesse for politik. Disse opgaver er følgende: at formidle kandidaternes ideer til vælgere eller undlade at tale om disse ideer; at kommentere kandidaternes ideer og vurdere dem; at henlede opmærksomhed på kandidaternes ledende position i stedet for deres politiske holdninger

[Budaev, 2008, s. 118]. Opgaverne kan løses ved hjælp af metonymiske overførsler i kraft af deres ekspressivitet, vurderingsevne og evne til at vække læsernes interesse.

Metonymi blev i lang tid studeret indenfor sprogvidenskab. Den såkaldte psykologiske skole konkretiserede begrebet tilgrænsning. Læren udviklede sig videre i værkerne af A. Reformatsky og D. Sjmelev. Tilhængere af den logiske skole såsom A. Potebnja og V. Gak forbandt betegnelsers semantiske overførsler med formelle logiske forbindelser mellem begreber. Den semiologiske skole anså metonymi som en del af C. Pierces tegnteori. Denne tanke fik udvikling hos R. Jakobson, V. Ivanova, V. Tarasova o.a. Det var først Jakobson, der gjorde et forsøg på at droppe det psykologiske aspekt. Han definerede metonymi som et rent sprogvidenskabeligt fænomen, der er baseret på kombination af en semantisk tilgrænsning og positionens lighed. Ifølge E. Ginzburg ligger årsag til metonymiske overførsler i syntaksen [Birich, 1995, s. 11–16]. I den sidste tid har man undersøgt metonymi inden for kognitiv lingvistik, og her kan vi nævne E. Paduchevas værker [Paducheva, 2003].

Metonymi er et spændende fænomen af hensyn til dens almengyldighed. Der findes formentlig ikke et sprog uden metonymiske overførsler. R. Langacker mener, at “et sprog får dets struktur ved hjælp af grammatikken, og grammatikken er fundamentalt metonymisk” [Panther, Thornburg, Barcelona, 2009, s. 45]. Tanken udvikler sig hos R. Brdar-Szabo og M. Brdar: «Der er ingen tvivl om, at metonymi er et universalt kognitivt fænomen, som skaber fundamentale betydningsbærende begreber og sproglige strukturer i alle eksisterende sprog» [Brdar-Szabo, 2012, s. 729]. Det er også væsentligt, at metonymi fremstår som et forholdsvis produktivt sprogmiddel og dermed beriger sprogets ordforråd. For det danske sprog, som er det sprog, vi undersøger, er sammensætning en af de hyppigste måder af orddannelsen. I sin undersøgelse af danske sammensatte ord (komposita), kommer E. Krasnova frem til, at “metonymiske modeller går tit hånd i hånd med ordsammensætning” og at “der forekommer en metonymisk overførsel enten i den første eller den anden led af kompositum eller i hele ordet” [Krasnova, 2007, s. 95].

Vi bruger metonymiske overførsler i daglig tale uden at lægge mærke til, hvordan vi producerer dem, derfor er det problematisk at formalisere denne proces. I den forbindelse er stort set alle forhåndenværende typologier af metonymi betingede og kan blive suppleret. Blandt russiske sprogforskere, som beskæftiger sig med metonymi, kan vi frem-

hæve A. Eryomin og O. Petrova med deres monografi “Metonymi i det moderne russiske sprog”. Forskerne undersøger metonymi i forhold til dens leksikale særheder. De rubricerer metonymi under tre kategorier, nemlig en substantivisk metonymi, en adjektivisk metonymi og en verbal metonymi [Eryomin, Petrova, 2019]. Hvad angår de nordiske sprog, er der værker inden for norsk og svensk leksikologi af tilsvarende V. Berkov [Berkov, 2011, s. 103–113] og S. Maslova-Lashanskaya [Maslova-Lashanskaya, 2011, s. 162–163].

Der er en stor praktisk betydning i at studere sprog af nyhedspresse. Vi tror, at det er berettiget at kigge på rubrikker i danske aviser, som drejer sig om politik i forbindelse med, hvor mange og hvilke typer af metonymiske overførsler der findes i disse tekster. Korpusset indeholder rubrikker fra tre danske netavisudgaver: Dagbladet Information, Jyllands Posten og Politiken¹. Vi har valgt disse tidsskrifter på grund af deres store omfang og adskillige politiske holdninger. I dag er aviserne credo at være uafhængig af politiske partier, men der er alligevel visse historiske årsager til deres politiske distinktion [Hjarvard, 2007, s. 31]. Perioden er Folketingets valkamp 2015 som varede fra den 27. maj til den 17. juni. I alt er der 1 202 rubrikker (82 fra DI, 492 fra JP og 628 fra P). Mængdemæssigt er der 57 rubrikker fra DI, 205 rubrikker fra JP og 334 rubrikker fra P, som indeholder metonymiske overførsler.

Ved et nærmere eftersyn kan vi nævne flere typer på metonymiske overførsler. Som en støtteklassifikation brugte vi V. Berkovs typologi, fordi den synes at være mest tilpassende for studiet af metonymi i det danske sprog. De mest udbredte typer af metonymi er følgende: en stedsmetonymi, en subjektiv-objektiv metonymi og en attributiv metonymi.

1. STEDSMETONYMI

Den hyppigste type i kategorien er en overførsel af slagsen: “sted → mennesker, der befinder sig på dette sted”. Der findes flere undertyper afhængigt af selve stedet:

1) Overførsel “et selskab → selskabets medlemmer” er en overførsel med en nogenlunde bred betydning. I denne gruppe finder vi både ord, der står for hele klassen af disse selskaber og navne på danske og internationale virksomheder, offentlige institutioner osv.:

¹ Vi vil videre bruge tilsvarende forkortelser: DI, JP, P.

Efter magre år: Banker håber på færre love. (JP 08.06.15)

Gymnasier dropper valgmøder. (JP 01.06.15)

Løkke ændrer kampagneplaner efter stenkast og molotovcocktails mod politiet. (JP 10.06.15)

Fagforening undsiger Thornings sundhedsløft. (JP 03.06.15)

Vestre affejr udlændingekritik fra Dansk Industri. (JP 11.06.15)

Nu smugervåger NSA ikke amerikanerne mere. (P 01.06.15)

Derfor stemmer Jehovas Vidner ikke. (JP 06.06.15)

Denne overførsel kan føre til at vi får på en måde overdrivende oplysninger. Effekten øger meddelelsens relevans. Hvis vi tager de første to rubrikker som handler om “banker” og “gymnasier”, kan vi ikke sige præcis hvor mange banker og gymnasier deltog i begivenhederne, dermed hvor mange medlemmer af disse selskaber var med. Det kan eventuelt blive afsløret i underrubrikken og brødteksten, men det er klart, at selve rubrikken appellerer til en væsentlig mængde af selskaberne.

Rubrikkerne med selskabsnavne kan ligeledes tiltrække læsernes opmærksomhed. For det første er selskaberne som regel velkendte på forhånd, og man kender deres navne formodentlig ud og ind. For det andet bliver meddelelsen mere betydningsfuld, uanset mængden af deltagere. Se rubrikken om “Jehovas Vidner”.

2) Overførsel “et politisk parti → partiets medlemmer” er den mest udbredte undertype blandt tilfældene af stedsmetonymi:

Thorning: Løkke skal ikke bekymre sig om De Radikale. (DI 15.06.15)

Ekspert: Nulvækst er et dårligt ord, der kan få betydning for Venstres valg. (JP 12.06.15)

Løkke til Dansk Folkeparti: Min regering skal arbejde for ja ved folkeafstemningen. (P 28.05.15)

Ovenfor blev der angivet de opgaver, en nyhedsavis skal løse under valgkampen. Ved hjælp af partinavne kan en avis beskrive holdninger eller gerninger af en enkeltstående politiker eller en gruppe politikere men de udgår ikke nødvendigvis fra hele partiet. Som følge af dette kan læserne misforstå informationen vedrørende valgkampens forløb. Det er ofte svært for læseren at skille partiets medlemmer fra partiet. I så fald kan denne type af metonymiske overførsler fungere som et slags manipulationsmiddel.

Hvis vi henvender os til formen, kan vi se både fulde partinavne og forkortelser af partinavne:

K er lunken om DF's 2020-plan: Ikke vores kop te. (DI 09.06.15)

Sidste debat: V støtter ikke LA's skatteplan. (JP 17.06.15)

S og R trækker på skuldrene ad dagpengepres. (P 30.05.15)

Målet med at man bruger abbreviaturer kan være, såvel tiltrækning af læsernes opmærksomhed, som det at skabe en mere rummelig rubrik. Det er værd at bemærke, at under valkampen og på selve valgdagen bruger partierne partibogstaver. Bogstaverne bliver fordelt efter partiets størrelse. Det sker eksempelvis på følgende måde: Socialdemokratiet, som er talrigest i sammenligning med andre partier, får bogstavet "A" ved valg, dvs. bogstavet "A" bruges for at betegne Socialdemokratiet i alle agitationsmaterialerne og på stemmesedlerne. Partierne med færre medlemmer får henholdsvis bogstaverne "B", "C", "D" osv. I det undersøgte korpus fandt vi ingen eksempler med de ovennævnte bogstaver. Aviserne brugte udelukkende de partigruppebogstaver, som findes i Folketinget. De adskiller sig fra bogstaverne ved valget og viser sig som det første bogstav eller de første bogstaver i partinavnene. Dette sker nok, fordi læserne identificerer lettere det første bogstav med et partinavn. Jf. bogstaverne "DF", som står for Dansk Folkeparti, med bogstavet "O", som partiet fik ved valg.

Det er bemærkelsesværdigt, at denne metonymiske overførsel ikke sker alene ved hjælp af partinavne, men også gennem ordet "parti", som betegner partiets medlemmer:

Hvis Thorning går imod Alternativets værdier, er partiet klar med et mistillids-votum. (JP 13.06.15)

Ekspert i negative kampagner: Partierne er pressede. (JP 08.06.15)

Partier vil bekæmpe mobning, men få børn bliver mobbet. (JP 02.06.15)

Der findes dog ofte ordet "parti" i dets direkte betydning:

DF'er om racister i partiet: "Det var bestemt ikke sådan jeg mente det". (JP 15.06.15)

Stop brokkeriet, og meld dig ind i et parti. (P 04.06.15)

3) Under kategorien "et politisk parti → partiets medlemmer" er det muligt at rubricere en overførsel "et politisk forbund → politikere". I forholdvis mange rubrikker møder vi ordforbindelser som "blå blok" eller "rød blok", hvor adjektivet henviser til forbundets politiske orientering:

SF: Trist at blå blok vil udfordre flygtningekonvention. (DI 10.06.15)

Megafon: Blå blok stopper blødningen. (P 01.06.15)

Hvem er mest grønne i Danmark — den røde eller den blå blok? (JP 15.06.15)

I Danmark dannes der sædvanligvis en mindretalsregering, derfor er den politiske situation i landet afhængig af et kompromis mellem forskellige partier. Blokpolitik bliver i denne sammenhæng et af kompromiserne. Konflikter og modsigelser, der opstår mellem blokkene, samt forhold omkring partierne inde i blokken forårsager en større interesse for valgkampen. I så fald er det nyttigt at bruge denne slags metonymiske overførsel, da aviserne vil tiltrække læserne. Der er også en del rubrikker med ordet «blok» uden et foranstående adjektiv, for eks.: *Meningmåling varsler dødt løb mellem blokkene* (JP 28.05.15).

4) En omvendt overførsel “partiets medlemmer → partiet”:

Socialdemokraterne angriber DF i ny kampagne. (DI 08.06.2015)

Konservative kalder radikalt forslag om boligskat for “hul i hovedet”. (P 31.05.15)

Socialdemokraterne vil have en “realistisk” klimapolitik (JP 01.06.15)

Vi ved ikke, om udtalelserne kommer fra en politiker eller et parti. Og det er svært at finde ud af politikerens motivation for at handle på den bestemte måde. Der kan formodentlig være tale om en fælles partimening eller partiets indflydelse på politikeren, når vi læser sådanne rubrikker:

Stor stigning i patienter på privathospital under Thorning. (JP 14.06.15)

Sundhed: Løkke vil bruge én milliard mere end Thorning. (DI 04.06.15)

Thorning og Løkke vil øremærke penge til demente. (P 15.06.15)

Lad os sammenligne de ovenstående rubrikker med disse her: *Danskerne: Thorning kan bedre tåle et nederlag end Løkke* (P 15.06.15) og *ATS: Helle T. overvejer jobtilbud fra Løkke* (P 16.06.15). Er det muligt at påstå at det er Helle-Thorning, som ikke vil være ked af sit nederlag? Eller er det partiet, som vil opfatte dets eventuelle fiasko mere roligt end Venstre? Der er virkelig mange tvetydige rubrikker af denne slags.

5) Overførsel “regeringen → ministrene”:

Regeringen vil fjerne indsattes gæld men afliver rådgivning. (JP 10.06.15)

Salget af en del af Dong var Thorning-regeringens værste handling. (P 29.05.15)

Regeringen vil bruge en milliard på miljø. (DI 12.06.15)

Journalisterne bruger denne slags overførsel, for at gøre meddelelsen mere vigtig. Alle nyhederne, som handler om regeringen, er mere spændende end det, der sker på grund af en eller flere ministre.

Til forskel for ordet “regeringen” var der ingen rubrikker med ordet “Folketinget” i overført betydning. Der er heller ingen rubrikker med or-

det “parlament”, enten i dets direkte eller overførte betydning. Dette kan ske på grund af, at både danske læsere og danske journalister ikke identificerer ordet “parlament” med Folketinget. Eller under valg 2015 var journalisterne mere fokuserede på dansk politik end på det, der skete i udlandet. Nedenunder er rubrikker med “Folketinget” i direkte betydning:

De forlader Folketinget efter valget. (P 27.05.15)

Skandaleombrust grønlander stiller op til Folketinget. (P 19.05.15)

Kvinde: Fire ud af 10 kvinder i Folketinget er ikke nok. (DI 05.06.15)

6) Overførsel “selskabets placering → selskabet”. Det er interessant at nævne rubrikker med ordet “Christiansborg”, som er et hjemsted for det danske parlament. Det er bemærkelsesværdigt, at navnet “Christiansborg” her har kun en mening, nemlig Folketing, selvom der befinder sig nogle andre offentlige institutioner i slottets bygning. Det drejer sig for eksempel om Højesteret og Statsministeriet.

Valgfesterne vender tilbage til Christiansborg. (JP 02.06.15)

Johanne Schmidt reddet på målstregen: Jeg er slet ikke færdig med at kæmpe på Christiansborg. (JP 27.05.15)

Der findes også rubrikker med forkortelsen “borgen”, for eksempel: *Per Stig Møller takker af efter 31 år på Borgen.* (JP 27.05.15).

7) Overførsel “et land eller et sted → mennesker, der bor på dette sted”:

Valggysere: Færøerne kæmper om afgørende mandat. (JP 17.06.15)

Kommuner gruer for udgifter til flytninge. (JP 09.06.15)

Da vores artikel handler om politik, kan vi finde et mere konkret navn på denne overførsel, altså “et land eller et sted → politikere der repræsenterer dette land/sted”:

Rufus Gifford: USA kan lære meget af den danske valgkamp. (JP 12.06.15)

Europa skændes om grænser, mens flytninge strømmer ind. (P 16.06.15)

Denne slags metonymiske overførsel fokuserer læsernes opmærksomhed på problemets størrelse. I rubrikken med “kommuner” er det retfærdiggjort, fordi flytningesituationen blev til et nationalt problem. Men hvad angår rubrikken med “Europa”, ser det ud til at handle om nogle bestemte lande og deres statsoverhoveder.

8) Overførsel “et sted → en begivenhed som skete på dette sted”. De mest interessante rubrikker i kategorien er eksempler med “stemme-

boksen”, som betyder selve stemmeprocessen: *Husk EU i stemmeboksen* (P 15.06.15). Sådant en overførsel gør rubrikken spændende og uforglemmelig.

2. SUBJEKTIV-OBJEKTIV METONYMI OG METONYMI BASERET PÅ ÅRSAG-VIRKNING

1) Overførsel “en skaber → skaberens værk». Inden for denne type kan vi angive en overførsel “en politiker → politikken som gennemføres af politikeren”:

Thorning skriver til danskerne: Pas på Lars Løkke. (DI 16.06.15)

Thorning: Vi havde også fået flere flygtninge med Løkke. (DI 28.05.15)

Måske tilhører fremtiden alligevel Uffe Elbæk? (P 16.06.15)

Overførsler af denne type er meget hyppige og giver en række associationer om politikerne. De kan for eksempel dreje sig om politikerens arbejde eller hans/hendes personlighed. I den forbindelse er metonymien et middel til at skabe et politisk image.

2) Overførsel “konsekvenser af en handling → en begivenhed, som har noget at gøre med denne handling”. Her kan vi nævne metonymi med ordet “kryds” i betydning af en vælgers stemme:

Sådan påvirker meningsmålinger vores kryds: Vi stemmer på vinderholdet — og på underdog'en. (JP 12.06.15)

Kvinder er mest i tvivl om krydset. (JP 03.06.15)

“Jeg sætter kryds hos dem, der er klogest i pæren”. (P 11.06.15)

3) Overførsel “en begivenhed → konsekvenser af denne begivenhed”:

Engell: Stramme tv-debatter savner smil og lune. (JP 16.06.15)

TV-duel øger krav til V's politiske program. (P 08.06.15)

Løkkes Panorama-historie: Forstå sagen om manden, der angiveligt ikke gad arbejde. (P 28.05.15)

Reportage: Folkemødet rummer både småtossede utopister og galninge fra højrefløjen. (P 14.06.15)

I Danmarks politiske liv sker der mange begivenheder, men knap de fleste af dem bliver nævnt i nyhedspressen. For eksempel gik historien med “Panorama” direktør som en rød tråd gennem hele valgkampen. Tv-debatterne fandt også en stor resonans hos vælgerne. Det er en af metoderne i det politiske spil at henvise læseren til fortsættelsen eller konsekvenserne af en begivenhed, ved at omtale denne begivenhed i pressen. Det bliver mest klart, når vi ser rubrikker med en mere snæver

overførsel “et politisk udkast eller en reform → konsekvenserne af disse handlinger”:

Dagpenge sender Thorning i skænderi for åben skærm. (DI 27.05.15)

Østergaard: S-udspil ændrer ikke på flygtningestrøm. (DI 11.06.15)

Forsker: Venstres knallertforslag bliver et blodbad. (JP 12.06.15)

3. ATTRIBUTIV METONYMI

1) Overførsel “en egenskab → egenskabsbæreren”:

Nyt udspil markerer klar kant til de borgerlige. (P 27.05.15)

SF vil redde klimaet — ikke ramme de svageste. (JP 12.06.15)

Så er det tid til at forsøge at kapre de mange tvivlere og andre ubesluttsomme. (JP 16.06.15)

Denne overførsel gør det muligt at undgå en detaljeret fortælling i meddelelsen. Nogle gange skriver journalisterne forsætligt overfladisk, for ikke at tiltrække læsernes opmærksomhed til detaljerne af valgkampen.

2) Danmark er rigt på politiske farver, derfor findes der en metonymisk overførsel “en farve → en tilsvarende politisk orientering”. Ligesom i rubrikkerne med rød og blå blok ser vi andre eksempler med adjektiver, som står for politiske holdninger af et parti eller en gruppe partier. Adjektiverne er følgende: rød betegner socialisme, blå — liberalisme og grøn — konservatisme:

Thorning kæmper alene uden R — Løkke trækker på det blå fællesskab. (JP 11.06.15)

Grønne foreninger efterlyser debat om natur og miljø. (JP 11.06.15)

Blå og røde økonomer dumper forlænget boligkattestop. (JP 11.06.15)

Nedenstående metonymiske overførsler er ikke så frekvente, men det er alligevel spændende at kigge på nogle eksempler af en billedlig metonymi, en tidsmetonymi og en synekdoke.

Valgkampen 2015 foregik ikke alene ved hjælp af tv-debatter, valgplakater og vælgermøder, men også via de sociale medier. I den forbindelse er der en overførsel “en profil på sociale medier → profilejeren”:

Radikal profil sætter rekord på Facebook med gravplads-opslag. (JP 09.06.15)

S-profil til Løkke: Du sender familier ud i fattigdom. (DI 08.06.15)

Venstreprofiler går imod partilinje om grundskylden. (JP 05.06.15)

Overførsel “en tidsperiode → en begivenhed, som skete i denne periode eller periodens karaktertræk” ser vi i sådanne rubrikker:

Socialdemokrater hælder Elbæks 30 timer ned af brættet. (JP 02.06.15)

18. juni er en dårlig dag for lave. (P 27.05.15)

Hvad angår synekdoke, så er der for eksempel overførsler af type “ental i stedet for flertal”. Denne slags metonymi tillader journalister at bruge færre ord i meddelelsen:

Hvem er Løkkes kontanthjælpsmodtager? (JP 27.05.15)

Patienter valfarter til privathospital under Thorning. (P 14.06.15)

Alternativet har årets klart bedste valgplakat. (P 16.06.15)

Som resultat kan vi drage flere konklusioner om typer og hyppighed af metonymi i det undersøgte korpus. Metonymien er nok et hyppigt fænomen (i ca. halvdelen af rubrikkerne findes der metonymiske overførsler). Da vores forskningsinteresse lå inden for den politiske diskurs, undersøgte vi metonymien i en begrænset mængde af rubrikker, som handlede om politik. Vi kan sige, at metonymiske overførsler er et aktivt sprogsmiddel i nyhedspressen under valgkampen. Der kan være rent lingvistiske årsager til dette, altså at metonymien gør en meddelelse billedlig, udtryksfuld og kompakt. Der kan også være ekstralingvistiske grunde, som ligger i dannelsen af visse meninger. Vi tror, at det sidste er en meget vigtig faktor, der skaber metonymiens rolle i læsernes opfattelse af politiske holdninger og processer. Således kan den metonymiske overførsel af typen “et parti — partimedlemmer” eller “en politiker — politikerens politik” bruges af nyhedsaviser til at rette opmærksomheden mod en begivenhed eller personlighed, samt i bred forstand for at bestemme informationsdagsorden. Hvis vi kigger på typer af metonymien, er stedsmetonymi den vigtigste, så kommer subjektiv-objektiv metonymi og til sidst attributiv metonymi.

En videre undersøgelse af metonymiske overførsler kræver utvivlsomt en integreret tilgang og involvering af yderligere materiale. Vi bemærker også, at på trods af den vigtige position, som metonymien har i den semantiske struktur af rubrikker, kan man ikke tale om dens eksklusive rolle. Det er snarere muligt og nødvendigt at undersøge metonymi i kombination med andre sproglige udtryksmåder. I denne henseende synes det relevant at analysere rubrikker både i forhold til typerne af metonymisk overførsel og forbindelsen med en anden type af overførsel — metafor.

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**METONYMY IN HEADLINES OF THE MODERN DANISH PRESS
(THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE)**

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The article deals with the phenomenon of metonymy in the headlines of the modern Danish press in the context of political discourse. Metonymy is an indispensable figure of speech of any language. The language of the press and, in particular, the headlines of articles are characterized by expressiveness and brevity. The characteristic features of metonymic transfers are figurativeness, appreciation and the ability to preserve language resources because the descriptive constructions can be replaced by a single word. It is not surprising, therefore, that metonymy is often used in the headline complex of a news article. The aim of our study is to consider metonymy in Danish headlines in terms of frequency and typology. The research material is the headlines in electronic versions of three Danish newspapers: *Politiken*, *Dagbladet Information* and *Jyllands Posten*. The time interval is limited by the 2015 Folketing election campaign. This choice is dictated by the fact that, in the case of an election campaign, we have clear dates set by the government and the election period is particularly interesting in terms of political discourse. As a result, we can say that metonymy is found in more than half of the headlines studied. In other words, metonymy is relatively frequently used by journalists in the headlines. The examples reviewed have shown that the reason for this is often to attract the attention of the reader and assess events or politicians. Among the types of metonymy, spatial and causal metonymy is the most widely used. Most often we see the metonymic transfer of the type “political party → politicians” or “politician → his/her activities”. Among the cases of attributive metonymy, we found interesting examples with political blocks, which are typical for the Danish political system (for example, red block and blue block), where the colour indicates the political views of these blocks.

Keywords: Danish, metonymy, metonymic transfers, headlines, the political discourse.

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ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИЕ

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KAREN BLIXEN READS THE SAGA OF OLAF TRYGGVASON: RECEPTION OF THE SAGA AND NARRATIVE STRATEGIES IN “THE BEAR AND THE KISS”

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The article analyses the reception of the Norse sagas in Karen Blixen’s short story “The Bear and the Kiss” written in 1958 with the main focus on the “saga of Olaf Tryggvason”. Drawing on Wolfgang Iser’s reception theory, the article explores the hierarchy of the pre-texts that are traceable in the text of the considered story and suggests a system of markers that are meant to include interaction with the precedent texts. The typology of markers includes the characters’ names, metaphorical use of mythological or historical personas, the identified cited texts or stories, identical attributes (in this particular text — a glove thrown into a person’s face), the characters’ appearance, and similarity or contrast with the storyline of the other unidentified text. The analysis shows that there are two possible effects of the use of references: semantic compression and, conversely, symbolist and Neoplatonic circling around the event, which creates a semantic gap. The reader can either find himself aware of a riddle yet being unable to understand how the events or reactions fit into the plot or assume the role of an investigator creating his own interpretation of the storyline. The examined strategy of circling around the truth in order to indicate an idea or a fact by using metaphors, comparisons, and allusions in combination with Walter Benjamin’s and Edward Forster’s philosophy of oral storytelling allows Blixen’s short stories to fit neatly into the context of European modernism.

Keywords: Karen Blixen, reception, Norse sagas, narrative strategy, intertextuality, Walter Benjamin, Edward Forster, aesthetics of symbolism, Friedrich Schiller “The Glove”.

Karen Blixen (1885–1962) is one of the most well-studied Danish writers, her literary legacy thoroughly analyzed in numerous volumes of *Blixeniana* (a series published by the Society bearing her name), dissertations, articles, and books. The existing research devoted to her short stories reveals considerable agreement on the main features typical of her prose: orientation on the oral tradition, abundance of references to various earlier texts, irony, and ambivalence of her stories allowing for multiple interpretations.

Drawing on the reception theory and Wolfgang Iser's notion of the implied reader, this article seeks to establish a hierarchy of pre-texts in the short story "The Bear and the Kiss" (1958), published first in 1975 in the posthumous edition of the *Carnival. Entertainments and Posthumous Tales*, to propose a possible interpretation of their inter-relation in the above-mentioned short story, to describe the system of markers that make the literary and historical allusions interplay with the storyline as well as identify the author's reception of the saga of Olaf Tryggvason — one of Blixen's most favorite sagas.

The abundance of citations, her ironic polemic with the earlier texts cited by her, allusions to paintings and historical anecdotes are rightly explained by some researchers as an outgrowth of the Neoplatonic worldview at the turn of the century exemplified by the Symbolist writers and their attempt to penetrate the spiritual world of ideas, to express the supersensory essence of the world using imagery [Man'kovskaya, 2012]. In her article about the interrelation between Blixen's short stories and the aesthetics of French Symbolism, namely, Stéphane Mallarmé, Barbara Gabriel writes about the silence and the blank page as a manifestation of Mallarmé's principle of ambivalence: "those blanks in his texts which foreground absence and incompleteness" [Gabriel, 1994, p. 100].

The principle of correspondence proposed by the French Symbolists makes it possible to invent aesthetic forms for the sake of stirring the reader's aesthetic emotions without copying the outside world. In uniting these forms there is always a theme calling upon the spiritual sphere of existence and it is these forms that ultimately manifest the theme with the help of correspondences. Thus, the technique that Blixen uses to create her texts through imagery, citations, references to other writers' texts, tales, and myths, seeks not to name a phenomenon but to arouse it in the reader's mind with the help of metaphors, comparisons, and artis-

tic analogies. A phenomenon or an image becomes one of the countless multitudes of literary, musical, artistic, and sculptural reflections. Thus, Blixen's stories fit neatly into the context of European modernism.

Imitation of oral storytelling is another distinctive feature of the Danish writer's short stories. In one of the frequently cited interviews with Bent Mohn of the *New York Times*, given on November 3, 1957, the writer argues: "I am not a novelist, really not even a writer; I am a storyteller. One of my friends said about me that I think all sorrows can be borne if you put them into a story or tell a story about them, and perhaps this is not entirely untrue. To me, the explanation of life seems to be its melody, its pattern. And I feel in life such an infinite, truly inconceivable fantasy" [Wilkinson, 2004].

On one hand, the narration in Blixen's short stories is centered around the oral tradition that implies a distinctive storytelling intonation, the use of migratory subjects and a specific storytelling rhythm. On the other hand, many researchers [Selboe, 2008; Steponavičiūtė, 2016] mention one more indispensable feature of the art of oral storytelling in the author's texts: the importance of experience and recollection as a driving force of the oral narrative. She uses it in the same way as in the language-centered concept of experience discussed in Walter Benjamin's essay "The Storyteller. Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov": "the continuity of experience, die Erfahrung, is a fundamental condition for the transmission of oral stories" [Selboe, 2008, p. 20].

Experience and real-life situations as a pre-condition for the emergence of storytelling can be found in Blixen's short stories in two forms: first, as her own processed experience (a fire in the theater that caused the character of "The Dreamers" to lose her voice, creative patronage and a break up with Torkil Bjørnvig reflected in the later "Echoes") and, second, as an accumulated literary and folk experience of the predecessors. In her early piece "The Roads Round Pisa", the writer makes one of the characters vocalize the thought that literary characters seem to be more real than the Earth's inhabitants who are not recorded in literature or folk tales.

A similar thought is shared by Blixen's contemporary writer, a representative of the British Modernism and theorist, Edward Forster (1879–1970) who delivered a series of lectures on the theory of the novel that were published in 1927 in the theoretical treatise *Aspects of the Novel*. Speaking about characters of the novel Forster compares a created, fic-

titious character, and a human being (homo fictus and homo sapiens): “Homo fictus is more elusive than his cousin. He is created in the minds of hundreds of different novelists, who have conflicting methods of gestation, so one must not generalize”. In the same book, he formulates the principle of the narrator who is the absolute creator, the lord and master of the realm of the text and discusses the artistic and narrative component of the process of the divine creation of the Universe: we can know more about him (homo fictus) than we can know about any of our fellow creatures because his creator and narrator are one. Were we equipped for hyperbole we might exclaim at this point: “If God could tell the story of the Universe, the Universe would become fictitious” [Forster, 2010]. This idea is repeatedly reiterated in Blixen’s short stories and the image of God-Artist and Artist-God underlies the creative process in the writer’s artistic world. Her characters such as Prince Potenziani from “The Roads Round Pisa” realize the extent to which God’s design transcends their own understanding and the writer Charlie Despard from “The Young Man with the Carnation” promises God to write only about what he would bestow upon him in the form of sensory and emotional experience.

Blixen’s claim that she is fundamentally “a storyteller, not even a writer or novelist” can have one more possible explanation. In *Aspects of the Novel*, Forster distinguishes between the “plot” and the “story”, arguing that the “story” is a sequence of events while the “plot” is a causal narrative of these events implying a cause-and-effect relationship between the actions.

Indeed, the meaning and interrelation between the events and reactions of the characters in the writer’s short stories often appear obscure and seemingly difficult to explain. Her “story” is a series of events that the reader will have to put together and recreate the links that are left missing in the narrative to discover the hidden motives and patterns. One of the characters of her first collection of short stories *Seven Gothic Tales*, the storyteller Mira Jama, says a phrase that appears to be addressed to the readers of all the writer’s texts: “I will give you no explanation. You must take in whatever you can, and leave the rest outside. It is not a bad thing in a tale that you understand only half of it” [Blixen, 1986, p. 236].

By placing her characters in the situations repeating the plots of earlier texts and by using the citations from other works to describe the inner state of her protagonists, Blixen fits her texts in the succession of

classical stories ranging from the Bible, the Icelanders' sagas and One Thousand and One Nights to the 19th and 20th century texts of Søren Kierkegaard, Luigi Pirandello, Guy de Maupassant, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson.

Norse sagas appear to be a frequently used source of citation for the writer. Many researchers note that such features of Blixen's prose as a dispassionate intonation of the narrative providing just a mere record of events, the lack of value judgments on behalf of the narrator, and the description of external expression of emotions by the characters without explaining their nature stem from the tradition of oral storytelling, in particular, the Icelanders' sagas. An in-depth analysis of the interrelation between the text of the Saga of St. Olaf from the *Heimskringla* and the unfinished short story by Blixen "Grjotgard Ålvesøn og Aud" is provided in the article by Ieva Steponavičiūtė "Saga Reflections in Karen Blixen's Texts (with a focus on Grjotgard Ålvesøn Og Aud)". Many literary allusions are thoroughly traced in Bernhard Glienke's study of Blixen's mythology where "The Bear and the Kiss" is interpreted as "an aristocratic counter-story to the bourgeois ballad, a fairytale about learning to fear, love and believe" (*die adlige Gegengeschichte zu einer bürgerlichen Ballade; das Märchen von einem der auszog, das Fürchten, die Liebe und den Glauben zu lernen*) [Glienke, 1986, s. 265].

It is the references to the Olaf Tryggvason saga which Blixen most likely read in the 1900 translation by Frederik Winkel Horn that we can find more often than references to other sagas in her works. The fact of the writer's familiarity with the saga is revealed in her letter of 1928 where she shared her admiration for the oral folk tradition and the people who are capable of stimulating it, i. e., providing an occasion for composing:

"There are some artists and common people who are capable of giving rise to myths, their images remain in the public mind... songs continue to be composed about them. In the old times this happened to Olaf Tryggvason who, in fact, did not seem to be a great King, yet he was not even killed... he appeared as a vision to his people, he can arise from the dead in the modern poems and songs ("Broad the Sails o'er North Sea Go..."), and the people of today will feel personal grief... because "fallen is Olaf Tryggvason". (Der er nogle Kunstnere, og Mennesker... som har evnen til at "danne myte"; de bliver ved at leve i folkets bevidsthed som skikkelser, ikke alene i deres verker, og den særlige art af poesi, som de har repræsenteret... Saaledes ogsaa i gamle dage Olav Tryggvason, som dog vist i Grunden ikke var nogen stor konge, men som de ikke

engang rigtig kunne faa livet af... han viste sig i syner for sine mænd, og kan opstaa selv i moderne digt og sang i”Brede sejl over Nordsø gaar”, saaledes at et moderne Publikum kan føle det som en personlig gru... at ”falden er Olav Trygveson”) [Blixen, 1991, s. 197–198].

Thus, the writer views the saga as a variation of the recorded story of the deeds and death of King Olaf alongside the painting by Peter Nicolai Arbo featuring Olaf as he accepts the Norse Crown, Bjørnson’s and Edvard Grieg’s (1832–1910) song “Broad the Sails o’er North Sea Go...” (1880) and Longfellow’s “Saga of King Olaf” (1863).

In his essay “The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach” Iser argues that “a literary work is something more than just its written text because the text acquires its life only in the process of reading and the reading depends on the reader’s personality and this personality may, in turn, be affected by different levels of the text” [Iser, 1972, p. 16]. By acquiring meaning in the process of perception, the text repeatedly creates intervals of blanks.

It is only through the act of re-creating that an object becomes perceived as a work of art. The reading process is the most critical part of the process of getting acquainted with a literary work and it has several stages. The Reader “looks forward, looks back, decides, changes his decisions, forms expectations, is shocked by their non-fulfillment, questions...” [Iser, 1972, p. 16]. He is governed by two structural components of the text: first, by the set of familiar literary images and themes together with the references to the known social and historical situations; and second, by the strategies for presenting the familiar in contrast to the unfamiliar while in the case of Blixen it is rather in contrast to the recognizable. As early as in 1988 Jørgen de Myllius proposed a poignant definition of the writer’s genre of short stories calling them “parasitic” and “reflective modernist texts”.

“Det er karakteristisk for denne moderne fortælling, at den har brug for den simple klassiske beretning. Den omgiver sig med den kraft, den låner af den klassiske beretning, udstråler en illusion af at være selve denne tradition, men er i virkeligheden en på én gang parasitær og selvstændigt fornyende kunst.” (“It is typical for this kind of modernist story to require a classical narration. It takes strength from the classical narration and hides behind it, shines with the illusion pretending to be the same tradition but at the same time is parasitic and renewing”) [de Myllius, 2017, p. 137].

In the texts of her short stories Blixen creates a world where, according to the Neoplatonic ideas and Symbolist poetics, events and feelings have no direct correlation. Feelings, events, and relations from the world of ideas correspond to plot patterns, historical personas that once became characters of folk tales, ballads, and fiction. Thus, information is transmitted by means of association series and the reader's inner effort to recognize, decode, and interpret.

The storyline of "The Bear and the Kiss" features a journey to the Norwegian hinterland made by three young engineers in 1883 and a hunt in which they participated. A problem with their boat makes them stay over for a day on the remote coast of Norway. The youngest traveler's name is Bjørn (Bear). The men meet the local hermits: a one-legged strong and handsome man, a former bear hunter named Joshua and his wife, an old wrinkled Finnish woman Lahula who was baptized by the name of Mary Magdalene. Bjørn, Joshua, and Lahula are engaged in a relationship that remains obscure for both the other characters and the reader. In the evening Lahula repeatedly pesters Bjørn to go hunt a huge bear who lives in the mountains despite the objections of her husband who says that there is not a single chance of coming across a bear in the area. She seems to agree but continues to tell the young man about the hunt and talks her husband into giving Bjørn his shotgun. Early in the morning, the young man sets off for the hunt only to return completely exhausted, tattered, and dirty having killed no bear. The hostess asks him if he happened to see the beast and the man answers that he saw his shadow and heard him. His fellow travelers laugh at him. The hostess brings him some coffee and says that from then on, he will never be afraid of anything. Suddenly he kisses the old woman and she kisses him back, after which the young people head to their boat to continue the voyage. Each of them proposes his own version of what had happened that appears to be at odds with the versions of the others.

The events themselves comprise a modest share of the narrative. The reader's attention is focused on the gaps in the narrative, the blanks, and the unsaid. The main conundrum is connected with the hosts of the farmstead where the young people find themselves. Who are they? What makes them stay together? Why does the youngest traveler obediently set off for the bear hunt as the old host commands, but does not find it and begins to conduct himself very much like the farmstead host:

“he moved without a sound, aptly like Joshua himself” (*han rørte sig uden en lyd, luftigt som Josva selv*) [Blixen, 1994, p. 387].

Like most of Blixen’s stories the main information for the reader is provided through the dialogues and encoded in the references to other texts. Thus, the story of Joshua and Lahula acquires different interpretations as told by different characters of the short story and due to allusions to various stories from the sagas of Olaf Tryggvason, Harald Fairhair, Böðvars þátr in Hrólfr Kraki’s saga, The Old and the New Testament, Friedrich Schiller’s ballad “The Glove” and Homer’s *The Odyssey*.

In the book *Understanding Isak Dinesen* Susan Brantly rightly notes that the allusions in the author’s narrative give rise to a semantic compression of information based on the markers that arouse the reader’s associations with other texts. Indeed, a comparison of the farmstead’s host with Odysseus, Olaf Tryggvason, berserk, and bear suggests his heroic nature, strength, courage, and a dangerous personality. At the same time, the opposite is also true. In Blixen’s texts, the things that are not named directly are denoted through a symbolic circling, with only a distinctive feature of the character to whom the text refers us provided as the key to a puzzle. Instead of saying that the host seems to turn into a bear at night, the author describes his behavior that exposes him as berserk (*man-bear*): “he roared as one of the bears killed by him” (*brølede den store Josva som en af sine egne bjørne*) [Blixen, 1994, p. 368], he has a “bear’s strength of 12 men” (*matte han jo... have båret tolv mands styrke med sig.*) [Blixen, 1994, p. 382], he goes berserk, “turns over huge rocks and throws them in such a manner that sparks fly” (*han... tumlede med så store sten... så at gnisterne stod af dem*) [Blixen, 1994, p. 383]. And instead of saying that the host is jealous and afraid to lose the witch Lahula, the author includes a mirrored story of a jealous wife of the ship’s captain who consumes herself out of jealousy till she becomes as little as a thumb.

The technique of using an extended metaphor to denote actions, feelings, and moods reminds here of the ancient Scandinavian metaphor — kenning, a compound that employs figurative language in place of a more concrete single-word noun but in the text has a strategy of symbolic circling, omitting the name of a specific phenomenon.

In her short stories, Blixen uses multi-level markers indicating an opportunity for the reader to engage in a reflective dialogue with other texts and plots. The pre-texts are introduced through a system of mark-

ers: the identified cited texts or stories, the characters' names, identical attributes, similarity of the characters' appearance, and similarity or contrast with the storyline of the other unidentified text.

The main text, the reference, to which is most obviously present in "The Bear and the Kiss" is Schiller's ballad "The Glove". The discussion and analysis of the ballad's conflict take up three pages at the very beginning of the story. A special focus here is on the knight's feat performed for the sake of his fair lady's whim and on the lady, who commands her knight to perform a feat. During the discussion, the young engineers fail to agree on whether Kunigunde deserved a glove to be thrown in her face or whether the knight Delorges missed his chance. The situation described by Schiller gets an unexpected interpretation by the young participant of the later events: he argues that by behaving in this manner the knight sets himself up for loneliness and will remain in the minnesingers' memory as someone who throws a glove in the lady's face and that he could have given her a kiss.

Reflected in this interpretation of Schiller's text, the events of the short story receive a new interpretation later — as a mirror-image action. The Knight (Bjørn) sets off to hunt a supposedly non-existing bear for the sake of the Lady (Lahula). Upon his return, he gives her a kiss and gets one back. At the same time, he acquires valor and, probably, a creative power as Joshua himself many years before.

The fact that the events of the short story should be interpreted in the light of the argument with Schiller's text is confirmed by the very last sentence of Blixen's text: "But who would write a ballad? — Well, that is just it..." (*Hvem skal digte den? Ja, det er det.*) [Blixen, 1994, p. 391].

The second pre-text directly indicated in "The Bear and the Kiss" is the saga of Olaf Tryggvason. The similarity between one of the main characters of the short story and that of the saga is repeatedly emphasized: it is the strength that equals the strength of 12 bears, hunting feats, success with women, valor in battles, recklessness, and fearlessness while saving the sinking sailors. An important element of the story about Joshua is his disappearance. He sails off as a saga hero to remain only in legends and rumors.

Schiller's text and the saga have one very important common point for the short story — a glove as an attribute. Knight Delorges throws a glove in Kunigunde's face and King Olaf strikes Sigrid the Haughty

with a glove for her refusal to convert to Christianity and marry him. King Olaf from the saga paid for this strike with his life and Sigríð the Haughty turned out to be guilty of his death. This is one of the possible scenarios in the story: the farmstead hostess nags the young engineer to go hunt an evil bear who has an external likeness to the host.

A glove as an attribute of witchcraft appears in one more saga, “Böðvars þáttur”, where the Finnish witch stepmother uses a glove to turn her stepson Björn into a werewolf. Finally, a glove appears in Björnson’s play of the same name in 1883 (the same year as the events described in the short story) where it is a girl who throws a glove in her fiancé’s face challenging all the existing public patriarchal norms in family relations. Thus, the author makes the similar repeating plot twists enter an ironic dialogue in the context of the inter-textual dispute about universality in the male-female relationship.

The most obvious markers provoking the reader’s reflection are the names of the main characters. In the Danish original text there is a man named Josva, whose name is translated as Joshua in the English version. Both variations refer to a hero, a warrior, and a leader of the Jews, and also the author of one of the books of the Old Testament — the Book of Joshua. He also has another name (f. ex. in King James Bible of 1611) if transliterated from the Greek. According to this tradition, Joshua-Josva is called Jesus son of Naue. There is also long theological tradition of accepting Joshua as a forerunner of Jesus Christ.

That is why the fact, that in “The Bear and the Kiss” Joshua-Josva is married to a Finnish woman Lahula who was baptized by the name of Mary Magdalene, gives rise to an ironic, typically Blixenian, somewhat blasphemous association with Jesus Christ, who, according to one of the Apocrypha, was married to Mary Magdalene.

The name Björn is associated with a bear, an ancient totem animal related to berserks — bear warriors. In addition, Björn is the name of the stepson of Queen Hvít from Böðvars þáttur in Hrólfr Kraki’s saga. In that very saga we find a character named Böðvar Bjarki whose nickname meant exactly a “little bear” and it is the very name of Blixen’s main character — he is being teased as “a little, thin bear” (*en lille tynd bjørn*) [Blixen, 1994, p.361]. Finally, the name Björn can bring about associations with the name of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, the author of the song about Olaf Trygvason to which we find other references in the text and “The Glove”.

Among other markers in the writer's text, we find comparisons with various historical and mythological heroes. Thus, in the short story Joshua is compared to Olaf Tryggvason, he is used as a model for the hero's portrait. Besides, the text provides several archetypal patterns to explain the possible relations between Joshua and Lahula. The young travelers compare them with Calypso and Laertiádēs (Odysseus) thus validating the possibility of interpreting the relations between the spouses as those of captivity: a strong and handsome man-hero taken captive by a witch. Such an interpretation is reinforced by Joshua's comparison with Fenrisúlfr (Fenris-wolf) who, according to the legend, was captured by the Æsir who tied him up with a chain made of cat's steps, a woman's beard, and a bird's saliva. Yet, the farmstead guests think that one day the host will break the spell and leave the witch.

The main and the most obscure character of the short story is the hostess Lahula. The series of associations related to her is considerably longer. She is the granddaughter of a Finn whose ancestor was among the sorcerers, who according to the saga, were killed by Olaf for their sorcery during the tide. Perhaps she is keeping the Olaf-like character prisoner out of revenge?

At the very beginning of the narrative on the boat, the young engineers talk about Finnish girls. Their discussion paints erotic pictures of naked Finnish girls riding bears who are completely in their power at night, while during the day they sell reindeer cheese and embroidery. They appear attractive and dangerous for men. As an example, they mention the names of Gunhild and Snefrid from the Harald Fairhair saga. According to the saga, Gunhild, the wife of Eric Bloodaxe, learned sorcery from the Finns and abetted her husband to commit many evil deeds. Snefrid is a Finnish witch to whom Harald Fairhair was married. In the saga he was so bewitched by her that after her death he was unable to fulfill his kingly duties and waited for her to come back to life again. These saga characters invoke erotic attractiveness, magic beauty, sorcery, and villainy of the Finnish women and, therefore, these traits can also be true for the farmstead hostess. However, Lahula's appearance is a complete opposite of the Finnish women's fame: her hunched figure, her voice resembling a cat's meowing, her wheezing and whistling bring about associations with the sea witch from Andersen's "Mermaid". The description of the dinner only reinforces this likeness: "they were received in the sea cave or the pal-

ace of the witch” (*i selve heksens undersøiske hule eller palads*) [Blixen, 1994, p. 376].

Another type of markers that are typical of Blixen’s narrative structure is the storyline of an unidentified text that unfolds in the short story in a similar or opposite way. This technique is quite common for her short stories. The role of a mirror is frequently used, for example, by Søren Kierkegaard in *The Seducer’s Diary* for *Ehrengard*, and Guy de Maupassant’s “Boule de Suif” for “Heloise”. According to Else Brundbjerg, *Kristin Lavransdatter* by Sigrid Unset plays a similar role for “The Ring” and Henrik Ibsen’s “Love’s Comedy” for “The Perls”.

For the short story under consideration, such a mirror is the proof of the “Böðvars þátr”. It is not explicitly indicated in the text of the story, but its events unfold in a similar manner. In the saga the witch Queen turns her stepson into a bear after he rejects her love. The name of King Hringr’s son is Björn. In the short story, erotic chemistry also emerges between the old hostess and the young engineer. Thus, looking at the young man’s thick hair Lahula says: “Now there is something for a girl to pull at, in bed” (*Der er noget for en pige at rykke i, i en seng.*) [Blixen, 1994, p. 378]. The theme of a bear hunt acquires a new perspective: in the saga the witch Queen is trying to seduce her stepson and then turns him into a beast, after which she abets the King to go hunt and kill the bear, his son, to later cook his meat. The bear’s son Böðvar from the saga kills the witch to avenge for the death of his father-bear.

The fate of the Finnish witches from the sagas told in the Christian era ends poorly: Queen Hvit is killed and the dead Snefrid is decomposing. In contrast, Lahula becomes a source of inspiration for the young engineer. A witch, according to Blixen’s mythology is someone who inspires a deed and a song.

Thus, by paraphrasing the saga of Olaf Tryggvason, Blixen created a story where the character ends up being married to a Finnish witch, being inspired in his deeds by the woman of whom he is jealous because of her attention to the young engineer who can take his place.

In the short story, the main intrigue of the Lahula — Joshua — Björn triangle is all about which bear the hostess abets to hunt. Both men can die, both can turn into a bear: Björn, if he is enchanted by the hostess and Joshua, who is probably a werewolf already. Remarkably, when describing the horrible bear, the hostess uses Joshua’s features: old, evil, one-legged, and extremely dangerous. On the other hand, a fight with the bear can

end in a tragedy: Lahula hints to this by telling a story about a boy in a red scarf who was killed by a bear. Having told this story, she ties a red scarf on the young man. The host who first claims that there is no bear in the forest, later says to Lahula: “If he meets the bear you will never see him again” (*Hvis han møder bjørnen, så ser du ham aldrig levende igen.*) [Blixen, 1994, p.381]. The similarity between the two men in the short story is emphasized because it looks like the bear hunt has the same impact on them: they both start telling stories. Joshua talks about the seven bears he killed and Bjørn tells stories that have witches as a motive. Another man in the text, who seems to know Lahula and was in love with her at the time of Joshua’s legendary deeds, is the captain from the ship. It is he who is the narrator about Joshua’s deeds from the past and his marriage to Lahula. He also possesses the gift of storytelling and admits having once felt so jealous that he almost killed a man (probably Joshua).

Further in the “Böðvars þáttur” we read about the deeds of the bear’s son and about the young Viking overcoming his fear in a mock dragon hunt. Bravery is what Bjørn attains after the unsuccessful hunt in Blixen’s story.

The main storyline around which the whole narrative is centered is the story of a werewolf, a shapeshifter who takes up a variety of different guises in folktales. The bear hunt and bear killing abetted by the witch Lahula is a kind of initiation for overcoming the fear and attaining the power and art of storytelling. But another storyline that emerges as a result of communication between various pre-texts could be an ironic discussion about male-female relationships where the woman plays the role of turning the man, through love and jealousy, into a hero deserving of a song, ballad, or a story.

Thus, the inter-textual links in Blixen’s text serve as a storyline engine hinting to the underlying implicit background and give rise to some circling around the truth as well as the ideal pattern without naming it directly. The links also place the story in the context of the entire literary tradition resembling the Neoplatonic strategy of correspondences in Symbolism.

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**КАРЕН БЛИКСЕН ЧИТАЕТ САГУ ОБ ОЛАФЕ ТРЮГГВАСОНЕ.
РЕЦЕПЦИЯ САГИ И ПОВЕСТВОВАТЕЛЬНЫЕ СТРАТЕГИИ
В ТЕКСТЕ НОВЕЛЛЫ «МЕДВЕДЬ И ПОЦЕЛУЙ»**

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Статья анализирует авторскую рецепцию саг, в частности Сагу об Олафе, в тексте новеллы К. Бликсен «Медведь и поцелуй» 1958 г. Основываясь на рецептивной теории В. Изера, предлагается иерархия текстов-предшественников, инкорпорированных в текст новеллы, и типология маркеров, которые «включают» взаимодействие с прецедентными текстами. Маркеры представлены именами действующих лиц, метафорами с использованием имен литературных, исторических или мифологических персонажей, атрибутами (брошенная перчатка), сюжетными линиями названных прецедентных текстов и использованных инкогнито. Анализ новеллы позволил установить, что взаимодействие с текстами-предшественниками приводит как к семантической компрессии, так и наоборот, создает в некоторых случаях эффект символистского, неоплатонического кружения вокруг события, эффект семантического зияния, где читатель или остается в неведении, относительно логической связи событий, или включается в игру создания собственной интерпретации сюжетной линии. Рассмотренная подробно авторская стратегия «кружения вокруг истины», стремление обозначить явление с помощью метафор, сравнений, художественных аналогий, в совокупности с ориентацией на философию устного повествования в понимании В. Беньямина и Э. Форстера резервирует для К. Бликсен прочное место в рядах авторов европейского модернизма.

Ключевые слова: Карен Бликсен, рецепция, исландские саги, повествовательная стратегия, интертекстуальность, В. Беньямин, Э. Форстер, эстетика символизма, Ф. Шиллер «Перчатка».

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ANDERSEN'S BEAUTIFULLY CLUELESS FAIRY TALES

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The article reviews the recently reprinted Czech monograph *Slavíci, mořské víly a bolavé zuby: Pohádky H. Ch. Andersena: mezi romantismem a modernitou* (Nightingales, Mermaids and Toothaches: Andersen's Fairy Tales between Romanticism and Modernity) by Helena Březinová. By outlining the Czech context of research in the field of children's literature and analyzing Březinová's book, the review shows the substantial contribution of the publication for the Czech speaking audience. Březinová carefully analyzes several examples of Andersen's work to convincingly show its ambiguous, disturbing potential, which was lost in the vast majority of Czech retellings and adaptations. Consequently, Andersen's work is commonly perceived as purely children's literature in the Czech context. Březinová questions this notion by thoroughly uncovering Andersen's subtle play with genre norms and readers' expectations on multiple text layers. Březinová's book is intended not only for literary experts, but also for a wide audience of readers with her eloquent and witty writing. Her primary focus is a narratological analysis, however, she makes good use of translation studies, literary history, linguistics, and philosophy as well. In her close readings, she shows Andersen's simple, yet highly sophisticated stories as rooted in romanticism but also anticipatory of modernist themes such as the crisis of language and subject.

Keywords: Helena Březinová, Hans Christian Andersen, Danish literature, fairy tales.

In 2018, Helena Březinová published a monograph focused on Hans Christian Andersen's work titled *Slavíci, mořské víly a bolavé zuby: Pohádky H. Ch. Andersena: mezi romantismem a modernitou* (Nightingales, Mermaids and Toothaches: Andersen's Fairy Tales between Romanticism and Modernity). The book received a warm critical response in Czechia, from scholars as well as journalists writing for non-expert audiences. Moreover, it was awarded the Golden Ribbon, the most prestigious Czech

prize for children's literature authors, illustrators, translators, and scholars. In 2020, the publishing house Host produced a slightly revised reprint of the monograph. In the Czech context, it is rather unusual for a book of literary scholarship to attract this much attention and praise even among non-professional readers. However, Březinová's work has persuaded a wide audience that her analysis and interpretations of Andersen's stories are worth reading. One may identify several causes of the book's success.

First of all, prior to *Slavíci, mořské víly a bolavé zuby*, there had been no comprehensive work dealing with Andersen's writing available in Czech, even though Andersen's fairy tales have been popular since their first publication in 1863 [Vimr, 2014, s. 32]. Therefore, Březinová remembers to include key facts on Andersen's life and work. As a result, she provides a good point of departure for further Andersen research. But still, she never loses sight of her goal: "to introduce Andersen's fairy tales as sophisticated literature for grown-ups" [Březinová, 2018, s. 283]. Pursuing this goal, she presents clear and easy to follow arguments. Accordingly, her book is suitable for everybody, not just literary experts. She draws on her teaching experience at Charles University, where she "could note the pleasure and surprise in [her] students when they discover the sophisticated layers of the tales upon close reading in the original Danish" [Březinová, 2018, s. 283]. The informative and entertaining (occasionally even provocative) tone of her writing makes her monograph exceptional in the Czech academic environment.

Even though Březinová maintains that Andersen's texts are no children's stories (or not exclusively children's stories at least), the book provides a significant incentive for the field of Czech children's literature criticism — and the awarded Golden Ribbon proves it. By comparing the various translations of Andersen's fairy tales, Březinová cannot avoid the history of Czech discourse on children and children's literature. Moreover, by saying that some of Andersen's texts (or parts of those texts) are hardly suitable for children (because they are morbid, nihilistic, frivolous, non-linear etc.), she implicitly defines what children's literature is — texts full of harmony, optimism, predictable structure etc.

Last but not least, the Czech children's book market has grown significantly in the last years¹. The almost intimidating amount of recently

¹ In 2000, children's books held 4% share on the book market, in 2018, the share grew to 14%. See <https://www.sckn.cz/zpravy-o-ceskem-kniznim-trhu/>.

published books makes buyers' choices rather difficult, which in conclusion helps the well-established "classics" of children's literature. If you do not know what to choose, you may reach out for something you already know is good. Going through book covers in the bookstores, the name "Andersen" is supposed to mean a seal of quality. However, as Březinová reminds us, one can truly not judge a book by its cover.

In the first part of the book, Březinová briefly compares several Czech translations of selected fairy tales and explains how they relate to the Danish original. She argues that a considerable part of available Czech translations is inadequate². According to Březinová, most of the publications attempt to "simplify" the original fairy tales and make them more fitting for children. Paradoxically, such translations tend towards redundancy and also use a more complex, less child-like style. Supplemented by pleasing illustrations and labels such as "The Most Beautiful Fairy Tales", the stories are devoid of their original irony, poignance, and nihilistic tone. The texts might be either abridged (of religious and erotic allusions as well as narrator's bitter exegetical comments) or expanded — by homiletic, explaining remarks. The disturbing messages of the stories are then lost in translation along with the original laconic, lucid style, Březinová remarks.

In the next chapter, the fundamental context of the fairy tale genre and its transformations are outlined before Andersen's play with the genre's conventions and readers' expectations is exposed in detail. Březinová concludes that Andersen's work was utterly subversive from the beginnings of his writing. It is made clear the subversion applies not just to the form of the stories but to their subject matter as well. Březinová notices that the texts keep criticizing social order and demonstrates the author's subtle hints at these issues. In this regard, her conclusion intriguingly contrasts the interpretation of the literary scholar Jack Zipes who describes Andersen's work as "servile" [Zipes, 2006].

Furthermore, the book examines Andersen's use of a folklore-like, traditional narrator (Březinová chooses to use Walter Benjamins's term "storyteller") and deals with the way Andersen's stories originate in romantic prose but anticipate modernist fiction. In this regard, she operates with Michael Halliday's theory of register — the notions of the

² The only adequate contemporary translations of Andersen's fairy tales are provided by František Fröhlich.

“field”, “tenor” and “mode” in particular. She finds a “striking contradiction between the familiar voice of the storyteller and the topics that are considered” [Březinová, 2018, s. 285]. What might seem like a simple, traditional oral tale conveying a morale, is carefully uncovered as a sophisticated, cautiously structured piece dealing with the hopelessness of human existence. Březinová describes this tension as a “dangerous play with the addressee” [Březinová, 2018, s. 74] caused by the duality of the texts’ mode and tenor, to use Halliday’s terms. She assigns the disturbing thematic level of the texts to adult readers exclusively, arguing that “it is not advisable for a child to fully understand the fairy tale” [Březinová, 2018, s. 12], demonstrating that the “adult-oriented” text level prevails and concluding the fairy tales are not children’s stories. This conclusion seems problematic. Children’s scholars such as Barbara Wall, Hans-Heino Ewers and Zohar Shavit have used terms such as a “double” and “dual address”, “Mehrfachadressierung”, and “ambivalent text” (respectively), showing that forming an alliance of the implied author and the adult implied reader (while ignoring the child implied reader) is one of the commonly used strategies of children’s texts. Secondly, Březinová mentions the romantics’ debate on the nature of childhood. Surely, the notion of “childhood” is a heterogenic, dynamic one. “Children” as a social group are culturally and socially constructed, even today. Unfortunately, it is not always clear which notion of “children” Březinová talks about when she distinguishes what is and what is not child appropriate.

That said, Březinová’s close readings are very thorough and insightful. They elaborate on the “storyteller’s” characteristics and show how Andersen deals with the crisis of communication, the crisis of modern society as well as the crisis of the individual. In this respect, Březinová provocatively proposes to promote Andersen’s work not as “The Most Beautiful Fairy Tales” but rather “The Clueless Fairy Tales” or “The Fairy Tales of a Clueless Storyteller” [Březinová, 2018, s. 256]. She keeps emphasizing the ambivalent, subversive, ironic nature of Andersen’s texts.

Březinová focuses exclusively on a few selected tales including *The Little Mermaid*, *The Shadow*, *Aunty Toothache*, *The Will-o’-The-Wisps Are in Town, said the Woman of the Marsh* and *The Little Green Ones*. She also translated the last three of these and included them in the monograph as they lacked an adequate contemporary Czech translation before. In this part of the book, Březinová shows her excellent translation skills.

Conveniently, the publication also includes extensive English resumes of all the chapters. Even though the book is rooted in the Czech context of Andersen's reception, the process of "Disneyfication" of Andersen's fairy tales seems to be universally applicable and Březinová's interpretations are diligent, deep, witty, and occasionally disturbing at the same time — just like the object of her professional interest. The book offers not just academic rigor; Březinová's style that invokes Andersen's poignancy also reminds the readers of the immense pleasure of storytelling.

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ПРЕКРАСНАЯ РАСТЕРЯННОСТЬ СКАЗОК АНДЕРСЕНА

Для цитирования: *Lukavska J. S. Andersen's beautifully clueless fairy tales // Скандинавская филология. 2020. Т. 18. Вып. 2. С. 338–343.*
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В статье рассматривается недавно переизданная чешская монография «*Slavíci, mořské víly a bolavé zuby: Pohádky H. Ch. Andersena: mezi romantismem*

a modernitou» («Соловьи, русалки и зубная боль: сказки Г.Х. Андерсена между романтизмом и современностью»). Исходя из чешского контекста исследований в области детской литературы и анализа книги Бржезиновой, в статье акцентируется существенная польза публикации для чешскоязычной аудитории. Бржезинова тщательно анализирует несколько примеров работ Андерсена, с целью показать их неоднозначный, будоражащий потенциал, который был утерян в подавляющем большинстве чешских пересказов и адаптаций. Следовательно, произведения Андерсена в чешском контексте обычно воспринимаются в качестве детской литературы. Бржезинова опровергает это заблуждение, тщательно раскрывая тонкую игру Андерсена с жанровыми нормами и ожиданиями читателей при знакомстве с несколькими уровнями текста. Благодаря красноречивому и остроумному стилю книга Бржезиновой может быть предназначена не только для литературоведов, но и для широкого круга читателей. Основная цель автора — нарратологический анализ, однако она также хорошо владеет статьями по исследованию переводов, историей литературы, лингвистики и философии. Придерживаясь традиции внимательного чтения она показывает как простые, но одновременно утонченные истории Андерсена, основанные на романтизме, предвосхищают модернистские темы, такие как кризис языка и предмета.

Ключевые слова: Хелена Бржезинова, Ганс Христиан Андерсен, датская литература, сказки

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SKILDRING AV DEN SOVJETISKA VERKLIGHETEN I KJELL WESTÖS ROMAN “HÄGRING 38”*

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Artikeln är tillägnad åt romanen “Hägring 38” av den moderna finsk-svenska författaren Kjell Westö (publicerad 2013). Handlingen äger rum på 1930-talet, och en viktig roll i romanen spelar beskrivningen av historiska bakgrunden. Författaren kunde inte ignorera Finlands utrikespolitiska band, inklusive förbindelserna med Sovjetunionen. Sådana referenser analyseras i denna artikeln. De historiska fakta som nämns i romanen är för det mesta äkta, eftersom Westö tar den faktiska beredningen av sina verk mycket seriöst. Ändå är vissa händelser upplysta genom prismet av huvudpersonens uppfattning, så de kan inte vara objektiva. Således framträder Moskva i romanen “Hägring 38” som ett fäste för stadscivilisationen, där ett nytt sätt att leva växer fram. Huvudpersonen, efter att ha befunnit sig i tjänst i Sovjetunionens huvudstaden, upplever en dissonans av sin inre världsbild med vad han möter i verkligheten. Skildringen av den sovjetiska verkligheten i romanen präglar det bagage av kunskap som stod till förfogande för 1900-talet om stalinismens tid, och skiljer sig därför påfallande från de intryck som uppstod bland samtida i den beskrivna historiska perioden. Författarens bekantskap med rysk litteratur kan också ha en inverkan, eftersom dess representanter nämns i verket, och huvudpersonen talar om deras inflytande på sin humör. Förhållandet mellan objektivt avbildade historiska fakta och den subjektiva uppfattningen av Westös karaktärer skapar en unik atmosfär, som uppskattades av kritiker som tilldelade romanen «Hägring 38» ett prestigefyllt pris.

Nyckelord: Finlandssvensk litteratur, 2000-talet, Kjell Westö, bilden av Sovjetunionen.

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Finlands historia är unik inte bara för dess originalitet, utan också för dess nära relation till historien av två grannstater, Sverige och Ryssland. Fram till 1809 var Finland en del av Sverige, och efter det rysk-svenska kriget blev det Storfurstendömet Finland, en del av det ryska imperiet. År 1917 blev Finland ett separat stat och det är en milstaple i dess historia. Relationer med Sovjetunionen återspeglas också i landets kulturliv och har redan studerats av forskare, till exempel i E. Soinis monografi "Inträngningen av rysk och finsk litteratur under första hälften av 1900-talet". Pekka Pesonen konstaterar att finländska intelligentsia under 1920-talet hade negativ relation mot den ryska kulturen, men under efterkrigstiden "efter freden påbörjades vänskap med Sovjetunionen, som skapades med hjälp av skönlitteratur" [Pesonen, p. 302]. Utan tvekan fanns det i början av 1900-talet författare som var positivt inställda till Sovjetunionen. Till exempel skriver E. Soini om Katri Vala, en företrädare för en grupp författare som heter "Tulenkantajat". Katri Vala "gör narr av skräck inför kommunismen» och kritiserar "patriotisk massaker" [Soini, p. 316].

I modern litteratur går det inte heller att beskriva historiska händelser utan att nämna Sovjetunionen. Skönlitterära verk om Sovjetunionen är efterfrågade i modern litteratur. Till exempel var S. Oksanens roman "Puhdistus" om Sovjet Estland (2008) och K. Lipsons "Kosmonautti" om en ung man från Murmansk (2008) populära bland läsare och kritiker. Romanerna tilldelades prestigefyllda priser. Moderna nordiska författare skriver om Sovjetunionen, men varje epok har sin egen vision av det förflutna. De idealerna som Katri Vala drömde om finns inte i moderna verk. Den här artikeln hänvisar till romanen av den finska författaren Kjell Westö "Hägring 38" (2013) och analyserar referenser till Sovjetunionen och den ryska kulturen. Westö skapar sina verk på svenska och fortsätter den långa historien av svensk litteratur i Finland. Hans romaner har redan blivit föremål för forskarnas uppmärksamhet. Man studerar tid och rum, stadsbild, flerspråkighet och språkväxling i hans romaner (M. Ekman, M. Ciaravolo, M. Mazzarella, B. Haagensen, J. Tidigs, K. Weckström m. fl.). Kjell Westös verk är av intresse för forskare både i Finland och utomlands, inklusive Sverige, Italien och Ryssland. Det noterades upprepade gånger att Westös stil kännetecknas av historiebeteckning [Hallila, Hägg, pp. 74–80; Finlands svenska litteratur 1900–2012, p. 296–299]. Forskare B. M. Zhachemukova och F. B. Beshukova i artikeln "Konstnärlig specificitet av en historisk roman som genre" skiljer begreppet "den

historiska romanen” som verk som kombinerar “historisk, social och humanistisk syn”, andel av fiktion i sådana verk “borde inte vara rådande” och begreppet av en historisk roman som ett verk om det förflutna, där “huvudpersonerna sammanfaller inte med historiska figurer, man berättar inte om stora historiska händelser, även om romanens handling bygger ofta på problemet av en persons öde vid ett avgörande historiskt ögonblick” [Zhachemukova, Beshukova, 2011]. Enligt vår uppfattning kan K. Westös verk höra till den andra romankategorin. Författaren själv sa i en intervju till det finska TV-och radioföretaget “Yle”: en historisk roman “...ska inte vara en historielectors föreläsning. Det finns många orsaker till att den här boken är 300 sidor och inte 550 sidor som min förra (“Hägring 38” — I. M.), men en av dem är att jag blivit bättre på att lägga det historiska stoffet in i berättelsen” [Svaetichin, Granquist, Sandelin, unable data]. K. Westö konstaterade att han medvetet kunde göra några kronologiska felaktigheter, men han tog alltid på allvar beskrivningen av “krig, död och förtryck” [Svaetichin, Granquist, Sandelin, unable data].

Romanen “Hägring 38” täcker en period på åtta månader år 1938 som nämns i titeln, med hjälp av retrospektiv utvidgas tidsramen till 1918. Handlingen sker huvudsakligen i Helsingfors. Huvudpersoner är advokat Klas Thune och hans sekreterare, Matilda Wiik. En viktig roll i boken spelas också av den så kallade “Onsdagsklubben”, bestående av Thunes vänner. Tack vare flera karaktärers närvaro i rampljuset får författaren en möjlighet att belysa det finländska samhällets inställning till beskrivna historiska händelser. Det är ingen slump att romanen fick flera pris, inklusive Nordiska rådets litteraturpris 2014 med kommentaren: “på stämningsmättad prosa levandegör ett kritiskt ögonblick i Finlands historia med bäring på vår samtid” [Kjell Westö fick Nordiska rådets litteraturpris 2014 för “Hägring 38”, unable data].

Enligt en forskare vid Helsingfors universitet, Giacomo Botta, “Westö erbjuder i sin typiska stil en myriad av små, obetydliga element, som konstruerar ett sanningsenligt och sammanhängande socialt och kulturellt lapptäcke” [Bottà, p. 85]. Detta är sant för romanen “Hägring 38”. Ett av element i ett sådant “lapptäcke” är referenser till sovjet-finska förbindelser genom Claes Thunes liv.

Huvudpersonen i romanen var tidigare diplomat och arbetade på finska legationen i Moskva. Thune var i tjänst under tio månader år 1936 och avgick för tidigt. Vid början av bokens händelser förblev livet i Moskva något förflutet för huvudpersonen.

En historiker V. Baryshnikov beskriver 1930-talet på följande sätt: "...inleddes den förhandlingsprocess initierad av Moskva, vilket uttrycktes i önskan att först ansluta Finland till det multilaterala regionala avtalet — den så kallade "östra pakten" och sedan till idén att underteckna en bilateral militär-politisk avtal. De sovjet-finska bilaterala förhandlingarna i denna riktning har redan gått in i den aktiva fasen sedan 1937, då den finska utrikesministern R. Holsti (Eino Rudolf Holsti — I. M.) anlände till Moskva på ett officiellt besök" [Baryshnikov, p. 19–20].

För bokens huvudpersonen har denna period av återupptagandet av förbindelserna mellan de två länderna ännu inte börjat. Som han själv medger återkom han från Moskva till Helsingfors eftersom "Det fanns inget arbete att utföra... Alla kontakter är bottenfrusna. Ingen handel, inget kulturutbyte, ingen turism heller" [Westö, p. 65]. Efter att ha återvänt från Moskva lämnade Claes Thune den diplomatiska tjänsten och återupptog sin advokatbyrå. Skildring av tidigare händelser och livet i Sovjetunionen uppstår i samtal med romanens karaktärer och i Thunes minnen.

Författaren ägnar inte så mycket uppmärksamhet åt beskrivning av det historiska sammanhanget som är inflätat i handlingen. Kjell Westö leder sin läsare in i 1930-talets verklighet. Bokens påhittade huvudperson, Claes Thune, träffar Juho Kusti Paasikivi, en framstående finsk politiker. Paasikivi talar om mötet med den andresekreteraren vid den sovjetiska ambassaden i Finland, Boris Yartsev, och den finska utrikesministern Eino Rudolf Holsti. Alla dessa figurer är litterära inkarnationer av riktiga personer. Enligt Paasikivi, under förhandlingarna med Finland, vill "Rådsrepubliken... ha garantier för att vi försvarar vårt territorium mot varje tänkbar tysk aktion i händelse av ett krig där Rådsrepubliken och Tyskland står mot varandra. De vill också ha baser längs vår kust, och erbjuder vapen och annan hjälp i utbyte" [Westö, p. 73].

Denna konversation har en historisk bakgrund, den sovjetiska och finska sidan genomförde verkligen hemliga förhandlingar år 1938. K. Mannerheim skriver om detta i sina memoarer: "Den 14 april bad den andre sekreteraren vid den sovjetiska ambassaden i Helsingfors Yartsev om ett brådskande möte med den finska utrikesministern Holsti <...> USSR, sade Yartsev, vill respektera Finlands självständighet och territoriella integritet, men Sovjetunionen är övertygad om att Tyskland planerar en attack mot Sovjetunionen, som inkluderar landning av trupper i Finland och deras ytterligare framsteg mot öster. Vad tyc-

er Finland om sådana stötande åtgärder? Om Tyskland får tillstånd att använda Finlands territorium för att attackera Sovjetunionen, kommer Sovjetunionen inte att vänta utan driver sina trupper så långt väster som möjligt, och Finland förvandlas till en operationsteater. Om Finland tvärtom tar en ståndpunkt som hindrar landningen av tyska trupper, är Sovjetunionen redo att erbjuda oss all möjlig militär och ekonomisk hjälp och kommer att åta sig att dra tillbaka sina trupper i slutet av kriget” [Mannerheim, 1999], samma sak beskrivs i historiska vetenskapliga verk [Baryshnikov, p. 19–20].

I romanen “Hägring 38” behöver författaren inte helt förmedla förloppet för detta hemliga möte, men huvudpersonen får information på grund av sin nära bekantskap med den politiska eliten (konversationen äger rum vid en privat mottagning med en av Thunes bekantar). Läsaren tillsammans med huvudpersonen spårar internationella relationers dynamik under tiden före kriget. Sådana referenser till Sovjetunionen påverkar inte direkt berättelsens utveckling, men utan dem är det sammanhang där handlingen äger rum oklart. Sovjet-finska politiska förbindelser nämns upprepade gånger på bokens sidor, dessa korta fraser blir ett slags “ankare” som binder fiktiva karaktärer och verklighet ihop, vilket ger handlingen vikt och trovärdighet. Som redan nämnts i Westös intervjuer är trovärdighet och noggrannhet i beskrivningen av händelser relaterade till kriget viktigt för författaren.

Sådana referenser kan betecknas som “objektiva”, eftersom de korrelerar med verkliga händelser. På samma sätt kan man hitta omnämningar av Dostojevskij och Gogol, Stravinsky, Chaliapin, etc. i romanen som visar utbildningsnivån av bokens karaktärer. Men det finns referenser till sovjetisk verklighet av en annan typ. Dem kommer att betecknas som “subjektiva”. De skiljer från den första typen med att beskrivningar presenteras för läsaren genom huvudkaraktärens syn, passerar genom hans uppfattning. Den mest slående illustrationen av detta är beskrivningen av Claes Thunes liv i Moskva.

Beskrivning av Sovjetunionens huvudstad i romanen “Hägring 38” får en negativ klang: här avslutades både Thunes diplomatisk karriär och hans äktenskap. Hans fru vägrade att flytta eftersom hon “litade inte på bolsjevikerna... i synnerhet inte på en sådan som Stalin” [Westö, p.22]. Moskva på 1930-talet framstår i romanen som en dyster stad med lykten av “billig parfym, unkna kläder och desinficeringsmedel. Och människorna är förskräckta. Nej, inte förskräckta. Panikslagna.

Man pratar inte med utlänningar överhuvudtaget, minsta felsägning kan leda till Lubjanka” [Westö, p. 66]. När man läser en sådan beskrivning av staden kan man inte låta bli att återvända till referenserna till Dostojevskij och Gogol. Westö, som urbanistisk författare, är i denna sammanhang en anhängare av dessa författare. Rysk klassisk litteratur har gått in i den nordiska litteraturens kulturella kontext. M. Ljunggren citerar en svensk kritiker Fredrik Böök som skrev: “Turgenev påverkade oss estetiskt, Tolstoj etiskt, Dostojevskij psykologiskt” [Ljunggren, 2020, p. 235–236]. Författaren känner till deras författarskap, vilket bevisas av referenser till rysk litteratur. Huvudpersonen i romanen besöker sin vän på ett psykiatriskt sjukhus. På vägen dit funderar Thune motvilligt hur sådana inrättningar kan ordnas: “Thune hade ingen aning om varifrån de grymmaste bilderna kom, men han sammankopplade dem instinktivt med snö och kyla. Kanske, tänkte han i ett försök att förhålla sig analytiskt, hade han dem från Dostojevskij eller Gogol eller någon annan av de stora döda ryssarna, eller möjligen från någon av de svenska proletärförfattarna vars skildringar av fattigfolks lidanden kommit så på modet” [Westö, p. 239]. Baserat på denna referens kan man anta att Kjell Westö kunde ha upplevt påverkan av rysk litteratur i sina beskrivningar av Moskva och flyttat kunskapen om Petersburg till Sovjetunionens huvudstad.

Westö undviker att beskriva några specifika historiska fakta, även om Thune på sin tjänst kunde ha varit hängiven till några hemligheter i de finsk-sovjetiska relationerna. Förföljning blir vanlig: “Bilen som följde på diskret avstånd varje gång Thune, handelsattachén Nykopp eller någon av de andra bestämt sig för en utflykt till en flodbank eller en by utanför staden” [Westö, p. 184]. På grund av sin social ställning möter Thune, anställd på den diplomatiska tjänsten, den uppdelningen som finns i det sovjetiska samhället: fattigdom och lyx existerar samtidigt i en stad: “Den gammaleuropeiska lyxen i Hotell Metropols balsal, champagne och hummer för de invigda i en stad där människorna gick klädda i trasor och butikshyllorna gapade tomma” [Westö, p. 184]. Det är underligt att en annan finsk författare Olavi Paavolainen beskrev en liknande kontrast, men i förhållande till det förrevolutionära Ryssland. Han tyckte att sovjetisk verklighet var en ny industriell värld, bilarnas värld, lättviktskonstruktioner, kulturhus. E. Soini skriver: “två osammanhängande världar, två S:t Petersburgs ansikten påminde författaren om en näckros, “som lyser med magnifika vita och gula blommor,

men vars långa och otäcka rötter krullar nära den giftiga botten” [Soini, p. 303], och noterar också hur “författarens blick stannar vid glittrande juveler i Mariinsky teater parkettställen och kostymer av balleriner” [Soini, p. 302].

Det är en intressant sammanträffande med det intryck som Ryssland gjorde på Selma Lagerlöf som reste till Moskva år 1912. Hon besökte en framställning av “Hamlet” och beundrade den för uppmärksamhet till små detaljer och kultursymbolik. Trots detta srev hon: “Jag skulle inte ha velat stanna där. Det skrämde mig” [Lagerlöf, 1945]. Resan tog plats tidigare än revolutionen inträffade, men hon var negativt inställd till den: “Sedan gingo åter några år. Världskriget kom. Den första ryska revolutionen kom. Den var kanske inte så oblodig, som det först sades, men den ingav i alla fall mera förhoppning än förskräckelse. Det var ingen jordbävning, bara en liten jordstöt.

Men så, i höstens mörker, kom Lenins revolution. Den riktiga jordbävningen började, marken gungade, Neva fylldes med lik, mordet härjade över hela Ryssland, en hel samhällsklass förintades.

Jag för min del blev inte förvånad, då allt detta hände. Jag hade sett det, vetat det långt förut. Jag hade försökt att inte tro på det varsel som jag hade mottagit, men innerst inne hade jag vetat, att det skulle gå i uppfyllelse” [Lagerlöf, 1945]. Så man ser att ett sådant sätt att beskriva Lenins revolution uppstod mycket tidigare än Westö eller Paavolainen gjorde det.

Revolutionens symbolik och stor omfattning av firandet känns konstiga och främmande för Claes Thune. Westö och Paavolainen beskriver parader på samma sätt. Men om Westös karaktär känner sig deprimerad, beundrar dem Paavolainen: “Vackra Italien är armén!” [Paavolainen, p. 172–173]. O. Paavolainen är ett vittne till händelserna som han skriver om. Hans första intryck av revolutionära omvandlingar, upp till en viss punkt, korrelerades med idéerna av den litterära gruppen “tulenkantajat” (“eldbärare”), (för mer information, se E. G. Soinis verk). Kjell Westö skriver om 1930-talet med en annan bakgrund. Han har till sitt förfogande både historisk information om utvecklingen av händelser, många dokument som Paavolainens samtida inte kunde veta om och fiktion. I romanen “Hägring 38” beskrivs därför festparaden på följande sätt: “Rött, rött, rött överallt, och så strålkastarna som svepte över de breda huvudgatorna och de ödsliga torgen, över skolbarnen och studenterna som marscherade i raka led med flaggor i händerna” [Westö,

p. 184]. Efter paraden uppmärksammar hjälten att flaggan vinkar över Kreml utan vind (Thunes kollega föreslog att det är på grund av en vindmanskin): “Thune tittade på den strålkastarupplysta, rastlöst böljande flaggan. I höstkvällen såg den märkligt mörk ut, som en blodpöl som rann fram och åter med natthimlen som fond” [Westö, p. 86]. Intressant nog nämnades flaggans blodiga färg i en dikt av den norska poeten Rudolf Nilsen. Hans diktsamling “På Gjensyn” (1926) innehåller en dikt “Fanen på Kreml”. Flaggan i dikten beskrivs på så sätt:

“Da blusset det i mørket —
et blodrødt flammespill.
Og det var Kremles fan
i sterk elektrisk ild.
Den vaier över Lenins grav
og ser över alla hav!” [Nilsen, 1926]

Trots liknande ordval är Nilsens inställning till en symbol för Sovjetunionen exakt motsatt än Westös. Flaggan blir en symbol för seger: “Et grånet hjerte bringer nederlaget — ved fanen över Kreml seirer vi!” [Nilsen, 1926]. Denna beskrivning är en illustration av den positiva uppfattningen av Sovjetunionen i litteraturen.

Återigen, med hjälp av flera inte särskilt långa beskrivningar, skapar Kjell Westö en bild av Sovjetunionens huvudstad. Tack vare sin ställning kan huvudpersonen i boken se både livets glanssida, där en del av befolkningen har allt de vill, marscherar med glädje, firar årsdagen till revolutionen och en annan sida. Han ser människor i nöd, de är skrämde. Samtidigt måste han vara mycket försiktig för att förbli säker under de sovjetiska myndigheternas kontrollförhållanden. Kombinationen av alla faktorer kom på en tidigare framgångsrik diplomat att lämna sin tjänst i förtid. Varken kollegor eller bekanta förstod honom: utåt utvecklades Thunes karriär mycket bra, men huvudpersonen, med hans känslighet och liberala åsikter, kunde inte komma till rätta med omvärlden: “Jag började hata hela staden, erkände Thune. Eller inte själva staden. Men stämningen i den” [Westö, p. 65].

Endast några få beskrivningar lägger positiva egenskaper till bilden av Moskva. Thune, som har en känslig själ, lägger märke till den omgivande naturen: “Floden glittrar som silver. Det sista solljuset färgar kyrkkupolerna brandröda, skymningen är lång och sval” [Westö, p. 67]. Sommaren i huvudpersonens minnen ser annorlunda ut: “Den förra,

hans enda i Moskva, de sista veckorna innan han flyttade hem till Helsingfors, den fruktansvärda hettan, lukten av brandrök, det vita poppel-dunet som låg som klubbig snö längs gatorna när trädens blomning var över” [Westö, p. 166].

Genom att sammanfatta Thunes minnen om Moskva och dess invånare kan man dra slutsatsen att Kjell Westö beskriver historiska bakgrunden med faktaurval som skapar den atmosfär som är nödvändig för det litterära uttrycket och har till sin förfogande all kunskap om stalinismens era samlad under 1900-talet. Inte alla de fakta som beskrivs är sanna. Det råder ingen tvekan om att en så dystert beskrivning av Sovjetunionen i minne av romanens huvudperson framträder som en kombination av ett antal orsaker. Claes Thune befann sig i en främmande miljö. Rädslan som Thune ser omkring sig tvingar honom att lämna Moskva. Thune har till och med tankar om att han kanske inte kan bo i en storstad alls: “Plötsligt slog det honom att han kanske inte var stadsmänniska alls... Den urbana civilisationen förstörde människan, gjorde henne inte bara jäktad och irriterad utan också svag och bortklemad. Stadskulturen förde henne bort från den ursprungliga tillvaro där hon levde med ett litet fåtal av sina artfränder och bejakade sin kroppslighet och sina friskaste instinkter” [Westö, p. 187]. Det verkar vara viktigt att notera att författaren i detta ögonblick spårar Sovjetunionens övergång till en ny industriell värld, ett nytt sätt att leva. För Thune är detta sätt att leva olämpligt. Osämja i politiska åsikter skapar intern konflikt. Med lite flexibilitet kunde Thune stanna vid legationen i Moskva och återvända till Helsingfors med en bra prestationslista. Han gör emellertid ett annat val och lämnar sin tjänst i förtid. Författaren förvärrar dramat i hjältens själ, eftersom Thune upplever samtidigt en kris i sitt personliga liv, han förstår att hans fru snart kommer att lämna honom. Naturligtvis lämnar detta också ett tragiskt intryck på Thunes uppfattning om världen och om framtid.

Minnen om livet i Moskva brast in i huvudpersonens vardag även efter hans återkommande till Helsingfors. När han besöker en konsert där allmänheten såg ett nytt musikinstrument — theremin, ser Thune tre personer som talar ryska. Det första uttrycket — två bevakar den tredje. Denna tredje verkar vara skrämmd och försvarslös, men efter ett ögonblick förändras situationen: den tredje, skrattar, klappar den andra på axeln. I detta ögonblick uppstår upplevelsen av det förflutna i karaktärens uppfattning av nuet.

För att skugga Thunes uppfattning inför författaren en sekundär karaktär i berättelsen, som bara dyker upp flera gånger på romanens sidor, men som är av intresse i denna artikel. Denna karaktär är en rysk emigrant. Han har bott i Finland under lång tid, nästan assimilerade och fick en framträdande position i de högsta kretsarna i det Helsingfors svensktalande samhället. Thune beskriver honom så här: “‘Gera’ Gerasimoff hade tvingats fly från sitt älskade Petrograd vintern 1919. Han avskydde bolsjevikerna, vägrade ta stadsnamnet Leningrad i sin mun” [Westö, p. 127]. Med denna karaktär diskuterar Thune paralleller i den politiska strukturen i Sovjetunionen och Tyskland: “Våra ideal och våra fria handlingar stämmer inte alltid överens. Viska till en människa att ingen kommer att våga döma henne vad hon än gör: historien visar att de flesta av oss då förfaller till excesser” [Westö, p. 129].

Omnämmandet av Sovjetunionen i “Hägring 38” kan delas i tre grupper: huvudpersonens minnen om flera månader i Moskva, information om Sovjetunionens politiska förbindelser med Finland och allmänna kulturella fakta. Författaren ägnar lite uppmärksamhet åt politik i romanen, politik blir bakgrunden för utveckling av litterära karaktärers åsikter. Dess samklang eller oenighet med vad som händer inom och utanför landet avslöjar deras personliga drag och illustrerar känslor som rådde i det finska samhället under 1930-talet. Westö fokuserar sig på beskrivningen av den svenska delen av Helsingforsborna. Det får man se i Claes Thunes interaktion med andra karaktärer, inklusive hans vänner. Huvudkaraktärens minnen domineras av negativa nyanser. En sådan känsloruppsättning uppstår på grund av objektiva och subjektiva faktorer. På den objektiva sidan blev flera månader i Moskva en påfrestning för Thune på grund av skillnaden i mentalitet och inställning till kommunismens idéer, mer exakt, dess yttre manifestation i Moskvas verklighet på 1930-talet. På den subjektiva sidan var denna tid en period av hjältens personlighetskris, som satte sin prägel på verklighetsuppfattningen. För att sammanfatta noterar jag: den episoden som beskriver Thunes liv i Moskva berikar verkets handling. Förbindelserna med Sovjetunionen spelade en viktig roll i Finlands utrikespolitik under 1930-talet, så författarens val av huvudpersonens arbetsplats är inte alls oavsiktligt. Samtidigt utvidgar författaren romanens geografiska räckvidd, förklarar den politiska bakgrunden till de situationer som romanens karaktärer hamnar i och genom all detta belyser deras personliga drag.

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THE IMAGE OF SOVIET REALITY IN KJELL WESTÖ'S NOVEL "MIRAGE 38"*

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The article is dedicated to the novel of the modern Finnish-Swedish writer Kjell Westö, "Mirage 38" (published in 2013). The action takes place in the 1930s, and an important role in the work is played by the description of the historical background, within which the storylines develop. The author could not ignore Finland's foreign policy relations, including relations with the Soviet Union. Such references are the subject of analysis in this article. The historical facts mentioned in the novel are, for the most part, genuine, since Westö takes seriously the factual preparation of his works. Nevertheless, some events are covered through the prism of perception of the protagonist, therefore, they cannot claim to be objective. Moscow in the novel "Mirage 38" appears as a bulwark of urban civilization, in which a new way of life is emerging. The main character, having been assigned to the capital of the country, experiences a dissonance of his inner attitude with what he encounters in reality. The depiction of Soviet reality in the novel bears the imprint of the knowledge available in the 20th century about the era of Stalinism, and therefore is strikingly different from the impressions that contemporaries of the described historical period had. Also, the writer's acquaintance with Russian literature could have had an impact, since the work mentions its representatives, and the main character discusses their influence on his mood. The correlation of objectively depicted historical facts with the subjective perception of Westö's characters creates a unique atmosphere that critics appreciated and later awarded the novel "Mirage 38" with a prestigious award.

Keywords: Swedish literature of Finland, 20th century, Kjell Westö, image of the Soviet Union.

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LITERARY REMINISCENCES AND THE SYMBOLS OF MODERN FINLAND IN ISMO ALANKO'S POETRY*

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The article discusses the imagery system in the work of the modern Finnish poet Ismo Alanko. Literary and folklore traditions in his poetry are well researched. The poet has created a rather critical image of Finland as a Lutheran country full of national markers, but well-aware of its literature: “Martti Luther ja muovipussi” (Martin Luther and a plastic bag). Images of Finnish architecture, gray buildings in glass and metal, and a heavy gray northern sky connect Alanko's poetry to Russian culture, to the name of Isaak Levitan who negatively described Finland as a kingdom of gray. Alanko clearly knows about Levitan's words “Gray water and gray people, gray life”, but he gets into a debate with the artist, proving that gray has many shades of joy. One of the leaders of Finnish expressionism, Uno Kailas, associated the nature and people of Finland with gray. But Kailas' gray is clearly negative and lifeless. Alanko, on the other hand, distinguishes in gray all kinds of positive signs of life. His poems are characterized by the description of the lyrical hero's irrational states against the background of the fantastic landscapes of Lapland, creating mythological images not immediately amenable to interpretation. For example, in the image of Mooneye from the North (*kuusilmä pohjoisesta*), there is a motif of turning a girl into a fish, typical for Finnish and Karelian epic songs, also familiar to us from Kalevala and Eino Leino's poetry. Alanko comprehends serious worldview problems with poetic elegance, with the power of poetic word removing the contradiction between religious and common, rational, and irrational. Alanko revives Kalevala meter not in a “museum” form, but with modern accents and in his native Finnish language.

Keywords: rock poetry, reminiscences, Kalevala meter, the revival of neo-romantic imagery, sentimentality, topicality.

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It has long been accepted in Finland to sing poems. Kalevala and Kanteletar are known to have been used as songbooks for students in the middle of the 19th century. Paul Zumthor in his famous *Introduction à la Poésie Oral (Oral poetry. An introduction)* confirms this: “An ancient poetic text accompanied by musical notation” [Zumthor, 1983, p.60]. The tradition of reciting and performing poems is still preserved today. Musical poetry (verbal music) is taken as seriously as literary poetry. At one time or another, poets singing their poems became more popular than authors who only publish them. A striking feature of modern Finnish poetry is the combination of a poet who publishes and a poet who sings. “We must listen to poetry more than read it, otherwise we lose a significant part of its beauty,” writes Finnish researcher Satu Grünthal, referring to Amy Lowell [Grünthal, 2010, p. 19]. Perhaps this explains the interest of Finnish audiences of different generations in rock poetry. Many Finnish rock poets prefer to write and sing in English or Swedish. They often justify their decision by the irrelevance of Finnish lyrics in the sound of rock. To them, the language sounds too soft and homey, not aggressive enough to create violent imagery so often found in Finnish rock poetry. Finnish singer-songwriter Ismo Alanko would not agree with this statement.

Born in Helsinki in 1960, Ismo Alanko grew up in Joensuu, Finnish Northern Karelia. He liked to listen to poems read aloud by his mother, a professional spoken word artist. In Finland, the spoken word is a very popular genre. Since 1979 Alanko has been involved in various musical, visual and literary projects. He released many successful albums and is the author of two books, *Rakkaus on ruma sana (Love is an ugly word;)* [Alanko, 2004] and *Sanat (Words)* [Alanko, 2011]. In 2003 Alanko won the Juha Vainio Writer’s Award (*Juha Vainio-sanoittajapalkinto*) for his lyrics.

Alanko’s multifaceted lyrics evolve as the poet ages. His early works were characterized by reflections on love and the fate of a rocker character and his experiences. The poet was not alien to urban themes either, creating a rather critical image of Finland. Clearly, sharply and shockingly he portrays the country in his 1990 poem “Kun Suomi putos puusta” (When Finland fell from a tree), using literary reminiscences and finding the symbols of modern Finland.

“The peatland, the hoe — and Jussi, / Martin Luther and a plastic bag...” that is the way Alanko sees Finland in 1990. Before us is a con-

cise image of an agrarian, Lutheran country full of cultural markers, but well-aware of its literature. “The peatland, the hoe — and Jussi” are the words from the opening line of the famous novel *Under the North Star* by Väinö Linna, “In the beginning, there was the peatland, the hoe — and Jussi”. Completed in 1962, the novel covers half a century of Finnish history; however, its action takes place in the 1880s, and the images of the marsh and hoe as markers of Finland adhere to those distant times. But Alanko sees them in his modern country and describes Finland with a phrase from the literary work familiar to every Finn. However, the poet drops the adverb “in the beginning”, depriving Lynn’s phrase of its “biblical” form, and combines the name of Martin Luther with the name of a shopping bag in one line:

Suo, kuokka ja jussi	The peatland, the hoe and Jussi.
Martti Luther ja muovipussi	Martin Luther and a plastic bag.
Saksa ja Ruotsi ja Venäjä huokas kuin	Germany, Sweden and Russia, will
yhdestä suusta	merge into one mouth
kun Suomi putos puusta	When Finland fell from a tree

[Alanko, 2011, p. 196–197].

Alanko is prone to sentimentality. The traditional look of contemporary Finnish architecture, gray buildings constructed in glass and metal, and a heavy gray northern sky — all this is reflected in the poem “Harmaa on hyvä väri” (Gray is a good color). “Love for dark gray is not a sign of illness,” writes the poet, “Because gray is a good color”.

<p>Harmaalokki lentää yllä harmaan kaupungin harmaa taivas huokuu turvaa talvipäivän pehmeyteen harmaapartainen mies astuu ryhdikkäänä Merihakaan jonka silhuetti sulaa lohdulliseen harmaaseen [Alanko, 2013].</p>	<p>A gray gull flies over the gray city The gray sky radiates serenity on a soft winter day A gray-bearded man strides towards the sea His silhouette disappears in calming gray</p>
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Alanko plunges the reader into the winter twilight, finding calm, serenity and beauty in everything. He “paints” Helsinki, the Finnish capital, gray: Helsinki on harmaa, kaikki tunnustavat sen (Helsinki is gray, everyone admits it).

Here one can notice Alanko's quite artistic sensibility and find several reminiscences, one of which is on Russian culture, associated with the name of Isaak Ilyich Levitan. The artist's encounter with the nature of Finland was so unsuccessful that it left him terrified. And thanks to Levitan, a stereotypical image of Finland as a kingdom of gray has been ingrained in the minds of many: "gray water and gray people, gray life ...you don't need anything!" [Levitan, 1956, p.61]. A terrible impression was made on Levitan not so much by the color itself, abundant in Finland, but by the glacier-smoothed rocks. In the artist's hypersensitive soul, they caused a morbid fear of eternity as well as an awareness of the futility of human existence and the pointlessness of everything. "An eternity, a formidable eternity where generations have drowned and more will... What terror, what fear!" [Levitan, 1956, p. 61].

Isaac Levitan's words about the country being gray are no less known in Finland than his paintings. Alanko, obviously aware of Levitan's reasoning, enters into a debate with the artist, arguing:

Mutta kuinka moni näkee kaikki sävyt harmauden Tai keltaista, vihreää, syvänpunaista [Alanko, 2013].	But how many shades of gray can you see: Yellow, green, dark red
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As a result, the truth remains on Alanko's side. Perhaps Levitan himself would agree with the poet who gives people hope and encouragement. Of course, Finnish poets wrote about the color gray even before Alanko. For example, one of the leaders of Finnish expressionism, Uno Kailas, in his poem "Autio maa" (Desert land) associated the nature and people of Finland with color gray:

Sieluni maa on... Harmaata hiekkaa, Hiekka ja harmaita paasia [Kailas, 1966, p. 140].	The land of my soul... Gray sand, Sand and gray rocks.
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But Kailas' gray is clearly negative and lifeless. Alanko, on the other hand, distinguishes in gray all sorts of shades and a healthy start. Kailas connects his mother's hands and his face to gray:

Olin nuori. Ja kasvoin <i>harmajin</i> ... (Olin nuori) [Kailas, 1966, s. 47].	I was young. And I rose with a <i>gray</i> ... (I was young)
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To him, northern people in general seem to appear exclusively as “harmaa kansa”, “harmaa suku” (gray folk) “Synnyinseutu” (Native land):

Kailas praises the land of *gray* people and calls it holy because mother’s ashes lie there:

<p>Ah, sinne, sinne kätkeyt luut äitini on armaan. Siks ain’ on pyhää maata nyt se seutu kansan harmaan. Mä siunaan sen, mä siunaan sen... [Kailas, 1933, p. 140–141].</p>	<p>Ah, it’s where my dear mother’s bones are hidden, And therefore this land will be holy at all times, This land of <i>gray</i> people. I bless it, bless it...</p>
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Kailas associates the image of his homeland with gray, but he does not see any cheerful shades in the color itself. On the contrary, despite the gray color, in Kailas’ perception, Finnish people have a golden soul, but the woman rocking a child in her “anxious gray arms” (*huolen harmailla käsillä*) has “polar blue eyes” (*silmin jäämeren-sinisin*) (“Lapin-laulu” [The Lappi-song]) [Kailas, 1966, p. 214–215]. Kailas’ gray is in opposition to gold, blue and red. There is a parallel with 20th century Karelian poetry. According to N. V. Chikina’s observation, Vladimir Brendojev, the author of books in the Livvi dialect of the Karelian language, associates gray with negativity. For example, in the poem “Каменотёс” (Stonecutter), notes the researcher, “Brendojev does not recommend the weaver to use gray, as it is associated with negativity; there can be enough gray in life already... V. Brendojev emphasizes with gray the burden of human labor” [Chikina, 2017, p. 202].

Tukat harmuat kivenpölys,
Harmuat pölys sovot...

Hair gray with stone dust,
Dusty gray clothes...

The peculiarities of summer in Karelia are also described with gray in the poem “Myöhästynnyh keza” (Late summer):

On harmai ku sygyzyl taivas,
A joves on d’iähiine vezi
[Chikina, 2017, p. 202].

It is gray as the sky in autumn
And the river water is icy.

Alanko’s gray is self-sufficient, containing different colors and their shades. This kind of poetic discovery by Alanko is a further sign of his poetry being paradoxical and innovative.

Ismo Alanko’s lyrics are exceptionally original and almost devoid of any outside influence. They are also patriotic. Each poem addresses

Finland or the nature of the North at least partly. And, of course, his poems are characterized by mythological images, description of character's irrational states and fantastic landscapes. The poet is transported to Lapland, describing the overflows of the cold rivers of the North, where the silver Mooneye swims:

Hän on kuusilmä pohjoisesta	Mooneye from the North,
Joko velho tai jumalatar	Either a sorceress or a goddess,
Tule mun luokseni, kun huhuilen	Come to me when I call.
Kuusilmä jostain on kuullut jo sen	Mooneye heard it before.
Ja taivaankannella tanssii valkoinen kyy	And a white viper is dancing on the
[Alanko, 2013].	vault of heaven.

The image of mooneye is so ambiguous that it is not interpreted immediately. Who or what did the poet mean by that? First of all, mooneye is a tiny silver fish. And if Alanko writes about it, then in his poem one can trace the motif of transformation into a fish for a girl who threw herself into the water — a motif typical for Finnish and Karelian epic songs. In the opinion of folklorists, “through the poetic layer here one can clearly see the most ancient mythological basis for the totemistic notions” [Krinichnaya, 1986, p. 89]. In runes 4 and 5 of Lönnrot's *Kalevala*, the salmon girl is known to be connected to the motif of Väinämöinen's unsuccessful matchmaking:

Lohi loimahti merehen <...> Olinpa minä tuleva kainaloiseksi kanaksi, ikuiseksi istujaksi, polviseksi puolisosksi... [Kalevala, 5: 85–86,109–113]	Sprang the salmon in the water <...> Therefore 'tis that I have sought thee, in thine arm like dove to nestle, By thy side to sit for ever, on thy knee, as consort sitting... (Transl. by W. F. Kirby) [Kalevala, 1923, I, p. 51]
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Neonila Krinichnaya writes, “The anthropomorphic essence of the fish maiden is marked mainly by her ability to speak, as well as possibly, though remaining unrealized functions: she goes out of the water to marry the fisherman who caught her” [Krinichnaya, 1986, p.90]. According to the researcher, the motif of marriage between a man and a zoomorphic character “proves that man is not isolated from the natural world”. In Eino Leino's novel *Ahven ja kultakalat* (*The Perch and the Goldfish*), the prince turns into a perch. And the character in Uno Kailas' poem “Verkossa” (In the net) called his fate a net, and associated

himself with a fish caught in the net, dreaming only of becoming the “salmon’s rival” swimming in the vast waters:

Olen verkon silmässä kala. En pääse pois
 Ovat viiltävät säikeet jo syvällä lihassa mulla <...>
 Vesiaavikot vapaat, en voi minä luoksenne tulla!<...>
 Mikä autus ois lohen kilpaveikkona olla! [Kailas, 1966, p. 57].

I’m the fish in the net. I’m not getting out:
 The rope’s threads are deep into my flesh<...>
 Free open waters, I can’t get to you!<...>
 What bliss would it be to become the salmon’s rival!

The Russian poet Velimir Khlebnikov also “dreams of a salmon girl”. In Khlebnikov’s 1915 poem “Midnight Estate...” an image of a salmon girl appears almost by chance, where the famous “strong faced” are mentioned: Genghis Khan, Zarathustra, Mozart and Goya. The protagonist calls them out of oblivion at night, meanwhile “bringing [the drowned women] back” from the rivers. The next day he dreams of a salmon girl:

Мне снилась девушка-лосось В волнах ночного водопада [Khlebnikov, 1987, p. 99].	I dreamed of a salmon girl In the waves of the night waterfall
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The image of a salmon girl goes back to Finnish and Karelian folklore, while the images of Khlebnikov’s mermaids and fish people are connected with the Russian fairytale tradition:

Я рыбою бьюся в их вершинах, Русалка нездешней воды <i>Zangezi</i> (1922) [Khlebnikov, 1987, p. 499].	I’m like a fish caught in their verses, A mermaid of the foreign waters.
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Звезды — невод, рыбы — мы «Годы, люди и народы» (1915) [Khlebnikov, 1987, p. 94].	The stars are the seine, the fish are us “Years, people and nations” (1915).
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In general, the motif of a man identifying with a fish is common for the peoples living by seashores and riverbanks [Krinichnaya, 2000, p. 341]. The fish maiden is one of the oldest archetypes often found in Finnish and Karelian epic songs.

Kuusilmä can also mean moonlight or mooneye. Although in this case there should be two words, the first one written with the letter *n*:

kuun silmä. A girl with shining eyes is sometimes called a mooneye in Karelian epics. In Alanko's case, it is either a sorceress or a goddess who must heed his call, "for there is a white viper dancing in heaven". The image of a celestial white snake is found in the cultures of different peoples. The characters in Alexis Kivi's *Seven Brothers* recall the legend of a celestial snake that invokes fear in people. In Chinese mythology, such a character controls the riches of the world.

Alanko only uses Finnish in his work. His lyrics are on the border between the existential immersion in oneself and the subtlest nuances of love for art, country and woman.

Alanko's poems sound relevant and innovative; they are close and clear to his Finnish contemporaries. He comprehends serious problems of worldviews with poetic elegance, with the power of poetic word removing the contradiction between religious and common, rational and irrational and spiritual and material:

Jos jumala on olemassa	If God exists,
Se lepää nyt mun vierelläni	Then he's lying next to me,
Naisen muodon ottaneena	Taking at that moment
Niin tässä hetkessä	The shapes of a woman.
[Alanko, 2015].	

The beauty and particular melodiousness of Finnish allow Alanko to masterfully play with sounds, mixing simple everyday words and turning lines into a whole metaphorical and harmonious picture:

Väritän värityskirjaa	The coloring book
Vedän viivan pisteestä toiseen	I'm pulling a line from point to point
Kokoan palapeliä josta puuttuu paloja	Assembling a puzzle without pieces.
[Alanko, 2011, s. 274–275].	

Alanko senses Finnish words subtly; his poetry is characterized by tone-painting and alliteration. The latter has traditionally been used by Finnish poets since the Kalevala runes. This is one of the main distinctions of poetry created in Finnish. And Alanko continues this tradition, which is especially evident in the poem "Värityskirjaa" (Coloring book): 'Vär-vär-ved-viiv', **Il-ilm-ilm** / muu-mur-muo'.

In "Värityskirjaa", the poem is born as a drawing, but it is a poetic drawing. You can see how the phrase is flowing, how the sounds are combined, how one syllable is flowing from another, how a poem is born. Alanko's poetic graphics have nothing to do with graphic exper-

iments or with the alternation of fonts. The verses can be sung and recited:

<p>Ilo ilman ilmoitusta muuttaa murheen muotoa<...> Kunpa voisin tatuoida taivaan iholleni [Alanko, 2011, s. 274–275].</p>	<p>Sadness followed by unexpected joy <...> Too bad I can't get a tattoo of the sky on my skin.</p>
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In the 1990 poem “Taitelijaelämää”, the poet passionately describes his artistic life. The popular theme of drugs was raised in almost all the books and albums of the 1990s. Alanko’s creator is a drunkard or a drug addict trying to create through intoxication, or perhaps fighting off the abyss of the hedonistic joys that both help and destroy him.

Kolme grammaa hasista on päiväannoksein Amfetamiinia muutama viiva livahtaapi yksintein [Alanko, 2011, s. 242–243].	Three grams of hash is a daily dose I alone have done a few lines of amphetamine.
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Alanko places himself at the same level as famous Finnish and American poets. All of them, to varying degrees, were subject to harmful passions.

Artistic life — me, Melleri and Morrison
 [Alanko, 2011, s. 242–243].

Here, references are made to Arto Melleri, a Finnish poet, and Jim Morrison, an American singer.

What are three grams of hashish for? Why search for artificial inspiration? The pithy answer that Alanko provides to his character seems to defeat the poet’s purpose. The purpose of his character is not so high: “Taiteilijaelämää — nimeni historian kirjoissa pian on” (Artistic life — my name in the history books). It is no longer necessary to save the world, to bring people joy and comfort with poems, and, finally, to fight for justice. No, just the name in the books although the characters of other modern Finnish poets have no higher goals.

Alanko compared himself to Eino Leino more than once, not only in a good but also in a bad sense, by saying Leino had a life like that, too:

Taiteilija elämää — niin kuin Eino, Pena sekä John [Alanko, 2011, s. 242–243].	Artistic life — like Eino, Pena and John.
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The first names of two Finnish poets, Eino Leino and Pentti Saarikoski, are mentioned here. Alanko intentionally does not mention their last names. It is assumed that the listeners or readers know who he is talking about. John Lennon is also mentioned. Despite this, the poem ends pessimistically enough. The life of the creator, who gave himself to the power of drugs and alcohol, quickly and tragically comes to an end. As a result:

Taiteilijaelämää

historian kellastuneet lehdet puista putoaa
ja lumi peittää maan. [Alanko, 2011, s. 243].

(Artistic life

the yellow leaves of history fall from the trees
and the snow covers the ground).

In Romanticism, as early as the 19th century, there was “an idea of death confirming the choice of doom for a poet, an artist and a musician” [Rahimova, 2001, p. 113]. In the aesthetics of Finnish neo-romanticism, creativity is a voluntary self-immolation, while the artist is a “tragically doomed seeker of truth”, which has been repeatedly pointed out by critics [Karhu, 1972, p. 184]. But the artist has always had an impersonal ideal. A poet, if he is a poet, “sings of happiness to others” not expecting gratitude in return. In Alanko’s “Taiteilijaelämää” the painter character is doomed, not by burning himself in the creative fire and certainly not by trying to make someone happy. The theme of a drug related death is interpreted with sarcasm and ridicule. This position is perceived by the reader as a message to society that is better than any moral pedagogical instructions and leads to positive results in the end.

In the 2015 poem “Aivokääpiö” (*Foolish*), after a break of twenty years, there once again appears an artist doomed to loneliness — an image familiar to us from neo-Romantic poetry with an individualistic character. In analyzing this work, we must turn to the Finnish historical and literary context. Alanko touches upon the “eternal” theme of the artist’s loneliness, continuing the tradition of neo-Romantic poets. The themes of the relationship between artist and society, art and life, lies and truth were particularly strong in their work. This is especially pronounced in Leino’s 1905 poem “Morituri”:

Me viihdymme, missä tähti viimeinen tuikkaa,
raikuu ranta autio ja meripedot luikkaa

[Leino, 1962, p. 106].

We can only live where the last star shines,
The desert shore rings, and the sea beasts scream.

The cross-cutting romantic theme of an artist's loneliness remained fundamental to Johannes Linnankoski, as well as to Volter Kilpi and L. Onerva. In *Small Catechism* Linnankoski demanded from the artist "loneliness, poverty <...> unhappy fate" [Linnankoski, III, p. 655]. However, along with the desire to rise above society, the neo-Romantics had a dream to merge with society.

Like many characters of neo-Romantic works, Alanko's character in the poem "Aivokääpiö" is lonely; he is above the people, he is a knight. However, his goal is not to distance himself from the world, but rather to save it. It is a song about loneliness and doom, about wanting to be needed by the world. He is prepared to fight for peace, but he does not see any reciprocity in humanity, or the world: "Here we are all powerless, no matter how much strength we have".

Olen yksinäinen ratsumies joka pelastaa tään maailman muttei maailma halua pelastuu, ei haluu eikä mullakaan voimat riitä vaikka niitä on niin paljon, paljon [Alanko, 2015].	I am a lonely knight That saves the world But the world does not want to be saved And I don't have enough strength Although there is so much, so much
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A reader familiar with Finnish literature will see in the poem an analogy with Eino Leino's "Auringon opetus" (Lessons from the sun). The sun teaches the poet that one only has to shine over the curses, misunderstanding and rejection:

Tee kuin minä, paista vaan, syttyvi sydänkin kylmin [Leino, 1931, II, p. 118].	Do as I do — just keep shining, And the coldest heart will light up.
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The poet is convinced that the singer's duty is to give himself to people. The singer is lonely, but at the same time striving for people, wanting to be understood by them.

Unlike L. Onerva's character, Alanko's character does not call his work saintly. On the contrary, the poet deliberately understates the language by writing about himself in a humiliating tone in the poem "Aivokääpiö" ("A foolish"):

Mä olen hölmö, pelle, aivokääpiö
kaikkien aikojen idiootti
[Alanko, 2015].

I'm stupid, a clown, a fool,
An all-time idiot.

But even in that state, the people still need him. He can fix something, because “the taste of the world is poisonous”: “Maailman maku myrkyllinen” [Alanko, 2011, s. 162].

The desire to portray himself as a clown, fool and even idiot connects the work of Alanko with the tradition of Swedish poetry in Finland, reminding us of the great success of Bo Carpelan who shocked readers with his 1952 book *Minus sju* (*Minus Seven*). According to Thomas Warburton, “Carpelan’s penchant for parody and clowning greatly expanded his artistic range once he decided to use it.” [Warburton, 1984, p. 366]. Carpelan ironically described the political confrontations in society: “En gråter, en annan håller ett revolutionerande tal en tredje dresserar vita duvor där borta lagårdsknuten [Carpelan, 1952, p. 15] (One cries, another makes a revolutionary speech, the third breeds white doves around the corner of the barn). The poet “in the name of openness presents those who are “different” — children, the eccentric, the psychologically ill, authors and artists”, — writes Jan Hellgren [Hellgren, 2009, p. 200].

Alanko can be fully attributed to the words of the prominent Finnish-Swedish researcher who said, in regard to Carpelan, that the poet “alternates parodic inclusions with surrealistic combinations and unexpected sad reflections on the absurdity of reality” [Warburton, 1984, p. 366]. However, Carpelan did not dare to call himself an idiot. Alanko thinks a hero (“stupid, a clown, a fool, an all-time idiot”) is necessary for the people to be less afraid to live:

Supersankareita tarvitaan tiuhaan
jotta kaikki voisi unohtaa ett' pelottaa
[Alanko, 2015].

Superheroes are often needed
so that everyone can forget about fear

The character of Heli Slunga (the youngest contemporary of Alanko) is complaining as she cannot do anything by herself, especially as she is a woman. She can only “close her eyes” and “be absent”:

Taskussa pelkkä Parsinneula Jolla silmät Ommellaan umpeen... [Slunga, 2009].	I have in my pocket a darning needle To sew my eyes tightly...
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Alanko doesn't want to "sew his eyes", he is open to the world and to himself.

Alanko revives not only the images from neo-romantic poetry but also the Kalevala meter the poets used. Free verse liberated Finnish poets, but by abandoning it they stopped even thinking about working on the word. Musical poetry was the only genre where the form was given equal importance. And along with metrical freedom — which first led to the abandonment of poetic dimensions, then punctuation marks, and, ultimately, the word — in Finnish poetry, there was a desire to revive the poetic dimensions in one form or another. In Finnish criticism at various times, there was a desire that poets should not forget the rich heritage of epic poetry and use metrics.

John Fowles even believed that, poetry and traditional poetry, with "alliteration... assonance, rhyme" [Fowles, 1970, p.209] remains the source of truth and "more a nation's anima, its particular mystery, its adytum, than any other of the arts" [Fowles,1970, p.210].

Kai Laitinen, one of the prominent theorists of Finnish modernism, in the famous article "What's new in our poetry" wrote, "After free verse, Finnish poetry may find new forms of metric poetry, will return to the rhymed verse in its other varieties" [Laitinen, 1958, p.256]. This drew in the 1980s the attention of Eino Karhu, a Russian researcher of Finnish literature. Karhu himself linked the revival of metrics with the strengthening of the left movement and the changes of social atmosphere in Finland: "Among students and young people there was a need for socially active lyrics <...> The democratization of poetry and the changes in its social objectives have also affected metrics and poetics in general" [Karhu, 1984, p.288]. Paul Zumthor has similar thoughts, he connects certain forms of oral poetry with protest political actions [Zumthor, 1983, p.66].

The revival of metrics emerged in rock poetry, but the critics forgot to point out the main component: to revive the meter there needed to be poets with a sense of rhythm and words who mastered the technique of versification and knew the literature of their predecessors. The appearance of such writers is always rare. Alanko's trochaic tetrameter, Kalevala meter — of course, not in the pure "museum" form, but with a variety of caesurae and enjambments — sounded modern but was kept in his native language: *Ilo ilman ilmoitusta... Or: Suo, kuokka ja Jussi...*

Sarcasm and softness, humor and sadness, education and simplicity make him a diverse poet, demanded, needed, and loved by Finnish readers and listeners.

Now indeed, Alanko's name, like the poet joked in his youth, will go down in the history book — the one on history of Finnish poetry, at least.

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**ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫЕ РЕМИНИСЦЕНЦИИ И СИМВОЛЫ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ
ФИНЛЯНДИИ В ПОЭЗИИ ИСМО АЛАНКО***

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В статье анализируется образная система: литературные реминисценции, образы Финляндии в творчестве современного поэта Финляндии Исмо Аланко. Исследуются литературные и фольклорные традиции в его поэзии. Поэт создал достаточно критичный образ Финляндии как лютеранской страны, насыщенной следами маркетинга, но знающей свою литературу: «Martti Luther ja muovipussi» (Мартин Лютер и полиэтиленовый пакет). Образы финской архитектуры, серых зданий в стекле и металле, тяжелого серого северного неба связывают поэзию Аланко и с русской культурой, с именем Исаака Левитана, негативно описавшего Финляндию как царство серого цвета. Аланко явно знает о словах Левитана «Серая вода и серые люди, серая жизнь», но вступает в полемику с художником, доказывая, что в сером много оттенков радости. С серым ассоциировал природу и народ Финляндии один из лидеров экспрессионизма Ууно Кайлас. Но у Кайласа серый цвет — явно негативный, безжизненный. Аланко, напротив, различает в сером всевозможные позитивные знаки жизни. Для его стихотворений характерно описание иррациональных состояний лирического героя на фоне фантастических пейзажей Лапландии, создание мифологических образов, не сразу поддающихся толкованию. Например, в образе Луноглазки с Севера «kuusilmä rohjoisesta» прослеживается мотив превращения девушки в рыбу, характерный для финских и карельских эпических песен, знакомый нам также по «Калевале» и поэзии Эйно Лейно. Серьезные мировоззренческие проблемы Аланко осмыс-

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ливает с поэтическим изяществом, силой поэтического слова снимая противоречие между религиозным и обыденным, рациональным и иррациональным. Аланко возрождает калевальскую метрику не в «музейном» виде, а, с современными акцентами и на родном финском языке.

Ключевые слова: рок-поэзия, реминисценции, калевальский размер, возрождение неоромантических образов, сентиментальность, злободневность.

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ТЕОРИЯ И ПРАКТИКА ПЕРЕВОДА

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ПОЭТИЧЕСКИЙ СИНТАКСИС ТУМАСА ТРАНСТРЁМЕРА И ЕГО ПЕРЕВОД НА РУССКИЙ ЯЗЫК

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В статье рассматриваются особенности синтаксического строя стихотворений Тумаса Транстрёмера, отражающие своеобразие его поэтического мировосприятия и глубину философского смысла. Цепочки однородных членов предложения, чаще с бессоюзной сочинительной связью, используются для того, чтобы передать бесконечное многообразие увиденного поэтическим взглядом внешнего мира. В цепочках именных членов предложения с бессоюзной связью — определений и дополнений — постановка запятых используется в ритмических и экспрессивных целях, акцентируя смысловую значимость каждого компонента, и способствует сохранению аллитерационного звучания стиха. Напротив, когда объекты внешнего мира изображаются с негативной оценкой в виде хаотической массы, запятые между обозначающими их лексемами отсутствуют. Для поэтического синтаксиса Транстрёмера характерна также особая «плотность» относительных придаточных предложений с союзом *som*, нередко распространяющих главную часть в форме назывного предложения. Они часто имеют усложненную синтаксическую структуру с «кольцевым» повтором опорного слова. Для стихотворной формы произведений Транстрёмера характерно также использование усложненных синтаксических комплексов, в состав которых входят различные конструкции — распространенные предикативные определения, адвербиальные обороты с предлогом *med*, а также сложное дополнение с инфинитивом. Особую функцию в синтаксическом строе Транстрёмера имеют знаки препинания — двоеточие и тире. Использование двоеточия позво-

ляет передавать то, что доступно только внутреннему зрению поэта — скрытое в прошлом или будущем, увиденное во сне, открывающееся в далеком космосе. Постановка тире внутри предложений или между ними расширяет границы внешнего мира, делая его изображение многомерным. При переводе используются синтаксические трансформации, обусловленные типологическими различиями между шведским и русским языками. Наблюдаются также лексические замены, в том числе с использованием русских слов, относящихся к высокому стилю, например, перевод относительного местоимения *som* 'который' союзом *что*, характерным для эпического повествования, позволяющий сохранить ритмический строй оригинала.

Ключевые слова: шведская поэзия, свободный стих, синтаксический строй, знаки препинания, русский перевод, синтаксическая трансформация, лексическая замена.

В наполненном метафорическими образами поэтическом языке Тумаса Транстрёмера синтаксические средства служат для создания стихотворной формы, позволяющей выразить глубокое философское содержание. О синтаксических особенностях поэзии Транстрёмера писала в одной из своих статей Н. Н. Толстая. Она отмечала, что его стихотворной форме свойственна синтаксическая компрессия и эллиптичность, выражаемая односоставными и неполными предложениями и обособленными определениями, а также разнообразные виды инверсии, используемые «для создания эмоционально-экспрессивного настроения» [Толстая, 1985, с. 165]. На результаты исследования Н. Н. Толстой в предисловии к двуязычному русскому изданию избранных стихотворений шведского поэта обратил внимание Алексей Прокопьев, один из переводчиков Транстрёмера. Он отмечал, что «фрагменты увиденного поэтом мира не связаны друг с другом напрямую, а будто совершенно случайным образом накладываются сверху на синтаксис», так что поэтические образы получают характер «картинки поверх картинки» [Прокопьев, 2002, с. 7–8]. Используемые поэтом в композиционных целях синтаксические приемы, отмеченные Н. Н. Толстой, А. Прокопьев называл «аппликацией» [Прокопьев, 2002, с. 9]. В предлагаемой статье рассматриваются некоторые более общие особенности синтаксиса Транстрёмера, отражающие характер его поэтического мировосприятия «на границе между двумя мирами» [Bergsten, 2011, s. 238] — внешним миром реального и внутренним миром мистического. Анализ проводится на материале параллельных текстов на шведском

и русском языках, включенных в сборник избранных стихотворений Тумаса Транстрёмера в переводах Александры Афиногеновой и Алексея Прокопьева [Транстрёмер, 2002]. При цитировании в скобках приводится название стихотворения с указанием страницы этого издания и автора перевода.

1. СОЧИНЕНИЕ: ЦЕПОЧКИ ОДНОРОДНЫХ ЧЛЕНОВ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЯ

Для того, чтобы передать явленное поэту «множество мимолетных реальностей, словно выхваченных из вечности» [Прокопьев, 2002, с. 7], в синтаксическом строе его стихотворений нередко используются цепочки однородных членов предложения, чаще всего соединенных бессоюзной сочинительной связью.

(1) Глагольные предикаты.

Allt levande, som *sjunger, slingrar, viftar*
och *kryper!* (Madrigal, 226)
Всё живое, что *умеет петь* — *змеится, виляет,*
ползает!
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

Здесь используется характерное для поэтического синтаксиса Транстрёмера назывное предложение, распространенное придаточным относительным. Для того чтобы передать удивление и восторг перед многообразием мира живой природы, сочинительный союз и последний компонент цепочки предикатов помещаются на отдельной строке, замыкая высказывание выражающим экспрессивность восклицательным знаком.

При переводе используется лексическое добавление в виде модального глагола *kunna* 'уметь', вызывающего трансформацию первого компонента в форму инфинитива, и следующего за ними тире. Представляется, однако, что это не только разрушает цепочку однородных членов, но приводит к нарушению логической связи между компонентами предиката.

При переводе предложений с распространенными предикатами происходят более глубокие трансформации:

<...> Jag går hem genom ljumma skogar med
marken fjädrande under mig
kryper ihop som en ofödd, *somnar, rullar viktlös in* i framtiden,

känner plötsligt att växterna har tankar (Schubertiana III, 174).

<...> Я иду домой через теплые перелески,
почва пружинит подо мной.

Я *сжимаюсь* в комочек, как нерожденный, *забываюсь* сном, невесомый,
ввинчиваюсь в будущее, вдруг *ощущая*, что растения мыслят
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

Шведские глаголы с поствербями удачно переданы здесь русскими префиксальными глаголами *сжиматься* и *ввинчиваться*. Глагол *sotna* в экспрессивных и ритмических целях переводится стилистически маркированным фразеологическим словосочетанием с формой творительного падежа *забываться сном*; при этом он получает предикативное определение *невесомый*, которое в оригинале относится к следующему за ним глаголу. Наконец, замыкающий цепочку предикат, распространенный изъяснительным придаточным, переводится деепричастным оборотом.

(2) Препозитивные определения.

В цепочках препозитивных определений с бессоюзной связью запятая используется в ритмических и экспрессивных целях, акцентируя важность каждого компонента, и способствует сохранению аллитерационного звучания стиха:

Det var en gång en chock
som lämnade efter sig en *lång, blek, skimrande* kometsvans
(Efter någons död, 132).

Шок, пережитый однажды,
оставил *длинный, бледный, мерцающий*, как у кометы, хвост
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

Здесь наблюдается синтаксическая трансформация сложноподчиненного предложения с придаточным относительным в простое, при которой содержание главной части, выраженной экзистенциальным предложением, передается постпозитивным причастным оборотом. В переводе сохраняется не только экспрессивность стиха, создаваемая лексемой *chock* 'шок', но и его аллитерационное звучание, передаваемое созвучными оригиналу согласными. Сложное слово *kometsvans* 'хвост кометы' трансформируется при этом в сравнительный оборот, возможно, для того, чтобы сохранить второй компонент сложного слова в конечной позиции.

(3) Прямой и косвенный объект.

Mumlandet stiger och sjunker
medan de delar upp mellan sig
himlen, skuggorna, sandkornen (Ensamhet II, 128).

Бормотание то громче, то тише
пока они делят между собой
небо, тени, песчинки
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

Постановка запятых при бессоюзии здесь также обусловлена важностью всех компонентов цепочки однородных членов и способствует созданию эпического характера стиха.

В том случае, когда объекты внешнего мира представлены в виде хаотической массы несущественных и ничтожных референтов, запятые между обозначающими их лексемами отсутствуют, а их перечисление приобретает монотонное звучание:

Där råder järnhårda missförstånd
bland *kioskbiträden slaktare*
plåtslagare marinofficerare (November i forna DDR, 252).

Там царит жестокий разлад,
грызутся *лоточники, мясники,*
жестяницыки, морские офицеры
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

В ритмических и экспрессивных целях при переводе используется добавление негативно-оценочного глагола *грызутся*, подчеркивающего отсутствие гармонической связи между референтами, что вызывает трансформацию косвенного объекта в грамматический субъект предложения.

2. ПОДЧИНЕНИЕ: ОТНОСИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ПРИДАТОЧНЫЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЯ С СОЮЗОМ SOM

В монографии о жизни и творчестве Транстрёмера шведский исследователь и литературный критик Стаффан Бергстен писал, что за простыми и обычными словами его стихотворных строк скрывается послание, обращенное к глубинам нашего сознания [Bergsten, 1989, s. 122; 2011, s. 7]. Для создания ассоциативных образных рядов поэт нередко использует сложноподчиненные предложения с несколькими придаточными относительными с союзом

som. Такие предложения могут иметь усложненную синтаксическую структуру с повтором опорного слова:

I rymden flaggar stjärnorna förtvivlat.
De tänds och släcks av *moln* (1)¹ *som flyger fram*,
(2) *som bara när de skymtar ljusen röjer*
sin existens, likt det förflutnas moln
(3) *som jagar kring i själar* (Epilog, 44).
А в небе отчаянно сигналият флажками звезды.
Их зажигают и гасят *тучи*, (1) *что летят вперед*,
(2) *лишь тогда становясь заметными*,
когда закрывают собой свет: так (3) *тучи минувшего*
рыскают в наших душах
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

При переводе первого придаточного используется стилистически маркированный союз *что*, позволяющий сохранить эпическое звучание и ритмику оригинала. Второе придаточное, относящееся к тому же опорному слову, включает придаточное второго ранга с союзом *när* и, вероятно, поэтому переводится деепричастным оборотом. Наконец, третье придаточное заменяется простым предложением, которое присоединяется к сложноподчиненному предложению дейктическим наречием *так* после двоеточия, выражающим метафорический и философский смысл сравнения туч на небесном своде и в человеческих душах.

Придаточные относительные используются также в следующих одно за другим предложениях, в том числе в назывных, передавая глубину философского смысла создаваемой поэтом картины мира:

Jag såg (1) *en bokstavstrogen tv-predikant som samlat in massor med pengar.*

Men han var svag nu och måste stödjas av (2) *en bodyguard som var en välskräddad ung man med ett leende stramande som en munkavle.*

(3) *Ett leende som kvävde ett skri.*

Skriet från (4) *ett barn som lämnas kvar i en säng på sjukhuset när föräldrarna går* (Guldstebel, 230).

¹ Здесь и далее при анализе перевода отдельных конструкций в составе сложных синтаксических комплексов в шведском и русском тексте как вспомогательное средство используется их нумерация.

Я видел (1) *телевизионного проповедника-буквалиста, накопившего кучу денег.*

Но теперь он слаб и вынужден опираться на (2) *телохранителя, крепко сшитого молодого человека с улыбкой, натянутой на лицо, как кляп.*

(3) *С улыбкой, подавившей крик.*

Крик (4) *ребенка, остающегося в больничной койке в одиночестве, когда родители уходят*

(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

При переводе все придаточные с *som* заменяются здесь постпозитивными причастными словосочетаниями, что позволяет сохранить динамику ритма и аллитерационное звучание оригинала. Возможно, это обусловлено употреблением постпозитивного причастия I в составе адвербиального оборота с предлогом *med* во втором придаточном. В конце сложного синтаксического целого дважды используется характерный для стихотворной формы Транстрёмера прием синтаксического повтора опорного слова, позволяющий выразить ассоциативный характер поэтического текста.

Интересен и другой пример сильно усложненной синтаксической структуры с несколькими назывными предложениями, распространенными относительными придаточными. Показательно, что при бессоюзной синтаксической связи запятая ставится только между первым и вторым придаточным, а в остальных случаях знаки препинания отсутствуют, отражая многообразие мимолетных впечатлений и связанных с ними поэтических ассоциаций:

Den stora explosionen och räddningens försenade tramp

(1) *båtarna som kråmar sig på redde*, (2) *pengarna som kryper ner i fickan på fel man*

(3) *krav som staplas på krav*

gapande röda (4) *blomkalkar som svetts förningar om krig* (Vermeer, 214)

Мощный взрыв, и запоздалый топот спасателей,

(1) *корабли, важничавшие на рейде*, (2) *деньги, заползающие в кошелек не к тому, к кому надо*,

(3) *требования, громоздящиеся на требованиях*,

красные зияющие (4) *чашечки цветка, потеющие предчувствиями войн*

(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

Здесь для передачи придаточных относительных используется та же переводческая стратегия с использованием постпозитивных

причастных конструкций, отражающая общие типологические особенности сопоставительного синтаксиса шведского и русского языков.

Och det är uppbrottet i stormen, vid
(1) *en trasig grind som slår och slår*, (2) *en lykta som slänger från en hand*, (3) *ett djur som kacklar förskräckt i berget* (Epilog, 44).

И вот сигнал к отходу шторма: (1) *у сломанной калитки что хлопает не переставая*, (2) *фонарь покачивается в руке*, (3) *какое-то животное испуганно вскрикивает в пещере*
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

В этом случае, напротив, используются нетривиальные способы перевода для того, чтобы передать «серию мимолетных впечатлений [Толстая, 1985, с. 162]. Первое придаточное переводится русским относительным придаточным со стилистически маркированным союзом *что*, имеющим повествовательно-эпическую коннотацию, а два других трансформируются в самостоятельные простые предложения. Таким образом создается живое стереоскопическое изображение действительности, наполненное светом и звуком открывающегося поэту мира природы.

3. СЛОЖНЫЕ СИНТАКСИЧЕСКИЕ КОМПЛЕКСЫ

Для того чтобы расширить границы и возможности свободного ассоциативного восприятия, в поэтическом языке Транстрёма используются сложные синтаксические комплексы с идиоматичными конструкциями. Особенно часто встречаются постпозитивные распространенные определения, которые следуют друг за другом, образуя длинную цепочку нанизанных, как четки, синтаксических рядов, создающих особую ритмику стиха:

Det finns barvinterdagar då havet är släkt
med (1) *bergstrakter, hukande i grå* (2) *ffäderskrud*,
en kort minut blått, (3) *långa timmar med vågor som bleka*
(4) *lodjur, fåfångt sökande fäste i strandgruset* (Skepparhistoria, 28).
Бывают зимой бесснежные дни, когда море сродни
(1) *горному кряжу, что нахохлился птицей* (2) *в седом оперении*,
вдруг ненадолго синем, (3) *после того как волны часами без устали рыскали — призраком*

(4) *rysi* — *тицетно ища твердой опоры на берегу*
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

При переводе постпозитивное определение используется для передачи ритма и аллитерационного звучания оригинала только в конструкции (2). В других случаях с более сложной синтаксической структурой наблюдается трансформация в придаточные предложения. В конструкции (1) предикативное определение с причастием 1 заменяется относительным придаточным со стилистически маркированным союзом *что*; это позволяет передать эпический характер описания шведской природы. В конструкции (3) используется придаточное времени со значением следования с союзом *после того как* в результате трансформации адвербиальной конструкции с предлогом *med*, в которую, кроме того, включен сравнительный оборот. В конструкции (4) постпозитивное распространенное определение с причастием 1 переводится деепричастным оборотом. При этом удается сохранить звукопись оригинала и передать шипение рысей, выраженное в оригинале аллитерацией, употреблением созвучного существительному *rysi* экспрессивного глагола *ryskatt*.

En sådan dag går väl vraken ur havet och söker
sina redare, bänkade i stadens larm, och drunknade
besättningar blåser mot land, tunnare än piprök (Skepparhistoria, 28).
В такой день, вероятно, обломки судов выходят из моря и ищут
судовладельцев, занимая свое место в шуме города, а утонувшие
экипажи прибывает ветром к берегу, более зыбкому, чем дым из трубки
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

Здесь словосочетание с причастием может трактоваться двояко — и как предикативное определение к предшествующей запятой части, и как постпозитивное определение к существительному *redare*. В переводе оно трактуется как предикативное определение и передается поэтому деепричастным оборотом. В конце второго предложения помещается постпозитивное определение, выраженное сравнительным оборотом с формой компаратива и частицей *än*. Последний компонент выражен в нем композитом *piprök*, который переводится на русский язык предложной конструкцией.

*Stenarna som vi kastat (1) hör jag
falla, (2) glasklara genom åren. I dalen*

flyger ögonblickets förvirrade
handlingar (3) *skränande från*
trädtopp till trädtopp, (4) *tystnar*
i (5) *tunnare luft än nuets*, (6) *glider*
som svalor från bergstopp
till bergstopp tills de
nått de yttersta plåtåerna
utmed gränsen för varat (Stenarna, 32).

Камни, которые мы кидали, — (1) *я слышу отчетливо*,
как они падают — (2) *прозрачным стеклом* через годы. В долине
растерянно мечется то, что сделано
в эту минуту, (3) *крича* от
верхушки кроны к верхушке, (4) *замолкая*
в воздухе (5) *более разреженном, чем сиюминутный*, (6) *скользя*,
как ласточка, от вершины горы
к вершине, пока не достигнет
того плоскогорья, что на самом краю,
у самых границ бытия
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

В этом особо усложненном отрывке первое предложение содержит инверсию, обусловленную постановкой в начальную позицию прямого объекта, являющегося одновременно первым компонентом синтаксической конструкции с инфинитивом. Кроме того, прямой объект распространен относительным придаточным предложением с союзом *som*, которое расщепляет конструкцию с инфинитивом. При переводе этой специфически шведской конструкции используется обычная в таких случаях трансформация в придаточное с союзом *как*. Однако в отличие от оригинала оно занимает позицию вводного предложения, границы которого маркируются двумя тире. В свою очередь это лишает сложное синтаксическое целое предиката и превращает его в неполное предложение. Вместе с тем в качестве грамматического субъекта в придаточном предложении добавляется личное местоимение *они*, что еще более усложняет синтаксическую структуру высказывания. В конце первого предложения имеется также (2) постпозитивное определение, выраженное сложным прилагательным *glasklar*, которое передается в переводе именным словосочетанием с прилагательным и существительным в творительном падеже. В начале второго предложения используется (3) предикативное определение с причастием I, которое пере-

водится деепричастным оборотом. В результате синтаксической аттракции две следующие за ним личные формы глагола в (4) и (6) также передаются с помощью деепричастий. В (5) сравнительном обороте с формой компаратива и частицей *än* используется инверсия, в результате которой прилагательное помещается перед существительным и сравнительный оборот с частицей *än* отделяется от формы компаратива. В русском переводе сохраняется обычная синтаксическая структура сравнительного оборота без инверсии с использованием постпозитивного определения. Интересным является здесь перевод субстантивированной формы наречия *ni* русским сложным прилагательным *сиюминутный*.

4. ЗНАКИ ПРЕПИНАНИЯ: ДВОЕТОЧИЕ И ТИРЕ

Особая роль в поэтическом синтаксисе Транстрёмера принадлежит знакам препинания, особенно двоеточию и тире, которые часто используются не только для создания стихотворной формы, но и для выражения глубокого философского смысла его произведений.

Двоеточие употребляется обычно для указания на то, что после него следует разъяснение и уточнение предшествующей информации [SAG, 1999, s. 836]. В стихотворениях Транстрёмера двоеточие часто используется при выражении находящегося за пределами реальности, тайного и скрытого в прошлом или будущем, открывающегося лишь внутреннему зрению поэта. Сам поэт прямо говорит в одном из стихотворений о своем прозрении происходящего в ином времени:

<...> Så vrids
refraktorn,
fångar in *en annan tid*
och det är sommar: bergen råmar, stinna
av ljus och bäcken lyfter solens glitter
i genomskinsligt hand <...> (Epilog, 42).
<...> Тогда
телескоп поворачивается, улавливая *иное время*,
и вот лето: горы мычат, изобилуя
светом, и ручей сжимает сверкание солнца
в прозрачной руке <...>
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

В той же функции используется двоеточие и при описании поэтических снов, например, в стихотворении, посвященном Дантону:

Jag såg hans ansikte underifrån:
som den ärriga månen
till hälften i ljus, till hälften i sorg (Citoyens, 168).
Я видел его лицо снизу:
как рябая луна,
наполовину в лучах света, наполовину в горе
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

В помещенной после двоеточия части текста используется образное метафорическое сравнение с синтаксическим повтором предложной конструкции, выражающей яркий и неожиданный контраст между светом и горем.

Двоеточие используется и при описании поэтического прозрения будущего.

Framtiden: en armé av tomma hus
som letar sig framåt i snögloppet (Preludier, 152).
Будущее: армада пустых домов,
ищущих путь в снежной мокряди
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

Как и в ряде примеров выше, придаточное относительное переводится здесь постпозитивным словосочетанием с причастием.

При описании открывающегося поэту макрокосмоса в примере ниже двоеточие используется дважды:

Där uppe i rymden:
(1) *trevande tyst*, (2) *gnistrande och svart*,
(3) *osedd* och (4) *obunden*,
(5) *med ryttaren avkastad:*
en ny stjärnbild som jag kallar "Hästen" (Caprichos, 56).
В космосе над нами,
(2) *сверкающее и черное,*
никем (3) *не замечаемое* и (4) *невзнузданное*,
(5) *сбросив с себя седока*, (1) *бесшумной рысью* несется
новое созвездие, которое я называю «Лошадь»
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

В оригинале и до, и после двоеточия здесь используются назывные предложения, а между двоеточиями помещается не-

сколько определений с необычной синтаксической функцией, которые по смыслу относятся к существительному *stjärnbild* 'созвездие'. В их состав входит четыре причастия: два причастия 1 в функции обстоятельства образа действия (1) и определения в парном словосочетании с прилагательным (2); два причастия 2 с отрицательной приставкой *o-* в (3) и (4), также в парном словосочетании, и причастие 2 в составе (5) адвербиальной конструкции с предлогом *med*.

Двоеточие используется и тогда, когда внутреннему зрению поэта простое и естественное предстает как неожиданное и таинственное. Так выглядит, например, изображение свисающих с крыши сосулук:

Istappar: den upp och nervända gotiken (Sex vintrar 4, 192).

Сосульки: перевернутая вверх ногами готика

(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

При переводе причастия с противоположными по значению префиксами трансформируются в адвербиальное фразеологическое словосочетание *вверх ногами*.

Глубокая метафорическая образность содержится в описании майского леса, увиденного внутренним зрением поэта:

En skog i maj. Här spökar mitt hela liv:

det osynliga flyttlasset (Alkaiskt, 196).

В майском лесу жизнь моя катит фуруй:

призрачной

(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

В переводе содержание назывного предложения передается обстоятельством места. Кроме того, здесь наблюдается существенная лексическая трансформация частей речи, при которой глагол *spöka* 'показаться в виде привидения' заменяется прилагательным *призрачный*, а композит *flyttlasset* 'повозка с пожитками' переводится словосочетанием с глаголом *катить* и существительным *фура* в творительном падеже.

Двоеточие используется и при передаче открывающегося внутреннему слуху поэта:

Bara några få slags ljud: som om någon flyttade kvistar

försiktigt med en pincett
eller ett gångjärn som gnyr svagt inne i en tjock stam (I det fria I, 136).
Лишь отдельные тихие звуки: словно кто-то осторожно
переносит пинцетом ветки
или тихонько скулит дверная петля в толстом стволе
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

Перед двоеточием здесь также помещено назывное предложение. Следующая за ним синтагма, раскрывающая смысл предшествующей, представляет собой анаколуф, поскольку она выражена придаточным нереального условия с союзом *som om*, а также назывным предложением с придаточным относительным. Это нарушает синтаксическую норму в стилистических целях и вместе с тем создает синтаксический и фонетический параллелизм союзов *som om... som...*. При переводе нарушающая синтаксическую норму структура не сохраняется, а заменяется двумя однородными придаточными сравнения. При этом асимметрия передается в русском языке различными типами порядка слов — прямого и инвертированного

Тире часто употребляется в шведском языке для выражения резкого и неожиданного поворота событий [SAG, 1999, s. 83]. В поэтическом синтаксисе Транстрёмера оно используется при выражении неожиданного сравнения:

Outtydda dag. Dagar –
som az**tekern**as skriv**tecken**!
Musiken. Och jag står fångad
i dess gobeläng, med
höjda armar — lik en figur
ur allmogekonsten (Morgon och infart, 36).
Нерасшифрованный день. Дни —
как письма ацтеков!
Музыка. Я стою в плену
ее гобелена, с поднятыми
руками — лубочной фигуркой
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

При переводе первого сравнительного оборота синтаксическая структура оригинала сохраняется, в то время как во втором случае происходит трансформация в адвербиальный оборот, выраженный формой творительного падежа.

С помощью тире расширяются горизонты поэтического пространства и времени, которые позволяют вернуть исчезающие мгновения и восстановить ускользающую картину мира:

Utanför fönstret är vårens långa djur
den genomskinliga draken av solsken
rinner förbi som ett *ändlöst*
förtortståg — vi hann aldrig se huvudet (Ljuset strömmar in, 266).
За окном длинные звери весны
прозрачный дракон из сияния солнца
протекает мимо как *бесконечная*
электричка — голову мы не успели увидеть
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

Постановка тире встречается и в случаях синтаксического параллелизма назывных предложений с придаточными относительными при повторе опорного слова:

Djupet som prövar och förkastar olika masker har valt just
den här åt honom —
djupet som vill stiga in till människorna utan att visa sitt
ansikte (Sorgegondol nr 2, IV, 246).
Бездна, что примеряет и отбрасывает разные маски, для него
выбрала именно эту —
бездна, что хочет проникнуть в людей,
не открывая лица
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

Во второй части синтагмы здесь раскрывается философский смысл образа маски, которую выбирает бездна смерти.

В поэтическом синтаксисе Транстрёмера нередко встречается использование двойного тире:

Han förnimmer — *i dallrande lärkans*
position — de mäktiga trädrotssystemens
underjordiskt *svängande* lampor. Men ovan jord
står — *i tropiskt flöde* — grönskan, med
lyftade armar, lyssnande
till rytmen från ett osynligt pumpverk (Preludium, 18).
Он ощущает — *трепещущий*
жаворонок — как качаются лампы мощной системы
корней под землей. А наверху —
в тропическом изобилии — зелень,

подняв руки, прислушивается
к ритму невидимого насоса
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

Здесь в следующих одно за другим предложениях в экспрессивных целях между двумя тире помещаются обстоятельства образа действия, выраженные словосочетаниями с предлогом *i*, которые следуют сразу после личной формы глагола, нарушая синтаксическую норму порядка слов. Представляется, что это позволяет сделать постановка двух тире, делающая возможной интерпретацию предложных словосочетаний не как второстепенных членов, жестко включенных в структуру предложения, а как более свободных синтаксически вводных компонентов. Лексико-синтаксическая структура первого словосочетания не позволяет сохранить синтаксический параллелизм и требует при переводе существенной замены именным словосочетанием с причастием.

Между двумя тире может помещаться также сравнительный оборот:

Och ekande i tiden — som i Lasarus' kista —
den innelåsta evighetens bultande nävar (Siesta, 58).
И эхом времени — как в гробнице Лазаря —
стучащие кулаки запертой внутри тебя вечности
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

Этот отрывок также имеет форму назывного предложения, в состав которого включены три причастия — причастие 1 в адвербиальной функции, которое передается оборотом с формой творительного падежа, а также причастие 2 и причастие 1 в функции препозитивных определений.

Att alltid vara synlig — leva
i en svärm av ögon —
måste ge ett särskilt ansiktsuttryck (Ensamhet II, 128).
У того, кто всегда на виду — кто живет
под взглядом множества глаз —
должно быть особое выражение лица
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

Постановка между двумя тире позволяет усилить экспрессивность поэтической речи, раскрывая новыми языковыми средствами смысл сказанного в предшествующей синтагме.

Использованием двойного тире маркируется внутренняя динамика изображаемого события, передаваемая через переживания и ощущения оказавшегося в нем поэта. При этом помещаемая между ними синтагма может быть выражена как именным словосочетанием, так и самостоятельным предложением:

<...> De mötande bilarna —
deras lyktor — kom nära.
<...>
Sekunderna växte — man fick rum där —
de blev stora som sjukhusbyggnader.
<...>
En stolpe sköt upp och knäcktes — en skarp
klang — den flög bort i mörkret (Ensamhet, 126–128).
<...>. Машины —
их фары — неслись на меня.
<...>
Секунды росли — в них можно было вместиться —
они стали огромными как больничные корпуса.
<...>
Вынырнул столбик, переломился — резкий звук — и
улетел в темноту
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

В экспрессивном описании дорожной аварии с помощью двойного тире здесь передаются мгновенные зрительные и слуховые ощущения, переживаемые поэтом. Они как бы накладываются одно на другое, создавая ту особую стихотворную форму аппликации, о которой писал Алексей Прокопьев.

Встречаются стихотворения, в которых тире ставится между отдельными предложениями для выражения связи между происходящим в окружающем внешнем мире и внутренним состоянием поэта:

En storm får kvarnens vingar att vilt gå runt
i nattens mörker, malande intet. — Du
hålls vaken utav samma lagar.
(Upprörd meditation, 30).
От шторма ночью крылья мельницы бьют,
но ничего не мелют в потемках. — Ты
вот так же бодрствуешь напрасно
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

В переводе предикативное определение с причастием 1 заменяется вторым предикатом с противительным союзом. Тире и двоеточие встречаются и в одном поэтическом отрывке:

Jag kör genom en by om natten, husen stiger fram
i strålkastarskenet — de är vakna, de vill dricka.
Hus, lador, skyltar, herrelösa fordon — det är nu
de ikläder sig Livet. — Människorna sover:
en del kan sova fridfullt, andra har spända anletsdrag
som om låg i hård träning för evigheten (Nocturne, 100).
Еду ночью через деревню — в свете фар встают
дома. Их мучит бессонница, они хотят пить.
Дома, сараи, вывески, бесхозные машины — теперь
они напялили жизнь на себя. — А люди спят:
одни спокойно — у других напряженные лица,
словно они усиленно готовятся к вечности
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

Постановка тире в рамках законченного высказывания в первых двух случаях служит для выражения контраста при олицетворении неживых предметов, встречающихся по сторонам дороги во время ночной поездки. Последнее тире используется для выражения контраста между оживающим миром вещей и спящим миром людей. В том, что содержится после двоеточия, передается увиденное внутренним зрением поэта, недоступное обычному взгляду. Нужно отметить, что в русском переводе место постановки тире в остальных случаях меняется в результате синтаксической трансформации. Первое тире ставится вместо запятой, а та часть оригинала, которой оно предшествовало, выделяется в самостоятельное высказывание с двумя простыми предложениями. Наконец, в последней синтагме после двоеточия появляется еще одно тире вместо запятой.

December. Sverige är ett uppdraget
avtacklat skepp. Mot skymningshimlen står
dess master kärvt. Och skymning varar längre
än dag — den väg som leder hit är stenig:
vid middagstiden först når ljuset fram
och vinterns colosseum reser sig,
belyst från överkliga moln (Epilog, 42).
Декабрь. Швеция, словно вытащенная на сушу
шхуна со снятым такелажем. Мачты ее воткнуты

в сумеречное небо. Сумерки длиннее,
чем день — путь, ведущий сюда, каменист:
лишь к полудню доходит свет,
и тогда зима воздвигает свой колизей,
освещенный нереальными облаками
(Пер. А. Прокопьева).

Постановка тире расширяет поэтическое пространство, позволяя увидеть в ранних декабрьских сумерках короткий день, который предшествует долгой ночи. После двоеточия передается тот глубокий метафорический образ, в котором он представляется поэту.

В одном из стихотворений Тумас Транстрёмер выразил свое поэтическое кредо как средоточие двух миров — внутреннего и внешнего:

Två sanningar närmar sig varann. En kommer inifrån,
en kommer utifrån
och där de möts har man en chans att få se sig själv
(Preludier II, 152).

Две правды сближаются. Одна идет изнутри,
другая извне
и в точке их встречи есть возможность увидеть самого себя
(Пер. А. Афиногеновой).

Создается впечатление, что обе стороны этого мировоззрения находят отражение в его поэтическом синтаксисе. Цепочки однородных членов передают бесконечное многообразие явленной поэту внешней реальности, а особая «плотность» относительных придаточных, нередко распространяющих главную часть в форме назывного предложения, позволяет ему проникнуть во внутренний мир вещей. Для стихотворных произведений Транстрёмера характерно также использование усложненных синтаксических комплексов, в состав которых входят идиоматичные конструкции — распространенные предикативные определения, адвербиальные обороты с предлогом *med*, а также сложное дополнение с инфинитивом. При выборе знаков препинания это отражается в употреблении двоеточия и тире, поскольку постановка тире расширяет границы внешнего мира, делая его изображение многомерным, а двоеточие дает возможность передать увиденное внутренним зрением поэта. Так стихотворная форма

синтаксической структуры позволяет выразить образность поэтического мировосприятия Томаса Транстрёмера и глубину его философского смысла. При переводе используются синтаксические трансформации, обусловленные типологическими различиями между шведским и русским языками, которые позволяют сохранить ритмическую структуру и аллитерационное звучание оригинала.

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THOMAS TRANSTRÖMER'S POETIC SYNTAX AND ITS RUSSIAN TRANSLATION

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The article discusses the syntactic structure of Tomas Tranströmer's poems that reflects the uniqueness of his poetic worldview and the depth of philosophical mean-

ing. Chains of homogenous parts of the sentence, mostly with conjunctionless coordination, are used to reflect the infinite diversity of the outer world as seen through the poetic vision. In these conjunctionless coordinated chains of nominal parts of the sentence — attributes and objects — commas are used for rythmical and expressive purposes, stressing the semantic significance of every component, and facilitate preserving the alliterative sounding of the poem. By contrast, when objects of the outer world are depicted with a negative value as a chaotic mass, commas between the lexemes that refer to them, are absent. Tranströmer's poetic syntax is also characterized by a special "density" of relative clauses introduced with the conjunction *som*, that often expand on the main part in the form of a nominal sentence. They often have a complicated syntactic structure with "cyclic" repetition of the prop-word. Another typical feature of versification in Tranströmer's works is the use of elaborate syntactic compounds which include various constructions — extended predicative attributes, adverbial constructions with the preposition *med*, as well as complex objects with an infinitive. A special function in Tranströmer's syntactic structure is assigned to colons and hyphens. The use of colons makes it possible to express what is only accessible to the poet's inner vision — what is hidden in the past or the future, seen in a dream, and revealing itself in the distant space. The use of hyphens inside sentences and between them expands the limits of the outer world making its image multidimensional. Translating Tranströmer involves the use of syntactic transformations caused by the typological differences between Swedish and Russian. Lexical substitutions can also be found, including the use of Russian words of a higher register, for example, the translation of the relative pronoun *som* 'which' with the conjunction *umo* meaning 'which' but in a higher register and typical of an epic narrative, allows for the preservation of the rythmic structure of the original.

Keywords: Swedish poetry, free verse, syntactic structure, punctuation marks, Russian translation, syntactic transformation, lexical substitution.

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КУЛЬТУРА И КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ СВЯЗИ

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FROM A DIALOGUE OF CULTURES TO A DIALOGUE OF IDEAS: THE SWEDISH THEOSOPHIST EMANUEL SWEDENBORG IN THE PERCEPTION OF THE GERMAN PSYCHIATRIST KARL LEONHARD IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CURRENT DISCUSSION

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This article completes a series of works on the reception of Scandinavian and Dutch cultural heritage in the works of the outstanding German psychiatrist and psychologist Karl Leonhard (1904–1988). His assessments already deserve attention because the portraits of remarkable artists, writers, and thinkers presented in his works, thanks to the research and undoubted literary talent of their author, on the one hand, go beyond the usual pathographies in terms of depth of analysis and mastery of presentation. On

the other hand, the portraits serve as artifacts of an era in the history of medicine, when on the foundation of a cultural dialogue between Russia and Germany a unique dialogue of the German and Russian psychiatric thought developed — something that the historical vicissitudes of the twentieth century could not prevent. The authors of the article make an attempt to bring together the approaches available to the history of culture to study the perception of the personality and work of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) as reflected in Leonhard's last book. Leonhard's assessments not only capture a certain period in the reception history of the Swedish thinker and naturalist in German culture — they are a monument to the peculiar naturalistic culture of German nosological psychiatry, inscribed in the history of medical thought. Clinical experience leads the German psychiatrist to conclude that Swedenborg's diagnosis of schizophrenia in its traditional Kraepelinian sense, which the Russian school of psychiatry is inclined to follow, is wrong, but the German psychiatrist himself comes to the conclusion that Swedenborg has an amalgam type of psychosis — phonemic confabulation paraphrenia. Following Leonhard, the authors of the article examine Swedenborg's works, the testimonies of his contemporaries about him and his family as well as reproduce the picture of symptoms of mental illness taking into account the latest historical, cultural and medical-psychological works about the Swedish mystic. In their critical analysis, the authors emphasize the relevance of the classification of Leonhard's endogenous psychoses, drawing the reader's attention to the evidence about Swedenborg's emotional-volitional and cognitive sphere within the historical and cultural context of 18th century Sweden. In conclusion, the authors announce the publication of the full text of Leonhard's essay translated into Russian with historical, cultural and medical-psychological commentary.

Keywords: Swedenborg, Karl Leonhard, pathography, theosophy, endogenous psychosis, phonemic confabulation paraphrenia, Russian and German schools of psychiatry, nosological and syndromological approach, philosophical anthropology.

Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), son of Jesper Swedberg (1653–1735), professor of theology and bishop of Skara, was destined to enjoy a relatively long life for his time, which was rich in both external events and internal experiences. Looking at Swedenborg's biography, we can mark two distinct periods of his life. The first period of Swedenborg's life as a naturalist and inventor lasted until 1744. It was followed by two years of spiritual change (from 1744 to 1745); this change coincides with a trip to the Netherlands, the details of which will be discussed later. In the second period, which lasted from 1745 until his death, we see a theosophist and a spiritual man who leaves science and mathematics to devote himself entirely to new endeavors.

What Swedenborg wrote is striking not only in content, but also in volume — his works are marked by exceptional verbosity and it would not be an exaggeration to assert that a whole library collection came out from under his pen. His main works include the eight-volume *Arcana*

Cœlestia and such theological writings as *De Coelo et eius mirabilibus, et de inferno, De telluribus, Vera christiana religio, De commercio animae et corporis, Delitiae sapientiae de amore conjugiali, and Expositio Doctrinae Novae Ecclesiae*.

Interest in the Swedish theosophist has varied, but it has always grown during periods of fascination with irrational and mystical things. However, unlike the Anglo-Saxon world and partly Russia, fascination with Swedenborg affects the German culture only tangentially, despite his lifetime and posthumous fame and the undoubted influence that he and his teaching at one time had on the minds of Germans. Of immense importance for the cultural memory of German-speaking Europe is Kant's extensive criticism of Swedenborg's views, which he provides in his essay, "Dreams of the Spirit-Seer", published anonymously in 1766 [Kant, 1966]. There is even a religious movement called Swedenborgianism (the New Church founded after the death of Swedenborg in 1787 in London), numbering about 60,000 followers around the world, mainly in the USA and South and West Africa.

Karl Leonhard (1904–1988), one of the leading German psychiatrists, who left a significant mark not only in clinical medicine, but also general and medical psychology as well as philosophical anthropology, also expressed a breadth of views and demonstrated a wide range of interests. Like Swedenborg, Leonhard's works and his school were accorded a difficult fate: on the one hand, his main works are well known in the Russian translation, moreover, they have been translated not only into English, but also into many other languages; on the other hand, all the vicissitudes of post-war Germany were reflected in the scholar's life: he gained more recognition in East Germany (the same circumstance probably explains his popularity in our country) than in West Germany. His colleagues in the West, giving him, albeit reluctantly, his due, have treated him with restraint. This is due, perhaps, by his not entirely unambiguous role in the abuse of psychiatry in Nazi Germany (we do not have any compromising materials directly), as well as his deontology, which, being advanced for its time, cannot now be accepted unconditionally. Perhaps, the reserved attitude towards Leonhard's work in modern psychiatry is partly due to his professional success and official recognition in the GDR and the countries of the so called Eastern Bloc: we can see a certain parallel in the perception of the image of Otto Prokop, an outstanding specialist in forensic medicine, who is cur-

rently viewed in modern Germany primarily through the prism of his relationship with the East German state and his role in matters related to the deaths of people who tried to illegally escape to West Germany [Benecke, 2013].

Headquartered in Würzburg (Germany), the international Wernicke, Kleist and Leonhard Society is successfully operating while Leonhard's works are widely represented in the catalogs of the largest international medical publishing houses. In Russia, we know Leonhard mainly from his work, *Akzentuierte Persönlichkeiten* [Leonhard, 1976]. In the second part of the book, Leonhard provides thoughtful and surprisingly deep descriptions of the types of personalities that he finds in fiction. He proceeded from the fair assumption that the outstanding writers of the New Age were not only masters of style, but also masters of human understanding, experts on the human soul. It should be noted that of the many writers whose works he analyzes in *Akzentuierte Persönlichkeiten*, he most often refers to the characters created by Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. Therefore, the assertion that this work is a monument to the dialogue of German and Russian culture will be fair. Leonhard really loved literature in his student years, and since then it has become his reliable friend, not only in his leisure hours as a source of aesthetic pleasure, but also in his work, as he draws material for his research from literature [Leonhard, 1995, p.23].

A detailed analysis of Swedenborg's world of emotional experiences is provided in Leonard's last book, *Bedeutende Persönlichkeiten in ihren psychischen Krankheiten* [Leonhard, 1988], which was released after the author's death. This work is structured differently from works created in the genre of psychiatric art history or popular science pathography, the authors of which try to captivate the reader by postulating the anomalous as a source inaccessible to direct understanding and feeling in the artist's world. The book is more appropriately attributed to the genre of post-mortem psychological and psychiatric examination, based on biographical data, testimonies of contemporaries, as well as on works and other archival materials belonging to the subject of examination. An interesting role is assigned by Leonhard to the works of Swedenborg himself: relying on his ideas about the nature of the reflection of a particular pathological process in thinking and, accordingly, in speech, in our case written speech, and comparing the data obtained in this way with his clinical experience the German psy-

chiatrist shows that the pathological process manifests itself according to the same laws both in a creative person and in an ordinary patient. Leonhard, as we shall see, does not criticize Swedenborg's views. He is only interested in the formal features of the great Swede's writings. This is where Leonhard's approach differs from that of Karl Jaspers, who discusses in his essay *Strindberg, Van Gogh and Swedenborg* [Jaspers, 1922] (he was more interested in biographical material), and from the approach of Karl Birnbaum [Birnbaum, 1933], a German-American psychiatrist who postulated the possibility and necessity of explaining the facts of creativity through a psychiatric examination of a biography. It seems that Leonhard chooses the third approach derived from his experience of working as a diagnostician and forensic expert, the one that is similar to the approach of Hans Walter Gruhle [Gruhle, 1955; Gruhle et al., 1967]. Therefore, he focuses primarily on the biography of the artist. The German psychiatrist sees only an indirect reflection of Swedenborg's state of mind in his work. Moreover, with all his adherence to the ideals of positivistic psychiatry, Leonhard is far from thinking about the pathological core of the theosophist's creative work. He is alien to both the ideas of antipsychiatry, whose origins are found in Michel Foucault, and the constructs of the psychoanalytic school in medicine, which views a disease as a specific manifestation of the internal conflict experienced by the patient. For Leonhard, a mental disorder is a disease and a source of suffering. It is not an incomprehensible manifestation of talent. Thus, in the concept of Leonhard, Swedenborg the theosophist does not create thanks to, but contrary to his mental illness. Understanding the essence of this disorder does not satisfy the curiosity of the public, but it does provide the possibility of a deeper penetration into the world of Swedenborg and his works. As we have already noted, this approach is close to Russian psychiatry. For example, Pyotr Gannushkin (1875–1933), whose work is an integral part of European positivist medicine at the turn of the century, which, despite historical upheavals, was involved in both German and Russian psychiatry. He emphasized the importance of a thoughtful, soft, and yet straightforward attitude towards both the sick and healthy, given, among other things, the blurring of the border between norm and pathology [Gannushkin, 2018, p. 42].

The internal affinity of the German and Russian schools is not accidental since they are related by a common methodological approach

that originated in Germany at the end of the 19th century, which is commonly referred to as nosological. It is based on the above positivistic ideological premises and the school proceeds from the fact that a genuine cure or permanent remission in the event that causes and controls the onset of the disease are investigated in detail (works by Emil Kraepelin, Carl Wernicke, Sergei Korsakov, Vladimir Serbsky). Leonhard also worked within the framework of this school. He did a lot to develop the doctrine of the most serious mental illnesses: endogenous (i. e., not caused by any external causes to the patient) psychoses, which included schizophrenia; manic-depressive psychosis; and, until a certain time, epilepsy. Karl Jaspers in the above work comes to the conclusion about the schizophrenic nature of Swedenborg's mental suffering. However, Leonhard, following Eugen Bleuler [Bleuler, 1916] who spoke about "schizophrenias", believes this approach is sufficiently undifferentiated noting that schizophrenia proper inevitably leads to a profound personality defect with dementia and emotional dullness. In the post-war years he developed a detailed classification of endogenous psychoses based on his vast clinical experience. Although the classification proposed by Leonhard is rather cumbersome and, in fact, hardly ever used in full in diagnostic schemes, modern neurophysiology confirms its correctness: the psychoses included in it have different localization in the patient's brain, i. e. different etiology, and, as a result, a different course of the disease and a different outcome. Consequently, becoming acquainted with Leonhard's observations and reasoning will allow for a better understanding of Swedenborg and help to take a fresh look at his work.

Turning to Swedenborg's disease, Leonhard introduces the reader primarily to what was done by his predecessors. He shows his adherence to the medical tradition by mentioning the work, dedicated to borderline mental states, of Carl Georg Wilhelm Pelman (1838–1916) who was an outstanding representative of prenosological psychiatry [Pelman, 1920, p.262–275]. Following Jaspers' acceptance of the possibility of schizophrenia in the Swedish theosophist, he notes that this diagnosis is again highlighted in the current discussion. The subject of analysis is a brief report by Hans Walter Gruhle [Gruhle, 1924], who was inclined to answer the question about Swedenborg's mental illness in the negative, providing examples from the life of European mystics whose experiences he explains by a certain ecstatic mood rather than a mental breakdown. Leonhard disagreed with him, pointing

out that the content and absurdity of Swedenborg's experiences did not allow us to talk about their ecstatic origin. The visions he experienced were not pseudohallucination (with a projection from the inside), but rather of a true hallucinatory character (with a projection from the outside). Emotions could hardly affect Swedenborg's ability to adequately assess the perceived since his second stage of life, marked by the disease, lasted about 30 years. The disease cannot weaken the cognitive sphere of a person over such a period. A careful analysis of not only the phenomenon, but also the follow-up data is a hallmark of the Wernicke-Kleist psychiatric school. These considerations, in overlapping with the classification of endogenous psychoses developed by Leonhard, provide grounds for the hypothesis that Swedenborg can be diagnosed with one of the mosaic systematic psychoses — confabulatory-phonemic paraphrenia. He associates this with the group of systematic disorders of the schizophrenic spectrum while pointing to its dissimilarity with “pure” simple systematic schizophrenia, which is characterized by a specific outcome in the form of a persistent schizophrenic defect with loss of the patient's emotional-volitional and cognitive sphere, expertly illustrated by Anton Chekhov in his *Chamber No 6*.

According to representatives of positivist psychiatry, endogenous psychosis tends to be hereditary. In this regard, Leonhard recalls Swedenborg's father, Bishop Jesper Svedberg, who had a naive faith in miracles and a literal-to-absurd understanding of the Bible: his father, in general, fits into the context of personalities of that era, but there is some merit in the opinion that what was viewed as strange in the structure of the father's personality acquired a clearly pathological character in his son.

Confabulatory paraphrenia has already been described by Kraepelin; it is characterized by fantastic stories of a sensational nature about former travels to other continents, to other planets, stories of a plane crash and collision with an iceberg, lions walking and other “memories”. These stories have two things in common: they talk about events that never happened and carry a sign of absurdity. Confabulation differs from simple ideas in sensory distinctiveness; thereby they are closer to visions. For the subjective experiences of patients, confabulation is indistinguishable from memories. Swedenborg's confabulations constantly mix with theoretical constructions, as a result of which it is hard to understand what he claims merely to confirm his calculations and when we deal with pure confabulations.

Phonemic paraphrenia is characterized by hearing voices that go beyond a first-order symptom of schizophrenia, such as the “sound of thoughts”: it may be the voices of people who speak as if from afar, or the voices of invisible spirits. Swedenborg’s psycho-emotional experiences are especially distinct in his small work, published in 1758 in London, *De telluribus*, which describes other planets and their inhabitants according to the observations of the author who visited them “in spirit”. Moreover, a comparison of this work with Dante’s *Divine Comedy* or Milton’s *Paradise Lost* is hardly possible: Dante and Milton created works of art and treated their creations accordingly, while Swedenborg is convinced of the veracity of his narrative.

One of the characteristic symptoms of phonemic paraphrenia is muscular auditory hallucinations in which patients hear voices not from the outside, but from the throat, from the chest or from the stomach, i. e. there are kinesthetic hallucinations in the muscles which are usually involved in the process of speech generation. However, it is possible that voices are also heard from the elbow, as Swedenborg reports.

The combination of confabulatory and phonemic paraphrenia causes massive visual deceptions of the senses, meaningfully developing from confabulations. Visual hallucinations occur with pure phonemic paraphrenia, but in this case they are indistinct and transient. It should be noted that visual hallucinations for schizophrenic disorders are uncharacteristic, and it is confabulatory-phonemic paraphrenia that is the exception when they are dominant in the picture of the disease. Diagnostic practice makes it possible to differentiate confabulations and visions: confabulations lie in the past and do not affect the patient’s present, while hallucinatory visions are projected into their daily lives and become an integral part. Based on this criterion, it is possible to attribute some of the visions described by Swedenborg to hallucinatory experiences. It is not always possible to draw a clear line between hallucinations and confabulations as they often overlap.

Of particular interest are Swedenborg’s conversations with angels or spirits. For confabulatory paraphrenia it is uncharacteristic to hear isolated voices. Patients report that the characters in their confabulations said something, but cannot comment on what was said. In Swedenborg’s visions, an abundance of conversations and their specificity draw attention to themselves: the acoustic component is overshadowed by the

optical component, which for Leonhard is an additional confirmation of correctly attributing Swedenborg's mental suffering to confabulatory-phonemic paraphrenia.

The mosaic nature of Swedenborg's schizophrenic suffering explains, according to Leonhard, the absence of clearly expressed thinking disorders in the picture of the disease. While it is always possible to identify certain thinking disorders with any single form of systematic paranoid schizophrenia, it is all the more difficult, if at all possible, to do so with combined mosaic forms. Leonhard himself failed to identify cognitive impairments, but his remark about Swedenborg's extraordinary productivity as an author is interesting. This leads him to think of such a symptom as vagueness of thinking, in which patients are unable to achieve in their thoughts the goal that they set for themselves and which they planned to achieve through logical conclusions. Swedenborg really was inclined to write a whole library where another author would have needed only one work; his works are marked by a constant return to what has already been said. However, the fact that vagueness of thinking occurs during phonemic paraphrenia does not confirm this diagnosis, since this symptom is characteristic of a wide range of disorders, including epilepsy, which, as we know, has left a peculiar imprint on the work of Fyodor Dostoevsky [Morgan, 1990].

The absence of emotional flattening is not proof of the non-psychotic nature of Swedenborg's disease: pronounced emotional smoothness is characteristic of outcomes of simple systematic schizophrenia, while patients with confabulatory paraphrenia retain affability with a touch of solemnity due to their own special significance, and this trait balances peacefulness and a lack of emotional expression in patients with phonemic paraphrenia.

The comparatively late manifestation of psychosis in Swedenborg does not at all contradict the diagnosis suggested by Leonhard. An earlier manifestation is inherent in malignant simple systematic schizophrenia, whereas later debuts are often observed in the case of combined paraphrenia.

Thus, the presence of psychotic experiences in combination with a hereditary predisposition allows us to conclude that there is a mental illness of an endogenous nature, while the picture of the disease, compared with current clinical data, makes it possible to match the picture of Swedenborg's disease with a subspecies of combined systematic schizo-

phrenia referred to as the mosaic confabulatory-phonemic paraphrenia identified by Leonhard.

Acquaintance with Leonhard's view of Swedenborg's disease, imprinted in his biography and in his work, would be incomplete if we ignored the question of what was done in this field after the publication of the German scientist's work. It has been over thirty years since Leonhard's book was published. First of all, it is necessary to note that the work of the German psychiatrist went largely unnoticed, as evidenced by the analysis of bibliographies of works published after the publication of Leonhard's book, the reasons for which can be seen both in the language barrier (modern psychiatric science, as a rule, is English-speaking), and in the historical upheavals of the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Regarding the views on the nature of Swedenborg's mental illness, Russian and foreign researchers differ in their views. Following Jaspers, Russian scholars point out the nuclear-schizophrenic nature of the disease, while foreign researchers look for answers outside of mainstream psychiatry. What unites these approaches is the desire to destigmatize Swedenborg and his heritage. Russian psychiatry strives to educate the public in recognizing the possibility of positive creativity for people with schizophrenia, since, as stated in the stable psychiatry textbook for medical schools prepared by leading Russian psychiatrists, "a significant proportion of enduring universal values was created by schizophrenia patients" [Korkina et al., 2006, p. 348]. Most likely, here, we can see a tendency towards a broad understanding of the spectrum of manifestations of this disease in the Russian medical tradition, originating from the Moscow school of psychiatry led by Andrei Snezhnevsky. Although general contemporary German and Anglo-Saxon psychiatry have no interest in psychopathological cultural studies, resulting in a certain degree of freedom for cultural studies scholars, certain medical studies devoted to Swedenborg reveal two general opinions about his illness: some lean towards schizophrenia and others towards epilepsy (possibly temporal lobe [Foote-Smith, 1996]), accompanied by psychotic symptoms. Up until now, the question is often left open, which, in general, is justified given the non-positivist sentiments in modern medicine and psychology [Johnson, 1994]. In modern German cultural studies, interest in Swedenborg is strongly connected with the work of Constantin Rauer on Kant: it was not his criticism of Hume, but his criticism of Swedenborg's ideas that became the impetus for the Königsberg philosopher's

new, critical period of creativity. It is suggested that Kant in a polemic with Swedenborg anticipated Jaspers' diagnosis, of course not knowing there was something we now call schizophrenia, which then is followed by arguments confirming the claim about Swedenborg's schizophrenia [Rauer, 2007]. Nevertheless, there are many reservations about experiments of this kind: therefore, Rauer's work is interesting not so much for Swedenborg's diagnosis as for his analysis of Kant's polemic with the Enlightenment thinkers [Rauer, 2007, p. 70].

Our acquaintance with Leonhard's undoubtedly creative attempt to penetrate the spiritual world of the outstanding Swedish naturalist and thinker allows us to conclude that the versatility of the concept of the German psychiatrist provides more for understanding the nature and characteristics of Swedenborg's mental suffering than approaches based, on the one hand, on the idea of the existence of only two endogenous psychoses, and on the other hand, on the traditions of the syndromological school. The authors of this article express their modest hope for the publication in the near future of the full commented text of Leonhard's essay on Swedenborg in Russian, which, we believe, will be interesting not only to those professionally engaged in the history of Swedish culture, but also to a wide range of readers.

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**ОТ ДИАЛОГА КУЛЬТУР К ДИАЛОГУ ИДЕЙ: ШВЕДСКИЙ ТЕОСОФ
ЭММАНУИЛ СВЕДЕНБОРГ В ВОСПРИЯТИИ НЕМЕЦКОГО ПСИХИАТРА
КАРЛА ЛЕОНГАРДА В КОНТЕКСТЕ АКТУАЛЬНОЙ ДИСКУССИИ**

Для цитирования: *Koryshev M., Ivanova E., Petersen K., Schmidt K. From a dialogue of cultures to a dialogue of ideas: The Swedish theosophist Emanuel Swedenborg in the perception of the German psychiatrist Karl Leonhard in the context of the current discussion // Скандинавская филология. 2020. Т. 18. Вып. 2. С. 394–408. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2020.212>*

Предлагаемая статья завершает цикл работ о рецепции скандинавского и нидерландского культурного наследия в творчестве выдающегося немецкого психиатра и психолога Карла Леонгарда (1904–1988). Его оценки заслуживают внимания уже потому, что представленные в его работах портреты замечательных художников, писателей, мыслителей благодаря исследовательскому и несомненному литературному таланту их автора, с одной стороны, выходят за пределы обычных патографий и по глубине анализа, и по мастерству изложения, а с другой стороны — являются своеобразным памятником целой эпохи в истории медицины, когда на фундаменте культурного диалога между Россией и Германией сложился уникальный диалог германской и российской психиатрической мысли, воспрепятствовать которому не могли исторические перипетии XX века. Авторы статьи предпринимают попытку свести воедино имеющиеся в распоряжении истории культуры подходы для изучения особенностей восприятия личности и творчества Эммануила Сведенборга (1688–1772), нашедшего отражение в последней книге Леонгарда. В оценках Леонгарда не только запечатлен определенный период в истории рецепции творчества шведского мыслителя и естествоиспытателя в немецкой культуре — они являют собой памятник своеобразной натуралистической культуры немецкой нозологической психиатрии, вписанной в историю медицинской мысли. Клинический опыт подводит немецкого психиатра к выводу, что диагностика шизофрении у Сведенборга в ее традиционном крепелиновском понимании, к чему склоняется и российская школа психиатрии, ошибочна, сам же немецкий психиатр приходит к выводу о наличии у Сведенборга психоза амальгамного типа — конфабуляторно-фонемической парафрении. Авторы статьи вслед за Леонгардом исследуют работы Сведенборга, свидетельства его современников о нем самом и о его семье и воспроизводят картину симптомов психического заболевания с учетом данных новейших историко-культурных и медико-психологических работ о шведском мистике, сопровождаемых критическим анализом, подчеркивая при этом акту-

альность классификации эндогенных психозов Леонгарда и акцентируя внимание на свидетельствах об особенностях эмоционально-волевой и когнитивной сферы Сведенборга в историко-культурном контексте Швеции XVIII века. В заключение авторы работы анонсируют издание полного текста очерка Леонгарда в русском переводе с историко-культурными и медико-психологическими комментариями.

Ключевые слова: Сведенборг, Карл Леонгард, патография, теософия, эндогенный психоз, конфабulatorно-фонемическая парафрения, российская и германская школы психиатрии, нозологический и синдромологический подход, философская антропология.

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**REDISCOVERING RUSSIAN-SCANDINAVIAN RELATIONS:
THE ROLE OF MEDIEVAL RUSSIAN WATERWAYS**

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This article challenges the Scandinavian silence of medieval Russian-Scandinavian relations and presents a field study (2017) of the medieval waterway Put' iz varjag v greki (the route from the Varangians to the Greeks) as a key to reopen awareness and provide new knowledge of these influential relations. The article more specifically argues that in order to understand the cultural and religious transformations in Scandinavia in the years 800–1200 it is necessary to reimagine Scandinavia with significant relations to Russia, and in light of that reconsider the entire literary evidence. The hypothesis is that field studies according to the oldest sources can substantiate these contacts and thereby allow us to review the literary evidence. As a literary proof of relations, the article outlines and discusses medieval Eastern and Western sources according to the signifiers “Rus” and “Varangians”. Furthermore, it considers the problems with former field studies and presents the findings of the new study. The findings show that travel to and from Russia and further east along the Russian rivers was within normal medieval travel-time, and at its core there was cooperation and exchange with the local population. Finally, in light of the findings the article gives a preliminary reinterpretation of the textual evidence of exchange in the period of the Danish King Harald Blathooth and the Russian Prince Vladimir the Great. It proposes that exchanges influenced the religious transformations in both Denmark and Russia.

Keywords: Russian-Scandinavian relations, the route from the Varangians to the Greeks, Old Rus', Rus', Varangians, Russian waterways, medieval Russian boats, cultural exchange, Povest' vremennyh let, Vladimir the Great, Harald Blathooth, Medieval Europe, Old Norse-Icelandic literature.

“At the same time, it must be said that the influx of eastern elements to the north must not be arbitrarily isolated, but rather must be viewed against the broad background of a comprehensive cultural importation in other areas as well”.

Danish philologist Adolf Stender-Petersen, raised in St. Petersburg

1. INTRODUCTION

A significant number of texts describe Russian-Scandinavian¹ relations in the Middle Ages². They present material evidence that people for centuries travelled between Scandinavia and Russia. En route, they exchanged new ideas, unique customs, spectacular legends, stylish garments, and a variety of goods. This paved the way for cultural and religious transformation in Scandinavia and Russia.

However, as Roman Kovalev argues, “Russia came to be written out of Medieval Europe” [Kovalev, 2015, p. 158], and because of this, medieval Russian-Scandinavian relations (MRSR) disappeared from the historical discourse in Scandinavia³. This is apparent in several Danish monographs [Fabricius, 1934; Koch, 1950; Koch, 1967; Sawyer, 1988; Lausten, 1989; Nyberg, 2002; Mcguire, 2009]⁴.

One likely explanation of this scientific silence is geographical. There is still no sufficient proof of the routes connecting far away medieval

¹ This article uses Russia as a name for Old Rus and the Old Russian state circa 800–1200. Within research, another name is Kievan-Rus. Old Norse-Icelandic literature names Old Rus and the Old Russian state Gardar or Gardaríke. Jackson discusses the development of these names in Old-Nordic texts [Jackson, 2019, p. 65–69]. The main textual source of Russia in this period is the Russian chronicle *Povest' vremennyh let*.

² The era around 500–1400.

³ It is unclear precisely why and exactly when this happened. Evidence points to the first centuries following the division of the Christian Church in 1054.

⁴ Four exceptions are the works of the philologists Gunnar O. Svane and Adolf Stender-Petersen, and the historian John H. Lind and archaeologist Søren M. Sindbæk. By great effort, Svane translated the Russian chronicle *Povest' vremennyh let* and other medieval Russian texts into Danish [Svane, 1983, 1989]. Stender-Petersen studied the influence of Eastern tales in medieval Scandinavian literature [Stender-Petersen, 1934]. Lind has more extensively studied MRSR [Lind, 2016, 2017], and Sindbæk studied the trade routes and networks connecting Scandinavia and Russia [Sindbæk, 2003, 2007, 2013].

Russian settlements with Scandinavia. We do not know for sure if the main waterway Put' iz varjag v greki (PIVG), the route from the Varangians to the Greeks, as it is described in the Russian chronicle *Povest' vremennyh let* (PVL) and in the Byzantine text *De administrando imperio* (DAI), existed and was frequently travelled by Scandinavians. Notwithstanding material evidence, this geographical uncertainty is a mental barrier to our understanding of relations between medieval Russia and medieval Scandinavia.

Another possible explanation is the literary evidence investigated by Danish scholars. The focus of interest has been Western sources (written in Latin) with few indications of relations, and Old Norse-Icelandic texts, which are predominantly fictional. A third and equally probable explanation is limited exchange of research between Scandinavia and Russia, and few interdisciplinary studies.

This article argues that in order to understand the cultural and religious transformations in Scandinavia in the years 800–1200, it is necessary to investigate if Russia, as supported by evidence and claimed by Kovalev, was part of Medieval Europe⁵ with significant relations with Scandinavia. If this is true, we must reconsider the literary evidence, including the Eastern sources, with the methods of both theology and history, as well as literary science⁶. The article, furthermore, argues that the key to this investigation is field studies of medieval Russian waterways. Field studies can verify 1) if PIVG existed and was frequently used, and 2) if Scandinavians, as described in DAI, sailed in small and simple locally constructed boats from the Russian part of PIVG. If this verification is possible, it will imply that medieval travel along PIVG was in itself an expression of exchange (due to transfer of boat technology). Moreover, we will have proof of frequent travel between Russia and Scandinavia. This will provide a basis on which to reexamine the non-fictional ele-

⁵ Christian Raffensberger advances the same claim [Raffensberger, 2012]. However, Kovalev argues that Raffensberger goes too far in his attempt to place Old Rus within a Medieval Europe of the Latin rite: “Rus’ should not be excluded from the study of medieval Europe, although its precise place in it still needs to be located. But to do so, it is necessary to reimagine “Europe” and perhaps one way to do so is to expand, diversify its parameters to include Kievan-Rus’, without compromising the latter’s uniqueness” [Kovalev, 2016, p. 187].

⁶ Revision of the texts is also the argument of Jackson [Jackson, 2019, p. 172]. Here, the question of genre is important and the fact that it is difficult to discern non-fictional elements from the sagas [Finlay, 2014].

ments within the fictional evidence of Old Norse-Icelandic literature, together with the evidence in both Eastern and Western sources, and the much stronger material evidence in archaeological finds⁷.

The article first outlines the Eastern and Western literary evidence of Scandinavian-Russian relations according to the signifiers “Rus” and “Varangians”, and then presents the field study of PIVG accomplished by the author in 2017, which situated Russia within normal medieval travel-time. Finally, in view of this study, it offers a preliminary reinterpretation of the textual evidence of exchange between Russia and Scandinavia in the period of the Danish king Harald Bluetooth (c. 911–986) and the Russian prince Vladimir the Great (c. 948–1015).

2. THE EASTERN AND WESTERN LITEARY EVIDENCE

There is solid material evidence of medieval Scandinavian-Russian encounters [Noonan, 1980, Franklin, Shepard, 1998; Lebedev, 2005; Kovalev, 2012; Bjerg, Lind, Sindbæk, 2013; Androshchuk, 2016; Makarov, 2017]. Different types of artifacts from Scandinavia have been found in kurgans (burial mounds with internal chambers) and hoards in the vicinity or within the early settlements along the rivers in Russia. Artifacts as far as the Near East was transported via Russian waterways to Scandinavia. In addition, there exist a large number of texts in different literary genres with indications and evidence. The Russian scholar Tatjana N. Jackson has listed eight different genres within the Old Norse-Icelandic evidence:

“Skaldic poetry, runic inscriptions, sagas (Islandinga-, konunga-, fornaldersögur), chronicles, books of homilies, and lives of saints, geographical treatises, and annals” [2019, p. 171].

Jackson has convincingly analysed the presence of MRSR, including royal marriages, in these texts. Regarding the runic texts, she states two important proofs:

“They supersede fourfold the number of Scandinavian memorial runic inscriptions connected with western activities” [2019, p. 8].

“They point to good acquaintance of Scandinavians with the East European territory, and mostly with the main sea and river routes from the Baltic to the

⁷ Likewise, the Russian scholar Gleb Lebedev saw field studies of PIVG as the key to the much-debated Varangian question [Lebedev, 2020].

Black and the Caspian Seas, as well as to various long-established contacts between Scandinavia and Eastern Europe” [2019, p. 9].

However, Old Norse-Icelandic literature is part of a much larger textual complex, with both Western and several Eastern texts in Slavic, Koine Greek and Arabic. Some texts are concurrent; others, like most of the Old Norse-Icelandic texts, refer to earlier times and/or are relying on older texts (Table 1).

Table 1. Western and Eastern texts with “Rus” and “Varangians”

Written in Slavic	Written in Latin (Western evidence)
Povest' vremennyh let, c. 1100 (The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian text) Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis', c. 1000– 1400 (The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1171)	The annals of St-Bertin, c. 839 Descriptio civitatum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii, c. 840–880 The works of Luidprand of Cremona, c. 960
Written in Koine Greek	Written in Arabic
Georgios Monachus, c. 860 The homilies of Photius, c. 860 The life of St. George of Amastris, c. 900 Leonis Imperatoris Tactica, c. 900 De administrando imperio, c. 950 De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae, c. 950 John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057, c. 1057 Strategikon of Kekaumenos, c. 1078 The Alexiad, c. 1148	The book of routes and provinces, c. 850 Ibn Rustah's Book of precious things, c. 900 Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia, c. 920 The book of countries, c. 950 El-Mas'udis's Meadows of gold and mines of gems, c. 950 The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'L- Ta'Rikh, c. 1230

In these texts, “Rus” and “Varangians” are signifiers of Scandinavian presence and activity. “Rus” occurs most often in the texts. PVL, Old-Nordic-Icelandic and some Byzantine texts (The Alexiad, Strategikon of Kekaumenos) use “Varangians”⁸. Both “Rus” and “Varangians” signify individuals and groups of individuals from Scandinavia, but also

⁸ The earliest textual evidence of “Rus” is from 839, and of “Varangians” from around 1080. Use of “Varangians” is not present in DAI. It occurs several times in Heimskringla, the history of the kings of Norway written by Snurra Sturluson in the 13th century.

from other regions of medieval Europe, including Russia itself. Two Arabic texts speak of “Rus” as the name of a group of different ethnicities, including people from the north and Russia⁹.

Contrary to the predominant silence of MRSR within Danish research, these texts, like Old Norse-Icelandic literature, indicate a frequent exchange, typically by men engaged in trade and warfare in Russia and further south and east. They reveal, in line with material evidence, that Russia (known in Scandinavia as Gardar or Gardaríki) in the Middle Ages was more than a transit area. As geographical studies demonstrate, Russia constituted the heart of trade routes between north and south, east and west. The texts indicate that the exchange took place during a long period (at least two centuries), and over long distances (around 6,000 kilometres). Scandinavians travelled via Russia much further than Eastern Europe, as far as Byzantium, Rome, what is now Israel, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Afghanistan. As a piece of literary evidence, runic inscriptions have been found along PIVG, on the island of Berezan where the river Dnepr empties into the Black Sea, and in Byzantium. [Jackson, 2019; Jansson, 1964].

3. FIELD STUDY OF PIVG

PIVG has, as Christian Raffensberger [Raffensberger, 2012, p. 856] claims, been the main analytical framework regarding Rus’ and Medieval Europe¹⁰. The Russian scholar Gleb Lebedev states that PIVG “should be assessed by modern scholars as the first and earliest example of international cooperation, by way of cultural and human communications, in the construction of Europe” [Lebedev, 2005, p. 378]. Moreover, PIVG, according to Lebedev, “promoted urbanization in Scandinavia, from Birka and Haithabu, to Sigtuna, Oslo, Nidaros, Bergen, Aarhus, Roskilde, Lund and Visby, among others” [Lebedev, 2005, p. 377].

⁹ “The Russians consist of several different nations and distinct hordes.” [El-Mas’udis, p. 416]. “The Russians are divided into three tribes; one lives near the Bulgarians; their king lives in the city of Kuthaba, which is larger than Bulgar. The second tribe is called Slaven, and the third Uthanie; your king lives in Arba.” [Ebu Issak, p. 106]. Interestingly, PVL includes “Rus” among “Varangians”: “They accordingly went overseas to the Varangian Rus’: these particular Rus’ were known as Varangians” [PVL, p. 59].

¹⁰ Other routes existed. Rivers such as Dvina, Dniester and Volga were part of a larger medieval system of Russian waterways.



Figure. PIVG according to PVL. Map elaborated by Thomas Frank on the basis of <https://mapswire.com>

PVL and DAI outline the itinerary of PIVG, and DAI in detail describes the boats used, circumstances regarding the river and sea, and the dangers from hostile tribes along the way. These two texts make it possible to reconstruct PIVG (see figure).

“When the Polyanians lived by themselves among the hills, a trade-route connected the Varangians with the Greeks [Put’ iz varjag v greki]. Starting from Greece, this route proceeds along the Dnieper, above which a portage leads to the Lovat’. By following the Lovat’, the great lake Il’men’ is reached. The river Volkhov flows out of this lake and enters the great lake Nevo. The mouth of this lake opens into the Varangian Sea. Over this sea goes the route to Rome, and on from Rome overseas to Tsar’grad. The Pontus, into which flows the river Dnieper, may be reached from that point” [PVL, p. 53].

“The monoxyla¹¹ which come down from outer Russia to Constantinople are from Novgorod, where Sviatoslav, son of Igor, prince of Russia, had his seat,

¹¹ “Monoxyla” literally means boats made from one tree trunk. In addition to the reference in DAI, these boats are mentioned in other Byzantine sources [Tactica

and others from the city of Smolensk and from Teliutza and Chernigov and from Vyshegrad. All these come down the river Dnieper and are collected together at the city of Kiev [...] And in the month of June, they move off down the river Dnieper.” [DAI, p. 57–59]

Today, PIVG and the Russian waterways have changed on larger stretches because of power stations. The cataracts of PIVG mentioned in DAI have been overflowed. Along the Ukrainian part, there are large areas of sea, where river valleys before defined the landscape. Moreover, entire river sections in the Russian part have been abandoned. Vegetation now dominates these parts. Lastly, since the Middle Ages, geography has changed due to uplift and natural changes of the river flow. Therefore, it is no longer possible to explore PIVG exactly as it was in medieval times. Still, studies of old maps, satellite photos and the oldest known descriptions of the route make it possible to reconstruct a likely route of PIVG.

3.1. Former studies: their successes, biases and problems

The Russian, Swedish and Norwegian field studies in 1985–2016 [Lebedev, Zhvitchashvili, 2000; Edberg, 2017; Nylén, 1986, Widberg, 2016] achieved some success. Nevertheless, questions remain. All these studies had the same problematic bias concerning the Russian inland waterways and the Black Sea: the idea that Scandinavians used their own much larger, heavier and more technically refined ships on the entire length of PIVG. As mentioned and seen above, this is contrary to the description of boats in DAI. Moreover, it is not entirely consistent with Russian research and material evidence at Veliky Novgorod, Staraja Ladoga and Gnezdovo [Murasheva, Malysheva, 2017; Sorokin, 2020].

These field studies experienced serious challenges on parts of the route, and none of these expeditions journeyed the full length of the PIVG. Some had to move the boats long distances over land because of the size of the boats. Their results demonstrated that travel by Russian waterways in these boat types, compared to other medieval travel, was very difficult and time-consuming. As an example, the Swedish expedi-

of Leo VI; the works of Luidprand of Cremona; A Synopsis of Byzantine history]. The archeologist Ole Crumlin-Pedersen has studied the importance of this boat type [Crumlin-Pedersen, Jensen, 2018].

tions in 1994 and 1996 (from Sweden to the outflow of the River Dnepr in the Black Sea) took 113 days without the days spent for transport.

Though they provide important evidence about travel on the Baltic Sea, none of these studies can sufficiently claim to corroborate the textual and material evidence. In fact, the results of these studies suggest, as DAI claims, that Scandinavians needed to use smaller locally made boats as early on PIVG as Veliky Novgorod or even Staraja Ladoga.

3.2. An alternative theory

In 2003, the Danish archaeologist Søren M. Sindbæk presented an elaborated theory of winter transport. According to him, use of sledges was probable along the Northern section of PIVG (from Staraja Ladoga to Gnezdovo) [Sindbæk, 2003]. Part of his argument was the results of the former field studies [Sindbæk, 2003, p. 182] — specifically, the fact that they proved PIVG to be a very difficult and time-consuming route to sail in Scandinavian ships from the period. His model of transport also found support in archaeological finds from Staraja Ladoga and Veliky Novgorod, and in similar ideas by the Russian archaeologist Alexander M. Miklyaev [Miklyaev, 1992]. This theory, together with the ideas of Miklyaev, will have to be revised if convincing evidence is found for frequent use of smaller local boats.

3.3. Hypothesis and results

The hypothesis of the field study in 2017 was that PIVG, from Staraja Ladoga to Constantinople, could be conquered in simple and smaller locally built boats, and faster than previous studies showed. This would prove the exchange of boat technology and a high frequency of travel, and thereby overall strong and vivid MRSR.

First, the results of the field study, which was made during autumn, substantiated the itinerary of PIVG and DAI's claim of smaller boats. In 59 days, it was possible for one man to travel the entire length of PIVG from Russia by rowing a small boat weighing circa 60 kilograms, including provisions, and 5.5 metres long, similar to some finds of monoxyla [Crumlin-Pedersen, Jensen, 2018, p. 14–15] (Table 2).

At speeds between three and four knots and against the current, it took four days to sail from Staraja Ladoga to Veliky Novgorod, from Veliky Novgorod against the current to the first dragging point 11 days,

and from there three days to Gnezdovo at the river Dnepr. From Gnezdovo, it took ten days at speeds over four knots and with the current to Kiev. From Kiev, it took 15 days at speeds over four knots and with the current to the place where Dnepr flows into the Black Sea. From the outflow of Dnepr to Constantinople, it took 16 days under good weather conditions. Here it was proved, as DAI claims, that is possible to use small boats (“monoxyla”) on the Black Sea. The entire length of the reconstructed and tested PIVG was around 3500 kilometres. Besides the 59 days, five days were spent on layover. The average speed against the current until Gnezdovo was around 3.5 knots, with the current, and on the Black Sea around four knots.

Table 2. PIVG from Russia. Distances and days spent with rest during nights.
Thomas Frank, 2020

Start	End	River and Sea	Days	Distance (km)
Staraja Ladoga	Veliky Novgorod	Volkov	4	210
Veliky Novgorod	Kholm	Lovat	7	461
Kholm	1. dragging point/Usvjaty	Lovat	4	743
1. dragging point	2. dragging point/Gnezdovo	Kaspla/Udra	3	898
Gnezdovo	Kiev	Dnepr	10	1,719
Kiev	Kerson	Dnepr	15	2,690
Kerson	Constantinople	Black Sea	16	3,533
			59	

In theory, even fewer days would have been necessary, when travelling during nights and with speeds known from antiquity: a high average of six knots and an extreme fast speed of eight knots. Moreover, calculations by ORBIS, the Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World, reveal that instead of 16 days on the Black Sea, as few as six days were necessary¹².

¹² Interestingly, the return, from Gnezdovo to Staraja Ladoga, with the current, would be several days faster. Likewise, the return from Kiev and Kerson, against the current to Gnezdovo, would demand more time. Into consideration must be taken,

3.4. Results compared

Though PIVG from Russia was travelled in a smaller boat and much faster than previous studies, the results need to be compared to normal medieval travel-time.

Medieval texts indicate normal travel-time¹³. Adam of Bremen wrote in *Gesta Hamburgensis* around the year 1000 that it took 14 days to sail from Harald Bluetooth's settlement Wolin in present-day Poland to Russia. Unfortunately, there is no account of where in Russia (the field study points at two likely places, Staraja Ladoga and Veliky Novgorod). In a source from the late ninth century [Lund, 1983], Ottar reports that he, from his home in Helgoland (in Norway) travelled an entire month to Kaupang (near the present city of Oslo). The Scandinavian seafarer Wulfstan, in the same source, states that it took him seven days and nights to sail from the Danish trade city Haithabu (Modern day Schleswig in Germany) to Truso in present-day Poland [Lund, 1983]. Compared to evidence of similar and frequent travels in antiquity, these numbers are convincing [Casson, 1951]. This means it is reasonable to say that 5-30 days were normal medieval travel-time on sea.

In addition, skaldic poetry and sagas mention 12 Russian towns, among them Staraja Ladoga 40 times [Jackson, 2019, p.85]. *Gesta Danorum* mentions places related to the PIVG about 50 times. In other words, together with the material evidence, this literary evidence and PVL connect Scandinavian travels to Russia.

The compared results of the field study, with rather few days between the known settlements along PIVG [Franklin, Shepard, 1998; Sindbæk, 2003; Lebedev, 2005; Androshchuk, Shepard, White, 2016; Makarov, 2017] Staraja Ladoga, Veliky Novgorod, Kholm, Usvjaty, Gnezdovo and Kiev (see table 2), place PIVG, at least as far as Kiev, within normal medieval Scandinavian travel-time by sea. Therefore, as DAI indicates, it is reasonable to propose that Scandinavians, even though they needed assistance, did not consider travel on Russian waterways to be a one-way expedition. Moreover, it was frequent, compared to medieval travel in general, as suggested by literary sources and material evidence. Familiar

that the field study was made in autumn, with less water in the rivers and fewer hours of light to navigate safely. These circumstances will be investigated, in a forthcoming field study in spring 2021.

¹³ Further development of this concept is necessary. It will be part of a forthcoming field study in spring 2021.

travel-times between Russian settlements gave Scandinavians courage to sail further and further to the East, and travel to and from the settlements, without the necessity of overwintering.

4. RECONSIDERING THE LITERARY EVIDENCE OF EXCHANGE IN THE PERIOD OF THE DANISH KING HAROLD BLUETHOOTH AND THE RUSSIAN PRINCE VLADIMIR THE GREAT

The verification of frequent medieval travel in simple locally made boats on Russian waterways, and sometimes all the way to Constantinople, allows us preliminarily to reconsider the textual evidence in the time of the Danish king Harold Bluetooth and the Russian prince Vladimir the Great. In PVL, there are indications of massive and lively traffic between Scandinavia and Russia in 850–980. In the year 941, PVL remarks that “Igor began to collect a great army and sent many messengers after the Varangians beyond the sea, inviting them to attack the Greeks, for he desired to make war upon them” [PVL, p.72]. This article, in line with Androshchuk [Androshchuk, 2016], proposes that Denmark was among the recruitment areas, and as Saxo and Njal’s saga indicate that Harald Bluetooth had contacts with Russia and most likely was in Old Rus’ far beyond Staraja Ladoga.

“When Gorm was dead, Harald was eager to increase the reputation of the kingdom he had inherited from him, by excellent brave exploits, and he therefore sailed with a Viking fleet to the east and ravaged the sea around there” [Gesta Danorum, s. 383].

“The king [Harald Bluetooth] gave him [Gunnar] a dress of honour, a pair of gold-stitched gloves and a headband with gold knots on it, as well as a hat from Gardar” [Njal’s saga, chap. 31].

Both Gesta Danorum and PVL are quiet about associations between Scandinavian kings and Russian princes. They did, however, exist, as we know from the evidence of several royal marriages [Jackson, 2019; Hermanson, Magnusdottir, 2016]. According to archaeology, the heyday of MRSR was in the period when Harald lived, in the last half of the tenth century [Franklin, Shepard, 1996; Avdusin, Puskina, 1988; Mukarov, 2017]. Harald Bluetooth must have known of the existence of the Russian prince Oleg and his wife Olga, who were baptized in Constantinople, and their son Sviatoslav, and their grandson Vladimir the Great. The hat mentioned in Njal’s saga could be a proof of that. On the

other hand, Vladimir the Great is likely to have met Harald Bluetooth when he went to Scandinavia to gather troops around 977. According to PVL, he stayed there for three years. In that context, we must examine the establishment of the hillforts during Harald's reign at that exact time¹⁴. Within reach of normal travel as Russia and Scandinavia were from each other (as indicated by the field study), influential exchange in both directions took place.

It is reasonable, and in line with Lebedev [Lebedev, 2005] to propose religious exchange in the period of the Danish king Harald Bluetooth and the Russian prince Vladimir the Great. The hypothesis to put forward is that Harald Bluetooth's relations to Russia played a role in his religious transformation of Denmark around 965 [Koch, 1967; Lausten, 1989]. Conversely, many of the troops recruited by Vladimir the Great in the time of Harald, who assisted him in establishing his reign, might have been recently baptized in Denmark¹⁵. That could have influenced Vladimir's religious transformation of Old Rus' around 988, according to PVL.

5. CONCLUSION

Russian-Scandinavian relations were written out of Medieval Europe in spite of ample material evidence, Eastern and Western sources, and many possible non-fictional elements in the Old Norse-Icelandic literature. An effort to write Russia back into Scandinavian history was made with the present field study. This is in line with previous efforts, especially those of Stender-Petersen, Svane, Noonan, Lebedev, Raffensberger, Kovalev, Edberg, Widerberg, Androshchuk, Lind, Sindbæk and Jackson. The field study of Put' iz varjag v greki rediscovered a central Russian-Scandinavian waterway. Russia in the Middle Ages was rather close to Scandinavian coasts and inlands, as imagined in the dramatic stories in Old Norse-Icelandic sagas. It was within normal medieval travel-time. More Scandinavian scholars need to include MRSR in their research. We must picture groups of medieval Scandinavians living with

¹⁴ Androshchuk [2016, p.108] argues that the technology to construct the hillforts came to Denmark from Byzantium. If that is correct, this could have been via Vladimir.

¹⁵ Thietmar writes around 1000 that Kiev was full of Danes [The Chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg].

Russia geographically and culturally as an integral part of their identity and mental map, as pointed out by Jackson [Jackson, 2019].

The frequent medieval travels along PIVG included at their core cooperation and exchange with the local population. Friendships grew, and by the time Scandinavians became integrated in Russia. 10th-century Danish history must be seen through the lenses of these exchanges. Otherwise, we cannot understand the religious and cultural transformations in Scandinavia and particularly Denmark. Here, Scandinavian research can benefit from Russian research. Just as exchange was the prerequisite for accomplishing PIVG, it is today a prerequisite to rediscover and revive its colourful history. In the words of Raffensberger, we need to reimagine Medieval Europe [Raffensberger, 2012].

In spring 2021, another field study will take place. The idea is to follow Russian waterways further east in a boat, as described in DAI and built in Russia by a master who has been taught the craft by his ancestors. The expectation is that this study will provide more knowledge and even stronger evidence of the exchanges via the waterways, which connected Russia and Scandinavia, and with great consequences for both. This coming study will, like the one accomplished in 2017, take up the idea envisioned by the Russian scholar Gleb Lebedev that “the time has come to examine the ancient water-route with pre-sailing boats powered exclusively by oars” [Gleb, 2005, p. 384].

ABBREVIATIONS

DAI: De administrando imperio
MRSR: Medieval Russian-Scandinavian relations
PVL: Povest' vremennyh let
PIVG: Put' iz varjag v greki

MEDIEVAL SOURCES

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**ПОВТОРНОЕ ОТКРЫТИЕ РУССКО-СКАДИНАВСКИХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ:
РОЛЬ СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫХ РУССКИХ ВОДНЫХ ПУТЕЙ**

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Автор статьи обращается к забытой теме русско-скандинавских отношений в Средние века и рассматривает полевое исследование (2017) средневекового водного «Пути из варяг в греки» с целью привлечения внимания к теме и получения новых знаний о важных для России и Скандинавии отношениях. Для понимания культурных и религиозных трансформаций в Скандинавии в IX–XIII веках необходимо по-новому взглянуть на северные страны в аспекте значимых отношений с Россией, и в свете этого пересмотреть все имеющиеся литературные свидетельства. По мнению автора, полевые исследования, основанные на древнейших источниках, могут подтвердить значимость таких контактов и тем самым позволят пересмотреть имеющиеся литературные свидетельства. В качестве доказательства этих отношений в статье представлены и обсуждаются средневековые восточные и западные источники, содержащие упоминание о Руси и варягах, а также затрагиваются проблемы, связанные с прежними полевыми исследованиями. Результаты нового полевого исследования, представленные в статье, показывают, что путешествие в Россию и далее на восток по русским ре-

кам по времени соответствует обычному средневековому времени путешествия, и целью такого путешествия было сотрудничество и обмен с местным населением. В свете полученных результатов дается предварительное переосмысление текстовых свидетельств об обмене в период правления датского короля Харальда Синезубого (ок. 911–986) и русского князя Владимира (ок. 948–1015). На основе исследования автором выдвигается предположение, что торговый и культурный обмен повлиял на религиозные преобразования как в Дании, так и в России.

Ключевые слова: русско-скандинавские отношения, путь из варяг в греки, Древняя Русь, Русь, варяги, русские водные пути, средневековые русские лодки, культурный обмен, Повесть временных лет, Владимир Святославич, Харальд Синезубый, Средневековая Европа, древнескандинавско-исландская литература.

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