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## ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

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### WOMAN, GIRL AND WIFE IN SWEDISH AND RUSSIAN COMPARATIVE PAREMIAS

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The article deals with Swedish and Russian proverbs about *girl*, *woman*, and *wife*, which have a comparative structure. We propose a classification of the paremias of two languages from the structural perspective, identify categories and productive models of the proverbial languages, and show general and national-culturally determined attitudes verbalized by paremiological units. This leads us to conclude that proverbs with an explicit comparison, with the help of formal linguistic means, opposition and metaphors, prevail in both Swedish and Russian. Structural differences lie in the presence of a large-scale category of paremias expressing the position of the subjects of comparison with the common predicate in the Swedish language; in the Russian language there are units expressing comparison through negation. Most Swedish paremias characterize a woman as opposed to a man, and the wife is presented diffusely and is rarely formally separated from the general idea of a woman; Russian units separately single out the wife as the leading woman's status in family life. A small number of paremias of both languages are dedicated to the unmarried girl. Both in Swedish and Russian proverbs the masculine view dominates, which is due to the time of origin of these linguistic units, in which a negative assessment of woman prevails. In both Swedish and Russian paremias, a woman is endowed with such qualities as talkativeness, quarrelsomeness, stupidity, and excessive emotionality. In the units of the two languages, an evil woman

is marked. The differences lie in the attitude verbalized in the proverbs of the two languages, to the physical impact on a woman by a man, in a negative assessment of the beautiful appearance of the wife in Russian paremias, as well as in the thematic areas of the images used. If Swedish proverbs use images of natural phenomena, then Russian units use household realities. Swedish proverbs less categorically declare that women are less valuable than men, unlike Russian proverbs.

**Keywords:** paremias, proverbs, comparative structure, model, Swedish, Russian, woman.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, paremias about women have attracted the attention of linguists, who have studied various aspects of this material and material of different languages: from the perspective of cognitive linguistics [Nesterovich, 2020]; from an axiological perspective, the image of a woman in Russian and Portuguese proverbs and sayings was considered [Diaz Ferrero, Kero Jervilla, 2018]. On the reflection of gender stereotypes in paremias, an analysis of proverbs was carried out on material of the Tuvan, Russian, and English languages [Egorova, Kondakova, Kuzhuget, 2020; Khakimova, 2013]. Paremias about women served as material for an analysis of the concept of the same name [Sarsenbaeva, 2020], and material of paremias was used to examine the image of the woman in Russian and French linguocultures [Nesterovich, 2020]. Swedish and Russian paremias with a comparative structure have not been the object of the study until now.

Under the paremias with a comparative structure are meant proverbs and sayings explicitly or implicitly verbalizing a comparison — “a cognitive operation underlying judgments about the similarity or difference of objects” [PED, 1983, p.650]. Comparison in paremias about women is represented mainly by proverbs. The aim of the work is to identify the general and culturally determined ideas about women in Swedish and Russian proverbs with a comparative structure. The set goal involves an analysis of structural models of comparative proverbs of the Swedish and Russian languages and the identification of cultural attitudes, verbalized by the proverbs under study.

Comparison is one of the leading ways of human cognition of the world. Models for constructing proverbs in each linguistic culture have their own characteristics, reflecting the specifics of the mentality of the native speaker.

The material for the study included Swedish and Russian proverbs selected using the continuous sampling method from the following sources: P. Holm, *Ordspråk och talesätt med förklaringar* (P. Holm, *Proverbs and sayings with explanations* [Holm, 1971]); P. Holm, *3530 ordspråk och talesätt* (P. Holm, *3530 proverbs and sayings* [Holm, 1984]); F. Ström, *Svenska ordspråk* (F. Ström, *Swedish proverbs* [Strom, 1929]); V. I. Dal, *Proverbs of the Russian people* [Dal, 1984]); V. M. Mokienko, T. G. Nikitina, and E. K. Nikolaeva, *The Big Dictionary of Russian Proverbs* [Mokienko, Nikitina, Nikolaeva, 2010].

## 2. WOMAN, GIRL AND WIFE IN SWEDISH COMPARATIVE PAREMIAS

Sixty paremias with a comparative structure were selected from Swedish language dictionaries using a continuous sampling method. Of these, 41 units characterize a woman in general, 11 units describe a girl before marriage, and 4 units characterize a wife. Paremias dedicated to women use the nominations *kvinn*a ‘woman’ and *käring* ‘peasant woman.’ A young unmarried girl is called *flicka* ‘girl’ or *ungmö* ‘maiden.’

The following structural classification of the selected units can be proposed.

### I. A formally expressed comparison (24 units)

— With the conjunction “som”: *Kvinnan är som skuggan: följ henne och hon flyr dig, fly henne och hon följer dig*. ‘A woman is like a shadow: if you follow it, it will run away from you; if you run away from it, it will follow you’; *Kvinnan skall vara som snäckan*. ‘A woman should be like a shell’ (closed and mysterious); *Kvinnan har sitt ljus av mannen liksom månen av solen*. ‘A woman reflects the light of a man like the moon reflects the light of the sun’; *En dägelig kvinna utan tukt är som en so med ett gyllene spänne på näsone*. ‘A beautiful woman without obedience is like a pig with a gold plaque on the snout’; *Att slå hustrun är som att slå mjölsäcken: det goda flyger ut och det dåliga stannar kvar*. ‘Beating a wife is like beating a sack of flour: the good will fly out, but the bad will remain.’ A proverb that compares two situations — women living in the same house and cats hunting the same mouse — stands out in this category of paremias: *Två kvinnor i ett hus är som två katter om en mus*. ‘Two women in one house are like two cats at one mouse’; *En man av halm är lika mycket värd som en kvinna*

*av silver*. 'A man of straw is worth the same as a woman of silver.' (A man is always rated higher than a woman)

— Using the comparative or superlative degree of an adjective: *När en flicka blott är litet klokare än en gås, får hon säkert en man*. 'If a girl is a little smarter than a goose, she will definitely find a husband.' *Annans hustru är alltid vackrast*. 'Someone else's wife is always the prettiest.'

— Using the comparative or superlative degree of an adverb: *Kvinnan kan i förklädet bära ut mer ur huset, än mannen kan köra in med en hästavagn*. 'A woman in an apron can carry more out of the house than a man can bring in a wagon'; *Kvinnan känner konsten bättre än djävulen*. 'A woman knows her art better than the devil'; *Lättare att koka järn än få kvinna at ta reson*. 'It's easier to weld iron than to reason with a woman'; *Gammal kvinna och ny plog äro bäst i jorden*. 'An old woman and a new plow are best for the soil'; *Ett kvinnohjärta ser mer än tio mans ögon*. 'One woman's heart sees more than ten men's eyes'; *En god kvinna är förmer än stora rikedomar*. 'A good woman is better than great wealth'; *Arg kvinna och bitande hund vaktar huset bäst*. 'An angry woman and a biting dog guard the house best'; *Onödig kvinna ska man hellre gå ur vägen för än slå henne*. 'Better to get out of the way of a wicked woman than to beat her.'

— Paremias, built according to the model "Bättre ... än ..." ("Better ... than ..."): *Bättre bo i öde skog än hos argan kvinna*. 'Better to live in a deep forest than with an angry woman'; *Bättre en god grannkvinna än syster i nästa by, men bäst en trogen hustru, som kan baka och sy*. 'Better to have a good neighbor than a sister in another village, but a faithful wife who knows how to bake and sew is best.'

— Paremias, built according to the model "Ju ... dess ..." ("The more (better, etc) ..., the more (better, etc) ..."): *Ju rejälare kvinna, dess större få till man vill hon ha*. 'The better a woman is, the more sleazebag of a man she wants for a husband.'

II. Metaphors (5 units): *Kvinnan är för mannen den yttersta dagen*. 'A woman is the day of judgment for a man'; *Mannen är kvinnans huvud, men hon är nattmössan på det*. 'A man is a woman's head, but she's a nightcap on it'; *Mannen är huvudet och kvinnan är hatten*. 'The man is the head and the woman is the hat'; *Trätosam kvinna är en ständig takdropp*. 'A grumpy woman is constant dripping from the roof'; *Drucken kvinna är en oläst kista*. 'A drunk woman is an open chest.'



### III. Comparison through the alignment of the subjects of comparison (19 units)

— For several subjects (which the speaker considers it possible to match), including a female person, one predicate is attached: *Äpplet, nöten och flickan har mask i kärnan*. ‘The apple, the nut and the girl have a worm inside’; *Tre kvinnor, tre gäss och tre grodor gör en årsmarknad*. ‘Three women, three geese, and three frogs will make a fair’ (women are talkative and make a lot of noise); *Klar ättika och vackrer flicka gör ingen skada i huset*. ‘Clear vinegar and a pretty girl won’t harm the house’; *Gamla hus och unga flickor fattar lätt eld*. ‘Old houses and young girls are flammable’; *Kvinnans sinn och vinterns vind växla ofta*. ‘The temper of a woman and the winter wind are often changeable’; *Storkar och kvinnor bygga sina nästen högt upp*. ‘Storks and women build their nests high’; *Östänväder och kvinnoträta börja med storm och sluta med väta*. ‘Thunderstorms and women’s quarrels begin with storms and end with rain’; *Kvinnan och kakelugnen höra till huset*. ‘The woman and the tiled stove belong in the house’; *Arg kvinna och bitande hund vaktar huset bäst*. ‘An angry woman and a biting dog guard the house best’; *Ett halt ben och en elak hustru gör tung färd*. ‘A limp leg and a wicked wife make the journey difficult’; *Vitt bröd och fager mö är söndagsspis*. ‘White bread and a pretty maiden are Sunday food.’

— Juxtaposition of the compared phenomena that act as additions in a sentence: *Vårens snö, kvinnor och nattgammal is ska man aldrig lita på*. ‘You can never rely on spring snow, women, and ice that got up at night’; *Kvinnor och fästningar ska erövrars med storm*. ‘Women and fortresses must be taken by storm’; *Flickor och ägg ska man icke gömma på*. ‘Girls and eggs don’t have to be hidden’; *Kvinnor och linne skall ej köpas vid talgljus*. ‘Women and linen cannot be bought by the light of a tallow candle’; *Klar himmel och leende kvinna är inte att lita på*. ‘You can’t hope for a clear sky and a smiling woman.’

— Proximity of subjects with the preposition “utan” and the formal indicator of comparison (the conjunction ‘som’) in the predication of the proverb: *En jungfru utan friare, en marknad utan skriare, en luden päls utan löss, ett gammalt hus utan möss, en bock utan skägg sällsynt är som tuppeägg*. ‘A virgin without a groom, a market without a vendor, hair without lice, an old house without mice, a goat without a beard is as rare as cock eggs.’

— The proximity of the subjects of comparison, expressed by homogeneous subordinate clauses: *När hundarna halta, kvinnorna gråta och krämarna svärja, så har det inte så mycket att betyda.* ‘When dogs limp, women cry, and hucksters swear, it does not mean anything.’

— The proximity of the subjects of comparison in the presence of the negative pronoun *ingen* and the preposition *utan*: *Ingen flicka utan kärlek, ingen marknad utan tjuvar, ingen tiggare utan löss.* ‘There is no girl without love, there is no market without thieves, there is no beggar without lice.’

#### IV. Comparison through opposition (9 units)

— Comparison through lexically expressed opposition: *Ibland kan en liten kvinna ha tio stora mäns vett.* ‘Sometimes a little woman has the mind of ten big men.’

— Comparison through opposition, expressed with the help of opposing conjunctions *och* (“while”) and *men* (“but”): *Kvinna, vind och lycka växla ofta, men Gud förblir den han är.* ‘A girl, wind, and happiness are changeable, but God remains who He is’; *Fiskar fångar man med krokar, män med ord och kvinnor med grannlåtar.* ‘They catch fish with hooks, men with words, and women with beautiful songs’; *Styr häst med betsel och ond kvinna med käpp.* ‘Control a horse with a bridle, and an evil woman with a stick’; *Kvinnfolk är svåra att ha men värre att mista.* ‘Women are hard to have, but even harder to lose’; *Man kan tämja ett vilt djur men icke en ond kvinna.* ‘You can tame a wild animal, but not an evil woman’; *Den som tar ålen om stjärten och kvinnan på orden, han vinner inte mycket.* ‘Whoever catches an eel by the tail, and a woman at her word, does not get much.’

— Comparison through conjunctionless opposition: *En brand kan icke länge brinna, en käring kan icke länge skälla.* ‘A fire cannot burn for a long time, a woman cannot swear for a long time.’

— Comparison through opposition in the composition of a complex sentence, the two parts of which are simple sentences with the adverbial conjunction *men* (“but”), and are connected with each other by a conjunctionless connection: *Äpplet är rött, men masken är därinne, flickan är skön, men har ett elakt sinne.* ‘The apple is red, but a worm is inside, the girl is beautiful, but has an evil disposition.’ This paremia acquires a four-part structure, which is especially emphasized by the presence of the rhyme.

Thus, in Swedish paremias the expression of an explicit comparison prevail quantitatively. In addition, a fairly voluminous category of Swedish proverbs stands out, in which there is a series of comparison subjects with other objects or phenomena. It is precisely this side-by-side arrangement that is the main generator of the imagery of the Swedish paremias in the considered thematic field. Most often, a woman is compared with natural phenomena (*wind, clear sky, spring snow, ice that rose at night, thunderstorm, winter wind*), animals (*dog, stork, goose, frog*), and household objects (*house, tiled stove, linen fabric, plow, chest, vinegar*). The analyzed units clearly express the pejorative assessment of a woman. Most of the considered paremias belong to a very ancient layer of the Swedish linguistic culture and were formed in the Middle Ages, with its characteristic misogyny. For this reason, ideas about such feminine qualities as stupidity, quarrelsomeness, cunningness, and fickleness are enshrined. Separately, in the Swedish paremias, *an evil woman* stands out, representing a great danger to a man and hindering him in all his affairs: *Bättre bo i öde skog än hos argan kvinna*. 'Better to live in a deep forest than with an angry woman.' An evil woman is compared to a wild beast that cannot be tamed: *Man kan tämja ett vilt djur men icke en ond kvinna*. 'You can tame a wild animal, but not an evil woman.' The image of the woman in Swedish proverbs is given through the prism of masculine perception; therefore an important setting is the need to conquer a woman like a fortress in battle: *Kvinnor och fästningar ska erövrars med storm*. 'Women and fortresses must be taken by storm.' With a general negative attitude towards women, expressed in paremias, the importance and value of a good and kind woman is separately nominated: *En god kvinna är förmer än stora rikedomar*. 'A good woman is better than great wealth.' The wife in Swedish proverbs is presented diffusely, often dissolving into the general concept of *a woman*. Separately, only the evil wife who harms her husband is marked: *Ett halt ben och en elak hustru gör tung färd*. 'A limp leg and a wicked wife make the journey difficult'. However, it is important to note that even in the paremias, representing an ancient layer of linguistic culture, the use of violence by a husband against his wife is assessed negatively: *Att slå hustrun är som att slå mjölsäcken: det goda flyger ut och det dåliga stannar kvar*. 'Beating a wife is like beating a sack of flour: the good will fly out, but the bad will remain.' The image of a girl in Swedish paremias is inextricably linked with the theme of love and matchmaking: *En jungfru utan friare*,

*en marknad utan skriare, en luden päls utan löss, ett gammalt hus utan möss, en bock utan skägg sällsynt är som tuppeägg; Ingen flicka utan kärlek, ingen marknad utan tjuvar, ingen tiggare utan löss.* ‘A virgin without a groom, a market without a vendor, hair without lice, an old house without mice, a goat without a beard is as rare as cock eggs.’

However, even in young girls there is a negative principle inherent in all women: *Äpplet, nöten och flickan har mask i kärnan.* ‘The apple, the nut, and the girl have a worm inside.’ (Every woman has a flaw). Of particular interest are multicomponent comparative pairs that unfold in entire scenarios: *När hundarna halta, kvinnorna gråta och krämarna svärja, så har det inte så mycket att betyda.* ‘When dogs limp, women cry, and hucksters swear, it does not mean anything.’

As in the paremias of other thematic groups, the numerical component of the Swedish units under consideration is noteworthy: *Ibland kan en liten kvinna ha tio stora mäns vett.* ‘Sometimes a little woman has the mind of ten big men’; *Ett kvinnohjärta ser mer än tio mans ögon.* ‘One woman’s heart sees more than ten men’s eyes’; *Tre kvinnor, tre gäss och tre grodor gör en årsmarknad.* ‘Three women, three geese, and three frogs will make a fair.’

### 3. WOMAN, GIRL AND WIFE IN RUSSIAN COMPARATIVE PAREMIAS

In the lexicographic sources of the Russian language, 71 paremias with a comparative structure were identified, of which 20 units characterize a woman in general, 46 a woman as a wife, highlighting this very role as leading in family life, and only 3 units characterize an unmarried girl. Paremias characterizing a woman use the nomination of “a (peasant) woman.” In some cases, a woman is not called so directly, but only implied, while indirect designations are used through typical tools of traditional female labor, e.g. a spinning wheel or a spindle: *Семь топоров вместе лежат, а две прялки врознь.* ‘Seven axes lie together, and two spinning wheels are apart’; *Смирен топор, да веретено бодливо.* ‘The ax is meek, but the spindle is butting.’ Such paremias are based on the presupposition that exists in the linguistic consciousness of native speakers, their common cognitive base. A woman may not be named at all in a proverb; the end of the feminine verb of the past tense indicates the feminine person: *Как худая трава, только ноги оплела.* ‘[The bad wife] is like a weed, [she] only ties [her husband’s] legs.’

For the paremia models, the following classification of the selected units can be proposed.

I. Formally expressed comparison (25 units)

With the conjunction *как* (“as, like”): *Как худая трава, только ноги оплела*. ‘[The bad wife] is like a weed, [she] only ties [her husband’s] legs’; *Женино добро, как зимнее тепло*. ‘A wife’s kindness is like a winter’s warmth’; *Умная жена, как нищему сума (все сбережет)*. ‘A clever wife is like a bag to a beggar (will save everything)’; *Люби жену, как душу, трясина ее, как грушу (бей, как шубу)!* ‘Love your wife like a soul, shake her like a pear (beat her like a fur coat)!’

— With the conjunction *что* (“as, like”): *Большая жена мужу, что убогая сестра брату*. ‘A sick wife to her husband is like a poor sister to her brother’; *Красна девка в хороводе, что маков цвет в огороде*. ‘A girl is beautiful in a round dance as poppies are in the garden.’

— With the conjunction *что* (“as, like”) with an explanation of the motivation for the comparison in the second part of the paremia: *Баба, что глиняный горшок: вынь из печи, он пуще шипит*. ‘A woman is like an earthen pot: you take it out of the oven, it hisses more’; *Баба, что мешок: что положишь, то и несет*. ‘A woman is like a bag: it carries whatever you put in it’; *Баба, что горшок: что ни влей — все кипит*. ‘A woman is like a pot: whatever you pour in, everything boils’; *Женское сердце, что котел, кипит*. ‘A woman’s heart, like a cauldron, is boiling’; *Женский обычай — что вперед забежать*. ‘The female custom is to run ahead’; *Женское слово, что клей, пристаёт*. ‘A woman’s word is like glue, it sticks.’

— Using the comparative degree of an adjective: *Собака умней бабы: на хозяина не лает (о брани)*. ‘A dog is smarter than a woman: it does not bark at the owner (about verbal abuse)’; *Всякому мужу своя жена милее*. ‘Every husband has his own wife dearer’; *Жена честнее — мужу милее*. ‘An honest wife is loved by the husband’; *Шубу бей — теплее, жену бей — милее*. ‘Beat your fur coat — warmer, beat your wife — sweeter’; *Утро вечера мудренее, жена мужа удалее*. ‘The morning is wiser than the evening; the wife is bolder than the husband.’

— With the help of the comparative degree of an adverb: *Глупому мужу красная жена дороже красного яйца*. ‘For a stupid husband, a beautiful wife is dearer than a beautiful egg’; *Нужа, нужна! нет ее хуже, а лучше худого мужа*. ‘Need, need! There is nothing worse except a bad

husband'; *Стужа да нужна, а лучше худого мужа*. 'Cold and need are still better than a bad husband.'

— *Premias*, which follow the model "better...than...": *Лучше подразнить собаку, нежели бабу*. 'It is better to tease a dog than a woman'; *Лучше раз в году родить, чем день-деньской бороду брить*. 'It is better to give birth once a year than to shave a beard every day'; *Лучше жить со змеею, чем со злою женою*. 'It is better to live with a snake than with an evil wife.'

— *Premias*, which follow the model "the more ... the more ...": *Чем больше жену бьешь, тем щи вкуснее (тем наварней щи)*. 'The more you beat your wife, the tastier the cabbage soup gets (the richer the cabbage soup gets).'

— *Premias*, which follow the model "not so much ... as": *Не столько муж мешком, сколько жена горшком (сберегает, приносит в дом)*. 'Not so much a husband with a sack, as a wife with a pot (saves, brings to the house).'

II. Metaphors (10 units): *Жена мужу пластырь, муж жене пастырь*. 'A wife to her husband is a plaster, a husband to his wife is a shepherd'; *Муж — голова, жена — душа*. 'The husband is the head, the wife is the soul'; *Ключница чужому отцу, ларешница чужой матери (молодая жена)*. 'Housekeeper for another's father, treasurer for another's mother (young wife)'; *Бабы сборы — гусиный век*. 'A woman's preparations are [as long as] a goose's life'; *Три бабы — базар, а семь — ярмарка*. 'Three women are a market, and seven are a fair'; *Хорошая (пригожая) жена — лишняя сухота*. 'A good-looking wife creates extra problems'; *Жена красавица — безочному (слепому) радость*. 'A beautiful wife is joy to the blind'; *Жена да муж — змея да уж*. 'A wife and a husband are a snake and a grass snake'; *Без мужа жена — всегда сирота (кругом сирота)*. 'Without a husband, the wife is always an orphan (an orphan all around)'; *Хорошая жена — метла, и худая — метла [та в дом, эта из дома метет]*. 'A good wife is a broom, and a bad one is a broom [the former sweeps into the house, the latter sweeps out of the house).'

III. Comparison through negation (19 units)

— With the negative particle *не* ("not"): *Баба — не квашня: встала да и пошла*. 'A woman is not dough to rise and go'; *Курица*

*не птица, а баба не человек.* 'A hen is not a bird, a woman is not a person'; *Курице не быть петухом, а бабе мужиком.* 'A hen cannot be a rooster, and a woman cannot be a man'; *Кобыла не лошадь, баба не человек.* 'A mare is not a horse, a woman is not a person'; *Жена не сапог (не лапоть), с ноги не скинешь.* 'The wife is not a boot (a bast shoe), you cannot throw her off your feet'; *Жена не рукавица, с руки не сбросишь (за пояс не заткнешь).* 'The wife is not a mitten, you cannot throw her off your hand (you cannot put her under your belt)'; *Жена не гусли: поиграв, на стенку не повесишь.* 'The wife is not a gusli: after playing, you cannot hang her on the wall'; *Жена не седло: со спины не сымешь.* 'The wife is not a saddle: you can't get her off your back'; *Жена не горшок, не расшибешь (а расшибешь — берестой не перевьешь).* 'The wife is not a pot, you cannot break her (but if you break her you cannot put her together with birch bark)'; *Девка — не лошадь: без сбруи не сбудешь.* 'A girl is not a horse: you can't sell her without harness'; *Девка — не мак: в один день не облетит.* 'The girl is not a poppy: she will not become bare in one day.'

Negation can be found in the first part of the proverb, provided that the husband and wife are compared: *Муж возом не навозит, что жена горшком наносит.* 'A husband will not bring as much in a cart as a wife in a pot.'

— With the preposition *без* ("without"): *Без мужа голова не покрыта; без жены дом не крыт.* 'Without a husband the head is not covered; the house is not covered without a wife.'

— *Paremiyas*, built according to the model "without ... like without ...": *Без мужа, что без головы; без жены, что без ума.* 'Without a husband is like without a head; without a wife is like without a brain'; *Женищина без разговора, что двор без забора.* 'A woman without a chat is like a yard without a fence.'

— *Paremiyas*, which follow the model "someone without something as somebody without something": *Что гусь без воды, то мужик без жены.* 'A man without a wife is a goose without water.'

— *Paremiyas*, which follow the model: the preposition *without* + a comparative degree of an adverb: *Жена без грозы — хуже козы.* 'A wife without a thunderstorm is worse than a goat'; *Жена без мужа — всего хуже.* 'A wife without a husband is the worst'; *Жена без мужа — вдовы хуже.* 'A wife without a husband is worse than a widow.'

#### IV. Comparison through opposition (16 units)

— With an adversarial conjunction *a* or *и* (“but, while”): *Семь топоров вместе лежат, а две прялки врознь*. ‘Seven axes lie together, and two spinning wheels are apart’; *Смирен топор, да веретено бодливо*. ‘The ax is meek, but the spindle is butting’; *Муж задурит, половина двора горит; а жена задурит, и весь сгорит*. ‘The husband will fool, half of the yard is on fire; but the wife will fool the whole yard will burn’; *Чужая жена — лебедушка, а своя — полынь горькая*. ‘Another’s wife is a swan, and his own is bitter wormwood’; *Мужнин грех за порогом остается, а жена все домой несет*. ‘The husband’s sin remains beyond the threshold, but the wife takes everything home’; *На костях мясо слаще, а под старость жена милее*. ‘On the bones, the meat is sweeter, and in old age the wife is nicer’; *Жена мелет, а муж спит*. ‘The wife grinds, and the husband sleeps’; *Жена прядет, а муж пляшет*. ‘The wife spins, and the husband dances’; *С ним горе, а без него вдвое*. ‘With him grief, but without him twice’; *Родители берегут дочь до венца, а муж жену до конца*. ‘Parents take care of their daughter till marriage, and the husband takes care of his wife till the end’; *Красна пава перьем, а жена мужем*. ‘A peahen is beautiful with a feather, and a wife is with a husband’; *У плохой бабы муж на печи лежит, а хорошая сгонит*. ‘A bad woman’s husband lies on the stove, but a good woman will not let him’; *Мужик да собака всегда на дворе, а баба да кошка завсегда в избе*. ‘A man and a dog are always in the yard, and a woman and a cat are always in the hut.’ In the last unit, there is a parallel position of subjects and objects of comparison, as in the Swedish language, but with the difference that there is a pair opposition in two parts of the paremia: *мужик да собака — баба да кошка* ‘a man and a dog’ vs ‘a woman and a cat’.

— Conjunctionless opposition: *Псовая болезнь до поля, женская до постели*. ‘A dog’s sickness to the field, a woman’s to the bed.’ (The dog is sad and doesn’t feel well until it is released to run in the wild; women’s whims and illnesses end when she is in bed with a man.)

— Paremias, which follow the model “there is something for someone in something is something else in something for someone else”: *В чем деду стыд, в том бабе смех*. ‘An old man’s shame is a woman’s laughter.’ (Men and women have different perceptions of the same life situations.)

— Paremias, which follow the model “before someone someone else is something”: *Перед злой женою сатана — младенец непорочный*. ‘Before a wicked wife, Satan is an innocent baby.’



As can be seen from the above classification, structurally, as in the Swedish language, Russian pairs prevail, in which the comparison is expressed explicitly with the help of formal linguistic means. Among the categories containing implicitly expressed comparisons, there is a large group of paremias containing negation.

Paremias of the Russian language characterize female behavior, speech, and emotionality. Such qualities of a woman are noted as talkativeness, a tendency to verbally abuse, mobility, and a tendency to take long to prepare to leave the house.

Most Russian proverbs about women, as in Swedish, reflect a masculine point of view. The paremias that took shape in the era of feudalism view women as second-class creatures, not equal to men. Only a small number of paremias about the wife verbalize women's judgments. However, popular wisdom says that it is difficult for a wife without a husband. Husband and wife are one: *Жена да муж — змея да уж*. 'A wife and a husband are a snake and a grass snake.' Paremias mark such positive qualities of a wife as kindness and intelligence. The wife is metaphorically likened to a plaster on the husband's wounds, the soul. A young wife in a husband's family is a housekeeper and a treasurer. Proverbs urge the husband to love his wife as a soul. At the same time, Russian paremias, unlike Swedish ones, approve of domestic violence and contain appeals to the husband to beat his wife. A sick wife is not needed. In proverbs, the opposition of one's own and another's wife is noted, and these proverbs are dual in terms of ideas expressed: on the one hand, *Всякому мужу своя жена милее*. 'Every husband has his own wife dearer.' On the other hand, *Чужая жена — лебедушка, а своя — полынь горькая*. 'Someone else's wife is a swan, and his own is bitter wormwood.' With age, the husband begins to appreciate his wife more. The beauty of a wife is not welcome. Proverbs point out a husband's responsibility for his wife. But the wife's responsibility for preserving the hearth is higher. Especially marked in Russian proverbs, as well as in Swedish, is a wicked wife.

#### 4. RESULTS

Our analysis suggests that, for paremias of the Swedish and Russian languages in the considered thematic field, formally expressed comparison, metaphor, and opposition are structurally common. The most important difference in this respect is comparison through order in the

Swedish paremias and the comparison through negation in the Russian units. The paremias built according to these models are distinguished by the most vivid imagery in these two linguocultures. At the same time, in Swedish paremias, a significant number of comparisons are drawn to themselves, built on the position of a woman and various natural conditions, e.g. rain, thunderstorm, snow, and ice. This phenomenon is completely absent in the considered Russian paremias. Apparently, this is due to the special closeness of Swedes to nature, which is an integral part of Swedish mentality, as noted by many researchers. Russian comparisons, built through negation and opposition, are based primarily on images associated with household phenomena. With regard to cultural attitudes, it should be noted that in both Swedish and Russian paremias, a woman is endowed with such qualities as talkativeness, quarrelsomeness, stupidity, and excessive emotionality. In both linguocultures, the idea of a woman in proverbs is given from a masculine point of view, and all a woman's qualities pass through the prism of male perception. For this reason, a kind and economical wife is nominated separately and in an emphatically ameliorative manner. At the same time, in Swedish paremias, the *wife* is presented diffusely and is rarely formally separated from the general idea of a woman, in contrast to Russian proverbs, where the wife appears much more often. Both Swedish and Russian paremias contain the idea that someone else's wife is always more beautiful than his own. In the Swedish paremias, in contrast to the Russian ones, there is no direct statement about the superiority of the husband over the wife and about the lesser value of a woman in comparison with a man. In addition, in the Swedish linguistic culture aggressive behavior of a husband towards his wife is condemned, the one who beats his wife deserves condemnation, while in Russian units the attitude "[If a man] beats [his wife it] means [he] loves [her]" is widely represented.

The results of the analysis can be used when teaching lecture courses on the phraseology and paremiology of the Swedish and Russian languages, in lexicographic research, as well as in teaching Swedish and Russian to foreign language speakers.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PED — *Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary*. Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia Publ., 1983. 840 p. (In Russian)

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## ЖЕНЩИНА, ДЕВУШКА И ЖЕНА В ПАРЕМИЯХ КОМПАРАТИВНОЙ СТРУКТУРЫ ШВЕДСКОГО И РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКОВ

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В статье анализируются шведские и русские пословицы о девушке, женщине и жене, имеющие компаративную структуру. Предлагается классификация паремий двух языков с точки зрения структуры, выделяются разряды и продуктивные модели построения пословиц, выявляются общие и национально-культур-

но обусловленные установки, вербализуемые паремиологическими единицами. В результате проведенного исследования авторы приходят к выводу о том, что и в шведском, и в русском языках преобладают пословицы с эксплицитно выраженным сравнением — при помощи формальных языковых средств, противопоставления и метафор. Отличия структурного плана заключаются в наличии в шведском языке большого по объему разряда паремий, выражающих рядоположенность субъектов сравнения при общем предикате, а в русском языке выделяются единицы, выражающие сравнение через отрицание. Большинство шведских паремий характеризуют женщину в противопоставлении мужчине, жена представлена в них диффузно и редко формально отделяется от общего представления о женщине, а русские единицы отдельно выделяют жену как ведущий в семейной жизни статус женщины. Незамужней девушке посвящено небольшое количество паремий обоих языков. И в шведских, и в русских пословицах доминирует маскулинный взгляд, что обусловлено временем возникновения языковых единиц, преобладает отрицательная оценка женщины. И в шведских, и в русских паремиях женщина наделяется такими качествами, как болтливость, сварливость, глупость и излишняя эмоциональность. В единицах двух языков маркируется злая женщина. Различия заключаются в вербализуемом в пословицах двух языков отношении к физическому воздействию на женщину со стороны мужчины, в отрицательной оценке красивой внешности жены в русских паремиях, а также в тематических областях используемых образов: если шведские пословицы используют образы природных явлений, то русские — хозяйственно-бытовых реалий. Шведские паремии менее категорично заявляют о меньшей ценности женщины по сравнению с мужчиной, чем русские.

**Ключевые слова:** паремии, пословицы, компаративная структура, модель, шведский язык, русский язык, женщина.

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## **A COMPARISON OF BI-ASPECTUAL VERBS BORROWED FROM LATIN INTO DUTCH, CZECH AND POLISH**

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West Germanic languages such as Dutch have a temporal system, but a typical feature of the Slavonic verb system is aspectuality. Most Slavonic borrowed or newly-formed verbs in the technical sphere are based on Latin, however, a language with a rather strict temporal system. Typically, such verbs are mostly borrowed as imperfective (durative) verbs. This paper examines several such verbs and compares their integration into Dutch, Czech and Polish. Dutch has no morphological forms showing aspectuality. However, aspectuality is present, the difference is there a semantic one, between a dynamic or a static character. In this article, ten potentially bi-aspectual verbs borrowed from Latin are discussed, all of them having in Dutch a dynamic character. In Czech and Polish, such verbs will have after borrowing initially a bi-aspectual character. Depending on frequency of use, the verbs will become integrated by adding aspectual prefixes. This integration is illustrated for both Slavonic languages by sentences from recent press articles. Where in the Czech dictionaries, the majority of the analysed verbs are still described as bi-aspectual, it seems that Polish is much faster at changing Latin borrowed verbs into aspectual pairs. One should be, however, cautious as it is often dependent on which dictionary one consults whether a verb is marked as bi-aspectual or as *imperfectivum tantum*. Nevertheless, the general tendencies are clear.

**Keywords:** bi-aspectual verbs, Latin, Dutch, Czech, Polish, comparison.

*No time is all at once present: and all time past, is driven on by time to come, and all to come followeth upon the past; and all past to come is created, and flows out of that which is ever present.*

St. Augustine, *Confessions*, XI, 15

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Every speaker of another language group coming into contact with Slavonic languages has to deal with aspect. In short, most Slavonic verbs come in two main forms, one that accentuates the event (the imperfective form) and one stressing the completion (the perfective form). Conversely, most Germanic languages have a temporal system, in which not the verbs themselves, but rather the tenses, appear in pairs indicating an unfinished (incomplete) or finished (complete) form. It is generally assumed that Proto-Indo-European had aspect, although this theory is not uncontroversial [Lehmann, 1993, p. 176–181; Comrie, 1981, p. 88–89] against [Szemerényi, 1990, s. 332–341]. The presence of aspect in Gothic [Streitberg, 1891, s. 177–178] seems to support this, although, for example, the important Czech Anglicist-Netherlandist Bohumil Trnka [Trnka, 1982, p. 205] stated explicitly:

It is very hard for a Slavonic philologist to endorse the theory of the eminent scholar [Streitberg, 1891]. No period of transition in the system of the Germanic verbal system caused by a supposed loss of verbal aspects has been detected either by Streitberg himself, or by any of his followers, in the history of the Germanic languages, and in modern languages of the Germanic stock (even in English which has developed since the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries some periphrastic forms comparable, from the semasiological point of view, to the Slavonic imperfective aspect).

In contrast, the latest edition of the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*, hereafter *ANS* [Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst, 2021] assumes that Dutch has aspectuality as well, stating in § 30.1:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aspectualiteit zegt iets over de manier waarop de situatie in de tijd begrensd is en de manier waarop het verloop, de interne temporele geleding ervan, begrepen moet worden. Deze structurering is niet in de situatie zelf aanwezig, maar wordt er door ons aan toegekend door de keuze van de elementen in de zin die de betreffende situatie weergeeft. De aspectualiteit van een zin geeft dus aan hoe het concept dat wij van een

Aspectuality says something about the way in which the situation is delimited in time and the way in which its course, its internal temporal articulation, is to be understood. This structuring is not present in the situation itself, but is assigned to it by us through the choice of the elements in the sentence that represents the situation in question. The aspectuality of a sentence thus indicates how the concept we have of a given situation is structured.

Dutch strong verbs have a present root and a preterit root, which is often seen as a remnant of the aspectual situation of Proto-Germanic. Note that the circa 250 most-used verbs are almost all strong verbs belonging to the primal lexicon of Dutch [Van Loey, 1970, p. 157]. Dutch has, however, no pairing of semantically corresponding verbs that complement each other in aspect. After all, *schrijven* ‘write’ and *opschrijven* ‘write down’ do not form an aspectual pair, unlike their equivalents *psát* and *napsat* ‘write’ and *pisac* and *napisac* ‘write’ in Czech and Polish, respectively.

An interesting problem is formed by the so-called bi-aspectual verbs, which in Czech and Polish often originate from Latin, whether or not adopted through other languages. Since Latin has been the model for the current temporal system in Dutch, in this paper we subject a selection of these verbs to an investigation, examining in which aspectual class they are included in both Slavonic languages, which means are used to let them function in the aspectual system, and how they behave in the Dutch verb system.

## 2. ASPECTUALITY

The term *aspect* in Slavonic languages was first termed *видъ* (*vid*), i.e. ‘point of view’, by the Russian grammarian Melety G. Smotričkyj (±1578–1633). For him, this means the morphological relationship between the base form of the verb and its derived forms that can be either inchoate or iterative [Hrbatsch, 1974, p. 116]. The terms *aspekt* and *vid* are both used for aspectuality in Slavonic languages, depending on the language. Czech speaks of *dokonavý vid* (perfect aspect) and *nedokonavý vid* (imperfect aspect). We give here the definition from the *Příručný mluvnice češtiny* (Manual of Czech Grammar) [Karlík, Nekula, Rusínová, 2003, p. 318]<sup>2</sup>:

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bepaalde situatie hebben, gestructureerd is. (All translations in this paper are made by the authors.)

<sup>2</sup> Slovesným videm (aspektem) rozumíme ten fakt, že české sloveso existuje ve dvou (až třech) podobách, které mají stejný lexikální význam, ale odlišují se od sebe **vztahem**



By the verbal aspect we understand the fact that the Czech verb exists in two (up to three) forms, which have the same lexical meaning, but differ from each other in relation to the completion of the action. The completive verbs (perfective) express the fact that the action has either been completed or that it will be completed (*napsal jsem dopis* — ‘I wrote a letter’, *napišu dopis* — ‘I will write a letter’). Incomplete verbs (imperfective) do not express the fact of the completion of the action: *psal jsem dopis* — ‘I wrote a letter’ (it is not clear whether the letter was finished); *pišu dopis* — ‘I am writing a letter’; *budu psát dopis* — ‘I will write a letter’. It follows from the foregoing that completeness is excluded from the present. Therefore, perfective verbs exist only in the preterit and future.

Polish grammar speaks of *aspect dokonany* (perfect aspect) and *aspect niedokonany* (imperfect aspect). Aspect is described in the main grammar *Gramatyka Współczesnego Języka Polskiego* (Grammar of the Modern Polish Language, hereafter GWJP) thus [Grzegorzczkova, Lasowski, Wróbel, 1999, p. 157]<sup>3</sup>:

Aspect is a non-deictive category used to signal differences in the perspective from which the speaker takes the phrase he is describing. Let us note that in certain contexts the same extra-linguistic situation can be described by means of the forms of the accomplished or the imperfect aspect (...). Although the situations described by the above parallel sentence expressions with perfective and imperfective verbs may be identical, this does not mean that the speaker is giving the same information about the situation in both cases. Depending on the use of the imperfective or the perfective aspect, the speaker’s point of view of the described situation changes the way it is presented to the listener.

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**k završenosti (ukončenosti) děje. Slovesa dokonavá** (perfektivní) vyjadřují, že děj byl ukončen, nebo že bude završen (*napsal jsem dopis, napišu dopis*). **Slovesa nedokonavá** (imperfektivní) se k faktu ukončení děje nevyjadřují: *psal jsem dopis* (není jasno, zda byl dopis dopsán); *pišu dopis*; *budu psát dopis*. Z řečeného plyne, že se dokonavost vylučuje s přítomností. Perfektiva (dokonavá slovesa) proto existují jen v přeteritu a futuru. (stressing of the original text). Compare as well [Short, 2002: 481–482] or the detailed explanation concerning aspect in the online dictionary *Czech Ency — Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*, available at: <https://www.czechency.org/slovník/VID>.

<sup>3</sup> Aspekt jest kategorią niedeiktyczną, służącą sygnalizowaniu różnic perspektywy, w jakiej mówiący ujmuje opisywane przez siebie zdarzenie. Zauważmy, że w pewnych kontekstach ta sama sytuacja pozajęzykowa może być opisana za pomocą form aspektu dokonanego lub niedokonanego (...). Sytuacje opisywane przez powyższe paralelne wyrażenia zdaniowe z czasownikami dokonanymi i niedokonanymi mogą być wprawdzie identyczne, co nie znaczy, że mówiący w obu wypadkach podaje tę samą informację o sytuacji. W zależności od użycia aspektu niedokonanego lub dokonanego zmienia się punkt widzenia mówiącego na opisywaną sytuację, ujęcie, w jakim jest ona prezentowana słuchaczowi.

Considering the morphological composition of verbs, the most characteristic exponent of *niedokonaność* (imperfectiveness) in Polish is the prefix and in the case of *dokonaność* (perfectiveness) the suffix. The most common purely aspectual prefix in all West Slavonic languages is the unified prefix *z-/s-* [Łaziński, 2020, p. 78]. In order to identify a purely aspectual prefix, one has to make sure that no secondary, non-accomplished suffixal derivative is formed from the accomplished prefixal derivative. A similar approach to Czech prefixes is presented, for example, by Poldauf [Poldauf, 1954]. It is traditionally considered that imperfective verbs are formed via a suffix from the accomplished verbs, e.g. *wskazywać* from *wskazać* ‘indicate’. Aspectual counterparts can also be suppletive, e.g. *brać – wziąć* ‘take’, and there are a few bi-aspectual verbs such as *potrafić* ‘be able’ which can be treated as homonyms and combined in ‘pairs’ like *potrafić* (imperfective) — *potrafić* (perfective). Sometimes, aspect is determined by a combination of the two ways mentioned above, e.g. suppletive derivation and prefixation, as in *kłaść – położyć* ‘lay’, the accomplished suffix *-ną-* and stem replacement as in *zamykać – zamknąć* ‘close’, or the suffix *-ną-* and a sequence of perfective suffixes: *nadszarpywać – nadszarpnąć* ‘jerk’.

An important shift in the understanding of the term aspect is the definition given by the linguist Bernard Comrie (born 1947) in his study *Aspect* [Comrie, 1981, p. 3]: “Aspect are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” This view is essential to the use of the term in the ANS. In this paper, the term “aspect” is used in its traditional Slavonic sense — verbs in derivationally linked pairs of which the perfective typically specifies completion of an act and the imperfective expresses the verbal action in general terms [cf. Short, 2002, p. 481; Grzegorzczkova, Laskowski, Wróbel, 1999, p. 161].

### 3. TEMPORALITY

Comrie [Comrie, 2004, p. 9] defines tense as the “grammaticalised expression of location in time.” The ANS (2021, § 2.3.2.1) defines the term *werkwoordstijd* (verb tense) thus<sup>4</sup>:

One of the tasks of the verb tenses is to express whether the action mentioned by the verb is to be situated before, during or after the moment of speech.

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<sup>4</sup> De werkwoordstijden hebben onder andere tot taak om uit te drukken of de door het werkwoord genoemde werking voor, tijdens of na het spreekmoment te situeren is.

The grammar explains this more concretely in § 2.4.8.1<sup>5</sup>:

The “tenses” can be systematised under different points of view. (...) 1) First of all, in principle, the opposition of “near” versus “far” plays a role. With regard to the verb tenses, this is the opposition “PRESENT” (close to the moment of speech) — “PAST” (not close to, further away from the moment of speech). This opposition is reflected in two tenses: *presens* (present tense) and *imperfectum* (imperfect tense). (...) 2) Next, there is the opposition of “finished” versus “unfinished” with respect to the action expressed by the verb. This opposition is expressed by the terms “COMPLETED” and “UNCOMPLETED”. Completed means that the speaker has a certain point in mind while the event of which he speaks as a whole took place or is taking place before that point. Uncompleted means that the event took place or takes place overlapping with that point. (...) 3) The third opposition is between “forward” and “not forward”, i.e. that the action expressed by the verb is projected into the future or that it is not. This opposition is expressed by the term “FUTURE”, although the opposite concept (“not in the future”) is not indicated by a separate term.

The ANS then gives in § 2.6 a scheme in which the described grammaticalised oppositions have been visualised for all eight verb tenses of the Dutch indicative (Table 1).

A little bit confusing is the fact that most Dutch school grammars mention just the same six tenses that Latin has, leaving out the past-future tenses that were incorporated into the indicative tenses by the linguist Lammert A. te Winkel (1809–1868). These two “extra” tenses are rather used in situations where other Germanic languages express

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<sup>5</sup> De ‘werkwoordstijden’ kunnen onder verschillende gezichtspunten gesystematiseerd worden. (...) 1) Allereerst speelt in beginsel de tegenstelling ‘dichtbij’ versus ‘veraf’ een rol. Met betrekking tot de werkwoordstijden gaat het om de tegenstelling ‘TEGENWOORDIG’ (dicht bij het spreekmoment) — ‘VERLEDEN’ (niet dicht bij, verder verwijderd van het spreekmoment). Deze tegenstelling is terug te vinden in twee tempora: *presens* en *imperfectum*. (...) 2) Vervolgens is er de tegenstelling ‘afgesloten’ versus ‘niet afgesloten’ ten aanzien van de werking of handeling die door het werkwoord wordt uitgedrukt. Deze tegenstelling is verwoord door de termen ‘VOLTOOID’ en ‘ONVOLTOOID’. Voltooid wil zeggen dat de spreker een bepaald punt in gedachten heeft terwijl het gebeuren waarover hij spreekt in zijn geheel plaatsvond of -vindt vóór dat punt. Onvoltooid betekent dat het gebeuren plaatsvond of -vindt overlappend met dat punt. (...) 3) De derde tegenstelling is die tussen ‘naar voren toe’ en ‘niet naar voren toe’, dat wil zeggen dat de door het werkwoord uitgedrukte werking of handeling in de toekomst geprojecteerd is of dat zulks niet het geval is. Deze tegenstelling wordt door de term ‘TOEKOMEND’ uitgedrukt, waarbij het tegengestelde begrip (‘niet in de toekomst’) evenwel niet door een aparte term wordt aangegeven.

Table 1. The eight verb tenses of the Dutch indicative

The features of verb tenses	English translation	Completed	Past	Future
<i>presens</i> (o.t.t.)	present	-	-	-
<i>imperfectum</i> (o.v.t.)	imperfect	-	+	-
<i>perfectum</i> (v.t.t.)	perfect	+	-	-
<i>plusquamperfectum</i> (v.v.t.)	pluperfect	+	+	-
<i>futurum</i> (o.t.t.t.)	future	-	-	+
<i>futurum exactum</i> (v.t.t.t.)	future perfect	+	-	+
<i>futurum praeteriti</i> (o.v.t.t.)	future in the past	-	+	+
<i>futurum exactum praeteriti</i> (v.v.t.t.)	future perfect in the past	+	+	+

a conjunctive mode. The Dutch temporal system may be described as, generally, an absolute tense system, taking the present moment as the deictic centre [cf. Comrie, 2004, p. 36]. That the past-future tenses do not fit into this system is clear by trying to visualise the Dutch tenses in relation to the present moment (Figure)<sup>6</sup>.

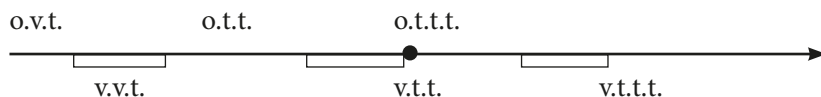


Figure. Dutch tenses and time

Traditionally, the uncompleted tenses (*onvoltooide tijden*) refer to a reference moment in the past (o.v.t.), present (o.t.t.) or future (o.t.t.t.) in relation to the moment of speaking, while the completed tenses (*voltooide tijden*) refer to an action that was completed at a reference moment in the past (v.v.t.), present (v.t.t.) or future (v.t.t.t.) in relation to the moment of speaking. In the case of the future in the past, the tense refers to a reference moment in the past for which the action had to take place in the (then) fu-

<sup>6</sup> We are using here the traditional Dutch abbreviations of the tenses, cf. the schema above. The black dot is the deictic centre.

ture.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the future perfect in the past, one needs two past reference points: one moment  $R^1$ , when the speaker (then) expected something to happen and that should be finished by moment  $R^2$  which would be later, but before the moment of speaking (ANS § 2.4.2.8.i example 7).

On the contrary, both Czech and Polish have just three tenses, past tense in both aspects, present tense, and a periphrastic future tense in the imperfective aspect, and the future tense in the perfect aspect expressed by present-time forms of the perfective verb [Short, 2002, p. 481; Rothstein, 2002, p. 710–711].

#### 4. THE CASE OF BI-ASPECTUAL VERBS

All of the languages mentioned have borrowed many words over time, including verbs from other languages. Most borrowed verbs are in the technical, medical and legal spheres, often originating from Latin or Greek. Foreign verbs with a Latin or Greek base are relatively frequent in Dutch; the most recent edition of the official orthographic list [*Het Groene Boekje. Woordenlijst Nederlandse Taal*, 2015] has some 850 verbs of this type. All of them are weak verbs with the ending *-eren*.

From the Czech and the Polish point of view, bi-aspectual verbs are often — but not exclusively — of foreign origin. According to the Czech view, they can signalise both aspects in their original form. Luboš Veselý [Veselý, 2010, p. 112] gives the example of the form *analyzujeme* that may signify *provedeme analýzu* ‘we will analyse’ as well as *provádíme analýzu* ‘we analyse/are analysing’. Verbs which are frequently used have a tendency to become integrated into the customary aspectual system by adding an aspectual prefix that forms the lacking aspectual counterpart, in our case the perfective one. Veselý [Veselý, 2010, p. 121] and Janečka and Návrátová [Janečka, Návrátová, 2020, p. 232] give the example of *realizovat* that forms the counterpart *zrealizovat* with the aspectual prefix *z-*. As François Esvan [Esvan, 2007, p. 35] shows, this is the usual process in all Slavonic languages, but it takes time before such verbs are so integrated that they receive a clear aspectual counterpart. Such an aspectual counterpart is formed in the same way as in the case of other verbs, e.g. in Polish *zainteresować* is formed from *interesować*.

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<sup>7</sup> Note that this “past future” can be past, as well as future seen from the moment of speaking (ANS § 2.4.2.8.i example 5).

Table 2. Percentage appearance of aspectual verbs in Polish according to Łaziński

Pairs	Prefixed	Imperfective without prefix 2509 — 8 %	Perfective with prefix 2509 — 8 %
	Suffixed	Imperfective with a paradigmatic and suppletive formant 6582 — 22 %	Perfective with a paradigmatic and suppletive formant 6582 — 22 %
		Imperfective without suffix paired with perfective verb with suffix- <i>nq</i> -930 — 3 %	Perfective with suffix- <i>nq</i> -930 — 3 %
Paired verbs (totals)		20,042 — 66 %	
		Imperfective paired 10,021 — 33 %	Perfective paired 10,021 — 33 %
Bi-aspectual verbs		179 — 0.5 % (included with perfective and imperfective verbs)	
Non-paired verbs		Imperfectiva tantum 4180 — 13.5 %	Perfectiva tantum 6459 — 21.5 %
Total of non-paired verbs		10639 — 35 %	
Total of all verbs		30186 — 100 %	
		Imperfective 10,431 — 47 %	Perfective 16,480 — 53 %

In Czech and Polish, such borrowed verbs generally lack the typical aspectual pair and are, at least initially, bi-aspectual, as is the case mostly in Czech and for many Polish borrowings. Interestingly, such verbs are often automatically classified as imperfective. In Polish, such verbs may end up even as *imperfectivum tantum*. Marek Łaziński [Łaziński, 2020, p. 44, table 2, p. 45], in his recent study on the aspect of Polish verbs *Wykłady o Aspekcie Polskiego Czasownika* (Lectures on Polish Verbal Aspect), classified just 179 verbs as bi-aspectual, i.e. some half a percent out of the total of some 30,860 verbs in the *Słownik Gramatyczny Języka Polskiego* (Grammatical Dictionary of the Polish Verb, hereafter *SGJP*). Łaziński [Łaziński, 2020, p. 80] remarks that the Czech *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (Dictionary of the Written Czech Language, 1960–1971, hereafter *SSJČ*) has some 800 bi-aspectual verbs. Of the 138 bi-aspectual verbs mentioned by Waclaw Cockiewicz [Cockiewicz, 2007, p. 17], just 12 (8.7%) are originally Polish, all of the others are originally Latin — whether im-

mediately borrowed or through other languages. All Polish verbs that we analyse here have the suffix *-ować*, corresponding to the Dutch ending *-eren*. Zygmunt Saloni [Saloni, 2007, p. 105] remarks that they are conjugated according to the paradigm generally used for Polish verbs borrowed from foreign languages or newly formed (some 25 % of all verbs), such as *aslogować*, *kserować* or *monitorować*. In their *Strukturalny Słownik Aspektowy Czasowników Polskich* [Cockiewicz, Matlak, 1995], Cockiewicz and Matlak identified, of the total number of some 12,000 Polish verbs, 205 *imperfectiva tantum* and 241 *perfectiva tantum*, altogether 3.7 % of all the verbs. Łaziński structures them thus (Table 2):

From the list of the verbs in Cockiewicz [Cockiewicz, 2007] and the list we made up according to *Het Groene Boekje*, we chose ten verbs of this type, considering mainly the examples mentioned by Cockiewicz in his paper. The verbs of foreign origin analysed here are: *argumenteren* ‘to argue’, *censureren* ‘to censor’, *exporteren* ‘to export’, *integreren* ‘to integrate’, *motiveren* ‘to motivate’, *normaliseren* ‘to normalise’, *promoveren* ‘to promote’, *rapporteren* ‘to report’, *respecteren* ‘to respect’ and *simuleren* ‘to simulate’. We will characterise these Dutch borrowed verbs from the point of aspectuality and look at whether their Czech and Polish equivalents are bi-aspectual or not, as well as how they have been (or are on the way to being) integrated into the Czech and Polish aspectual system.

## 5. CZECH AND POLISH EQUIVALENTS OF THE SELECTED VERBS

The Czech and Polish equivalents of the selected potentially bi-aspectual verbs are:

- Czech<sup>8</sup>: *argumentovat*, *cenзуovat*, *exportovat*, *integrovat*, *motivovat*, *normalizovat*, *promovat*, *raportovat*,<sup>9</sup> *respektovat* and *simulovat*;
- Polish: *argumentować*, *cenзуować*, *eksportować*, *integrować*, *motywować*, *normalizować*, *promować*, *raportować*, *respektować* and *symulować* [Cockiewicz, 2007, p. 17].

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<sup>8</sup> We used the online accessible dictionaries *Akademický slovník cizích slov* (Academic Dictionary of Foreign Words, hereafter ASCS), *Slovník spisovné češtiny* (Dictionary of Written Czech, hereafter SSČ), available at: <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz>, and SSJČ.

<sup>9</sup> In Czech, the verb *raportovat* is considered to be archaic — see the explanation in the dictionaries ASCS and SSJČ, available at: <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=raportovat>.

## 6. THE SELECTED GROUP IN DUTCH

According to the ANS (§ 30.3.2.1), for the aspectuality of Dutch verbs it is important whether they have a dynamic or a static character, i.e. whether the verb represents an activity or process in which there is a certain development in time, or that eventual objects and adverbial clauses have no influence on the aspectual information. In the first case, for static verbs, it depends on circumstances such as objects and adverbials whether the verb has a terminative or a durative (the equivalent of Slavonic imperfective) aspect, and in the second case the aspect is considered to be terminative — the equivalent of the Slavonic perfective [cf. Flor-Górecka, 2016, p. 10–15].

None of the selected verbs in our group has a real static character, as all represent activities. They can be mostly used as terminative as well, if the verb can have a direct object. Here we give some examples based on *Delpher*.<sup>10</sup>

- *Kinderen leren **argumenteren** en hun mening aanscherpen.* (NRC 11–10–2003; durative) (Children learn to **argue** and to sharpen their opinion).
- *Een probleem is als auteurs hun eigen boeken zijn gaan **censureren*** (*Het Parool*, 14–04–1995, terminative) (A problem is when authors started to **ensor** their own books).
- *In de eerste elf maanden van 1994 **exporteerden** Nederlandse bedrijven volgens het CBS voor 7 miljard gulden naar Japan* (*De Volkskrant*, 22–03–1995, durative) (In the first eleven months of 1994, according to CBS, Dutch enterprises **exported** 7 billion guilders worth of goods to Japan).
- *De landelijke overheid vond het tijd dat Molukkers **integreerden** met Nederlanders* (*Trouw*, 09–10–1995, durative) (The national authorities believed that it was time to **integrate** the Moluccans with the Dutch).
- *Het zal werkelozen niet snel **motiveren** om voor minder dan het minimumloon te werken* (*Algemeen Dagblad*, 28–02–1995, durative) (This wouldn't **motivate** unemployed persons to work for less than the minimum wage).
- *Baars wil die concurrentieverhoudingen weer **normaliseren** door het leerlingwezen goedkoper te maken* (*De Volkskrant*, 25–03–1995, ter-

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<sup>10</sup> Available at: [www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/](http://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/).



minative) (Baars would like to **normalise** the competitive situation by making apprenticeships cheaper).

- ... *waarna Lankohr de terug gelegde bal van Simons met een gave voetbeweging tot doelpunt **promoveerde*** (*Trouw*, 25–11–1995, terminative) (... where upon Lankohr **converted** Simon's returned ball into a goal with a cool footmovement).
- *Nu **rapporteren** de vier krijgsmachtdelen alle vier direct aan de minister, op onderscheiden niveaus* (*Algemeen Dagblad*, 29–08–1995, durative) (Now, all four branches of the armed forces **report** directly to the minister, at different levels).
- *Zo'n publiek bestel **respecteert** de geschiedenis* (*Trouw*, 28–12–1995, durative) (Such a public system **respects** history).
- We hebben een calamiteit in Italië **gesimuleerd** (*De Volkskrant*, 06–05–1995, terminative) (We **simulated** a disaster in Italy).
- Just one verb from this selection seems to have only a durative aspect, *argumenteren*. Its perfective counterpart can be formed by adding the prefix *be-*: *Iedere student zal zijn voorkeur achteraf met overtuiging **beargumenteren*** (*De Volkskrant*, 11–01–1995 — Each student will **argue** their preference afterwards with conviction). This prefix has, in Dutch, a similar function to *z-/s-* in the Slavonic languages, with the difference that it slightly changes the meaning of the verb.

## 7. THE SELECTED GROUP IN CZECH

Of the selected group, the verbs *cenзуrovat* 'to censor', *exportovat* 'to export', *integrovat* 'to integrate', *motivovat* 'to motivate', *normalizovat* 'to normalise' and *promovat* 'to promote' are, in Czech, bi-aspectual according to the standard dictionaries. The remaining four verbs *argumentovat* 'to argue', *raportovat* 'to report', *respektovat* 'to respect' and *simulovat* 'to simulate' are considered to be *imperfective tantum*.<sup>11</sup>

The Czech synchronic written corpus SYN version 8<sup>12</sup> shows a tendency concerning all of the aforementioned bi-aspectual verbs to inte-

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<sup>11</sup> In the forthcoming *Academic Dictionary of Contemporary Czech*, however, the verb *cenзуrovat* is characterised only as imperfective — see: <https://slovníkcestiny.cz/heslo/cenzurovat/0/10501>

<sup>12</sup> SYN version 8 is the most extensive synchronic written corpus of contemporary Czech, with a word count of 4.5 billion words. The dominant component is journalism; for more details see: <https://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/en:cnk:syn:verze8>

grate themselves into the Czech aspectual system by adding a perfective prefix — see Table 3. For perfect forms, in addition to the typically perfect prefix *z-*,<sup>13</sup> the prefixes *vy-*, *za-*, *na-*, *od-* are documented as well. It should be mentioned, however, that the relative frequency of prefixed verbs functioning as perfective forms was significantly lower than the relative frequency of the base forms in the SYN corpus version 8 (see Table 3).

Table 3. Frequency of aspectual forms of borrowed verbs in Czech

Verb	Relative frequency in SYN version 8 (ipm <sup>14</sup> )	Perfective aspectual counterpart	Relative frequency in SYN version 8 (ipm)
<i>cenzurovat</i>	0.65	<b>z</b> cenzurovat	0.07
<i>exportovat</i>	2.71	<b>vy</b> exportovat	0.05
<i>integrovat</i>	4.16	<b>z</b> integrovat	0.03
		<b>z</b> integrovat	0.01
<i>motivovat</i>	17.33	<b>na</b> motivovat	0.58
		<b>z</b> motivovat	0.01
<i>normalizovat</i>	0.5	<b>z</b> normalizovat	0.08
<i>promovat</i>	0.96	<b>od</b> promovat	0.1

With regard to the imperfective verbs *argumentovat* and *simulovat*, the use of perfect forms created by prefixation was recorded (Table 4):

Table 4. Frequency of *argumentovat* and *simulovat* and their aspectual counterparts

Verb	Relative frequency in SYN version 8 (ipm)	Perfective aspectual counterpart	Relative frequency in SYN version 8 (ipm)
<i>argumentovat</i>	15.5	<b>vy</b> argumentovat	0.1
		<b>z</b> argumentovat	0.01
<i>simulovat</i>	3.13	<b>na</b> simulovat	0.32

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Kolářová, 2013, p. 271.

<sup>14</sup> The abbreviation *ipm* stands for “instances per million”.

For only two of the imperfective verbs of the verbs analysed — *raportovat* and *respektovat* — has the existence of perfect forms not been demonstrated. These two imperfective verbs do not form an aspectual pair with another verb in contemporary Czech, and may be considered to be *imperfectiva tantum*.

## 8. THE SELECTED GROUP IN POLISH

In Polish, all of the verbs selected are noted in Cockiewicz's dictionary as bi-aspectual. Saloni, however, notes only *promować* and *eksportować* as bi-aspectual. The *WSJPWD* confirms Saloni's interpretation, but notes *promować* as imperfective. The rather unclear situation of these verbs in Polish may be illustrated by the following sentences:

- *Ale jednego nam nie zabrano — naszych umysłów i zdolności, argumentowali na przykład sygnatariusze wspomnianej wcześniej deklaracji.* 'But one thing was not taken away from us — our minds and abilities, the signatories of the aforementioned declaration **argued**, for example' [Bendyk Edwin, *Zatruta Studnia: Rzecz o Władzy i Wolności*, 2002 — imperfective]. Saloni has no perfective counterpart.
- *Władze kościelne badały i cenzurowały „Dzienniczek“.* 'The Church authorities investigated and **censored** "Dzienniczek"' [*Polityka* no. 2243, 29-04-2000 — imperfective]. Saloni mentions *ocenzurować* as the perfective counterpart.
- *Kiedyś Walim eksportował wyroby z lnu nawet do Australii i Japonii.* 'Walim **exported** linen products even to Australia and Japan' [*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 03-11-1993 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *wyeksportować* as the perfective counterpart.
- *Mały Antoś integrował się z góralami, biegał za owcami, tygodniami nie mył się i nie czytał, posługiwał się wyłącznie gwarą, tak że po powrocie na Mazowsze musiał na nowo uczyć się języka literackiego.* 'Little Antoś **integrated** himself with the highlanders, ran after sheep, did not wash or read for weeks, and spoke only the local dialect, so that after his return to Mazovia he had to learn the literary language anew' [*Tygodnik Podhalański* no. 3, 2000 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *zintegrować* as the perfective counterpart.
- *Do wszystkiego muszę się — może nie zmuszać — ale bardzo silnie motywować.* 'I have to **motivate** myself to do everything — maybe

not force myself — but very strongly’ [CKM no. 11, 2000 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *umotywować* as the perfective counterpart, but, depending on the context, *zmotywować* may be used as a perfective counterpart as well.

- *Nie można bowiem standaryzować i normalizować jakiegoś testu na próbie studentów, a potem stosować go nie tylko do studentów, czy przede wszystkim do nie-studentów.* ‘It is not possible to standardise and **normalise** a test based on a sample of students and then apply it not only to students, or especially to non-students’ [Jerzy Brzeziński, *Metodologia badań psychologicznych*, 1996 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *znormalizować* as the perfective counterpart.
- *Nie promował swoich poglądów, nie przekonywał nas, że to on ma rację, a nie my — dodaje Jerzy (...).* ‘He did not **promote** his views, he did not convince us that he was right and not us,” adds Jerzy’ [Urbanek Mariusz, *Kisielewscy: Jan August, Zygmunt, Stefan, Wacek*, 2006 — noted as imperfective]. Saloni has no perfective counterpart.
- *Co więcej, wszyscy ci ubezpieczyciele raportowali, że ich przypis składki zwiększył się w porównaniu z minionym rokiem.* ‘Moreover, all of these insurers **reported** that their written premiums had increased, compared to the previous year’ [Artur Makowiecki, *Gazeta Ubezpieczeniowa*, 17-03-2009 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *zaraportować* as the perfective counterpart.
- *Kodyfikacja Chlodwiga respektowała tę zasadę z jednym, znamienym wyjątkiem.* ‘Chlodwig’s codification **respected** this principle, with one notable exception’ [Karol Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa*, 2004]. Saloni has no perfective counterpart.
- *Rzeczywiście wyglądała nie najlepiej. Oczywiście symulowała.* ‘She really did not look good. She **was** obviously **pretending** [= simulating]’ [Piotr Krawczyk, *Plamka światła*, 1997 — imperfective]. Saloni mentions its perfective counterpart as *zasymulować*.

The approximation of the meaning of the prefix and the lexical meaning of the stem is the most important criterion for the choice of the prefix for the correct accomplished equivalent: *napisać* for *pisać* ‘write’, *ogolić się* for *golić się* ‘shave’ and *przeczytać* for *czytać* ‘read’. The emergence of such a prefixal aspectual pair is usually preceded by the stage of an aspectual triad functioning with secondary imperfectives, such as *napisywać*, *przeczytywać* or *ogalać*. This stage may be omit-

ted, as is visible especially in recent borrowings such as *referować*, *faksować*, *mailować*, *forwardować*, *backupować*. In Polish, such verbs usually take a prefix which matches the meaning of the stem, often the most frequent and semantically least-loaded prefix: *z-/s-/ś-*: *zamailować* as in *zatelefonować*, *przeforwardować* as in *przesłać*, *zbackupować* as in *skopiować* [Łaziński, 2020, p. 73]. This prefix gives rise to the corresponding perfective verbs, such as *zinterpretować* or *zorganizować* [Łaziński, 2020, p. 79].

## 9. CONCLUSIONS

In the Czech dictionaries, the majority of the analysed verbs are described as bi-aspectual, a smaller part of them are imperfective. In both languages, the interpretation of a verb as bi-aspectual or as an *imperfectivum tantum* is often dependent on which dictionary one consults [cf. Łaziński, 2020, p. 78], who remarks that the group has no clear outline). Thus, e.g. *integrovat* is bi-aspectual according to the *Akademický slovník cizích slov* (Academic Dictionary of Foreign Words) and the *Slovník spisovné češtiny* (Dictionary of Written Czech), but *imperfectivum tantum* in the *SSJČ*. Similarly, *motywować* is seen as bi-aspectual by Cockiewicz [Cockiewicz, 2007, p. 17], but the *Wielki Słownik Języka Polskiego* (The Great Dictionary of the Polish Language) edited by Witold Doroszewski<sup>15</sup> marks it only as *ndk* (imperfective), whilst its counterpart *umotywować* is perfective.

The discussion above shows that derivations from Latin (whether or not via other languages) in Czech and Polish are primarily considered to be imperfective. This corresponds with the basically durative aspect in Dutch for the selected group, as most of them are verbs representing an activity. In Polish, such verbs usually stay bi-aspectual for just a short while. In a later phase, they are interpreted as imperfective and, mostly with the prefix *z-* or *s-*, a perfective counterpart is formed. Thus, the bi-aspectuality, being an irregularity in the Polish system, is changed into a regular aspectual pair. In Czech, a similar tendency is visible, but the integration of foreign verbs through bi-aspectuality via their interpretation as imperfective only, and the final formation of aspectual pairs by adding a standard aspectual prefix, seems to be slower. Moreover, this tendency does not apply equally and without exception to all verbs.

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<sup>15</sup> Available at: <http://doroszewski.pwn.pl/haslo/motywować/>

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**СРАВНЕНИЕ ДВУХАСПЕКТНЫХ ГЛАГОЛОВ, ЗАИМСТВОВАННЫХ ИЗ  
ЛАТИНСКОГО ЯЗЫКА В ГОЛЛАНДСКИЙ, ЧЕШСКИЙ И ПОЛЬСКИЙ ЯЗЫКИ**

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Западногерманские языки, такие как нидерландский, имеют темпоральную систему, но типичной чертой славянской глагольной системы является аспектуальность. Большинство славянских заимствованных или новообразованных глаголов в технической сфере основаны на латыни — языке с довольно строгой временной системой. Как правило, такие глаголы заимствуются в основном в имперфективной (длительной) форме. В данной работе рассматриваются несколько таких глаголов и сравнивается их интеграция в голландский, чешский и польский языки. В голландском языке нет морфологических форм, демонстрирующих аспектуальность. Тем не менее аспектуальность присутствует, но разли-

чие выражается семантически и имеет динамический или статический характер. В данной статье рассматриваются десять потенциально двухаспектных глаголов, заимствованных из латинского языка, все они имеют в голландском языке динамический характер. В чешском и польском языках такие глаголы после заимствования изначально будут иметь двухаспектный характер. В зависимости от частоты употребления, глаголы интегрируются при помощи добавления аспектуальных префиксов. Эта интеграция для обоих славянских языков иллюстрируется предложениями из недавних статей в прессе. Если в чешских словарях большинство анализируемых глаголов все еще описываются как двухаспектные, то польский язык, похоже, гораздо быстрее превращает латинские заимствованные глаголы в аспектуальные пары. Однако следует проявлять осторожность, так как часто от словаря зависит, будет ли глагол помечен как двухаспектный или как *imperfectivum tantum*. Тем не менее общие тенденции очевидны.

**Ключевые слова:** двухаспектные глаголы, латинский язык, голландский язык, чешский язык, польский язык, сравнение.

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## **WORD FORMATION POTENTIAL OF WORDS RELATING TO UPPER BODY IN DANISH\***

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Somatisms, or names of human body parts, are the oldest and most important components of the linguistic “picture of the world” of any nation. People have always had associations with something directly related to them and that they are familiar with — parts of the body. The most frequently used somatisms related to the upper body (head) were chosen as material for this study: *hoved* ‘head’, *næse* ‘nose’, *mund* ‘mouth’, *nakke* ‘back of the head’, *hals* ‘neck’, *pande* ‘forehead’, *øje* ‘eye’, *øre* ‘ear’. Since isolated somatisms act as independent units only in some specific contexts, the study also included compound words with these somatism-components as the second component. The analysis of meanings of the most frequent words belonging to the lexical-semantic group “Upper part of the human body” reveals a rather mixed picture. On the one hand, these units in their literal sense make up parts of many compound words, which allows us to identify the main word-formation patterns for this sphere. On the other hand, somatisms in their figurative meanings are also actively used within compound nouns. Pseudoparticiples represent a separate group that can be metaphorised and in this case are used to characterize a person, together with evaluative nouns containing similar second components. In some cases, pseudoparticiples serve as parallels to evaluative nouns with a somatism as the second component. In the sphere of evaluative nouns, there is a weakening of the semantics of words used as second components, which clearly indicates that these units are on their way to become affixes. The word-formation potential of the somatisms under study is extremely wide and is determined by the importance of body parts in the sensory cognition of the world and

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in the subject-practical activity of man, which determines the number and regularity of the units derived from them.

**Keywords:** Danish, names of body parts, somatic vocabulary, word formation, upper body names, pseudo-particles, evaluative vocabulary.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Somatisms, or designations of human body parts, are the oldest and most important components of any nation's world picture. People have always had associations with something that is directly related to them and that they are familiar with — parts of the body. The concept of anthropocentrism, which claims that man is the measure of all things, is now firmly established in linguistics. Metaphorization of words denoting body parts, as well as phraseological expressions with such units, in recent years have repeatedly been the object of research using material from many languages. A number of works touch on various aspects of general theoretical problems [Apresyan, 1995; Arutiunova, 1999; Wierzbicka, 1996]. However, primary representation of the name of a human body part, i.e. the use of somatisms in their direct meaning, as well as complex words including these units, tend to be elided. Somatisms in Danish, both in their literal and figurative meaning, have so far not been the subject of their own study.

It is only in some contexts (e.g. in medical descriptions) that an isolated somatism acts as an independent unit; in a particular speech pattern it requires some kind of characteristic that is inherently assumed. Somatism either needs a referent (whose) or is used in the context of predicative or attributive combinability. For the Danish language, where the main word-formation method is compounding, compound words with a somatism as the second component are interesting in two aspects. First, they express a direct anthropocentric picture of the Danish world. Second, while demonstrating high word-formation activity and participating in the creation of a large number of compounds of various types, they allow a new look at the specifics of Danish word formation.

The purpose of this study is to identify peculiarities of the semantics of somatisms relating to the upper body and their word-formation potential in the Danish language when used as a reference word, both in its direct and metaphorical meaning.

## 2. STUDY MATERIAL

The most frequent somatisms<sup>1</sup> relating to the upper body (head) were chosen as the material: *hoved* ‘head’, *næse* ‘nose’, *mund* ‘mouth’, *nakke* ‘nape’, *hals* ‘neck’, *pande* ‘forehead’, *øje* ‘eye’, *øre* ‘ear’ — as well as compound words with these somatismic components as the second component.

All the above-mentioned units are recorded in the Dictionary of Modern Danish [*Den Danske Ordbog*] or in the Danish Language Corpus [*KorpusDK*]. For this analysis, we used dictionary entries from the Danish Language Dictionary [*Ordbog over det danske Sprog*] reflecting the state of the Danish language from 1700 to 1950. Some illustrative examples are taken from fiction.

## 3. SOMATISMS IN THE DIRECT SENSE

Obviously, the number of words nominating body parts does not depend on the specific language. However, all translators of Scandinavian languages have often faced the problem of translating somatisms and somatic vocabulary. Seemingly unambiguous matches designating human body parts strongly established in the translator’s mind (often following the dictionary) often do not “fit” the context and require the use of a related metonymic equivalent. The phrase *Han havde et lille smil om munden* clearly does not suggest the use of the word “mouth” in translation, and the smile was rather “on the lips.” Meanwhile, the dictionary definition of the words *mund* and *mouth* in the modern Danish dictionary and in Russian dictionaries coincides. It is interesting, however, that the old Danish explanatory dictionary offers an additional meaning: “about the outer part of the mouth cavity and what surrounds it, especially about the lips” [*Ordbog over det danske Sprog*].

A similar divergence of meaning compared to Russian can also be observed when comparing the somaticism *nakke* with its Russian equivalent. When the hero, who is standing at his brother’s coffin, is suddenly approached by his girlfriend, the author writes: “En hånd blev lagt på min nakke” [Høeg, 2018, s. 279]. In this case we cannot assume that the heroine puts her hand on the back of the hero’s head, although this is the most

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<sup>1</sup> The frequency of somatisms and compound words with somatismic components was determined from the Danish Language Corpus, available at: <https://ordnet.dk/korpusdk>.

frequent equivalent. Obviously, she can only put her hand on his shoulder. The analysis of dictionary definitions reveals the following definition of the lexeme *nakke*: “the back of a human or animal’s neck, sometimes also about the lower part of the head and the upper part of the back” [*Den Danske Ordbog*]. We can say that in this case we are dealing with an undifferentiated meaning in Danish when compared to Russian.

Thus, the meanings of somatisms in Russian and Danish are not always “symmetrical” and do not unexceptionally imply an unambiguous equivalent, even when the direct meaning is concerned.

#### 4. METAPHORICAL MEANINGS OF ISOLATED SOMATISMS

An analysis of metaphorical meanings of isolated somatisms in Danish in comparison with Russian shows significant discrepancies only for some lexemes. In particular, the word *næse* has a meaning ‘a reprimand, a remark (from the boss)’ and the lexeme *øre* has an additional meaning ‘handle’ (for example, the handle of a pot).

However, as part of a compound word, all the somatisms show a great metaphorical potential (see 7).

#### 5. COMPOUND WORDS WITH SOMATISMS IN THE DIRECT SENSE

Most compounds with the second component denoting a body part are compound words created according to models accepted in the language, both potential (not registered in the dictionary, but formed according to the models existing in the language) and occasional which demonstrate the creative capacity of the language. In contrast to the most frequent types of relations between the components of a compound word distinguished in Danish, namely place and time [Krasnova, 2003, p. 93], for somatic vocabulary the relation of belonging is the most frequent, for example: *barneøjne* ‘child’s eyes’, *griseøre* ‘pig’s ear’ (possible use in the terminological sphere, see 11), *hestehoved* ‘horse’s head’, *løvehoved* ‘lion’s head’, *klovnenæse* ‘clown’s nose’, *lammeknakke* ‘ram’s neck’, *svanehals* ‘swan’s neck’ (metaphorically in a compound word, see 6, or as a term, see 11), *æseløre* ‘donkey’s ear’ (metaphorical use in a compound, see 8).

The second most frequent group of compound words with a somatism as the second component contains the first component describ-

ing appearance: *skaldepande* bare forehead ‘bald + forehead’, *stritører* shaggy ears ‘floppy + ears’.

## 6. METAPHORISATION OF THE FIRST, CATEGORIZING COMPONENT IN A COMPOUND WORD WITH SOMATISMS

The first component of a compound word with somatism is often ametaphorised first component, which is not surprising since somatism requires some kind of characteristic (see above). It is often represented by a word in its figurative sense: *blomkålsøre* deformed/mutilated ear ‘cauliflower + ear’; *glasøje* empty look ‘glass + eye’; *ørnenæse* eagle nose ‘eagle + nose’; *tyrenakke* bull neck ‘bull + nape, neck’; *kirsebærmund* bright red mouth ‘cherry + mouth’; *svanehals* long and white neck ‘swan + neck’ (compare with the use in the literal sense in 5).

## 7. A COMPOUND WORD WITH A METAPHORISED SECOND COMPONENT

In most compound words under consideration, the meaning of a metaphorised component coincides with the figurative meaning of the single word: *flaskehals* bottle neck ‘bottle + throat’; *tændstikhoved* match head ‘match + head’; *skonæse* shoe toe ‘shoe + nose’; *nåleøje* needle eye ‘needle + eye’; *sølvhals* silver throat.

However, in some cases there is metaphorisation of the second component in the absence of metaphorisation in the isolated component, e.g. in the compound *sprogøre* language ability ‘language + ear’, the component *øre* gets a meaning unrecorded in the dictionary ‘the ability to perceive, the ability to learn’.

## 8. METAPHORISATION OF A WHOLE COMPOUND WITH A SECOND SOMATIC COMPONENT

Body part names may also form part of compounds where the metaphorical meaning is further developed, in particular as metaphorisation of the whole composite: *nåleøje* ‘narrow place’, too high demands that are difficult to meet, lit. needle eye ‘needle + eye’; *flaskehals* ‘bottle neck’, vulnerable place, bottleneck; *koøje* porthole ‘cow + eye’; *æseløre* a bent book page used as a bookmark ‘donkey + ear’.

## 9. PSEUDOPARTICIPLES

All the somatisms under discussion make part of pseudoparticiples, which Danish linguists traditionally refer to as adjectives [Hansen, 1967; Jarvad, 1995]. Pseudoparticiples, words formed from noun bases following the past participle pattern, are the rarest type of nomination, but they form a fairly representative group among compound words with components denoting body parts. In terms of semantics, all these lexical units refer to human appearance and depending on the semantics of the first component the following frequency subgroups are distinguished:

1. Form: *langhalsset* long-necked 'long + neck', *krumnæset* hunched 'crooked + nose';
2. Colour: *rødnæset* red-nosed 'red + nose', *brunøjet* brown-eyed 'brown + nose', *gråhåret* grey-haired 'grey + nose', *hvidhovedet* grey 'white + head';
3. Size: *storøjet* big-eyed 'big + eye', *stormundet* big-mouth 'big + mouth';
4. Quantitative characteristic: *enøjet* one-eyed 'one + eye', *enøret* one-eared 'one + ear', *tohovedet* double-headed 'two + head', *mangehovedet* multi-headed 'many + head'.

Most of complex pseudoparticiples with the second somatic component form metaphorical units describing a person's character traits and mental abilities: *højpandet* arrogant 'tall + forehead'; *hårdnakket* stubborn 'firm + back of the head'; *fladpandet* blunt 'flat + forehead'; *åbenmundet* chatty 'open + mouth'; *blåøjet* naive 'blue + eye'; *rapmundet* sharp on the tongue 'quick + mouth'; *klarhovedet* with a clear mind 'clear + head'.

## 10. SOMATISMS AS PART OF EVALUATIVE COMPOUND WORDS WITH THE MEANING OF "PERSON"

As the second components of a compound somatisms participate in creation of evaluative nouns with the meaning of "person." Evaluative nouns with the meaning of "person" with different components in the Danish language were considered in the works of E. A. Gurova [Gurova, 2012; Gurova, 2015]. Among a large group of evaluative nouns, the author singles out compounds with the second components denoting a

body part: *glatnakke* ‘fool’ or ‘neo-Nazi’, *skrålhals* ‘screamer’, *bangerøv* ‘coward’ [Gurova, 2015, p. 25].

Analyzing a group of words referring to the upper part of the body we can identify the most frequent evaluative nouns created on the basis of somatisms under study. At the same time, most of them are words with negative connotations with but a few exceptions: *vovehals*, *lækkermund* and *slikmund*. All the evaluative compound words with the components in question are given below (see Table).

The most frequent are formations with the word *hoved*. It is interesting that unlike the Russian cultural tradition, where *head* is associated with a series of both positive and negative meanings [Arutyunova, 1999, p. 334], all formations with *hoved* contain negative connotations. As we can see from the table, other somatisms show a lesser word-formation activity.

In this large group of evaluative nouns, there is a clear *semantic neutralization* manifested in the fact that all somatisms in the above formations become the designation of a person, while the first component has a categorizing function. The categorizing component may be expressed by a noun that originally represents this quality (*torskehoved* fool ‘cod + head’, cf. dictionary meanings *torsk* 1. ‘cod’, 2. ‘fool’), or a noun that is in no way related to the dictionary meaning of the first component (*æggehoved* clever ‘egg + head’).

The analyzed material suggests that it is not only semantic neutralization, but also a means of nuancing the attributes used in the Danish linguaculture to characterize a person. The reference component is involved in creating the meaning of “intellectual or emotional quality”: the reference components *pande*, *nakke* — in negatively characterizing a person by their intellectual quality, *hals*— in negatively characterizing a person by their speech ability, *mund* by their gastronomic predilections. The development of such a broad word meaning is one of natural manifestations of the tendency in modern Danish towards analyticism and syntagmatic discreteness: “Another manifestation of the features of analyticism in compound word formation in Scandinavian languages is a *tendency to develop a broad word meaning with a supporting component of the compound*. Having analyzed the formation of Danish compounds, we can argue that “broad-meaning” components of Danish compounds, without losing their connection with the original meaning of the lexemes, are used as a productive manner of complex nomination. The

Table. The evaluative compound words with the components in question

hoved	<i>Brokkehoved</i> bore, grumpy 'grumble + head'
	<i>Brushoved</i> fiery man 'hissing, hissing + head'
	<i>Fæhoved</i> fool 'cattle + head'
	<i>Fårehoved</i> fool 'sheep + head'
	<i>Grødhoved</i> fool 'mush + head' rodehoved
	<i>Hængehoved</i> dull man 'hang + head' (cf. the phraseology <i>hænge med hovedet</i> )
	<i>Kvajhoved</i> stupid, limited person 'stupid, limited person + head'
	<i>Paphoved</i> idiot, stupid 'cardboard + head'
	<i>Rodehoved</i> careless man 'mess + head'
	<i>Skvadderhoved</i> fool 'chatterbox + head'
	<i>Torskehoved</i> fool 'cod + head'
	<i>Tossehoved</i> fool 'fool + head'
	<i>Vrøvehoved</i> chatterbox 'chatter + head'
	<i>Æggehoved</i> clever 'egg + head'
hals	<i>Løgnhals</i> liar 'lie + neck'
	<i>Skrighals</i> screamer 'shout + neck'
	<i>Skrålhals</i> screamer 'scream + neck'
	<i>Vovehals</i> daredevil 'dare + neck'
pande	<i>Fladpande</i> bounded man 'flat + forehead'
	<i>Kvajpande</i> stupid, limited person 'stupid, limited person + forehead'
nakke	<i>Dummenakke</i> fool 'fool + back of the head'
	<i>Glatnakke</i> stupid 'smooth + back of the head'
mund	<i>Lækkermund</i> sweet tooth 'tasty + mouth'
	<i>Slikmund</i> sweet tooth 'sweet + mouth'
næse	<i>Snotnæses</i> not næse 'snot + nose'



more productive the model, the more functional differentiation of its components is manifested, when, while retaining its own lexical meaning, one of the components develops a generalizing, or categorizing, service function” [Nikulicheva, 2006, p. 44].

It should be noted that evaluative nouns in this group are stylistically heterogeneous. Many of them belong to slang. Some may be perceived by native speakers as obsolete. When comparing the old and the new Danish dictionaries, it was found out that a number of compound words with the component *-pande* were not included in the new dictionary.

## 11. SOMATISMS IN COMPLEX TERMINOLOGICAL NAMES

Somatisms with a metaphorical meaning are extensively used in a variety of terminological fields, a complete list of which is impossible to provide. The following are examples of the fields most “susceptible” to somatisms.

1. “Tools and tool parts”: *borehoved* ‘drill head’, *svanehals* ‘curved tube for mounting a lamp’, *øksenakke* ‘axe shoe’.
2. “Anatomy”: *blærehals* ‘bladder neck’, *strubehoved* ‘larynx’;
3. “Animal names”: *hvidnæse* white-faced dolphin ‘white + nose’, *frømund* smoky frog-mouth ‘frog + mouth’, *randøje* ox’s eye, or *velveteenakke* ox (butterfly) ‘edge, rim + eye’, *rødhals* ‘robin ‘red + neck’.
4. “Plant name”: *griseøre* crassula ‘piglet + ear’, *løvemund* lion’s beak ‘lion + mouth’, *torskemund* flaxseed ‘codling + mouth’.

The analysis of the development of meanings of words included in the lexical-semantic group “Upper part of human body”, as well as the semantics of derivative units shows the peculiarity of implementation in them of worldview principles of anthropomorphism. The human body is undoubtedly very important in terms of cognition of the surrounding world.

## 12. CONCLUSION

The large number of derivative nominations from Danish somatisms *hoved*, *mund*, *hals*, *nakke*, *pande*, *næse*, *øre*, *øje* suggests that these body parts are extremely significant for representatives of the Danish linguacultural community. This vocabulary group is characterized by

the width and variety of connections with most different realias of the surrounding world.

The analysis of the modification of meanings of most frequent words included in the lexical-semantic group “The upper part of the human body” shows a rather mixed picture. On the one hand, these units in their literal sense make part of many compound words, which allows us to identify the main word-formation patterns for this sphere; on the other hand, somatisms in their figurative meanings are also actively used within compound nouns. At the same time, the figurativeness and expressiveness of the metaphor are eliminated in transition to the sphere of terminology where the figurative component is preserved. Pseudoparticiples represent a separate group, which can be metaphorised and in this case are used to characterize a person, in parallel with evaluative nouns containing the same second components. The presence of a large group of pseudoparticiples in the somatic vocabulary indicates the fluidity of the Danish language system. In some cases, pseudoparticiples serve as parallels to evaluative nouns (*fladpandet* — *fladpande*). In the sphere of evaluative nouns, there is weakening of the semantics of words used as second components, which clearly indicates that these units are on their way to become affixes.

The word-formation potential of somatisms under study is extremely wide, it is determined by the importance of body parts in the sensory cognition of the world and in the subject-practical activity of man, which affects the number and regularity of units derived from them.

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**СЛОВООБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫЙ ПОТЕНЦИАЛ СЛОВ,  
ОТНОсяЩИХСЯ К ВЕРХНЕЙ ЧАСТИ ТЕЛА, В ДАТСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ\***

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Соматизмы, или обозначения частей тела человека, являются наиболее древним и наиболее важным компонентом картины мира любого народа. У человека всегда возникали ассоциации с тем, что непосредственно связано с ним и хорошо ему знакомо — с частями тела. В качестве материала для данного исследования были выбраны наиболее частотные соматизмы, относящиеся к верхней части тела (голова): *hoved* ‘голова’, *næse* ‘нос’, *mund* ‘рот’, *nakke* ‘затылок’, *hals* ‘шея’, *pande* ‘лоб’, *øje* ‘глаз’, *øre* ‘ухо’. Поскольку изолированный соматизм лишь в отдельных контекстах выступает в качестве самостоятельной единицы, для исследования были также использованы сложные слова с данными компонентами-соматизмами в качестве второго компонента. Анализ значений наиболее частотных слов, входящих в лексико-семантическую группу «Верхняя часть тела человека», демонстрирует достаточно пеструю картину. С одной стороны, данные единицы входят в состав множества сложных слов в их прямом значении, что позволяет выделить основные словообразовательные модели для этой сферы, с другой стороны — активно используются переносные значения соматизмов в составе

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сложных существительных. Отдельную группу представляют собой псевдопричастия, которые могут подвергаться метафоризации и в этом случае используются для характеристик человека, употребляясь параллельно с оценочными существительными, содержащими сходные вторые компоненты. В некоторых случаях псевдопричастия служат параллелями к оценочным существительным со вторым компонентом-соматизмом. В сфере оценочных существительных наблюдается ослабление семантики слов, используемых в качестве вторых компонентов, что явно свидетельствует о том, что данные единицы находятся на пути превращения в аффиксы. Словообразовательный потенциал исследуемых соматизмов чрезвычайно широк, он определяется значимостью частей тела в сенсорном познании мира и в предметно-практической деятельности человека, что определяет количество и регулярность производных от них единиц.

**Ключевые слова:** датский язык, обозначение частей тела, соматическая лексика, словосложение, обозначения верхней части тела, псевдопричастия, оценочная лексика.

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## TONES IN DANISH DIALECTS COMPARED WITH LOW GERMAN AND FRANCONIAN TONES\*

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The article deals with tonal differences in Danish, northern Low German, and Franconian dialects, which appeared after the apocope. Dissyllabic words and forms become monosyllabic, but they continue to differ due to differences in accents: CVC — CVCV > CVC<sup>1</sup> — CVC<sup>2</sup>, as in /huːs/ n. sg. *hus* ‘house’ — /hu.sə/ n. pl. *huse* ‘houses’ > /hu.s<sup>1</sup>/ — /hu.s<sup>2</sup>/ in Southern Jutlandic, /hu.s/ n.sg. nom/acc. *Haus* ‘house’ — /hu.sə/ *Hause* ‘house’ dat. sg. > /hu.s<sup>1</sup>/ — /hu.s<sup>2</sup>/ in northern Low German dialects and /haus/ n. sg. nom./acc. *Haus* ‘house’ — /hausə/ dat. sg. *Hause* ‘house’ > /haus<sup>1</sup>/ — /haus<sup>2</sup>/ in Franconian Arzbach dialect. The appearance of such tonal differences is associated with a sharp increase in monosyllabic words. The development in the Danish apocopated dialects has much in common with the development in northern Low German and Franconian dialects. It concerns not only the appearance of tones due to the apocope and the same lexical and morphological distribution of the accents in related words and forms (see above), but even the spread of the accent of apocope to original monosyllabic words with a special phonemic basis (spontaneous accentuation), the long phonetic duration of which was realized by the speakers as an accent of the apocope. Tonal differences of root morphemes, along with the coincidence of the root with the syllable and with the increase of the difference between syllable-initial and syllable-final consonants, turn out to be one of the most important means of segmentation of the root morpheme in a text. The question is also raised about the possible contact nature of the apocope and of the appearance of the tonal differences.

**Keywords:** Danish dialects, northern Low German dialects, Franconian dialects, prosodics, apocope, tones.

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In three papers published in *Scandinavian Philology* [Kuzmenko, 2017, 2018; Kuzmenko, 2019] I have focused on two changes in the Germanic languages that increase their similarity with morphosyllabic languages of Southeast Asia, namely the tendency for the root to coincide with the syllable and to increase the difference between the syllable-initial and syllable-final elements. In this paper I deal with the third trend in the history of the Germanic languages: the appearance of monosyllabic tones. The main focus will be on monosyllabic tones in Danish dialects, which will be compared with tones in the northern Low German and Franconian dialects, where the main arena of contrasting tones is also monosyllabic words.

The main source of the accent opposition in monosyllabic words in Danish, northern Low German, and Franconian dialects is the schwa apocope (disyllabic words and forms become monosyllabic, but continue to differ due to differences in accents: CVC — CVCV > CVC<sup>1</sup> — CVC<sup>2</sup> as in /hu.s/ n. sg. *hus* ‘house’ — /hu.sə/ n. pl. *huse* ‘houses’ > /hu.s<sup>1</sup>/ — /hu.s<sup>2</sup>/ in Southern Jutlandic), /hu.s/ n.sg. nom./acc. *Haus* ‘house’ — /hu.sə/ *Hause* ‘house’ dat. sg. > /hu.s<sup>1</sup>/ — /hu.s<sup>2</sup>/ in northern Low German dialects and /haus/ n. sg. nom./acc. *Haus* ‘house’ — /hausə/ dat. sg. *Hause* ‘house’ > /haus<sup>1</sup>/ — /haus<sup>2</sup>/ in Franconian Arzbach dialect. The functional load of accentual oppositions is very large, since the final schwa was an indicator of many word-forming and inflectional categories, including case and number of nouns, number and definite form of adjectives, infinitive of verbs, etc. These accents, which differ from each other by a complex of phonetic features (first of all by pitch, duration and intensity) and have various names,<sup>1</sup> are as a rule called now accent 1 and accent 2 according to the Swedish and Norwegian tradition.

## 1. STØD AS A MARKER OF SYLLABLE CUT IN STANDARD DANISH

Before we begin to compare the prosodic systems of the above mentioned Germanic languages we have to pay attention to the difference between two types of prosodic features, which I call segmental prosodics

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<sup>1</sup> Accent 1 is called in German *Stoßton*, *Schärfung*, *Korreption*, *Acut*, *Kürzung-sakzent*, in Dutch *valtoon*, *stoottoon*, *verscherping*, *giertoon*, in English *aprupt tone* or *pushing tone*. Accent 2 is called in German *Schleifton*, *Schwebelaut*, *Trägheitsaccent*, *Zirkumflex*, *Gravis*, *Extension*, in Dutch *sleeptoon*, *zweeftoon*, *boogtoon*, *traagheidsaccent* in English *dragging tone* and *circumflex*. In the Danish dialectological tradition the terms accent 1 and accent 2 were used from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

and suprasegmental prosodics [Kuzmenko, 1991]. Segmental prosodics refer to the relation between the components of the syllable, first of all the relation of the vowels and postvocalic consonants, in particular to the types of syllable cut and syllable division. Supra-segmental prosodics study tones or syllable accents that are superimposed on the stressed syllable. Traditionally, the *stød* in Standard Danish is considered to be a suprasegmental accent [Basbøll, 2005, s. 82–83]. However, it seems to me more convenient to interpret the *stød* as an indicator of segmental prosodics, such as syllable cut.

The segmental prosodics of the West Germanic standard languages and of the majority of the territorial vernaculars are characterized by the correlation of syllable cut (Germ. *Silbenschnitt* or *Anschlussart*), with the opposition between a checked cut when the postvocalic consonants are not separated from the preceding vowel by the syllable boundary and a free cut when the postvocalic consonants are separated from the preceding vowel by the syllable boundary. The vowel quantity depends hereby on the type of syllable cut. By the checked cut the vowels are short, by the free cut they are long [Trubetzkoy, 1939].

The Danish correlation of syllable cut differs, however from that of the West Germanic languages. It is not binomial, but four-membered. Here, not only checked (as in /kilə/ *kilde* ‘source’) and free cut (as in /ki:lə/ *kile* ‘drive’) are contrasted, but also super-checked (as in /kil’-ʌ/ *kilder* ‘tickles’) and super-free (as in /ki’lʌ/ *kiler* ‘drives’) [Kuz’menko, 2018]. This four-membered nature is provided by the Danish *stød*, which in its full form is a glottal stop but often is realized as a laryngeal compression of the vocal cords. In every form the *stød* designate a clear syllable border in dissyllabic words.

The distribution of *stød* in the Standard Danish has some constraints. *Stød* is possible only on long vowels or short vowels + sonorants. The functional load of the opposition *stød* — no *stød* in monosyllabic words is however very low and the words like *far* ‘father’ without *stød* are rare. The main area of contrast of the words with and without *stød* in Danish concerns dissyllabic words, cf. Dan. *læser* /læ’sv/ ‘read’ pres., *skriver* /skriu’v/ ‘write’ pres. with *stød* and *læser* /læ.sv/ ‘reader’, *skriver* /skri.vv/ ‘scribe’ without *stød*.

The correlation of syllable cut proposes the existence of polysyllabic, first of all dissyllabic, words in which the difference between the types of syllable cut is clear due to syllable division. In the Danish dialects

without apocope and in Standard Danish, dissyllabic words with an unstressed second syllable are very frequent [Frøkjær-Jensen, 1966, s. 27]. According to my calculation, the percentage of bisyllabic words in a Standard Danish text can vary, from 30 % to 40 %. Such words include words with the suffix /ə/ that indicates the plural form of nouns and adjectives, definite (weak) form of adjectives, or infinitive of verbs. The suffix /v/ (er) can indicate present tense of the verbs and plural forms of some nouns. The suffixes /ən/ and /eð/ can be definite articles and indicators of past participles. Since bisyllabic words are the main arena of contrast of four types of syllable cut, the dynamic components of the stød (glottalisation) here are stronger than a tonal one. However, the tonal component of the Standard Danish stød, which consists of a sudden increase of the tone with the following sharp drop, is also important for the phonetic characteristics of the stød [Fischer-Jørgensen, 1989]. Krasnova, describing the contrast stød-no stød in the Standard Danish, argues that in this contrast “the frequency of the main tone is of the greatest importance”<sup>2</sup> [Krasnova, 1985, s. 77]. These tonal characteristics, which in the standard Danish and in the dialects without the apocope play a subordinate role, obtained a new function in the dialects with the predominance of monosyllabic words. The tonal characteristics become here the main phonetic correlates of tones. In this way the indicators of the syllable cut become monosyllabic tones.

## 2. TONE AND STØD AS POSITIONAL AND FACULTATIVE VARIANTS IN THE DANISH DIALECTS WITH THE APOCOPE

In those Danish dialects where the apocope took place (first of all in South and West Denmark), the number of dissyllabic words has dropped radically. The monosyllabic words have become the main arena of the accent oppositions. The function of stød in the dialects without the apocope and in the Standard Danish in dissyllabic words is to provide the type of the syllable cut and syllable division. In the dialects with the apocope the stød (or what's left of it) is an indicator of a monosyllabic toneme. P. Andersen perfectly understood the different function of stød in the Standard Danish and in dialects with apocope: “The difference between original monosyllabic words and original dissyllabic (apoco-

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<sup>2</sup> Here and further my translation into English of cited Danish, German and Russian publications.



pated) words is preserved due to stød or quantity <...> and this means that the quantity, stød, and tone in Jutlandic dialects have a different phonological function than in the island dialects. A stød in the island dialects is a signal of a particular syllable structure (V:C, VCC), but in the Jutlandic dialects the stød manifests relevant tonemes or accentemes (or maybe phonemes!)” [Andersen, 1954, s. 85].

In a text in the dialect of Stauning (West Jutland) — [Sandvad, 1931, s.87–88], that underwent apocope and the suffixed article is prepositive, only 10 % of dissyllabic words remained. The same text in the Standard Danish contains 40 % of dissyllabic words. 80 % of words in a text in this dialect is monosyllabic. 20 % of the polysyllabic words in this text are 1) dissyllabic compounds of the type /lanj.væj/ *landevej* ‘country road’, 2) words with a stød between the root and the suffix (super-closed syllable cut /lɛqʰər/ pres. *lægger* ‘lay’, 3) words with a closed cut /halər/ *halerne* ‘the tails’, /sædər/ *sætter* ‘set’. Almost in every dissyllabic word the syllable and morpheme coincide. Only in one word it is possible to assume the lack of coincidence of syllabic and morphological boundaries: /hu. sænj/ (*husenden*) ‘household’. In the same text in standard Danish I have found 50 % of monosyllabic words.

In North Jutland and on Fyn, we can find a transitional stage in the development of tones. The mainly tonal accent 1 in monosyllabic words as in [bi.l]<sup>3</sup> *bil* ‘car’ and mainly dynamic characteristics and glottalization in dissyllabic words with the superfree cut as in [bi'lən] *bilen* ‘the car’ turn to be positional variants. The existence of a rising-falling movement of tone (see /'bi.l/ *bil* ‘car’ with accent 1), which corresponds to a strong stød in the Standard Danish (see /bi'l/ *bil*), is opposed here to the smooth tone of the accent 2 in original dissyllabic words, e.g. /'bi.l/ *bil* ‘car’ vs /'bi.l / *bile* ‘to drive a car’ [Molbæk Hansen, 1978, s. 16–17]. In monosyllabic words the main phonetic correlate of the opposition tonem 1 — tonem 2 is difference in pitch (F0) [Molbæk Hansen, 1978; Nielsen, 1968].

The tonal characteristics of monosyllabic words, which differ from the dynamic characteristics of dissyllabic words, are also found in the dialects of Fynen, in which the suffixed articles are preserved. In these dialects monosyllabic words with a bimoraic basis can differ by two different tones: rising — falling, which corresponds to the dynamic stød

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<sup>3</sup> I have tried to preserve the transcription of the source here and in other cases.

in the Standard Danish and smooth or smooth-falling (original words without *strød*) — [Andersen, 1958, s. 34]. Dynamic *stød* in dissyllabic words and rising accent in monosyllabic words in Eastern Fynen turns to be prosodic variants, cf. [ˈbij] *by* ‘bee’- [biˈɒn] *bien* def. ‘the bee’ [Ejskjær, 1990, s. 55]. In the Standard Danish and on Sjælland in both cases we have a dynamic *stød* /biˀ/ — /biˀn/. In West Fyn dialects, a rising tone is possible on diphthongs and glides, cf. [ˈvij] *vid* ‘wit’), and a dynamic *stød* on the monophthongs (cf. [viˀ] *vig* ‘bay’ [Pedersen, 1978, s. 78]. We can find on Fyn not only positional alternations of *stød* and tone but even facultative alternations as in [blæiˀ ~ ˈblæi] *bleg* ‘pale’ [Andersen, 1954, s. 26; 1958, s. 52, 72]. P. Andersen, who left the most detailed description of the dialect of Fyn, considers a *stød* and accent 1 to be positional variants of the same accent. “Some types of monosyllabic words assume an accent 1, and others a *stød*” [Andersen, 1958, s. 61].

However, in some Fynish dialects, the *stød* and the rising tone are different tonemes. A unique system of tones has developed in the dialects of North Fyn, where duration, *stød*, rising and falling (or low) tones form a four-membered system on a diphthong : /ˈbei/ *bi* ‘bee’, /beˀi/ *beg* ‘pitch’, /ˀbei/ *bide* ‘to wait’), /be.i/ *bege* ‘to pitch’ [Andersen, 1958, s. 194–297]. Different phonemic sequences, different number of syllables and a different types of syllable cut in the Standard Danish *bi* /biˀ/, *beg* /baj/, *bide* /biːðə/, *bege* /bajə/ reflecting a more archaic stage, correspond to different tonemes in the North Fun.

### 3. SPONTANEOUS ACCENTUATION ON FYN

The contrast of accents on Fyn is characteristic not only for native monosyllabic words and native dissyllabic words, but also for native monosyllabic words with different quality of the basis. Using the terminology of accents in Franconian dialects (see below), where the term combinatorial accentuation designates the accent of the apocope and spontaneous accentuation designates the accentuation which depends on the quality of the phonemic basis, we can see that accent 1 in the part of dialects on Fyn is characteristic of monosyllabic words with a high vowel and /o/. Accent 2 (accent of the apocope) occurs mainly in words with non-high vowels or in combination with narrow vowels, but before a dropped voiced consonant (cf. [ˀnø.] *nød* ‘nut’, [ˀha.b] *hop* ‘jump’, [ˀføl] *føl*, /ˀnå.l/ *nål* ‘needle’ or [ˀbi] *bid* ‘bit’ [Andersen, 1958].

A peculiar, reversal, distribution of the stød/rising accent as lack of stød/falling accent can be observed in some East Fyn vernaculars. Here the rising tone, which in other dialects is characteristic of the original monosyllabic words, occurs in the original dissyllabic words with the apocope, whereas the falling tone, which is characteristic of the other dialects on Fynen for the original dissyllabic words that have undergone the apocope has a rising accents (cf. [ 'gris] *grise* 'pigs', [ 'smud] *smutte* 'to leave', [ 'bjeb] *bjæbe* 'to bark', [ 'hid] *hitte* 'to find', [ 'damp] *dampe* 'to steam'. Such a reversal usage of different tones with the accent 1 in apocopated words and accent 2 in original monosyllabic words resembles the situation in Franconian dialects (as in Cologne), with the rule A where accent 1 is used in apocopated words and accent 2 in original monosyllabic words unlike the reversal distribution of the accents in the Franconian area with the rule B as in Arzbach (see below).

#### 4. TONES IN THE DANISH DIALECTS WITH APOCOPE AND WITHOUT THE STØD

In the dialects of southern Jutland, in which the number of monosyllabic words increased drastically and the suffixed article have been replaced by a free-standing prepositive article the presence of the stød is no longer noted at all, even in a few dissyllabic words. The Danish dialectologists argue that the difference between the two tones in South Jutland is mainly melodic [Andersen, 1897; Bjerrum, 1948; Andersen, 1965; Ejskjær, 1990].

M. Bjerrum described phonetic characteristics of the two contrasting accents in the dialects of Sundeved and Als [Bjerrum, 1948; cf. Andersen, 1965, s. 96], which include differences in F0, duration and number of dynamic peaks. The opposition of the two accents has both a lexical and grammatical function (cf. / 'mɔ.n/ *moden* 'ripe' — / `mɔ.n/ *måne* 'moon', / 'sei/ *sej* 'tough' — / `sei/ *sige* 'to say', / 'damb/ *damp* 'steam' — / `damb/ *dampe* 'to steam', / 'ly.s/ *lys* 'light' — / `ly.s/ *lyse* 'to shine' [Bjerrum, 1948]. The functional load of the opposition of two pitch accents in Sønderjylland is very high. The percentage of monosyllabic words in text in this dialect accedes 85%. The bisyllabic words consist either of two roots or of root + suffix with a coinciding syllable and morpheme boundary. Tonal accents is also characteristic of the dialects of the insles Ærø and Langeland: the accent 1 is rising-

falling, accent 2 falling-rising [Kroman, 1947]. P. Andersen conducted instrumental investigation and established that the difference between the two accents consists in the place of the tonal peak. Both accents can have the same rising — falling contour, but Accent 1 reaches its peak much earlier than accent 2 [Andersen, 1965, s. 99]. The two tones in South Jutland, on Als, Ærø and Langeland are joined by the dialect of the island of Rømø in West Slesvig [Nielsen, 1959]. One more dialect where the *stød* has been replaced by tonal characteristics is the dialect of South Fyn. Rasmus Rask (1787–1832), a native of Fyn, argued that “the denotation of tones plays a very important role in the dialect, since both word formation and inflection are often associated only with a change in tone”, citing the following minimal pairs as *dāv* (*dag*) — *dāv* (*dage* pl.) ‘day — days’ (pl.), *grô* (*grå*) — *grô* (*gråe*) ‘gray’ — ‘to gray’; *blēi* (*bleg*) — *blēi* (*blege*) ‘pale’ — ‘to pale’ [cf. Rask, 1938, s. 75, 78]. The later followers of Rask describing the realization of the *stød* on Fyn pointed out that “the rising-falling movement of the tone that is characteristic of the manifestation of the *stød* on Fyn” [Andersen, 1958, s. 34]. The *stød* on Fyn is weak and is realized as a slight inhibition or a weak wave in the middle of the vowel. “For many residents of south-eastern Fynen, this movement of the tone is characteristic of the implementation of the *stød*” [Andersen, 1958, s. 34]. On South Fyn there is no *stød*, which has lost its dynamic features and glottalization and in every position turned into a pitch accent.

Traditionally the lack of *stød* and the tonal opposition of the accent 1 and accent 2 in Danish dialects is considered to be an archaic feature, corresponding to two accents in Swedish and in two Norwegian Standards [cf. Sørensen, 2020, s. 21]. However the comparison of the development in Jutland; on Samsø and on Fyn as well as the development of tones in Low German and Franconian indicates that the development of tones in South Jutland as well as in the other Danish dialects is a new development depending on the apocope.

## 5. ACCENTS 1 AND 2 IN NORTHERN LOW GERMAN

One of the first who described in detail two types of accent in Low German dialects was Otto Bremer, who was a native of Stralsund [Bremer, 1927]. The most important feature, in Bremer’s opinion, is not the difference in pitch, but the difference in duration [Bremer, 1927,

s. 1–3]. The major role of duration and the existence of phonologically overlong vowels (opposition short — long — overlong) in the Northern Low German dialects were proposed by many authors [cf. Ternes, 1980, s. 380]: cf. /vit/ (short vowel, Standard German *weiß* ‘white’) — /vi:t/ (long vowel, *weit* ‘wide’) — /vi:t/ overlong vowel *Weide* ‘willow’. Although Bremer considered duration to be the main feature of the accent of the apocope, he also noted the importance of tonal differences. He explained the development of this accent as a transfer of duration and tone from the descending unstressed ə to the next portable long vowel or short vowel + sonorant [Bremer, 1927, s. 3]. This idea was supported by a known German phonetician Otto von Essen: “It is a well-known and physiologically justified fact that the movement of a tone, where it means something to understand what is said, is held quite consistently, even when the original carrier of the corresponding tone has long disappeared” [Essen, 1958, s. 112]. The relevance of two tones is recognized by many authors [see e.g. Prehn, 2012; Höder, 2020].

Thus, in the northern Low German dialect, a new opposition of monosyllabic words has developed instead of the difference in the number of syllables (CVC — CVCV > CVC<sup>1</sup> — CVC<sup>2</sup>). Phonetically this opposition was realized as the difference in pitch, duration and intensity. But in the later time the instrumental investigations show that the main feature differentiating the two patterns CVC<sup>1</sup> — CVC<sup>2</sup> is pitch [Prehn, 2012]. The main reason for the appearance of tones in the Low German dialects is traditionally considered to be the apocope [Kohler, 2001, s. 338].

The etymological distribution of the accents in Low German depends not only on the apocope but even on the original quality of the postvocalic plosives, cf. *ast* in /meot/ *Mut* ‘mood’ — /mêot/ *Mode* ‘fashion’, /frait/ *freut* ‘pleases’ — /frâit/ *Freude* ‘joy’, /foit/ *Füße* ‘feet’ — /môit/ *müde* ‘tired’ in the Altenwerder dialect [Höder, 2010, s. 16–17]. The appearance of accent 2 in native monosyllabic words with voiced consonants can be explained as follows. The phonetic longer duration of vowels before voiced consonants than before voiceless ones (a general phonetic pattern) during the period of the apocope, was reinterpreted as a sign of apocope in the original monosyllabic words with the voiced plosives.

## 6. THE OPPOSITION ACCENT 1 — ACCENT 2 IN THE FRANCONIAN DIALECTS WITH THE RULE B

The northern Low German dialects in which the accent of the apocope is accent 2 are joined by some Franconian dialects in which the accent of the apocope is also accent 2 (Northern Limburg dialects, dialect of Arzbach and some other Low Franconian dialects). In German dialectological tradition these dialects are treated as dialects with the rule B unlike the central Franconian dialects with the accent 1 in apocopated words, which are treated as the dialects with the rule A. The difference between the Low German dialects and the Franconian dialects with the rule B is that the Franconian dialects have the accent 2 not only in apocopated words but even in original monosyllabic words with a special vowel quality. Traditionally the accentuation that depends on the rise of the vowels is called spontaneous, unlike the accentuation that depends on the apocope, which is called combinatory. In the dialect of Arzbach (Hessen-Passau) [Bach, 1921] with the rule B, the accent of the apocope is accent 2, the same accent is used the words with the spontaneous accentuation in original monosyllabic words with originally broad and medium vowels (e.g. /~šq̄f/ (<skāf) *Schaf* 'sheep'; /~fūs/ (<fōs) *Fuß* 'foot'; /~noūd/ (<nōd) *Not* 'need'). The spontaneous accentuation indicates that this rule appeared after the monophthongisation of diphthongs, cf. /~ō. x/ (ōga), /~štē. n/ (stēn, stēne), /~hō. p/ (hōp)) and before the umlaut and rising of the non + high vowels (cf. /~dū̄.n/ (dōn), /~gr̄ȳ.n/ (grōni) [Bach, 1921].

As in northern Low German we can also observe here the dependence of the accents on the quality of the consonants (voiced vs voiceless). Before the original voiceless consonants in disyllabic words there is a accent 1. Before the original sonorous and voiced consonants there is accent 2 (cf. /ḡrei'fə/ (<grīfen) *greifen* 'seize', but /r̄eiwə/ (<rīben) *reiben* 'rub') — [Katsnelson, 1966, s. 256]. The grammatical function of the two accents is also great, since accent 2 has taken over the function of the fallen-out /ə/. According to rule B, /ə/ was the sign of many grammatical categories, including case and number, cf. /háus/ (*Haus* nom, acc) — /~haus/ (*Hause* dat.) in Arzbach.

One more example of spontaneous accentuation with the accent 2 (rule B) provides the dialect of Kleve (Kleef). Original monosyllabic words with the non-high vowels have accent 2 (cf. /~r̄q̄.t/

*Rat* (< OS *rād*). The words with original narrow vowels have accent 1 (/gli'k/ (OS < *giliko*) *gleich* 'equal' [Katsnelson, 1966, s. 256]. In addition to the dependence of the accentuation on the degree of vowel rise, this dialect also shows the dependence of the accentuation (acc 1-acc. 2) on the quality of the consonants (voiceless or voiced). Dissyllabic words have here accent 1 before the voiceless consonants, cf. /bi'tə/ (< *bīten*) *beißen* 'to bite', and accent 2 before the voiced ones, /~dri.və/ (< *drīven*) *treiben* 'to drive' /~bli.və/ [Katsnelson, 1966, s. 256].

One more dialect with the rule B was described by Peetz [Peetz, 2006]. It is the dialect of Beuren (Hochland) in Rheinland Pfalz (not far from Trier), cf. /<sup>1</sup>mæ: t/ (< *mag(e)t*), *Magd* 'maid' — /<sup>2</sup>mæ: t/ (< *Made*), *Made* 'maggot'. As an accent of the apocope is regularly used the accent 2 (cf. /<sup>2</sup>zon/ *Sonne* 'sun', /<sup>2</sup>a:n/ *Auge* 'eye' /<sup>2</sup>joŋ/ *Junge* 'boy').

Taking into account the importance of the phonetic difference in duration of broad and narrow vowels and in vowels before voiceless and voiced consonants in the formation of accent differences, which was pointed out by Bach [Bach, 1921, s. 182–284], I suggested that at the time of the apocope, when the extension of the phonemic basis became the leading feature of the accent of the apocope, the longer phonetic duration of broad vowels (a general phonetic pattern) and the longer duration of vowels before voiced consonants than before voiceless ones (also a general phonetic pattern) began to be perceived as signs of accent 2 [Kuzmenko, 1991, s. 246–247]. In this reconstruction, the original state is shown not by the Central Franconian dialects with rule A, but by the Low Franconian dialects with the rule B, in which the accent of the apocope turns out to be accent 2.

## 7. ACCENTS 1 AND 2 IN THE FRANCONIAN DIALECTS WITH THE RULE A

In a large group of the Central Franconian dialects (from Cologne to Mayen) we observe a reversal distribution of the accent of the apocope. Here not the accent 2 as in Danish, Low German and some Low Franconian dialects, but the accent 1 appears to be the accent of the apocope and of the spontaneous sphere. Schmidt gives the following minimal pairs to demonstrate the relevance of accent differences in the Mayen dialect (rule A): /ʃa:<sup>2</sup>/ *schal* 'tasteless' — /ʃa:<sup>1</sup>/ *Schal* 'schawl' — /ʃal:<sup>2</sup>/ *Schall* 'sound' — /ʃal:<sup>1</sup>/ *Schale* 'shell' [Schmidt, 1986, S. 64–68, 109,

278, 119–123]. To this lexical opposition of the accents we can add morphological opposition, cf. /ʃa:<sup>2</sup>/ *schal* (adj. undef. sg.) vs /ʃa:<sup>1</sup>/ *schale* (the same adj. def. pl.) or /ʃa:<sup>1</sup>/ *Schals* g. nom. and acc. vs /ʃa:<sup>2</sup>/ *Schale* (dat. sg. or nom. pl.) The accentual contrast in the dialects with the rule A is the same as in the dialects with the rule B. It has both lexical and morphological function, but the distribution of the accents is reversal. Where dialects with rule B have accent 2, dialects with rule A have accent 1, and vice versa.

Frings describes accent 1 in such dialects, which he called “Schärfung” (sharpening) as a dynamic accent that shortens the vowel and the following consonant. Syllables with the *Schärfung* are characterized by a shorter duration, a sharp drop of intensity and of a sharper change in pitch [Frings, 1916, s. 6–7]. Frings explained the shortening (*Schärfung*) of vowels and accent 1 in apocopated words as follows: Since the phonetic duration of a vowel is inversely proportional to the number of syllables in a word, the vowel of the first syllable in a dissyllabic word is shorter than the vowel in a monosyllabic word. During the apocope the root vowel in Central Franconian dialects was not lengthened as in the Franconian dialects with the rule B (with the accent 2 in apocopated words), as well as in the northern Low German and many Danish dialects, but it preserved its shorter quantity (retention) and, accordingly, the accent 1 in the words with the apocope) [Frings, 1913; 1916]. This hypothesis assumes that there was no sequential development apocope > compensatory lengthening and accent 2 in all dialects with apocope (Danish, Low German, Franconian dialects) with the later development of the accent 2 to accent 1 only in the Central Franconian dialects, but a bifurcated development: During the apocope the Central Franconian dialects developed accent 1 in apocopated words, but Danish, Low German and the other Franconian dialects with the rule B developed accent 2 in the apocopated words. However, if compensatory lengthening is often found in languages, the shortening of the root vowel as a result of retention is unknown to me. Moreover, metatony (a change of accent) is characteristic of many languages. All this indicates that a sequential change of accents seems more likely to me: First, apocope and the appearance of accent 2 in all areas, and then metatony accent 2 > accent 1 only in the Central Franconian dialects. However, the reasons for such a metatony in these dialects remain unknown.



Although the primacy of the dynamic component in the opposition accent 1 (Schärfung) — accent 2 (no Schärfung, extension in the Franconian area with the rule B was claimed by Frings [Frings, 1916, s. 6–7; cf. Katsnelson, 1966, s. 218], numerous modern studies, including experiments on perception, confirm the dominant position of the tonal component. In modern literature, the primacy of the melodic component (F0) is almost unanimously recognized [cf. Peters, 2006], who argues the two accents in Cologne is characterized “by a number of phonetic parameters of which F0 is primary” [Peters, 2006, s. 132]. Hermans rejects the assumption, that the phonological difference in accent 1 and accent 2 must be explained in terms of tones [Hermans, 2013]. He interprets Franconian tones in terms of foot structure. However even he recognizes a tonal realization of this opposition on a surface level.

## 8. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The history of the *stød* in Danish and of the tonal accents in Danish, Low German and Franconian shows us how phonetic features is changing to solve a new task<sup>4</sup>. Being the feature of the syllable cut (cf. superclose and superfree cut) the Danish *stød* has developed dynamic features and glottalisation, which were suitable to indicate the syllable cut. In the dialects with the apocope and with the increased number of monosyllabic words the *stød* loses its dynamic features and glottalisation and turns into a real phonetic tone. Accordingly, what is traditionally called a *stød* in the Danish dialects with apocope changes phonetically, reducing the dynamic characteristics, but strengthening the differences in F0. The appearance of monosyllabic tones is undoubtedly associated with apocope, and with the transformation of two-syllable words into monosyllables. However, the apocope became the trigger for the appearance of the accent of the apocope in original monosyllabic words, the quality of the phonetic basis of which united them with the accent of the apocope (words with original broad vowels or with voiced post-vocalic consonants). This development is most clearly observed in the Franconian areas with rule B, but we also find the spread of such a

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. the idea of Mel'nikov about the language as a self-adjusting system, which can change itself to solve a new task [Mel'nikov, 1967].

connection between the accent and the quality of the vocalic basis in the Danish dialects of Fyn. We observe the same development in the Franconian dialects with the rule A, with the difference that for these dialects I assume a subsequent metatony. The northern Low German dialects do not show a connection between the quality of the vowel and the appearance of the apocope accent in the original monosyllabic words, but the combination of a vowel with a voiced consonant turns out to be decisive when the apocope accent appears in them.

The choice and distribution of monosyllabic tones is the third component of the Germanic dominant, which serve the same purpose as the two others, namely to increase the better segmentation of the root morpheme in a text. For this goal the root morpheme coincides with the syllable, the qualitative difference between the syllable-initial and syllable-final elements of the syllable become greater and monosyllabic tones, which are connected with the development of monosyllabismus provides one more feature of suprasegmental prosodics which enable to differentiate monosyllabic morphemes in a text.

Obviously, the more monosyllabic words, the greater the probability of the appearance of tones. This is exactly the development we see in Danish and German dialects with the apocope. It is difficult to say how much the apocope and, accordingly, the appearance of tones is associated with language contact in the Low German-South Danish contact zone, as I thought earlier [Kusmenko, 1996]. It is also possible to try to link the Franconian apocope with the Low German influence, but this question is almost completely unexplored. A natural question arises why there are no monosyllabic tones in English, in the most apocopated language. Perhaps the huge (more than 60 %) number of French borrowings prevented English from monosyllabism. And perhaps the redundancy of a language is so large that it does not allow you to unambiguously determine the direction of changes.

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**ТОНЫ В ДАТСКИХ ДИАЛЕКТАХ В СРАВНЕНИИ  
С НИЖНЕНЕМЕЦКИМИ И ФРАНКОНСКИМИ ТОНАМИ\***

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В статье рассматриваются тональные различия в датских, северных нижненемецких и франконских диалектах, появившиеся после апокопы. Исконные противопоставления двусложных и односложных слов представлены в этих диалектах как тональные противопоставления. Двусложные слова становятся односложными, но продолжают различаться благодаря различию акцентов: CVC — CVCV > CVC<sup>1</sup> — CVC<sup>2</sup>, ср. /hu.s/ n. sg. *hus* ‘дом’ — /hu.sə/ n. pl. *Huse* ‘дома’ > /hu.s<sup>1</sup>/ — /hu.s<sup>2</sup>/ в южной Ютландии, /hu.s/ n.sg. nom./acc. *Haus* ‘дом’ — /hu.sə/ *Hause* ‘дому’ dat. sg. > /hu.s<sup>1</sup>/ — /hu.s<sup>2</sup>/ в северных нижненемецких диалектах и /haus/ n. sg. nom./acc. *Haus* ‘дом’ — /hausə/ dat. sg. *Hause* ‘дому’ > /haus<sup>1</sup>/ — /haus<sup>2</sup>/ во франконском диалекте Арцбаха. Появление таких тональных различий связывается с резким увеличением количества односложных слов. Изменения в датских диалектах с апокопой имеют много общего с изменениями в северных нижненемецких и франконских диалектах. Это относится не только к появлению тонов в результате апокопы и к сходной лексической и грамматической дистрибуции акцентов в родственных словах и формах (см. выше), но и к распространению акцента апокопы на исконные односложные слова с особым фонетическим базисом (спонтанная акцентуация), фонетическая длительность которого была воспринята говорящими как акцент апокопы. Тональные различия корневых морфем наряду с совпадением корня со слогом и с увеличением различия между слоганачальными и слогаконечными согласными оказываются одним из важных средств сегментации корневой слогаморфемы в тексте. Ставится вопрос и о возможной контактной природе апокопы и появления тональных различий.

**Ключевые слова:** датские, северные нижненемецкие и франконские диалекты, просодика, апокопа, тоны.

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## **MIKROBLOGGING I DANMARK OG POLEN — EN KONTRASTIV ANALYSE. 2. DEL**

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Denne artikel er den anden del af en kontrastiv undersøgelse af danske og polske tweets, som blev inspireret af antologien ”Microblogs global”. Den første del af undersøgelsen behandlede det sociale netværk og mikroblogging-værktøjet Twitter, herunder den mere tekniske side af mikroblogging. Der blev grundigt og samvittighedsfuldt gjort rede for de mange tweet-typer og den omfattende terminologi på området. Derudover blev kontrasterne vedrørende ortografi og talesprog analyseret. Til den følgende beskrivelse blev der samlet 320 danske og 320 polske tweets. De kommer fra fuldstændig tilfældigvis udvalgte profiler, der tilhører forskellige politikere, journalister og privatpersoner, der poster især på dansk / polsk. Analysen omfatter perioden fra 30. marts til 6. april 2019, og omfatter forskellene i tweets med hensyn til ordforråd, hvor bl.a. daglig tale, anglicismer eller skældsord er blevet analyseret, til tekniske og sproglige reduktionsmuligheder og til struktur af sætninger. Der analyseres graden af grafostilistik i forhold til emojis, emotikoner, smileys og iteration. Interaktionsoperatorer undersøges, såvel som de funktionelle aspekter af tweets, dvs. om tweets kan kategoriseres fx som meddelelser, kommentarer, statements eller spørgsmål. Det viste sig, at de væsentligste kontraster forekommer i sådanne domæner som reduktion, grafostilistik og interaktion. Mens det polske korpus kun indeholder 15 kortformer/komposita/forkortelser, findes der i det danske korpus 3 gange flere af sådanne ord (51 eksempler). Forskelle inden for grafostilistikken angår fremfor alt antallet og typerne af emojis. Derudover bliver emotikoner gentaget eller koncentreret kun i de danske tweets. Divergenserne i ordforråd og syntaks er næsten umærkelige.

**Nøgleord:** mikroblog, Twitter, ordforråd, reduktion, syntaks, grafostilistik, interaktion, funktionelle aspekter, en kontrastiv analyse.

## 1. INDLEDNING

Twitter<sup>1</sup> er nu til dags et af de mest populære sociale medier i verden. Dets vigtigste egenskab er kortfattet, dvs. hvert indlæg — et tweet — kan højst være på 280 tegn, hvorved det før november 2017 var 140 tegn. Det har fremtvunget en stor kreativitet i sprogbrugen [Moraldo, 2009].

Twitter er blevet genstand for talrige videnskabelige analyser. Den første betydningsfulde undersøgelse af Java, Finin, Xiaodan, Belle [Java, Finin, Xiaodan, Belle, 2007] handler om kommunikation på Twitter, dens typologiske og geografiske egenskaber, såvel som hvad Twitter generelt bliver brugt til.

Til de andre publikationer, der generelt handler om Twitter hører de af Krishnamurthy, Gill, Arlitt [Krishnamurthy, Gill, Arlitt, 2008], Moraldo [Moraldo, 2009], Siever [Siever, 2012], Christiansen, Rose [Christiansen, Rose, 2017] og Murthy [Murthy, 2018]. Dang-Anh, Einspänner, Thimm [Dang-Anh, Einspänner, Thimm, 2013] beskriver Twitter som et diskurssystem, mens Honeycutt, Herring [Honeycutt, Herring, 2009] eller Boyd, Golder, Lotan [Boyd, Golder, Lotan, 2010] fokuserer på de kommunikative aspekter.

Twitters rolle i politik blev undersøgt af bl.a. Jungherr [Jungherr, 2009], Lassen, Brown [Lassen, Brown, 2010], Bastos, Raimundo, Travitzki [Bastos, Raimundo, Travitzki, 2013] og Thimm, Einspänner, Dang-Anh [Thimm, Einspänner, Dang-Anh, 2012]. Rybszleger [Rybszleger, 2017] beskæftigede sig med selvportræt på Twitter, mens Hovy, Quist [Hovy, Quist, 2018] undersøger Twitters rolle som ressource og database til kvantitative analyser af skriftlige sprogbrugsdata.

Til de vigtigste undersøgelser af Twitter hører også den af Siever og Schlobinski. De to forfattere udgav i 2013 en antologi “Microblogs global” [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013]. Værket er en international undersøgelse af Twitter, hvor femten forskere undersøgte tweets på kinesisk, tysk, engelsk, fransk, italiensk, japansk, hollandsk, portugisisk, russisk og spansk.

Siever og Schlobinskis værk var en inspiration til at analysere tweets på dansk og polsk, fordi intet af de to sprog var inkluderet i analysen. Denne artikel er den anden del af en kontrastanalyse, hvor de polske og de danske tweets bliver sammenlignet for at fremhæve forskelle i twe-

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<sup>1</sup> Betegnelsen *Twitter* kommer fra det engelske ord ‘to twitter’ [Siever, 2012, p. 74].



etsprog. Der fokuseres på følgende sproglige fænomener [Smułczyński, 2021, p. 102]:

- ORTOGRAFI<sup>2</sup>, dvs. brugen af standard-stavning; kun skrivning med store/små bogstaver; hybridstavning; sammenskrivning; slåfejl;
- TALESPROG<sup>3</sup>, dvs. elision; assimilation; klitisering; lydefterlignende skrivemåde;
- ORDFORRÅD, dvs. dialekter; daglig tale; anglicismer og andre fremmedord; ikke-flekterede ord; diminutiver;
- REDUKTION, dvs. reduktionsmuligheder i Twitter; forkortede url; hashtags;
- SYNTAKS, dvs. hoved- og ledsætninger; ellipser;
- GRAFOSTILISTIK, dvs. emojis; smileys; iteration (interpunktion, bogstaver, ord);
- INTERAKTION, dvs. de reaktive tweets; adressering; @mentions;
- DE FUNKTIONELLE ASPEKTER, dvs. funktion af tweets (meddelelser, kommentarer, statements, hilsner, spørgsmål/svar).

Korpusset<sup>4</sup>, der var grundlag til den følgende beskrivelse består af 320 polske og 320 danske tweets. Opslag, der kommer fra fuldstændigt tilfældigt udvalgte profiler, der tilhører forskellige politikere, journalister og privatpersoner, skal opfylde følgende kriterier [Smułczyński, 2021, p. 102]:

- Der blev indsamlet 10 tweets fra hver af de 16 mandlige og 16 kvindelige Twitter-brugere (polske og danske), hvilket udgør 320 polske og 320 danske tweets.
- Forudsætningen var, at det skulle være realkonti dvs. at deres ejere twitter regulært.
- De institutionelle profiler, altså de, der tilhører politiske partier, virksomheder, medieinstitutioner osv., blev ekskluderet.

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<sup>2</sup> Ortografi blev analyseret i den 1. del af undersøgelsen [Smułczyński, 2021, p. 113–116].

<sup>3</sup> Talesprog blev analyseret i den 1. del af undersøgelsen [Smułczyński, 2021, p. 116–120].

<sup>4</sup> Korpusset kan downloades fra: [https://uniwroc-my.sharepoint.com/:b/g/personal/michal\\_smulczynski\\_uwr\\_edu\\_pl/EREq1katNLhEnmjRMsD2O-oBIEq5p-w8A8U\\_RABZCTcAbrw?e=qDgv68](https://uniwroc-my.sharepoint.com/:b/g/personal/michal_smulczynski_uwr_edu_pl/EREq1katNLhEnmjRMsD2O-oBIEq5p-w8A8U_RABZCTcAbrw?e=qDgv68). Se også kapitel 6.

Der blev hver gang startet med de nyeste beskeder (analysen omfatter perioden fra 30. marts til 6. april 2019) og, for at undgå emnedominans, valgt hver tredje meddelelse. Derfor blev de twitterkonti udelukket, der ikke har et antal tweets på mindst 30 [Smułczyński, 2021, p. 102].

Den første del af undersøgelsen indeholder en teoretisk diskussion om Twitter, dens udvikling og rolle som et element i den globale online diskurs såvel som en analyse af fænomener: ortografi og sprog. I den anden del fokuseres der på fænomenerne: ordforråd, reduktion, syntaks, grafostilistik, interaktion og de funktionelle aspekter [Smułczyński, 2021, p. 102–103].

## 2. DEN KONTRASTIVE ANALYSE AF DANSKE OG POLSKE TWEETS

### 2.1. Ordforråd

I det følgende kapitel fokuseres der fremfor alt på den i tweets forekommende daglig tale, såvel som anglicismer (sammen med andre fremmedord), fordi de typisk forekommer i internetkommunikationen [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 50]. Skældsord er også blevet analyseret.

Kun 7 af de danske og 8 af de polske Twitter-konti indeholder daglig tale. Eksempler, som jeg fandt i det danske (a) og det polske (b) korpus, er oplistet nedenunder:

- a) old skool, holy shit, god pointe, jinx, fact, breake, keep on fighting!, faget er lort 'the course is rubbish', fedt 'cool', ciao, crazy;
- b) imba<sup>5</sup>, eurowybory 'elections to the European Parliament', pierdel 'clink', zajawka 'trailer', No to bum!, odwalić 'to botch (up)', odpalić 'to retort', zbanować 'to ban', żenada 'shame', pierdolec 'fucker', bandyterka 'banditry', gloriosy 'glory', chabanina 'bad meat'.

Som man kan se ovenfor, udgør flertallet i den danske daglig tale ord af engelsk afstamning, bortset fra *lort* og *fedt*. De bruges for det meste som udbrud, som fx (1):

- (1) @GravgaardThomas @NielsChrFred **Holy shit**, det er sjovt. Så skidt med at det er teater, for han siger bare, hvad alle mænd inderst inde tæn-

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<sup>5</sup> Imba er faktisk en forkortelse af et engelsk ord *imbalance*. Se også kapitel 2.2.

ker. [2]<sup>6</sup> ‘Holy shit, that’s funny. So never mind that it’s theater, because he’s just saying what every man deep down is thinking.’

I alt indeholder samlingen 24 ord og udtryk, hvilket betyder, at den daglige tale i gennemsnit blev brugt i hver 27. tweet. Den daglige tale er mere almindelig i de polsksprogede tweets. Statistisk indeholder hver 24. tweet sådant et ordforråd. I de dansksprogede tweets forekommer den daglige tale i hver 29. tweet. Det skal understreges, at mange af de ovennævnte ord kendes fra hverdagens talesprog, hvilket igen tyder på den mundtlige stil i den private digitalkommunikation [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 51].

Når der analyseres fremmedsproglige leksemer i tweets, bør der lægges særlig vægt på det engelske sprog, da engelsk i øjeblikket har den største indflydelse på både dansk og polsk og er genstand for mange diskussioner [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 52]. I det polske korpus findes der kun to tweets, der indeholder anglicismer ((2) og (3)):

- (2) Dlaczego jednak nie jestem **#digitalnatives**. Pamiętam telewizję bez TVN, politykę sprzed PiS i PO, Warszawę bez galerii handlowych i telefony na kablu. **#cybertransformations** <https://t.co/NIRIc27cb5> [482] ‘Why I’m not #digitalnatives though. I remember TVs without TVN, politics before PiS and PO, Warsaw without shopping malls and phones on cable. #cybertransformations’
- (3) Ale przebija się i obowiązująca polska narracja: **Poland does its part, more than 1 mln displaced Ukrainians have found refuge here, etc.** [588] ‘But the current Polish narrative also shines through: Poland does its part, more than 1 million displaced Ukrainians have found refuge here, etc.’

I (2) er anglicismer samtidig hashtags, hvoraf #digitalnatives er et integreret hashtag<sup>7</sup>. Begge udtryk kommer fra computer- og internetdomæne. I (3) kan det være et citat fra en engelsk nyhedsportal.

Blandt de dansksprogede tweets findes der kun 19 opslag med anglicismer. Disse tweets kan deles ind i to grupper. Ud over statusbeskeder, der indeholder nogle anglicismer, er der komplette tweets skrevet på engelsk, såsom (5):

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<sup>6</sup> Eksemplerne er nummererede, hvor tallet i en kantet parentes henviser til tweetnumret i korpusset.

<sup>7</sup> Et integreret hashtag betyder, at det er integreret i tweetindholdet (se også i kapitel 2.2).

- (4) @larsloekke @CramesDK @metteabildgaard @Astridkrag @venstredk @dr2deadline ja. Som jeg skrev før: Spørgsmålet blev stillet, mens du gik. Og det var ærgerligt, at du ikke ville blive og svare på mere end ét enkelt spørgsmål. Og vi er klar på et interview **anytime** [41] ‘Yes. As I wrote before: The question was asked while you were walking. And it was too bad you wouldn’t stay and answer more than one question. And we’re ready for an interview anytime.’
- (5) FREAKIN’ COOL ELEPHANT! Okay, I give up!: Out of ALL the awesome towel-animals I have seen in my life (many!), Cititel in Penang has made the most impressive one to date! 🐘 @VisitPenang @Penanghotel-list #penang #citolit <https://t.co/hqhuBfpZIa> [310]

I disse tilfælde drejer det sig om folk, der skriver deres tweets overvejende på dansk, og på grund af internationale kontakter eller svar på engelsksprogede tweets, skriver de deres poster på engelsk [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 52].

Ud over det engelske sprog findes der også ord på norsk (6), italiensk (7), og arabisk (8):

- (6) @Langhalsen Det **skjønner** jeg. Man ble jo **satt ut** selv med stor **distanse** til det. Jeg har **forøvrig hatt** de **toffeste** kriminelle på kontoret **mitt gråtende**, så ting er ikke **alltid** kun **hva** man ser på **utsiden**. [257] ‘I appreciate that. One was put out even with great distance to it. By the way, I have had the toughest criminals in my office crying, so things are not always just what you see on the outside.’
- (7) @madsms94 @data02 Han er ikke et hak værre end så mange andre — Nej — Den han lavede i Vejle var klam og han fik som fortjent på efterbevilling — Men vi behøver heller ikke være enige i, hvem man godt kan lide..... **Ciao** [111] ‘He is not a notch worse than so many others — No — The one he made in Vejle was disgusting and he got as deserved on the postponement — But we also do not agree on whom you like..... Ciao.’
- (8) Selvantænder — **allahu akbar** i Skagen. Akryl på maleri fra genbrugsbutik. 2019. #dkkultur #Fiskeren <https://t.co/gTqifkuajN> [81] ‘Self-breathing — allahu akbar in Skagen. Acrylic on painting from thrift shop. 2019.’

Til sidst skal det bemærkes, at der findes skældsord i det polske korpus. Det skal dog understreges, at sådanne ord i de polsksprogede tweets ikke forekommer i deres *fuldversion*. Folk har brugt forskellige teknikker til at maskere disse ord, enten ved at bruge specifikke forkortelser som i (9) eller ved at fjerne enkeltbogstaver fra ordene, som i (10):

- (9) Ale jaja, możecie mi wierzyć, albo nie, ale tekst @R\_A\_Ziemkiewicz <https://t.co/6nEvxsC48r> czytam dopiero teraz, a rysunek <https://t.co/W8JFa9kapx> zrobiłem w niedzielę. A jest nawet podobne wyrażenie, u mnie „odwalał” (prawdę mówiąc mailem ohotę na **odpie.dola**) a tu „odpali”. [424] ‘Oh my God, believe it or not, but I read the text of @R\_A\_Ziemkiewicz <https://t.co/6nEvxsC48r> only now, and the drawing <https://t.co/W8JFa9kapx> I made on Sunday. And there’s even a similar expression, in my case “botch it up” (to tell you the truth I wanted to write “screw it up”) and here “to give sb sth”’
- (10) **Iprdl**..Nie wierzę <https://t.co/siRFqJgEZI> [608] ‘Fuck... I can’t believe.’

## 2.2. Reduktion

Til kortformerne hører videresendingsstandarden RT (= Retweet). Desuden spiller reduktionen af url'en en meget vigtig rolle i Twitter. Mens en tweets tilladte længde er i dag 280-tegn, og hverken url eller hashtags reducerer den, kunne en web-adresse tidligere ofte gå ud over rammerne på 140 tegn. En eksempel-url fra dr.dk: <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/eksplosion-i-greve-politiet-samarbejder-med-specialenhed-i-efterforskningen> har 109 tegn, så der var kun 31 tegn tilbage for at kunne skrive en kommentar. Derfor er de såkaldte url-forkortere blevet mere og mere populære. Med sådan en webtjeneste gemmes url'en først i en database og der tildeles derefter et ID i form af et nummer eller en tegnkode. På den måde kan den ovennævnte url fra dr.dk forkortes fra 109 tegn til 22 tegn: <https://bit.ly/2HzJFii>, altså med 87 tegn (80 %) [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 56].

I de indsamlede tweets har alle brugerne forkortet deres url. Danskerne har brugt 36 forkortede url, mens polakkerne 26 url. Alle url blev forkortet ved hjælp af Twitter (t.co). Uden for Twitter eller bit.ly er det bl.a. goo.gl, tinyurl.com, ow.ly, is.gd og buff.ly, der hører til de mest populære url-forkortere [The Top 14 URL Shorteners to Shorten Long Page URLs]. I dag har urls længde ikke nogen påvirkning på en tweets tegnmængde, men der bruges alligevel stadig url-forkortere. En grund til det kan være, at en tweet med en forkortet URL er mere gennemsigtig og nemmere i reception<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> En url kan fra tid til den anden være multifunktionel. I et eksempel i Siever, Schlobinski [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 56–57] forbinder en kort-url følgende funktioner: reduktion af url, dens integration med sætningen, subjekt- og henvisningsfunktion.

Ved siden af url-forkorterne står også twitpic.com til rådighed, hvorved det koder ikke websider, men billeder og videoer, og gør det muligt at integrere dem i en tweet, så det ikke er nødvendigt at åbne dem i en browser. Når det drejer sig om billede-integration i tweets, blev der brugt et billede i 27 tweets (8 %) af danske brugere. Det er halvdelen i sammenligning med de polske brugere. Her er der et billede i 52 tweets (16 %).

Ved siden af de rent tekniske reduktionsmuligheder, er der også de sproglige. Der er to muligheder for at forkorte et ord på ordniveau: orddannelse (akronymer, sammenrykninger) eller forkortelse [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 57]. Mens akronymer og forkortelser hjælper at reducere kompleksiteten, bliver den højere ved sammenrykninger [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 57]. I det analyserede materiale er der eksempler på alle sproglige reduktionsmuligheder (tabel 1):

Tabel 1. Eksempler på sproglige reduktionsmuligheder i danske og polske tweets

REDUKTIONSMULIGHED	DANSKE TWEETS	POLSKE TWEETS
AKRONYM	LA, OB, DE, S, FCK	PP, LGBTQIA, #PO, #OFE, #ZUS, PMM, @MF_GOV_PL @MPiT_GOV_PL
SAMMENRYKNING	#erderenvoksentilstede, #derforuffe,	patoLinkiewicz,
FORKORTEELSE	OBS	imby, spr., prok., Nika,

Fremfor alt er det overraskende, at både danskerne og polakkerne sjældent bruger de sproglige reduktionsmuligheder<sup>9</sup>. Grunden til det kunne være, at en tweets længde i november 2017 blev forøget fra 140 til 280 tegn, og derfor er økonomi i sprogbrugen ikke så vigtig som tidligere.

Man kan sige, at både danske og polske akronymer som er nævnt ovenover, er tematisk mest forbundet med politik eller sport. Et interessant tilfælde er ordet *imby* (nominativ → imba), fordi det faktisk er en forkortelse af det engelske ord *imbalance*<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Kun i 51 danske (16 %) og 15 (5 %) polske tweets forekommer der et akronym/ en sammenrykning eller en forkortelse.

<sup>10</sup> Ordet *imby* forekommer i [490] i betydningen *problemet*.

Der er også et eksempel på en kombination af akronym og forkortelse, nemlig et hashtag #dkpol, der består af et forkortelsesord *dk* (for Danmark) og *pol* (for politik). Hashtagget forekommer i 12 % af de danske tweets.

Reduktionens rolle er vigtig for sprogøkonomien, men den kan også føre til tvetydighed. Nogle reducerede former kan kun rekonstrueres i en specifik kontekst. Ved det polske forkortelsesord PMM kan blot den politiske kontekst hjælpe at forstå, at det drejer sig om den polske statsminister Mateusz Morawiecki (PMM = Premier Mateusz Morawiecki).

På grænsefladen til syntaks gør Siever, Schlobinski [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 60] også opmærksom på hashtags, men kun på dem, der er integreret i tweetindholdet, som i (11) og i (12):

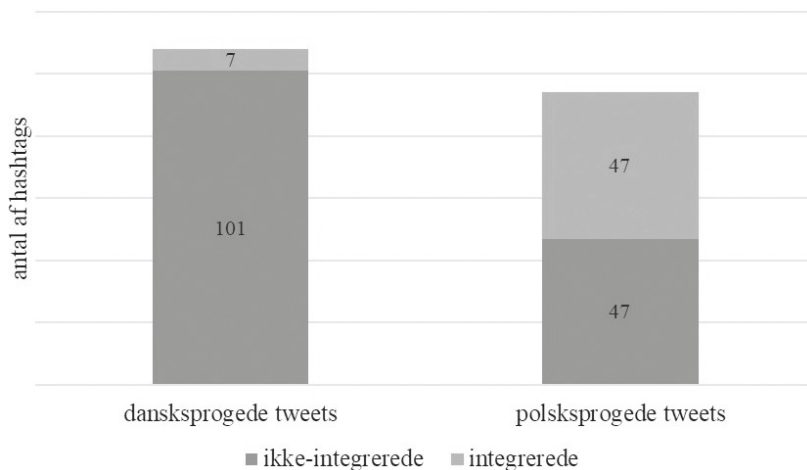
- (11) Klima debat med **#FridaysForFurture** masser af seje unge fra hele landet #dkgreen #dkpol <https://t.co/DjAP9nkCK1> [233] 'Climate debate with #FridaysForFurture lots of cool young people from all over the country'.
- (12) Jestem przeciw takim posunięciom, gdyż chciałbym usłyszeć w @WiadomosciTVP jak @MiAdamczyk chwali Unię Europejską i mówi, że trzeba dać schronienie **#uchodzczy**, a osobom **#LGBT** należy się szacunek. Mina Michała będzie bezcenna <https://t.co/hioYSDQald> [323] 'I'm against such moves because I'd love to hear @MiAdamczyk on @NewsTVP praising the European Union and saying #refugees should be given shelter and #LGBT people should be respected. Michał's face will be priceless'.

At sætte et hashtag ind i en sætning fungerer også som en slags reduktion, fordi et hashtag gør det muligt at sætte en tweet i en bestemt (bred) kontekst. De kontekstualiserende hashtags refererer enten til skemaer fra baggrundsviden eller til isolerede processer. Derudover tjener et hashtag ikke kun til kontekstualisering, men også til den semantiske specifikation af en sproglig ytring [Dang-Anh, Einspänner, Thimm, 2013, p. 84–85].

Der består en signifikant forskel mellem de danske og de polske tweets, hvad angår brugen af hashtags. Dette kan konkluderes ud af figur 1.

Mens danskere i alt har brugt hashtags 108 gange og polakker 94 gange, er antallet af de dansksprogede tweets med hashtags — 61 tweets — omkring 50 % højere end de polsksprogede — 40 tweets. Man kan sige, at der forekommer en stor koncentration af hashtags i de polsksprogede tweets. Et godt eksempel er (13) med 6 hashtags:

- (13) **#BiałoCzerwona** drużyna **#PiS** w wyborach do **#ParlamentEuropejski** EU **#Mazowsze** **#PolskaSercemEuropy** **#KomwencjaPiS** <https://t.co/>



Figur 1. Hashtagbrug i de danske og de polske tweets og deres integration

uNwQyX9CvG [631] '[#BiałoCzerwona](#) team [#PiS](#) in elections to [#ParlamentEuropejski](#) [#Mazowsze](#) [#PolskaSercemEuropy](#) [#KomwencjaPiS](#)'

Derudover har mange flere polske brugere integreret hashtags i deres tweets end de danske brugere. Når man igen kigger på begge grafer, er der kun 7% af alle hashtags integreret med tweets-indhold. Blandt de polske hashtags er det 50%. Blandt de analyserede tweets er der også sådanne, der indeholder både et integreret og et ikkeintegreret hashtag som fx i (14):

(14) [#LFC](#) køber Shane Long... [#Pldk](#) [23] '#LFC buys Shane Long... #Pldk'

#LFC er her et integreret hashtag og fungerer samtidig som subjekt. Et andet bemærkelsesværdigt eksempel på hashtag-integration findes i en polsksproget tweet (15):

(15) Trzeba pokazać [#Prezes.owi](#), a nuż doloży nowy plus do piątki? To nie będzie kosztowne, wystarczy, że [#PiS](#) przegra wybory, a wolność gospodarcza wróci. Twierdzę, że przedsiębiorcy są gotowi oddać za to Konstytucję dla biznesu i liberalnego Premiera [#Gowin .a](#), a nawet @MPiT\_GOV\_PL <https://t.co/8ARdM5WSwy> [535] 'You have to show #Prezes.owi how about adding a new plus to the five? It won't be expensive, it's enough for #PiS to lose the election and economic freedom will



return. I claim that entrepreneurs are ready to give up the Constitution for Business and the liberal PM #Gowin .and even @MPiT\_GOV\_PL for this.’

Man kan bemærke, at hashtags i denne tweet har bøjningsendelser, hvilket ikke forekommer ofte i de polsksprogede tweets<sup>11</sup>. Det er typisk, at hashtagget står (oftest) i nominativ som fx #uchodzcy i (12) ovenfor.

Til sidst vil jeg henvide til en tweet, der kun består af hashtags (16). En bruger kommenterer på den måde en anden tweet. Sådanne tweets har jeg kun fundet i det polske korpus:

(16) #WielkiWybór #KoalicjaEuropejska #ZieloniZbierają <https://t.co/c2pO-8zP2fQ> [420]

### 2.3. Syntaks

På grund af 280-tegnsbegrænsning er tweets relativt korte tekster, der oftest består af simple korte sætninger. Det analyserede materiale indeholder i alt 1109 sætninger. I de danske tweets er der 498 sætninger, mens antallet af sætninger på polsk er nøjagtigt det samme: 498. Med 1,56 sætninger pr. tweet ligger begge sprog på samme niveau. Men det skal tilføjes, at ud over sætninger indeholder tweets i begge sprog også strukturer, der ikke er sætninger. Disse inkluderer for eksempel tweets, der udelukkende består af emoji'er (17) eller af et hyperlink (18).

(17) 😊 😊 😊 <https://t.co/eCCIIQ5fj2> [195]

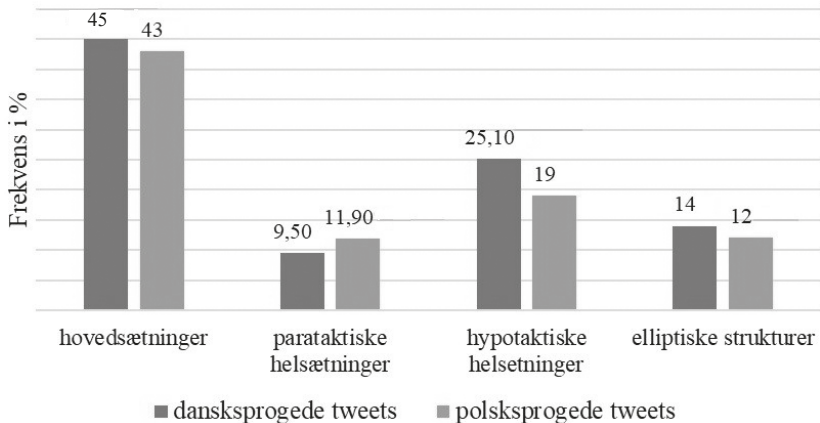
(18) @stumbras3 <https://t.co/mBDolP5j70> [619]

Blandt de polske tweets forekommer der ikke sjældent sådanne strukturer, der i den polske grammatik kaldes *równoważnik zdania* ‘nominal sentence’. Det er en sætningslignende konstruktion, der mangler et finit, som i eksempel (19):

(19) W #Bydgoszcz rozpoczął się koncert „Artyści przeciw nienawiści” #AllYouNeedIsLove organizatorem niezastąpiony @StasinskiM <https://t.co/bGR0QXP6Y> [409] ‘The Artists Against Hate concert #AllYou-Need-Is-Love organized by the irreplaceable @StasinskiM has begun in #Bydgoszcz’

Det er verbet *jest* (dansk: *er*), der mangler mellem ordene *organizatorem* og *niezastąpiony*. Sådanne konstruktioner blev tildelt til kategorien

<sup>11</sup> (49) er den eneste polske tweet med *bøjede* hashtags.



Figur 2. Sætningstyper i danske og polske tweets

*Andre*. Interessant nok er, at sådanne sætningslignende konstruktioner ikke er ualmindelige i polsk. Derfor er kategorien *andre* i det polske analysemateriale meget mere omfattende end i det danske og udgør 14,1 % af alle strukturer (sætninger + *Andre*), mens det i det danske er 6 %.

Sætninger har jeg delt op i tre kategorier. Den første danner hovedsætninger, den anden: parataktiske helsætninger, den tredje: hypotaktiske helsætninger [Hansen, Heltoft, 2011, p. 283]. Opdelingen kan ses på den nedenstående figur (Figur 2).

Som man kan se på figuren, er ikke-komplekse sætningsstrukturer (hovedsætninger) det grundlæggende syntaktiske mønster i tweets. Andelen af elliptiske strukturer udgør i alt 13 % af alle strukturer (dansk og polsk), mens den er lidt større blandt de dansksprogede tweets — 14 % — end blandt de polsksprogede — 12 %. På det syntaktiske niveau bemærkes det, at elliptiske konstruktioner uden pronomener i subjekt-funktion kun forekommer i det danske korpus som fx i (20):

- (20) @Hartwich81 Har ikke set den igen, men så ud som om han søgte den. Gider ikke se det der film, ligesom Wind i weekenden. [100] 'Haven't seen it again but looked like he was looking for it. Don't want to watch that movie, like Wind this weekend.'

Det er en specifik variant af *person-ellipse*, der kræver orientering i diskussionsroller, og som repræsenterer den slags ellipse, som Zifonun, Hoffmann, Strecker [Zifonun, Hoffmann, Strecker, 1997, p. 416] defi-

nerer som en *forfatter-ellipse*. Forfatter-ellipsen såvel som forfatter-gruppe-ellipsen findes først og fremmest i skriftlige tekstformer, hvor der er et begrænset antal adressater. Dette vedrører private breve, telegrammer, dagbøger, notesbøger, nyhedsbreve osv. Her kan også tilhøre tweets. Interessant i denne sammenhæng er det faktum, at udeladelsen af pronomen i subjektsfunktion betragtes som typisk for den såkaldte *telegramstil* [Tesak, Dittmann, 1991]. Det var i begyndelsen begrænset til fremsendelse via telegraf og først derefter kunne stilen udvikle sig bredere [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 63].

I det polske korpus forekommer de elliptiske strukturer oftest i reaktive tweets, som er svar på en anden tweet, såsom (21) og (22):

- (21) @Marek92951293 @\_zboral Możliwe. Nawet chciałem to gdzieś zgłosić, ale nie bardzo właściwie wiedziałem, gdzie. [350] 'Possibly. I even wanted to report it somewhere, but I didn't really know where.'
- (22) @break\_from\_it Złożyłem również w trybie dostępu do inf publ- jeżeli nadal nie będą odpowiadać- kolejna skarga do WSA (wczoraj złożona ws. liczby ministrów i wice-też blokują odpowiedź) 😊 [401] 'I also filed a complaint in the mode of access to public information — if they still do not answer — another complaint to the Administrative Court (yesterday filed in the case of the number of ministers and deputy ministers also blocking the answer).'

Telegrammer ligesom tweets eller SMS-beskeder er underlagt økonomiske principper, dvs. overflødige informationer, der er kendt for forfatteren, formel understregning af samtaleroller ved verbet, kan udelades.

Antallene af hovedsætninger er næsten identiske på begge sider: 241 på den danske og 249 på den polske side, hvilket udgør henholdsvis 45,6 % og 43 % af alle konstruktionerne. Det samme kan siges om sætninger, der består af flere hoved- el. ledsætninger, hvis antal her næsten er det samme på begge sprog. I det danske korpus er der 179 sådanne sætninger, mens det i de polske er 183 sætninger, hvilket udgør henholdsvis 34,6 % og 31 % af alle konstruktionerne. Men når man skelner mellem sætninger forbundet med særordnende konjunktioner og ledsætninger, forekommer ledsætninger hyppigere i det danske korpus og udgør 25,1 % af alle konstruktioner, mens det i det polske korpus er 19 %. På den anden side er sætninger forbundet med særordnende konjunktioner i det polske korpus mere almindelige (11,9 %) end i de danske (9,5 %).

Det temmelig store antal af komplekse sætninger kunne komme an på det, at den tilladte længde af tweets siden november 2017 er blevet

fordoblet fra 140 til 280 tegn. Af denne grund indeholder tweets også lange multikomplekse sætninger, som i (23) og (24):

- (23) Det er ikke rimeligt, at virksomhederne skal støtte en motorvej hen over Egholm for at kunne komme med i Aalborg Alliancens tætte samarbejde mellem virksomhederne og Aalborg Kommune om jobskabelse og arbejdskraft. Alle virksomheder bør have den mulighed. <https://t.co/9LhddSpTdZ> [158] 'It is not fair that companies have to support a motorway across Egholm in order to join the Aalborg Alliance's close cooperation between businesses and Aalborg municipality on job creation and labour. All companies should have this opportunity.'
- (24) Postkomunistyczni nauczyciele @ZNP\_ZG żądają teraz 30 % podwyżki podbijając wcześniejsze żądania 1000 zł w trakcie negocjacji, a Rodzice muszą dzieci języków uczyć w prywatnych szkołach i wysyłać dzieci na prywatne korepetycje by dziecko miało szansę rekrutacji na lepszą uczelnię. [454] 'Post-communist @ZNP\_ZG teachers are now demanding a 30 % pay rise, bumping up their earlier demand of 1000 PLN during negotiations, while Parents have to teach their children languages in private schools and send their children to private tutoring to give their child a chance to recruit to a better university.'

## 2.4. Grafostilistik

Graden af Grafostilistik undersøges i relation til emojis (emotikoner), smileys og iteration (tegnætning, bogstaver, ord) der forekommer i tweets.

### 2.4.1. Emojis

Emojis (jap. *emoji* → *e* 'picture' og *moji* 'character') vises i form af et piktogram og / eller ideogram. Der er nu omkring 900 sådanne ikoner, og der er flere og flere, fordi emojis udvikler sig ligesom sproget. Deres hovedrolle er at erstatte længere udtryk. Men de har også andre funktioner: den pragmatiske funktion (at karakterisere, hvordan en udtalelse er) og den syntaktiske funktion (at erstatte interpunktionstegn; at henviser til et verbum eller adjektiv). Det er også vigtigt, at emojis ikke må forveksles med humørikoner.

Under dataindsamlingen har jeg allerede bemærket, at danskerne bruger emojis oftere end polakkerne. I polske tweets blev emojis brugt af 13 personer, mens der var 18 danskere, der brugte emojis i deres tweets. I alt har de polske Twitter-brugere brugt 78 emojis og de danske

85 (altså lidt flere), så i gennemsnit kan man finde én emoji i hver fjerde tweet. Derudover er det også diversiteten af emojis, der er større i de danske tweets end i de polske. Mens de polske Twitter-brugere brugte 26 slags emojis, brugte danskerne 45 slags emojis.

De mest brugte emojis er dem, der symboliserer et ansigt, og i de fleste tilfælde betyder de noget positivt:

- 😊 (grinning face) er den mest populære emoji og den findes sammen med sine varianter som 😄 😁 😂 i alt 25 gange, 11 gange i de polske og 14 gange i de danske tweets, hvoraf varianten 😂 (face with tears of joy) har jeg fundet 4 gange i de polske og 9 gange i de danske beskeder.
- 😊 (smiling face with smiling eyes) er den anden mest populære emoji. Sammen med dens varianter som bl.a. 😄 og 😁 findes den 17 gange, hvoraf 7 gange i de polske og 10 gange i de danske tweets.

Til andre populære emojis hører også dem, der står for hånd eller arm, såsom 🖐️, 🖞️, 🖱️ eller 🦶. Det sidste er især karakteristisk for (de polske) politikere, da de to fingre på ligesom bogstavet V symboliserer en sejr.

I modsætning til danske tweets findes der flag i polske meddelelser. Fire gange kunne jeg finde et polsk flag i det analyserede materiale og to gange EU's flag.

Det ofte forekommende (10 gange i alt) hjertesymbol ❤️ bruges ikke kun som et kærlighedssymbol, men det betyder også *at jeg kan lide* eller *at jeg siger mange tak* som i eksemplet (25):

(25) Nogen gange kommer søde venner forbi, og den hektiske hverdag bliver lidt hyggeligere :-). Tak for bog, Leif 🙌 ❤️ [214] 'Sometimes nice friends come by and the hectic everyday life becomes a bit nicer :-). Thanks for the book, Leif.'

Desuden er emojis 🙌 og 🙏, det såkaldte *facepalm*, belagt som en reaktion på noget idiotisk. I de undersøgte polske og danske tweets er de for det meste en del af forskellige kritiske kommentarer og deres rolle er at styrke kritikken.

Resten af emojis er unikke, som f.eks. 🎧 eller 📺, der forekommer i forbindelse med musik eller tv-udsendelser.

For danske tweets vil jeg dog gerne henlede opmærksomheden på et vigtigt fænomen, der ikke forekommer i polske tweets, nemlig gentagelse (iteration) og koncentration af emojis i en tweet. Typisk har vi med gentagelse

af bogstaver eller interpunktionstegn at gøre, men her bliver nogle bestemte emojis gentaget el. koncentreret i en tweet. Et godt eksempel er Figur 3. hvor forfatteren kommenterede en tweets indhold med kun tre emojis:



Figur 3. En tweet med kun-tre-emojis-kommentar

På det næste billede har vi med iteration af emojis at gøre (Figur 4):



Figur 4. En tweet med iteration af emojis

Gentagelsen af emojis tjener til at tilføje eller styrke emotionalitet af udtalelsen, hhv. at fremhæve dens emfase. På den anden side kan følelser undertiden udtrykkes nemmere ved hjælp af emojis, så Twitter-brugeren på figuren 3. brugte tre emojis i stedet for at skrive en tekst, der ville være begrænset til 280 tegn. Også i eksempel (26) brugte en Twitter-user en emoji i stedet for at skrive en tekst:

(26) @kvallescgo @embocsgo Nu holder i 🤔 [133] 'Now hold in 🤔'

Jeg skelner emojis fra de *klassiske* humørikoner, som er et grafisk stileret tegn, et enkelt piktogram, der er sammensat af nogle få tegn og mere eller mindre let kan fortolkes som ansigtsudtryk. Det mest kendte eksempel er smiley, som består af et kolon, en bindestreg og en rund parentes.

I det undersøgte materiale mangler der ikke *klassiske* humørikoner, men deres antal er lavt i forhold til emojis. Overraskende er, at antallet af disse humørikoner på begge sider er det samme: 19, og det mest brugte humørikon er :-) (17 gange i de polske og 16 gange i de danske tweets).

#### 2.4.2. Iteration (gentagelse)

Når det drejer sig om gentagelse (iteration) af bogstaver, forekommer den kun i én dansk tweet (27):

(27) Jeg glemte totalt at nævne Mathias Kvistgaaren. Så her kommer en lille hyldest: MATHIAS KVISTGAARDEN HAR FORLÆNGET, JA-AAAAA, FLERE MÅL, MERE FLIK-FLAK!!! 🦉 [178] 'I totally forgot to mention Mathias Kvistgaaren. So here's a little howl test: MATHIAS KVISTGAARDEN HAS EXTENDED, YEAAAAA, MORE GOALS, MORE FLIK-FLAK!!!'

Blandt de 320 polske tweets findes der ikke nogen gentagelse af bogstaver.

I det samme eksempel har vi også med iteration af interpunktionstegn at gøre (udråbstegn er gentaget tre gange). Ved denne type af iteration drejer det sig kun om at udtrykke emfase, misforståelse el. tvivl, at gøre opmærksom på en ytring, eller at tilføje emotionalitet, som i eksempel (28), hvor der samtidig findes gentagelse (iteration) af interpunktionstegn og emojis. Sådanne belæg har jeg kun fundet i de danske tweets:

(28) MÆSKER MIG så det basker! Har savnet Malaysisk mad!!!! #GladForMad 😊🙏😊🙏😊🙏🙏 <https://t.co/zYB98wmMuF> [304] 'LOVE ME so much! Have missed Malaysian food!!!!'

Kvantitativt spiller gentagelse (iteration) af interpunktionstegn også en marginal rolle. Jeg har kun fundet 4 tweets (to polske og to danske) med iteration af udråbstegn, og 2 tweets (kun danske) med iteration af spørgsmålstegn. Derudover findes der 3 kombinationer af ? og ! (to gange !? og en gang ?!).

Den oftest gentagne interpunktionstegn er dog punktummet. Der er 30 polske og 21 danske tweets, hvor det (punktummet) blev itereret (gentegnet). Det bruges først og fremmest som et udeladelses- eller pausetegn.

## 2.5. Interaktion

Man kan sige, at Twitter er interaktionsstærk [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p.66]. I det analyserede materiale udgør de reaktive tweets<sup>12</sup> (411) 64 % af alle tweets, hvoraf 228 tweets er de danske (71 % af alle dansksprogede tweets) og 183 de polske (57 % af alle polsksprogede tweets). Der er gennemsnitligt 1,28 brugernavne pr. tweet, hvor de danske tweets er mere reaktive end de polske: der er 1,46 brugernavne pr. en dansk tweet og 1,1 brugernavne pr. en polsk tweet. En adressering står som sædvanligt i begyndelsen af en tweet:

(29) @Spraengstoffer Der kommer lige så mange, som antallet af seere TV 2 mister på det her. [8] ‘There will be as many as the number of viewers TV 2 loses on this.’

(30) @LeskiPiotr @pismo Dzieki za info [484] ‘Thanks for the information.’

Et @brugernavn i en tweet er selvfølgelig ikke automatisk en adressering, men det kan også være en @mention som i eksempel (31):

(31) DF gør listen op: 144 stramninger i udlændingepolitikken siden 2015 <https://t.co/YIiklaqeEz> via @Ditoverblik.dk [54] ‘DF makes list: 144 tightenings in immigration policy since 2015’

Hvis der forekommer flere @brugere i en tweet, kunne det være enten en @mention eller en taksigelse, som i (32) og (33) [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p.67]:

(32) @TomJensen1966 @JoachimBOlsen Tak! Godt arbejde. Det er mig ubegribeligt, at ikke flere har samlet historien op. [68] ‘Thank you! Good work. I can’t believe more people haven’t picked up the story.’

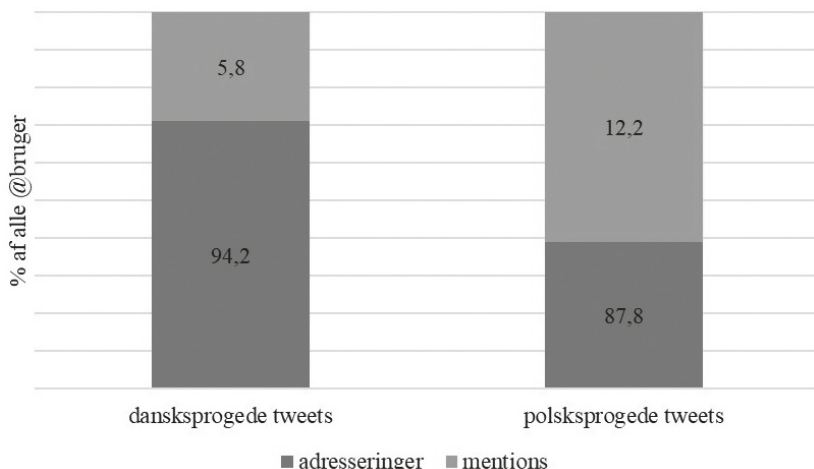
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<sup>12</sup> Hvad en *reaktiv tweet* er, se overfor.



- (33) @henaslas @Anna\_Hev @aldehyd10 @AguniaAga @ABerezanska @kasia\_dw @Dana5Dana5 @BlonnDella @Diablica\_Zwinna @katka\_d69 @Cicho\_Szaa @BettyElaWhite @69\_Woman\_ Dziękuję Heniu! Tez jestem na etapie poszukiwań... Pozdrawiam wszystkich! 🙌 [596] ‘Thank you Heniu! I am also on the search stage.... Greetings to all!’

Når man sammenligner rollen, som @mentions spiller med den, der adresseringer spiller, ser man, at adresseringer er meget vigtigere end @mentions:



Figur 5. Rolle, der spiller @mentions vs. den, der spiller adresseringer i danske og polske tweets

Som man kan se på figur 5, forekommer @mentions oftere i de polske end i de danske tweets: 12,2% vs. 5,8%. Adresseringer udgør 94,2% af alle @bruger i de danske tweets og 87,8% i de polske tweets. @mention og adressering kan sommetider være ens som i (34):

- (34) @i\_mantaj Pani Iwono, lubię pani wysublimowane komentarze :) Pozdrawiam! [600] ‘Iwono, I like your sublime comments :) Greetings!’

Men sådanne tilfælde forekommer ikke så tit. Siever og Schlobinski, der har analyseret 640 tyske tweets, har kun fundet ét sådant eksempel [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p.67]. De gør også opmærksom på, at ”Obwohl es sich bei Microblogs um eine asynchrone Kommunikationsform handelt, sind bei den reaktiven Tweets im Regelfall reine Ant-

worten oder Gegenfragen belegt — eine Wiederholung von Inhalten der Frage ist unüblich.” [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 67]

## 2.6. Funktionelle aspekter

Det kan ikke fastslås entydigt, hvor mange funktionelle kategorier tweets kan inddeles i. Samtidig er det ikke altid uproblematisk at indordne en tweet under en bestemt funktionel kategori [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 68]. Derfor baserer jeg i min analyse på klassifikation af Siever, Schlobinski [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 68]. De har defineret 8 funktionelle tweets-kategorier: *meddelelser*, *kommentarer*, *statements*, *hilsner*, *spørgsmål*, *svar*, *marketing* og *andre*. Nedenunder kommenteres nogle af dem:

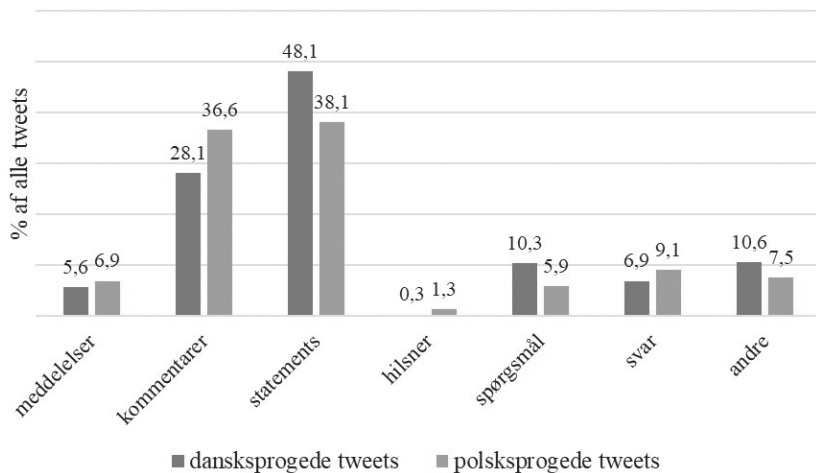
- *Meddelelser* er nyheder publiceret af forskellige medieinstitutioner, journalister mm.
- *Kommentarer*, altså personlige bemærkninger „(...) der udtrykker en holdning til eller en nærmere forklaring på en aktuel begivenhed eller udtalelse.” [Den Danske Ordbog]
- *Statements*, altså „kort offentlig udtalelse eller erklæring, ofte fyndig eller markant”. [Den Danske Ordbog]
- Kategorien *hilsner* tilhører både velkomst- og afskedshilsner.
- *Spørgsmål* — spørgsmål i en almindelig betydning.
- Kategorien *andre* tilhører tweets, der ikke lader sig sætte i gruppe med nogen af de ovennævnte kategorier.

Med hensyn til de funktionelle aspekter viste analysen, at kategorierne i analyserasteren ikke altid er uproblematisk [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013, p. 68]. Tweets kan have to eller flere funktioner, altså en tweet kan tilhøre forskellige kategorier. Det resulterer i problemer med klar kategorisering, fx forskellen mellem en *meddelelse* og et *statement* er ikke altid klar som i (35):

(35) @doctortroels Det mener jeg ikke faktisk ikke, at der er. Men enig i, at Brøndby var det bedste hold i øvrigt S/K [14] ‘I don’t actually think there is. But agree that Brøndby was the best team by the way S/K.’

I alt hører 58 tweets samtidigt til 2 forskellige kategorier, heraf 34 danske og 24 polske tweets. I de fleste tilfælde tilhører de kategorierne *kommentarer* og *statements*.

Inddelingen af danske og polske tweets i forskellige kategorier kan ses på figur 6.



Figur 6. Funktionelle aspekter af danske og polske tweets

Mængden af meddelelser som fx (36) eller (37) er næsten identisk på begge sider (5,6 % af alle danske og 6,9 % af alle polske tweets):

(36) Folketingsmedlem melder Radio24syv til politiet efter aprilsnar <https://t.co/mlJpO1iZ4j> [52] ‘Member of Parliament reports Radio24syv to the police after April prank.’

(37) @michal\_ciania @tvp\_info Wszyscy europosłowie z Polski, z wszystkich w PE partii są przeciw #PakietMobilności i popierają skargę [525] ‘All MEPs from Poland, from all parties in the EP are against the #PakietMobilności and support the complaint.’

Når det drejer sig om kommentarer, er der flere af dem blandt polakkerne (36,6 % vs. 28,1 %), fordi de efter min mening oftere kommenterer de nyheder, billeder el. film, som de linker, fx (38):

(38) @LenaBobinska @LBalcerowicz Premier Gowin to chyba lepiej, żeby milczał... [539] ‘Prime Minister Gowin is probably better off keeping quiet...’

På den anden side er der flere danske tweets, jeg har klassificeret som statements (48,1 %), end de polske (38,1 %). Se (39):

(39) Det er skiftende regeringer — ikke akademikerne — som har øget uligheden i Danmark og det er nok værd at huske op til et valg. #dkpol <https://t.co/q0zcHA68Wv> [154] ‘It is changing governments — not academics — that have increased inequality in Denmark and that is probably worth remembering in the run-up to an election.’

Hilsner har en marginal betydning på begge sider, men der er flere af dem blandt de polske brugere (1,3 % af alle tweets). Derudover er der også flere svar i de polske tweets (9,1 % af alle tweets). *Svar* betyder her, at en bruger svarer på et spørgsmål stillet i en anden tweet. Interessant er, at der blandt de danske brugere er betydeligt flere spørgsmål-tweets (10,3 % af alle tweets) og dem, der tilhører kategorien *andre* (10,6 % af alle tweets) som fx (40), end blandt de polske brugere.

(40) Kom så med 3 point iaften 🤔🤔 <https://t.co/YPHPbqFOta> [131]  
'Come with 3 points tonight.'

### 3. OPSUMMERING

Artiklen fokuserer på kontraster, der forekommer mellem polske og danske tweets inden for sådanne aspekter som ordforråd, reduktion, syntaks, grafostilistik, interaktion og de funktionelle aspekter. Undersøgelsen af 320 danske og 320 polske tweets har vist, at, i modsætning til andre områder, divergenserne i ordforråd og syntaks næsten er umærkelige.

Danskere bruger både flere onomatopoietika og fremmedord end polakker. De mest brugte fremmedord på begge sidder er anglicismer, men man kan konstatere, at de ikke forekommer så hyppigt som forventet og udgør mindre end 1 % af alle ordene. De bruges som daglig tale uden for tweets, der fuldstændigt er på engelsk.

Væsentlige forskelle er der i domænet *reduktion*. Mens der i det danske korpus forekommer 51 kortformer/komposita/forkortelser, indeholder det polske korpus kun 15 af sådanne ord. I de tysksprogede tweets, som blev analyseret af Siever, Schlobinski [Siever, Schlobinski, 2013], findes der betydeligt flere eksempler på reduktion end i de her analyserede korpuser. Men det er vigtigt, at Schlobinski og Siever undersøgte fænomenet i 2013, da en tweets længde var maksimalt 140 tegn. Nu kan en tweet være to gange længere, og måske derfor bruges de forskellige akronymer nu ikke så tit som før. Derudover er de forskellige akronymer sommetider kun forståelige for bestemte grupper af brugere. Ikke alle ved, at PMM står for *Premier Mateusz Morawiecki* 'Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki' og OB for *Odense Boldklub* 'Odense Football Club'.

Interessante kontraster forekommer der også inden for grafostilistik. De kan ses især, når det drejer sig om antallet og typerne af emojis. Nogle af dem, som flag, bruges kun i polske tweets. Interessant er, at der ikke findes dansk flag i danske brugeres tweets.

I modsætning til de polske tweets bliver emoticons gentaget eller koncentreret kun i de danske tweets. Sådant en løsning anvendes ikke af de polske Twitter-brugere. På to områder adskiller begge sprogene sig kun lidt: antallet af *klassiske* humørikoner samt iterationen af bogstaverne og tegnsætningen.

Typisk for både dansk- og polsksprogede tweets er @mentions, @adresseringer og hashtags. Mens @mentions er logisk integrerede i tweet-indhold, er twitter-brugere ved hashtagintegrationen meget kreative. Et godt eksempel er de polske hashtags, der har bøjningsendelser. Hashtags sammen med kort-url er det øjensynligste middel til reduktion af tegnmenge. Derfor udnytter både danske og polske twitter-brugere ikke det maksimale tegnantal. I de dansksprogede tweets er der gennemsnitligt 111,8 tegn pr. tweet. En gennemsnitlig polsk tweet er lidt længere og har 122,7 tegn.

Med 48,1 % udgør *statements* næsten halvdelen af alle dansksprogede tweets. På den anden side er der flere *kommentarer* i det polske korpus (36,6 %) end i det danske (28,1 %). Væsentlige forskelle er der, når det drejer sig om sådanne karakteristika som *spørgsmål* (10,3 % af alle dansksprogede tweets vs. 5,9 % af alle polsksprogede tweets) og *svare* (6,9 % vs. 9,1 %).

I Tabellen 2. findes der en opsummering af kontraster mellem de danske og de polske tweets:

Tabel 2. Opsummeringen af kontraster mellem de danske og de polske tweets

OMRÅDE	KARAKTERISTIKON	RESULTAT	
		DANSK	POLSK
statistik	data	320 tweets af 16 mandlige og 16 kvindelige bruger	320 tweets af 16 mandlige og 16 kvindelige bruger
	antal tegn (uden mellemrum)	35788 <sup>13</sup>	39271 <sup>14</sup>
	antal ord	6726 <sup>15</sup>	6118 <sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> 111,8 tegn pr. tweet

<sup>14</sup> 122,7 tegn pr. tweet

<sup>15</sup> 21 ord pr. tweet

<sup>16</sup> 19,1 ord pr. tweet

OMRÅDE	KARAKTERISTIKON	RESULTAT	
		DANSK	POLSK
Ordforråd	daglig tale	0,16 % (af alle ord)	0,21 % (af alle ord)
	anglicismer og engelske ord	0,92 % (af alle ord)	0,28 % (af alle ord)
	andre fremmedord	0,8 % (af alle ord)	0 %
	skældsord	0 %	0,05 % (af alle ord)
Reduktion	forkortede URLs	36 URLs	26 URLs
	sproglige reduktionsmuligheder: akronymer, sammenrykninger, forkortelse	51 (16 % af alle tweets)	15 (5 % af alle tweets)
	integrerede hashtags	7 % (af alle hashtags)	50 % (af alle hashtags)
Syntaks	hovedsætninger	45,6 % (af alle sætninger)	43 % (af alle sætninger)
	parataktiske helsætninger	9,5 % (af alle sætninger)	11,9 % (af alle sætninger)
	hypotaktiske helsætninger	25,1 % (af alle sætninger)	19 % (af alle sætninger)
	de elliptiske strukturer	14 % (af alle sætninger)	12 % (af alle sætninger)
Grafostilistik	smileys	1,26 % (af alle ord)	1,27 % (af alle ord)
	iteration af bogstaver	0,01 % (af alle ord)	0 %
	iteration af interpunktionstegn: udråbstegn	0,63 % (af alle tweets)	0,63 % (af alle tweets)
	spørgsmålstegn	0,63 % (af alle tweets)	0 %
	punktum	6,6 % (af alle tweets)	9,4 % (af alle tweets)

OMRÅDE	KARAKTERISTIKON	RESULTAT	
		DANSK	POLSK
Interaktion	reaktive tweets	71 % (af alle tweets)	57 % (af alle tweets)
	adresseringer	439 (af alle @brugere)	309 (af alle @brugere)
	@mentions	27 (af alle @brugere)	43 (af alle @brugere)
Funktionelle aspekter	meddelelser	5,6 % (af alle tweets)	6,9 % (af alle tweets)
	kommentarer <sup>17</sup>	28,1 %	36,6 %
	statements <sup>1</sup>	48,1 %	38,1 %
	hilsner	0,3 %	1,3 %
	spørgsmål	10,3 %	5,9 %
	svar	6,9 %	9,1 %
	andre	10,6 %	7,5 %

Twitter hører til de vigtigste sociale netværker i verden og er uden tvivl det vigtigste mikroblogging-værktøj. Nu til dags sender mange politikere eller journalister deres tweets ud fra center af vigtige begivenheder, og præger på den måde den socialpolitiske diskussion.

Ud over sin prædestination til *user generated content*, er Twitter også blevet til et vigtigt forskningsobjekt ikke kun for lingvistik, medie- eller kommunikationsvidenskab<sup>18</sup>. Det er bl.a. Twitters brugertypologi, funktioner (informere, orientere, fornøje osv.) og sproglige egenskaber, der kan undersøges [Smułczyński, 2021, p. 122].

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<sup>17</sup> I alt hører 58 tweets samtidig til 2 forskellige kategorier, heraf 34 danske og 24 polske tweets.

<sup>18</sup> Se også kapitel 1.

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## KORPUS

Korpuset er tilgængeligt under det følgende link:

[https://uniwroc-my.sharepoint.com/:b:/g/personal/michal\\_smulczynski\\_uwr\\_edu\\_pl/EREq1katNLhEnmjRmSD2O-oBIEq5pw8A8U\\_RABZCTcAbrw?e=qDgv68](https://uniwroc-my.sharepoint.com/:b:/g/personal/michal_smulczynski_uwr_edu_pl/EREq1katNLhEnmjRmSD2O-oBIEq5pw8A8U_RABZCTcAbrw?e=qDgv68)

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### **MICROBLOGGING IN DENMARK AND POLAND — A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS. PART II**

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This article is the second part of a comparative study of Danish and Polish tweets, inspired by the anthology “Microblogs global”. The first part of the study deals with the social network and microblogging tool Twitter, including the more technical side of

microblogging. The many tweet types and the extensive terminology in the field were thoroughly and conscientiously explained. In addition, the contrasts concerning orthography and spoken language were analysed. For the following description, 320 Danish and 320 Polish tweets were collected from randomly selected profiles belonging to various politicians, journalists, and private individuals posting mainly in Danish/Polish. The analysis covers the period from 30 March to 6 April 2019, and includes differences in tweets in terms of word preference, e.g. colloquialisms, anglicisms, or profanity, to technical and linguistic reductions and the structure of sentences. The degree of graphostilistics in relation to emojis, emoticons, smileys, and iteration is analyzed. Interaction operators are investigated, as well as functional aspects of tweets, i.e. whether tweets can be categorized as messages, comments, statements, or questions. The greatest contrasts occur in such domains as reduction, graphostylistics, and interaction. While the Polish corpus contains only 15 short forms/composites/abbreviations, the Danish corpus contains 3 times more such words (51 examples). Differences in graphostilistics concern above all the number and types of emojis. In addition, emoticons are repeated or concentrated only in the Danish tweets. The divergences in vocabulary and syntax are almost imperceptible.

**Keywords:** microblog, Twitter, vocabulary, reduction, syntax, graphostylistics, interaction, functional aspects, contrastive analysis.

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## **“BEST DENTIST EVER” — EVALUATION STRATEGIES IN THE HEADLINES OF DANISH AND GERMAN POSITIVE ONLINE CONSUMER REVIEWS**

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Over the last few decades, computer-mediated communication (CMC) has become a significant element of our reality and, subsequently, an item of interest for researchers within many disciplines. CMC’s rapid development has resulted in the emergence of new, multimodal means of expression, text genres, and communication styles. Among the new genres are online consumer reviews, which impact the behavior of online consumers to a large extent, but are also valuable for linguistic researchers due to their structure, content, and functions. The headlines of online consumer reviews seem to be of particular importance, although they have not received much attention in linguistic research so far. This paper offers a contrastive analysis of 200 headlines of positive online customer reviews for Danish and German dental care providers. Because of the way consumer reviews are displayed and consumed online, their headlines can be treated as separate texts and are analyzed as such throughout the paper. The investigation’s overall goal is twofold: (i) to identify the basic communicative functions of the headlines, and (ii) to describe the linguistic means employed to express those functions. The analysis seeks to find potential similarities and differences between the headlines of positive reviews written in Danish and German. The findings show that there is little variation between the two subsets of the analyzed corpus as far as communicative functions and employed linguistic means are concerned. This may indicate that the identified features could be treated as characteristic of the genre rather than language-specific.

**Keywords:** online consumer reviews, eWOM, evaluation strategies, consumer review headlines, communicative functions, computer-mediated communication, Danish, German.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Owing to the rapid technological development that has taken place over the past few decades, it is now easier to communicate “across both space and time” [Fussell, 2010, p. 133] than ever before. Computer-mediated communication (CMC) “has woven its way into the core fabric of our social lives” [Nielsen, 2017, p. 555] and changed the way we communicate in a number of ways. It has also become a vast area of study across disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, psychology, and media studies.

The last decades’ CMC boom has included the emergence not only of new communication forms and strategies, but also of new genres such as blog posts and online reviews. The latter genres have become immensely frequent in the online world, as online customer reviews are to be found in virtually every online store, as well as on dedicated online platforms. Consulting such reviews before making a decision is considered standard procedure for more and more consumers. At the same time, online customer reviews have become an extremely powerful tool that can have a significant impact on products and businesses [cf. Vasquez, 2014, p. 2]. Also known as *eWOM* (electronic-word-of-mouth), online consumer reviews provide first-hand user-generated knowledge that spreads quickly to reach the global audience, and they are not as ephemeral as traditional word-of-mouth recommendations as they leave a digital record online [cf. Vasquez, 2014, p. 3].

The aim of this paper is to analyze the headlines of positive online consumer reviews written in Danish and German about Danish and German dental care providers. The main goal is to identify basic communicative functions of the headlines, as well as the linguistic means employed to express those functions. We also hope to be able to observe similarities and differences between the Danish and German data.

In section 2 we provide a brief general description of the headlines of online consumer reviews, as well as an explanation of the reasoning behind our choice to analyze them as separate texts. Section 3 offers a presentation of our corpus, the methods we employed in order to select the data as well as our analytical approach. Sections 4 and 5 are the analytical core of our investigation and deal with headlines of Danish and German reviews, respectively. We provide a summary and a brief discussion of our findings in section 6, where we also make suggestions regarding further research.

## 2. WHY INVESTIGATE THE HEADLINES OF ONLINE CONSUMER REVIEWS?

Structurally, an online review typically consists of a headline and the main body. The verbal content is often supplemented with a rating system, most often numerical or “star-based.” On some platforms headlines are obligatory, while in other cases (e.g. *dk.trustpilot.com*) the first few words of a review seem to be automatically pasted as the headline if no headline is provided by the user. The structure and functions of press headlines have been the subjects of numerous investigations [e.g. Pisarek, 1967; Sandig, 1971; Oberhauser, 1993; Dor, 2003; Blom, Hansen, 2015; Kuiken, Schuth, Spitters, Marx, 2017], but to the best of our knowledge no studies of the headlines of online consumer reviews have yet been conducted. In this section we provide an overview of the reasons for which we see the headlines of online consumer reviews as an interesting, albeit unexplored, research subject.

To a certain extent the headlines of online consumer reviews resemble press headlines. According to White [White, 2011, p.96] headlines “are privileged by the initial position they occupy [...], the space they command, the bold print and size they are allotted.” Owing to their text-initial placement, headlines are relatively independent elements of online press texts [cf. Burger, Luginbühl, 2014, s.492]. This is indeed characteristic of online content in general, where the headline may be the only or close to the only part of the text visible for the reader. It applies to the headlines of online consumer reviews as well — in many cases a user needs to click on the headline in order to access the full text.

As observed by Burger and Luginbühl [cf. Burger, Luginbühl, 2014, s. 148], the headlines of online news items need to be content-oriented, as they are meant to make the selection of content easier for the readers, which can and often is also true with regards to the headlines of online consumer reviews. For this reason, both types of headlines tend to convey information in a highly condensed way, which in the case of press headlines often translates into “syntactic and semantic unorthodoxy” as well as “morpho-syntactic density”. [White, 2011, p.96]

The headline-full text relations in online consumer reviews are outside the scope of this study, although the issue of whether or not they share the above functions with press headlines deserves to be investigated elsewhere. In the case of online consumer reviews one can and

should assume that the potential reader is interested in the matter at hand and does not need to be lured to read or click<sup>1</sup>. What seems to be of more significance in terms of the headlines of online consumer reviews, though, is the way they are displayed and consumed online.

As noted, the headline of an online consumer review may be the only part of the review available for the user at first encounter with the text. Moreover, Internet users tend to scan websites for information that is potentially interesting/useful for them rather than read the entire content of a website, which seems to boost the significance of headlines and the impact they have on users. Some users (the authors of this paper included) often seem to intuitively treat headlines as abstracts for the reviews and more often than not to read the headlines rather than the entire reviews. For these reasons we believe that headlines of online consumer reviews can be analyzed as separate texts, without any explicit reference to the headline-full text relations.

### 3. THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

#### 3.1. *The corpus*

The analyzed dataset has been excerpted from a body of online reviews regarding dental care providers in Denmark and Germany, the texts being produced in Danish and German, respectively. Given the scope of the present study, we analyze the headlines of online consumer reviews and make references to their remainder portions only occasionally, when necessary for the purpose of our study.

The data we have selected for analysis are headlines of positive reviews of dental care providers for each of the two languages in question ( $n = 200$  overall). The German material stems from *jameda.de*, an online platform for reviewing medical care providers in Germany, while the Danish reviews have been retrieved from the Danish section of *dk.trustpilot.com*, a multi-language, all-purpose review platform. The subjects of the analyzed reviews are both small (potentially also one-man) and large dental clinics, and no distinction is made in the data between the two types.

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<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the headlines of online press content, where the eye-catching function seems to be dominant, cf. Kuiken et al. [Kuiken, Schuth, Spitters, Marx, 2017, p. 1300] as well as Blom and Hansen [Blom, Hansen, 2015, p. 87].

We assume that each of the reviews has been written by a unique author, although this is impossible to verify [cf. Vasquez, 2014, p. 7]. The reviews published at *jameda.de* are all anonymous, which is not the case at *dk.trustpilot.com*, but in both cases all the reviews selected for analysis seem to have been published using unique user accounts. Therefore, the assumption regarding the authors' uniqueness seems justified. Table provides an overview of the analyzed data.

*Table. An overview of the analyzed data*

Language	Source	Reviews
DANISH	dk.trustpilot.com	100
GERMAN	www.jameda.de	100

### **3.2. Methods applied for data selection and analysis**

As mentioned in section 3.1, the analyzed headlines have been extracted from a set of online consumer reviews retrieved from *jameda.de* and *dk.trustpilot.com* in the fourth quarter of 2019.

At *dk.trustpilot.com* users have the opportunity of providing both a written review of their experience and rate the product/service on a scale between one and five stars (one being the lowest and five the highest rating). Searching in the category *tandlæge* 'dentist' returns a list of dental care providers sorted by TrustScore (from highest to lowest). Clicking the name of a service provider allows to see all reviews regarding that service provider, which then can be filtered by rating. The positive reviews of Danish dental care providers that we have chosen to analyze are the first 20 reviews for each of the five dental care providers with highest TrustScores.

The rating system at *jameda.de* is somewhat more complicated, in that users are expected to provide ratings in several categories on a scale between one and six (six being the lowest rating), which is equivalent to the grading system in German schools. The ratings contribute to that user's overall average rating of that particular medical care provider (expressed numerically). Apart from that the users are expected to provide a written review but, contrary to *dk.trustpilot.com*, at *jameda.de* they are provided with extensive guidelines as to what the review should (not)

include and/or focus on. The analyzed positive reviews have been chosen analogically to their Danish counterparts.

For each of the languages in question we investigate what communicative functions are represented in the analyzed headlines. This is followed by an analysis of the linguistic means employed with the purpose of expressing those functions. As mentioned in section 2, we treat the headlines as independent texts and make no specific reference to the remainder portions of the reviews unless it is necessary.

#### 4. FINDINGS FROM THE DANISH DATA

In terms of function the vast majority of the analyzed Danish online review headlines are explicitly evaluative. The reviewers provide their accounts of what experience they have had with the given dental care providers by means of stating their opinion with regards to that experience. In doing so the reviewers tend to focus on different aspects of the experience. Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. *Godt sted*<sup>2</sup>  
'good place'
- b. *Topprofessionelle tandlæger*  
'top professional dentists'
- c. *Super sød og dygtige...*  
'super sweet and talented'
- d. *God behandling og service*  
'good treatment and service'
- e. *Virkelig et lækkert sted!*  
'really a nice place!'
- f. *Den bedste oplevelse!*  
'the best experience'

Example (1a) is generic in that the reviewer refers to the institution in question using the noun *sted* 'place' and makes no reference to any particular aspect of the experience. In (1b), however, the focus is on the dentists' professionalism, while emphasis can also be put on the reviewed care provider's personality, e.g. (1c). (1d) combines an evaluation of both the treatment and the non-medical portion of the interaction and (1e) seems to focus on the clinic's appearance and/or equipment

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<sup>2</sup> We have kept the original spelling and punctuation in all examples.



rather than the provided treatment or service. (1f) is a holistic summary of the entire experience.

The Danish dataset also includes a few positive reviews whose headlines are purely referential, as they contain general information about the dentist-patient interaction (2a) or the name of the performed procedure (2b):

- (2) a. *Mit første besøg hos [name of dental clinic]*  
'my first visit at [name of dental clinic]'
- b. *Skulle have lavet røntgen*  
'needed to get an X-ray done'

A number of headlines in the dataset are functional hybrids as they are both referential and evaluative, e.g. (3a):

- (3) a. *knækket Fortand SUPERKLINIK.*  
'cracked front tooth SUPER CLINIC'
- b. *Jeg er fast kunde.*  
'I am a regular customer'
- c. *Jeg er meget tilfreds indtil videre.*  
'I am very satisfied so far'

In (3a) the reviewer makes reference to the problem he/she experienced and that needed treatment, but the headline also contains a condensed general evaluation of the clinic in question.

The referential function of (3b) and (3c) is based on the fact that reviewers seem simply to provide readers with information about themselves. Given the communicational context and pragmatic goal, however, the two headlines need to be treated as evaluative as well. In these cases, the reviewers, being a regular client and one that is satisfied, respectively, seem to be sending a message that the subjects of the reviews provide satisfactory dental care-related experiences. In fact, the statements in (3b) and (3c) also seem to be implicitly persuasive in that the reviewers, by means of their declarations, seem to be trying to convince the reader(s) of the given dental care providers' worthiness. In such situations it is implied stronger than elsewhere that the reviewer is to be treated as a reliable source of knowledge.

Among the analyzed Danish positive reviews, we have not been able to identify ones whose headlines would be explicitly persuasive. However, implicit persuasiveness can be observed in a number of headlines

containing the performative verb *anbefale* ‘recommend’, cf. example (4) below:

- (4) *kan varmt anbefales*  
‘can be warmly recommended’

Examples like (4) are, at the same time, evaluative, as through the act of recommending a dental care provider the person making the recommendation also seems to be expressing their positive opinion about the subject of the review.

In most of the analyzed headlines of Danish positive reviews, the evaluative function is manifested by means of evaluative adjectives, which Vasquez [Vasquez, 2014, p.32] considers to be “one of the most common and explicit devices” employed for that purpose. The English adjective *good* appears to be the most frequent one used across her data [Vasquez, 2014, p.32], and the same is the case in the Danish positive reviews in our dataset, where different forms of the adjective *god* ‘good’ appear in just under a third of all analyzed examples.

In most cases the adjective *god* refers to the received treatment (*behandling*), the general experience (*oplevelse*), and the service provided (*service*). In a few cases it is the dental clinic in general that is considered good and is even referred to, somewhat generically, as *sted* ‘place’, while we only found a single occurrence of a dentist (*tandlæge*) being evaluated as good using the positive form of the adjective *god*.

The adjective *god* often occurs with an intensifier in the form of an adverb, e.g. *rigtig* or *virkelig* (both meaning ‘really’ in this context), *helt sikkert* ‘definitely’, the adjective *super* as in *super god oplevelse*<sup>3</sup> ‘super good experience’ or the adverb *så*, e.g. *Så godt!* ‘so good!’.

As many as 8 % of the headlines contain the superlative form of *god*, i.e. *bedst*. In these cases, however, reference is made to the dentist or clinic being reviewed (*tandlæge*, *tandlægeklinik*), the dental care providers being deemed e.g. the best in town, the best in Copenhagen, the best in Denmark or even the best dentist ever (*Bedste tandlæge ever*).

Apart from the adjective *god*, the sentiment of which seems to be generically positive and neutral (hence the use of intensifiers), a number of more specific evaluative adjectives can be found in our data. These

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<sup>3</sup> In contexts like this one *super* is predominantly used as the first element of a compound (e.g. *supergod*), which most likely also was the reviewer’s intention here. Writing compounds as two words is otherwise a common error in written Danish.

range from adjectives whose sentiment is generally positive but whose overall meanings are also more intense than that of *god*, i.e. *flot* ‘great’, *fremragende* ‘excellent’ and *fantastisk* ‘fantastic’, to more context-dependent adjectives referring to various aspects of the experience.

Depending on which aspect is of greater importance for a given reviewer, the evaluative adjectives used may refer to the dental care provider’s professional skills, e.g. *professionel* ‘professional’, *dygtig* ‘skillful/proficient’, *kompetent* ‘competent’, *troværdig* ‘trustworthy’ or their interpersonal skills, e.g. *sød* ‘sweet’/‘nice’, *venlig* ‘friendly’, *behagelig* ‘pleasant’, *beroligende* ‘calming’ and *smilende* ‘smiling’. We have also found a single reference to the price of treatment by means of the adjective *billig* ‘cheap’, cf. (5) below:

- (5) *Professionel og billig som gør jeg har råd*  
‘professional and cheap which is why I can afford [it]’

Even though the adjective in question is one whose function is by default referential, we perceive (5) as an instance of using this adjective for evaluative purposes.

In a few other cases the reviewers referred to various qualities of the reviewed clinics, some of which were generic, e.g. (6a), while others contained more specific references to the clinic’s general ambience (6b) or equipment (6c):

- (6) a. *Virkelig et lækkert sted!*  
‘really a lovely place!’  
b. *Super betjening i rare omgivelser*  
‘super service in nice surroundings’  
c. *Veludstyret moderne klinik med smilende...*  
‘well-equipped modern clinic with smiling...’

In (6c), the otherwise referential adjective *moderne* ‘modern’ is contextually evaluative because of occurring in coordination with the evaluative *veludstyret* ‘well-equipped’, much like the adjective *billig* ‘cheap’ in (5).

A few of the reviewers express their approval of the received dental care by giving an account of their mental state related to the experience at the clinics in question. The adjective *tilfreds* ‘satisfied’ is employed for that purpose, more often than not with an adverbial intensifier, e.g. *meget* ‘very’ and *fuldt ud* ‘entirely’. The adjective *tryk* ‘safe’ and the noun *tillid* ‘trust’ are used analogically in other examples.

Other non-generic evaluative adjectives used in the Danish dataset also occur with intensifiers, e.g.:

- (7) a. *Yderst professionelle tandlæger med...*  
'extremely professional dentists with...'  
b. *Topprofessionelle tandlæger*  
'highly professional dentists'  
c. *På alle måder en positiv oplevelse*  
'in all ways a positive experience'  
d. *Helt igennem fantastisk dejlig...*  
'all the way fantastic lovely/nice...'

As we have shown above, the intensifiers in our data take different forms as this function can be expressed by means of e.g. adverbs and more complex adverbial constructions, cf. (7a) and (7c–d), respectively. The first elements of compounds can convey an intensifying meaning as well, cf. (7b). (7d) is particularly interesting in that it can potentially be interpreted as an example of employing a double intensifier as the adjective *fantastisk* itself is also sometimes used as an intensifier<sup>4</sup>.

In a single example in the Danish data, positive evaluation is expressed by means of the noun *ros* 'praise', i.e. *stor ros til* [dentist's first name] ('high praise for [dentist's first name]'). A syntactically similar but less explicit example included thanking the dentist, i.e. *tak til* [dentist's first name] *og hendes team for...* 'thanks to [dentist's first name] and her team for...'

According to Vasquez [Vasquez, 2014, p. 56], the "desire to repeat a positive experience" is a "productive form of evaluation" in online reviews. In our dataset we have found instances of using the adverb *altid* 'always' for which Vasquez's observations seem relevant. Consider the following examples:

- (8) a. *Jeg har altid været fuldt ud tilfreds...*  
'I have always been completely satisfied'  
b. *Altid en fornøjelse*  
'Always a pleasure'  
c. *Altid god behandling og godt arbejde...*  
'Always good treatment and good work...'  
d. *Stadig super god behandling*  
'Still super good treatment'

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Den Danske Ordbog*. Available at: <https://ordnet.dk/ddo/ordbog?query=fantastisk&tab=for>

The use of *altid* in (8a–c) indicates not only the reviewers’ mere desire to repeat the experience but it actually helps emphasize the fact that these reviewers have repeatedly had satisfactory interactions with the subjects of the reviews. In fact, the use of *altid* implies that they have not had any bad experiences, thus intensifying the otherwise positive evaluative meaning of the headlines. While the use of *stadig* ‘still’ in (8d) is less powerful than the use of *altid*, it also provides a sense of continuity with regards to the good treatment mentioned in the headline.

From the syntactic point of view, the majority of the headlines have no finite verbs, the exceptions being sentences in the passive voice with the verb *anbefale* (cf. example (4) above) and reviews where the users had not posted a headline and the first few words of the review were copied and pasted as the headline by the system. We have also identified two instances of subject ellipsis in the headline, cf. (2b) and (4).

Quite frequently the headlines are comprised of two coordinated phrases connected with the additive conjunction *og* ‘and’, cf. the examples below:

- (9) a. *God service og rigtig god behandling*  
‘good service and really good treatment’
- b. *Flot arbejde og god oplevelse*  
‘great work and a good experience’
- c. *Super søde og rigtig god behandling!!!*  
‘super sweet and really good treatment!!!’

What is characteristic of such headlines is that reference is usually made to two different aspects of the patient-dentist or patient-clinic interaction, which allows to provide a more extensive and yet compact review in the headline itself. It can also be perceived as an attempt on the reviewers’ part to make the headline “optimally-relevant for the readers” [cf. Dor, 2003, p. 696].

It appears that in some cases the reviewers were aware of the headlines’ importance and potential eye-catching role and therefore made an attempt at making the headlines of their reviews attractive for their readers. For example, (10a) seems to be a reference to a popular beer commercial, which makes the headline stand out because of its intertextuality. In (10b) and (10c) the reviewers resorted to using the eye-catching direct loanwords from English, the relatively frequent use of

which can be observed in the informal speech of the Danish youth [cf. Rathje, 2010, s. 173]:

- (10) a. *Måske Danmarks bedste tandlægeklinik :p*  
'perhaps Denmark's best dental clinic'
- b. *Bedste tandlæge ever...*  
'best dentist ever'
- c. *Kæmpe hive five herfra !*  
'[a] huge high five from here'

The combination of informal style and the use of an emoji makes (10a) a perfect example of modern written online discourse. Apart from using emojis some reviewers also resorted to other (typo)graphic methods of boosting the expressive load of their texts, thus signaling their personal engagement in the matters at hand as well as the importance of their message. Among these strategies, which are typical for online discourse [Hougaard, 2014, s. 47–48], the use of exclamation marks (often multiple ones) is quite frequent as well as using capitals to emphasize the words that the reviewers deemed especially important.

## 6. FINDINGS FROM THE GERMAN DATA

The evaluative function seems to be dominant also in the analyzed headlines of German consumer reviews. In this portion of our data, it is often not only the dental care providers themselves (their politeness, dedication, holistic approach, trustworthiness) that are subject to review, but also the clinic's remaining staff.

With regards to the dentists themselves the criteria that are evaluated most often are competence and professionalism as well as politeness when interacting with patients, all of which are exemplified below:

- (11) a. *Sehr kompetente, freundliche Zahnärztin*  
'very competent, friendly dentist'
- b. *Kompetenter und sehr netter Arzt*  
'competent and very nice doctor'
- c. *Sehr kompetent, hört vor allem zu und nimmt den Patienten ernst*  
'Very competent, listens above all and takes the patient seriously'
- d. *Fachlich höchst kompetent und menschlich sehr angenehm*  
'Highly competent in technical matters and very pleasant in human terms'
- e. *Professionell und Kundenfreundlich*  
'Professional and customer-friendly'

The analyzed headlines also contain direct evaluations of the clinics' remaining staff, which can entail emphasizing the staff's politeness (12a). Just as often it is both the dental care provider and the remaining staff that are being evaluated (12b–c):

- (12) a. *Freundliche Ausnahmepraxis*  
'Friendly, exceptional practice'
- b. *Netter Arzt, tolles Team*  
'Nice doctor, great team'
- c. *Kompetente und sehr freundliche Ärztin und tolles Team!*  
'Competent and very friendly doctor and great team!'

Occasionally the headlines offer objective information rather than the author's subjective evaluation, the information provided referring to the clinic itself or the service/procedures available at the clinic in question. In the analyzed material headlines of this type contain mostly information on the performed procedures or recommended treatment. In this portion of our corpus they are most often implant-related ones:

- (13) a. *2 Inplatate gesetzt*  
'2 implants were set'
- b. *Setzen zweier Zahnimplantate*  
'Placement of two dental implants'

An extreme case of such information condensation is the example below, which only consists of one word and the only information the reader is offered is the name of the procedure. The actual evaluation of the dental care provider is in the review's full text:

- (14) *Implantat*  
'Implant'

Similarly to the corresponding Danish data, the German headlines also tend to combine the informative/referential and evaluative functions. We have found headlines in our dataset where information about the performed procedure (inserting an implant or extracting a wisdom tooth) is accompanied by the patients' subjective opinions:

- (15) a. *Erstes Implantat — sehr zufrieden*  
'First implant — very satisfied'
- b. *Problemlose Weisheitszahnentfernung und OP Implantat*  
'Problem-free wisdom tooth extraction and upper jaw implant'
- c. *Implantat OP bei [doctor's name] erfolgreich*  
'Implant upper jaw at [doctor's name]'s successful'

In (15a) the author directly expresses his/her satisfaction related to the performed procedure by using the adjective *zufrieden* 'satisfied' with the intensifier *sehr* 'very', while in (15b) and (15c) the otherwise referential adjectives *problemlos* and *erfolgreich* are pragmatically evaluative.

One of the subsidiary functions assigned to the headlines of online consumer reviews is the persuasive function, the idea behind which is an attempt at affecting the reader's behavior. In our German data this function is more often than not realized through evaluative elements. Usually, this strategy entails an explicit recommendation made by using the performative verb *empfehlen* 'recommend' or the adjective *empfehlenswert* 'recommendable':

- (16) a. *Zu empfehlen*  
'recommendable'
- b. *Absolut empfehlenswert*  
'Absolutely recommendable'
- c. *Empfehlenswerte Praxis*  
'Recommendable practice'

In (16) the persuasive function is implicit and, in a way, intertwined with the evaluative one. The fact that a patient (here, the review's author) is satisfied with the received treatment can be put in the following modal frame: "I am satisfied with it and therefore I recommend it."

Satisfaction with the received treatment can also be articulated through the speech act of thanking, which by default is an expression of the sender's mental state in connection with the his/her relation to the addressee [cf. Wierzbicka, 1983]. In the analyzed material the speech act of thanking is expressed by means of the particle *danke* or the noun *Dankeschön*, both of which express gratitude:

- (17) a. *Sehr Kompetent und Zuvorkommend. Danke*  
'Very competent and courteous. Thank you'
- b. *Ein herzliches Dankeschön*  
'A heartfelt thank you'

As it transpires from the analyzed corpus data, the evaluative function can be manifested in the use of primarily evaluative lexemes, which by definition and context-independently assign a certain rating or evaluative value to the object they refer to, as well as lexemes that are pragmatically evaluative. The primary function of pragmatically evaluative



lexemes is to describe the referent, while the evaluative portion of their meanings is context-dependent. Adjectives are the largest group among primarily evaluative lexemes, which is due to their inherent ability to assign attributes and rating values to their referents. In practice this translates into presenting these referents through an evaluative lens.

The adjective *gut* 'good' is a typical primarily evaluative lexeme. In our German data it occurs most often as an attributive adjective referring to the dental care provider (18a), the clinic (18b) or the care provider's medical approach and the treatment's effect (18c-d):

- (18) a. *Sehr guter Arzt*  
'Very good doctor'  
b. *Sehr gute Zahnarzt-Praxis!*  
'Very good dental practice!'  
c. *Wahnsinnig gute Leistung, die allerdings ihren Preis hat*  
'Insanely good performance, but it has its price'  
d. *Viele gute, Behandlungen mit guter Aufklärung in dieser schönen Praxis*  
'Many good treatments with good explanation in this beautiful practice'

In most of the analyzed cases the adjective *gut* occurs in the positive form, but grading particles such as *sehr* 'very' and *einfach* (in this context 'just') are often used in order to intensify its meaning.

The features signaled by the used adjectives are also intensified by means of the comparative and superlative forms, the use of which automatically entails a reference to a subjective scale/grade system. The comparative form of *gut* — *besser* — only occurs once in this portion of our data, in which case it is negated, giving the headline an overall positive meaning:

- (19) *Es geht wirklich nicht besser !!*  
'It really cannot be better !!'

In 6 of the analyzed headlines we have observed the use of superlative forms of *gut*, i.e. *beste(r)*, and in all of the occurrences the adjective refers to the dental care provider in question. In two cases the meaning of the superlative is intensified by the adverbs *überhaupt* 'ever', cf. (20a), and *ever* in (20b), making it a kind of absolute superlative:

- (20) a. *FÜR MICH DER BESTE ZAHNARZT HIER ÜBERHAUPT!!!!*  
*....SPITZE!!!*  
'for me the best dentist here of all!!!!!! ....great!!!'

- b. *Für mich die beste Zahnärztin ever*  
'For me, the best dentist ever.'

As an alternative to the generically positive *gut* the authors of the analyzed reviews also resort to using the otherwise colloquial evaluative lexeme *top*<sup>5</sup> (*Top Zahnarzt* 'top dentist', *top Behandlung* 'top treatment', *Sehr guter Arzt* 'very good doctor', *handwerklich top* 'craftsmanship-wise top'). The author of one of the headlines used the adjective *top* four times accompanied by *einfach* 'simply' and *nur* 'just' in order to intensify the evaluation's expressive load, cf. (21):

- (21) *Top TopTop einfach nur Top*  
'top top top just simply top'

In our corpus we have also found instances of evaluative adjectives being graded with the use of the grading particles *sehr*, *super* and the adverbs *äußerst* 'extremely' and *höchst* 'highly'. The meaning of the last two is that the intensity of whatever feature is expressed by the adjective or adverb following the two adverbs in question is beyond what is commonly considered to be the norm [cf. Glück, 2000, s. 689]. The following headline is an example of how the adverb *höchst* is used in the analyzed corpus as an intensifier of a positive feature:

- (22) *Fachlich höchst kompetent und menschlich sehr angenehm*  
'Highly competent in technical matters and very pleasant in human terms'

Compound-initial *lieblings-* 'favorite' and *erst-* 'best...' as well as compound-final *-wert* can also be used as intensifiers. All of the above suggest a referent of high quality — a first-rate service (*erstklassig*), something worth recommending (*empfehlenswert*) or a referent that is the sender's favorite one (*Lieblingszahnärztin*).

The meanings of adjectives can also be intensified by other adjectives, e.g. *extrem* (*kompetent*), *wahnsinnig* (*gute Leistung*). The intensity of the positive feature expressed by the one adjective is augmented by the other adjective, which expresses a high intensity.

Among the analyzed evaluative adjectives *kompetent* 'competent' is particularly frequent, as it occurs in 22 % of all headlines, including

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. "top" in *Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Available at: <https://www.dwds.de/wb/top#2>.

20 occurrences where it refers to the dental care provider, a single instance of it referring to the received treatment and one where it referred to a clinic's personnel.

Another evaluative adjective that is quite frequent in this portion of the corpus is *zufrieden* 'satisfied', which occurs in 13% of the headlines, all of which are phrases (as opposed to sentences) expressing the author's mental state. Moreover, we have not found a single occurrence of the adjective in question without a modifier — all of the observed occurrences include the use of an intensifying particle, e.g. *sehr* 'very much', adverb, e.g. *rundum* 'entirely', or an adjective, e.g. *vollkommen* 'completely', 'totally'. In a single case the numeral 1000 was used in the expression *1000 % zufrieden* '1000% satisfied', which is a pragmatic modification of the expression *100 percent*. The purpose of the mentioned modification is to articulate a satisfaction level above the usual, and it also gives the evaluation a more expressive character [cf. Burger, 2003, s. 79].

As many as 9 of the headlines contain the adjective *freundlich*, which in 7 occurrences refers to the dental care provider and in the remaining two examples — to the clinic and the atmosphere in the clinic.

On the syntactic level most of the analyzed headlines are phrases (90%), while 7% are simple and 3% complex sentences. Accumulation of evaluative elements with the same syntactic function (i.e. elements belonging to the same class of syntactic constituents) is one of the phenomena worth mentioning in this context. Among evaluative syntactic structures acting as carriers of values and emotions, Błachut [Błachut, 2014, s. 176] mentions triads and additive double structures, which we have found examples of in our data, cf. (23):

- (23) a. *Toller Arzt // Tolle Mitarbeiter // Toller Praxis*  
'Great doctor // Great employees // Great practice'  
b. *Einfühlsam und kompetent*  
'Empathetic and competent'

Accumulation can take place by means of using a coordinating conjunction, e.g. *Sehr Kompetent und Zuvorkommend. Danke* 'Very competent and courteous. Thank you', or a comma, e.g. *Sehr kompetente, freundliche Zahnärztin* 'Very competent, friendly dentist'. The accumulation of isomorphic elements allows one to assume that the structure in question is highly emotive [cf. Engel, 1994, s. 273; Błachut, 2014,

s. 175–176] — especially when the evaluative element is repeated more than twice:

(24) *Top TopTop einfach nur Top*  
'top top top just simply top'

The purpose of such an iterative model of the triad [cf. Błachut, 2014, s. 194] is to articulate the evaluative message in a way that is highly expressive, the goal being reached by using multiple repetitions of the evaluative lexeme. In the example above emphasis is put, somewhat generically, on the review subject's unspecified positive feature(s).

## 7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of this study has been to analyze the headlines of positive online consumer reviews regarding Danish and German dental care providers. It was our assumption that potential similarities and differences can be identified between the Danish and German subsets of the analyzed corpus. In this section we conclude our investigation and provide a brief discussion of our findings.

We have not been able to identify any significant differences with regards to the basic communicative functions of the analyzed headlines. Overall, the analyzed headlines are predominantly evaluative, which is in line with the general genre characteristics of online consumer reviews [cf. Vasquez, 2014, p. 29]. Even in cases when the function seems to be predominantly persuasive or referential, more often than not the headlines are implicitly evaluative. The few examples in the dataset whose function has been identified as purely referential/informative, e.g. (2), (13) and (14), seem to be exceptions from the general trend.

In several cases persuasiveness is expressed implicitly, typically by using various forms of the performative verbs *anbefale* and *empfehlen* 'recommend'. That said, even these headlines are to an extent evaluative.

On the general syntactic level most of the analyzed headlines are phrases rather than sentences, although a difference can be observed between the Danish and German data. While 90 % of the analyzed German headlines are phrases and sentences occur seldom, the Danish data seem more balanced in that respect with 26 % of all headlines consisting of sentences. The numbers for the Danish data can be somewhat

distorted, though, as some of the headlines consisting of sentences are clearly not meant as headlines by the users but were copied and pasted as headlines by the system due to the lack of an explicit headline.

On the lexical level evaluative lexemes (mostly adjectives) are the most commonly occurring means employed throughout our data in order to evaluate the subjects of reviews, which is also in line with Vasquez's findings [Vasquez, 2014, p.32]. Among these the Danish and German equivalents of *good* (*god/gut*) are the most frequent ones. Across the data these and other evaluative adjectives refer to the dental care providers themselves, other staff members at the clinics in question, the treatment and advice, the non-medical elements of the experience or the experience in general, which is similar to the findings of Emmert et al. [Emmert M., Meier F. and etc., 2014].

In order to increase the expressive force of their headlines, the reviewers often employ various types of intensifiers, a strategy which, again, is fairly consistent across the two subsets of our data. In a number of cases we observed inflectional intensification of the meanings of adjectives by using the superlative, while in other headlines lexical means are used for that purpose in the form of adverbial intensifiers or particles. Occasionally, online reviewers also resort to word-formational intensification mechanisms by using compounds, where the first element intensifies the meaning of the second element.

In the headlines of positive reviews satisfaction is the most frequently referenced feeling, which is typically expressed using the Danish and German equivalents of the adjective *satisfied* (*tilfreds/zufrieden*) and in German, occasionally, the noun *satisfaction* (*Zufriedenheit*).

Owing to the use of vocabulary referring to the author's (i.e. patient's) feelings or mental state, the evaluative and informative functions are intertwined with the (implicit) persuasive function, which can be put in the following modal frame: "I am satisfied, I would recommend it."

The headlines of the analyzed positive reviews appear to be rather neutral and to the point, although some of them are very enthusiastic and do seem to be highly emotive as well.

Maximum information condensation in the headlines is achieved by limiting them to even single lexemes and by means of cumulation. The carriers of values and emotions are additive double structures in which the headlines are comprised of two coordinated phrases connected with the conjunction *and* (*og/und*).

Triads are a different type of cumulations in that they are comprised of three isomorphic elements used for expressive articulation of values. The occurrence of such structures has only been observed in the German portion of the corpus, most often as an iterative structure where intensification is achieved by means of multiple repetition of an evaluative lexeme, e.g. *Top Top Top einfach nur Top*.

As it transpires from our investigation, the two subsets of our corpus have similar evaluation strategies. In most cases the analyzed headlines have the same communicative functions (the evaluative function being dominant and virtually omnipresent), and the authors touch upon similar subjects. Moreover, the authors of the analyzed headlines across our corpus tend to evaluate dental care providers in analogous ways as far as linguistic means are concerned, the differences being most likely a matter of the authors' personal preferences rather than general tendencies.

Through our investigation we hope to have contributed to a better understanding of online consumer reviews as a genre. The analyzed headlines are undoubtedly rich in ways of content, and because of the way they are displayed online, they can be treated as separate texts. However, in order to gain a more profound understanding of the nature of online consumer reviews, further research is necessary regarding the full texts of the reviews as well as the relations between the headlines and the full texts of the reviews. What we have been able to observe so far is that only those few of the analyzed headlines that are stylistically marked (e.g. (10a) where a pop-cultural reference is made to a known commercial) seem to have the eye-catching function, which is otherwise said to be characteristic of the headlines of online news content. Most often the headlines of the analyzed reviews seem to be functioning as abstracts or summaries of the full texts. More detailed investigations are needed, however, in order to corroborate these preliminary findings.

Lastly, we would like to stress the relevance and importance of contrastive studies, the findings of which seem to not only provide very valuable insight, but they also seem to encourage (if not force) researchers to look at the results of their studies in a wider context.

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**«ЛУЧШИЙ СТОМАТОЛОГ НА СВЕТЕ» — СТРАТЕГИИ ОЦЕНКИ  
В ЗАГОЛОВКАХ ДАТСКИХ И НЕМЕЦКИХ ПОЛОЖИТЕЛЬНЫХ  
ОТЗЫВОВ ПОТРЕБИТЕЛЕЙ В ИНТЕРНЕТЕ**

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За последние несколько десятилетий компьютерно-опосредованная коммуникация (СМС) стала важным элементом нашей действительности и, следовательно, предметом интереса представителей многих дисциплин. Быстрое развитие СМС привело к появлению новых мультимодальных средств выразительности, текстовых жанров и стилей коммуникации. Среди новых жанров можно назвать отзывы потребителей в Интернете, оказывающие большое влияние на поведение потребителей в сети. Благодаря своей структуре, содержанию и функциям, они ценны для лингвистов. Особенно важную роль, как кажется, играют заголовки вышеупомянутых отзывов. Однако стоит отметить, что до сих пор они не пользовались особым вниманием в лингвистических исследованиях. В данной статье проводится контрастивный анализ 200 заголовков положительных отзывов потребителей в Интернете, касающихся датских и немецких поставщиков стоматологических услуг. В зависимости от способа отображения и восприятия отзывов потребителей в Интернете их заголовки могут трактоваться как самостоятельные тексты. Именно в таком ключе они анализируются в данной статье. Цель исследования двоякая: (1) определить основные коммуникативные функции заголовков и (2) описать языковые средства, используемые для их выражения. Анализ должен выявить потенциальные сходства и различия между заголовками положительных отзывов, написанных на датском и немецком языках. Результаты исследования показывают, что между двумя подмножествами анализируемого корпуса существует незначительная разница в плане коммуникативных функций и используемых языковых средств. Это может означать, что обнаруженные особенности следует рассматривать как характерные для анализируемого жанра, а не как специфические для исследуемых языков.

**Ключевые слова:** отзывы потребителей в Интернете, стратегии оценки, заголовки отзывов потребителей, коммуникативные функции, компьютерно-опосредованная коммуникация, датский язык, немецкий язык.



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## THE FRENCH FLEMISH DIALECT IN THE CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE SITUATION OF BELGIUM AND FRANCE

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This article addresses the historical language variants of Flanders, spoken both within and outside the region. The linguistic diversity of officially Dutch-speaking Flanders is represented by Limburgish, West Flemish, Brabantian, and East Flemish dialects, with Limburgish and West Flemish being entitled to the status of a distinct language. (Limburgish is recognized as a regional language in the Netherlands.) This paper reviews some sociolinguistic and political features of Flanders, acknowledging the area of West Flemish dialect group use. Special emphasis is placed on the French Flemish dialect, present in the territories of France and Belgium. This dialect is one of the most archaic West Flemish dialects that suffered a profound impact from French and other neighboring languages. The lexical and grammatical features of French Flemish are examined. It is noted that code switching is common for the French Flemish dialect. Some of the French Flemish syntax features related to the antecedent phenomena are explained via the binomiality idea, that states any verbal or substantive part of a sentence be composed of two parts, the first of which can be modified. Some syntax phenomena of French Flemish could be the result of grammatical interference between the West Flemish dialect and the French language. The paper also touches on the French Flemish support actions taken by France and Belgium, and discusses French Flemish seceding from West Flemish dialect group and acquiring a special status, that could be a status of a distinct language.

**Keywords:** Flanders, French Flanders, French Flemish dialect, sociolinguistics, regional language.

Belgium's linguistic diversity draws the attention of many linguists: inconsistent language policy and the mixed language situation of the country are still matters of dispute of a nature varying from advisory-

deliberative to radical-aggressive. Alongside three official languages (French, Dutch, and German) are many regional languages and dialects, some of which are distinct enough to be considered separate languages in Belgium. One such dialect is French Flemish, with its own vocabulary and grammatical features that will be addressed further on.

As we know, there are southern and northern branches of Low Franconian dialects in Flanders. The southern branch comprises Limburgian dialects, while the northern one embraces Brabantian, East Flemish and West Flemish. Limburgian and West Flemish dialects are currently used the most in everyday speech of the Flemish Region citizens and differ the most from Belgian Dutch and Dutch in its common norm [Claeys, 2001]. It is also worth noting that Dutch dialects are used differently in the Netherlands and in Belgium. Netherlands Dutch dialects are used much less often than Standard Dutch, while in Belgium, albeit competing with “tussentaal” (an intermediate variant between Belgian Dutch and the dialects of Flanders), the dialects of remote areas stand out to such an extent that Flemish and Dutch TV programs translate them to “civilized” Dutch (*La Bretagne Linguistique*). Yet currently West Flemish (comprising a group of dialects) is marked as vulnerable as per the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*.

Unlike, for instance, Limburgish in the Netherlands, West Flemish is not recognized as a distinct language in Belgium, despite the fact that it is nearly as different from Dutch in its common norm as Afrikaans. West Flemish dialects are commonly used in western Flanders due to a vigorous movement of local writers who resisted the introduction of Northern Dutch (the basis of Standard Dutch) in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One of the most eminent representatives of this movement was the priest and an influential poet Guido Gezelle. He believed that West Flemish dialect should be the basis of the language of Flanders [Vermeiren, 1988].

The West Flemish dialect group manifests itself quite distinctly as a language variant spoken in Bruges. West Flemish dialects are also common in the Netherlands, in the south of Zeeland province (Zeelandic Flanders), and in France's region Hauts-de-France (Westhoek, Maritime Flanders), as well as in the territories of French Flanders or Southern Flanders (with Lille, Douai, Cassel, Dunkirk, Hazebrouck, Arras, Boulogne-sur-Mer as principal cities), where a special French Flemish dialect evolved. According to the census of 1999, 20,000 citizens are full speakers of the French Flem-

ish dialect, and 50,000 people speak it with varying degrees of proficiency (compare this to the 1830 census figures: there were 170,000 speakers of the dialect) [*Institute nationale de la statistique et des études économiques*]. West Flemish dialects persist and do not yield to Belgium Dutch, “tussentaal,” or Standard Dutch, directly aligning with French and, to a much lesser extent, with Picard. Nearly 80% of the population in regions with West Flemish present speak it as a second language so far.

The West Flemish dialectal area does not correspond to the territorial boundaries of the today’s Belgian province West Flanders. This way, the dialects in the east of the province, in the area of the Scheldt river, have distinctive East Flemish features. The language of the coastal areas retained many Ingvaenic features, which is why the dialect shares some similarities with English. Within the coastal West Flemish dialectal area there are northern West Flemish and western West Flemish, which includes French Flanders. Within the continental West Flemish dialect, Ingvaenic features retained to a much lesser extent.

It is important to note that French Flemish is genetically a part of West Flemish dialect group. However, due to its isolated position, it did not undergo some language changes common to West Flemish. As such, French Flemish managed to keep some archaisms. However, essentially French Flemish dialect is a combination of the French language and West Flemish dialects. So this dialect, just like Marollien (that was common in Brussels), abounds with examples of code switching and most fascinating instances of lexical and grammatical interference [Ulianitckaia, 2020].

French Flemish dialect vocabulary is quite archaic on the one hand, and comprises many words and phrases borrowed from languages and dialects in contact on the other.

Due to being “peripheral,” the dialect retained quite a number of stems used during the period of Middle Dutch that are not common to either other dialects or language norm. Here are some examples in the following sequence: French Flemish — Standard Dutch (the examples of words and grammatical structures of French Flemish are hereinafter drawn from the book “Frans-Vlaams. Taal in stad en land” [Ryckeboer, 2004] written by Hugo Ryckeboer, Belgian dialectologist who specialized in French Flemish dialect):

*beiden (beien) — wachten* ‘to wait’  
*bezieën — proberen* ‘to try’

*driesj* — *braakland* ‘wasteland’  
*fieken* — *steken* ‘to sting’  
*groêze* — *weiland* ‘meadow’  
*kasten* — *dopen* ‘to baptize’  
*moede* — *aarde, stof* ‘ground, soil’  
*stallicht* — *stallantaarn* ‘street lamp’  
*viêrstee, viêrsteie* — *haard* ‘hearth’  
*zuuwe* — *zeef* ‘sieve’

There are quite a number of words borrowed from the West and the North Germanic languages. For instance, *e lietje* — *een beetje*, comparable to Friesian *een lutje* or to English *a little*; *wied* — *onkruid* from English *weed*; *wask* — *was* from English *wax* or German *Wachs*; *buuge* — *bui* ‘downpour’ from Danish *byge* etc.

However, the greatest number of loanwords comes from French, and such lexical items are of different spheres of use. Here are some examples sequenced as French Flemish dialect — French norm:

*aprè-tôe* — *après-tout* ‘after all’  
*aranzjeeren* — *arranger* ‘arrange’  
*baskuule* — *bascule* ‘balance’  
*bassing* — *basin* ‘basin’  
*daanzjereus* — *dangereux* ‘dangerous’  
*devooër* — *devoir* ‘duty’  
*dokteur* — *docteur* ‘doctor’  
*en folie èdan* — *faire des folies* ‘do stupid things’  
*freere* — *frère* ‘brother’  
*fring* — *frein* ‘brake’  
*komirsant* — *commerçant* ‘trader’  
*liberòsje* — *liberation* ‘release’  
*marsjang* — *marchand* ‘merchant’  
*paji* — *pays* ‘country’  
*passoozje* — *passage* ‘passage’  
*puniesje* — *punition* ‘punishment’  
*sinteure* — *ceinture* ‘belt’  
*sjampetter* — *garde champêtre* ‘gamekeeper’  
*sjanzjement* — *changement* ‘change’  
*uusiene* — *usine* ‘plant’

Some words and phrases are borrowed with their graphical form unchanged, for example: *chomage* ‘unemployment’, *écremeuse* ‘separator’, *coup de téléphone* ‘phone call’, *feuille d’impot* ‘tax notice’, *conseil municipal* ‘city council’, *certificat d’études* ‘graduate certificate’, *coopérative agricole* ‘agricultural cooperative’, *cygne* ‘swan’, *tortue* ‘turtle’, *écureuil* ‘squirrel’ — however, this lexical item is rivaled by the Flemish compound noun *neutekraaker*.

Furthemore, it is quite common for French Flemish to mix Flemish and French phrases, for example: *Biens entendu j’et er die nooit kontent en zien — Je hebt er natuurtijk die nooit tevreden zijn*. ‘That’s right, you are never happy about it’; *Mais van mien, ‘t was een assing op de meur — Maar van mij hing er een uithangbord op de muur*. ‘But I had a sign on the wall’; *‘k En zeeër in me rik, à force van eeïe daagen to stuupen — Ik heb pijn in mijn rug door mij hele dagen te bukken*. ‘My back hurts because I was bending over all day.’ This phenomenon is not an example of code switching, it is rather an interference process that leads to the borrowing of the minor syntax forms. Code switching is however common to French Flemish as well. Investigating examples of code switching, which were extracted from a barrel maker’s speech recorded in 1987, Hugo Ryckeboer noted, that the cooper spoke very fast and must have not seen any difference between Dutch and French [Ryckeboer, 2004].

French Flemish dialect is also exceptionally interesting to look at from grammatical interference point of view. The antecedent phenomena found in the dialect demonstrate an undeniable influence of the French syntax on Dutch at both surface and underlying levels.

This way, French Flemish dialect still has an opposition of relative pronouns *die/dat*, matching the French ones *qui/que*. Principle parts of the sentence placement in the French language takes informative support from interrogative and conjunction elements *who* and *what* into account. Dependent clauses in French Flemish show the same pattern that contradicts with Standard Dutch, for instance: *‘t pèèrd die dòò lopt* ‘the horse that is running’ — *‘t paard dat/wat daar loopt; de man die mien dat ezeid et* ‘the man who told me that’ — *de man die me dat gezegd heft*; *‘t pèèrd dan ‘k ekocht en* ‘the horse that I bought’ — *het paard dat ik gekocht heb; de man dan ‘k egenekommen en* ‘the man whom I met’ — *de man die ik ontmoet heb*. The last two examples show another French Flemish feature (as well as the feature of other dialects)

also, in our view, related to the informative support of the conjunction element. The conjunction seems to be conjugated alongside the main verb of the dependent clause. At the same time the presence or absence of the antecedent in an independent clause is taken into account. This could be explained via the idea of binomiality stating that verbal and substantive parts of sentence comprise two parts (specifier and semifinitive), the first of which can be modified [Shumkov, 2018]. If the antecedent is present, the subject specifier in a dependent clause (which has to be built on a pronoun) is modified by zero strong pronoun semifinitive and is split into a new subject (implicit) and a secondary part, which can be fused with conjugative conjunction element *da(t)*, for instance:

*de man dan'k ∅' ezieën en* 'the man (whom) I saw'  
*de man die 'ik' gezien heb* or  
*de man dat ∅' n ezieën et* 'the man (whom) he saw'  
*de man die 'hij' gezien heeft*

In case the antecedent is absent the subject specifier can be modified by non-zero strong pronoun semifinitive and be split into a new subject (explicit) and a secondary part, which can be fused with conjugative conjunction element *da(t)* or *a(ls)*, for instance:

*Die man zegt dan'k/an'k 'ik' num ezieën en* 'This man says that I saw him';  
*Die man zegt dat/at 'n 'ie' num ezieën et* 'This man says that he saw him.'

Another remarkable impact of the French syntax on French Flemish narrative sentences is the absence of inversion in subject-predicate structure when it is preceded by a sentence part. This way, a Dutch sentence *Morgen wordt het eindelijk mooi weer* 'The weather will be finally fine tomorrow' transforms into *Morren 't komt ten langen leste schoen were* in French Flemish; and *Om vijf uur is de trein weg* 'The train leaves at five o'clock' — *Alle vuuf voet den triek is weg*. In interrogative sentences, however, the inversion is similar to the one of Standard Dutch, for example *Is 't wòd dan ze op vojòdzje zien?* 'Is it true that they are on a trip?' — *Is het waar dat ze op reis zijn?*

It is also worth noting that noun phrases, unlike in Standard Dutch, are placed in French Flemish outside the frame, for example *Gisteren*

*zijn we met de kinderen naar zee geweest* ‘Yesterday we were at sea with children’ becomes *Gisteren mèn ewist me de joengens an de zeeë*; and *Ik ben nog nooit in Brussel geweest* ‘I have never been to Brussels before’ becomes *‘k En nog noois ewist an Brussel*. The French Flemish perfect of the verb *to be* is made with a form of auxiliary verb *have*, like in French. This, however, was once common for southern Dutch in general.

Unlike the majority of Flemish dialects as well as the southern norm, French Flemish composes verb phrases according to the Standard Dutch rules. This way a southern Dutch sentence *Zij heeft nooit haar haar laten af snijden* ‘She never let cut her hair’ becomes *Zoe en et neur òòr noois af lòòten snieden* in French Flemish; *Ik denk niet dat we dat kunnen op eten* ‘I don’t think we can eat this’ becomes *‘k Peizen nie da me dat op kunne ete*. Moreover, instead of typical for Flemish dialects construction *voor te + infinitive* ‘in order to’ French Flemish uses a Standard Dutch construction *om te + infinitive*. This way *‘t Is nog te klòòr om ‘t licht t’oentsteeken* ‘It is too early to put on the light’ becomes *Het is nog te klaar om het licht aan te doen*. Incidentally, the *voor* preposition is often replaced by *om* in French Flemish, for instance: *‘t Is al om mien* ‘All of this is for me’ — *Het is alles voor mij*, widely used in Middle Dutch. Generally speaking, the use of prepositions in French Flemish differs from the Dutch norm. Here are some examples: *peizen op* ‘to think about’ — *denken aan, kieken achter* ‘to care about’ — *zorgen voor, wachten/beien achter* ‘to wait’ — *wachten op*. It is also interesting to note the difference between “*Zoe wunt flu na Duunkerke*” ‘She is living in Dunkirk now’ and *Zij woont nu in Duinkerke*.

A particle common to Middle Dutch — *en* — is still used in French Flemish dialect after verbs *to go*, *to sit*, *to run*, and *to stand* instead of *te* particle, for instance: *Metje zit in de keuken erpels en sjchrooën* ‘Grandmother is sitting in the kitchen and peeling potatoes’ — *Grootmoeder zit in de keuken aardappelen te schillen*. This particle is also used in negative and emphatic structures (as in other dialects), for example: *Ik en gaan nie weg/wei vandaag* ‘I’m not leaving today’ — *Ik ga vandaag niet weg*; *M’ en en mòòd vuuf minuten nie meeë* ‘We have only 5 minutes left’ — *We hebben maar vijf minuten meer*; *Lanke/danke ‘t ik mòòr en wiste!* ‘I wish I knew that!’ — *Als ik het maar wist!*

Belgium’s language situation is aggravated by so-called French-Flemish conflict that arose because of mutual language claims between the citizens of Wallonia and Flanders. Flemings are unhappy with the



francophones' reluctance to learn Dutch, let alone Flemish dialects; their friendly attitude towards migrants, citizens of French-speaking countries; francophone municipalities excessive language facilities; Brussels constantly incorporating Flanders regions; and Wallonia's high unemployment rate. In turn, Walloons criticize francophones' mistreatment and an absolute prohibition of using French in the educational system of Flanders; and they demand to retain language facilities their municipalities have.

As a result of this conflict, the opinions of some sectors of society were radicalized, some right-wing parties were founded, e.g. "Vlaams Belang" (literally "Flemish Interest") campaigning for an independent Flanders, migration restriction, tradition Flemish values preservation, or "The New Flemish Alliance," a Flemish nationalist moderate conservative party that strives for the secession of Flanders from Belgium. (In Belgium's parliamentary election of 2014, this party won the most votes, 20,3 %, and got 33 seats in the Chamber of Representatives out of 150, demonstrating popularity among the electorate.) It should also be taken into consideration that since 1980 Belgium is a federal state with six separate parliaments and governments of the Flemish Region, the Walloon Region, the Brussels-Capital Region, the Flemish Community, the French Community, and the German-speaking Community, therefore determining the level of autonomy and independence of each separate region and community. With this level of social and political tension and desire to separate from each other, it is interesting to look at the mixing of languages and find examples of French and Dutch combining, for instance in the same French Flemish. This demonstrates the autonomy of the language, as well as a certain independence from the people's desire to keep themselves away from the influence of a foreign language (especially if we address the neighboring languages).

A profound influence of the French language on French Flemish is quite common for other regions of Flanders as well [Ulianitckaia, Shumkov, 2020]. This way the influence of French is noticeable in the dialects of Antwerp, Gent, Bruges, etc. While some features of French can be found in the majority of the Flanders dialects, others can be traced only in French Flemish. These distinctive characteristics however are not a valid reason for lawmakers to recognize French Flemish dialect as a regional language. Such a status could secure the spheres of its use, and potentially increase the number of speakers.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century French Flemish was not that common in Armentières, west of Lille, but over the last decades some efforts have been made to support the dialect. During the 1980s and 1990s through the work of “Tegaere Toegaen” (Samen Vooruit) association French Flemish was taught in some colleges as the third foreign language through the subject called “Regional Flemish Language and Culture.” The association strove for the teaching of a true French Flemish language rather than some “foreign” Standard Dutch. In 2004 an Akademie voor Nuuze Vlaemsche Taele (ANVT) was founded. It aims to preserve, spread, and improve the image of the French Flemish dialect around the entire French Flanders. It also seeks help from the French Government regarding the teaching of French Flemish in primary and secondary schools of French Flanders.

A new source of support of French Flemish is the Office public du flamand-occidental, approved to be created on 27 March 2018 by the Regional Council of Hauts-de-France committee. This center is the fifth in France following the Basque, the Breton, the Occitan, and the Catalan Language Centers.

The aforementioned support of the French Flemish dialect from both France and Belgium undoubtedly inspires hope for the preservation and development of such a unique language variant. It is possible that the future orientation of Europe to lawmaking regarding minority languages and cultures will lead to French Flemish seceding from West Flemish dialect group and acquiring a special status, that could be a status of a distinct language.

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### **ФРАНКО-ФЛАМАНДСКИЙ ДИАЛЕКТ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ СИТУАЦИИ В БЕЛЬГИИ И ФРАНЦИИ**

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Статья обращается к историческим языковым вариантам Фландрии, распространенным как внутри региона, так и за его пределами. Языковое разнообразие официально нидерландоязычной Фландрии представлено лимбургским, западно-фламандским, брабантским и восточно-фламандским диалектами, причем лимбургский и западно-фламандский диалекты могли бы претендовать на статус отдельных языков (в Нидерландах лимбургский признан региональным языком). В работе раскрываются некоторые социолингвистические и политические особенности Фландрии, отдельно описывается область распространения западно-фламандской диалектальной группы. Особое внимание в статье получает франко-фламандский диалект, бытующий на территориях Франции и Бельгии. Этот диалект представляет собой один из самых архаичных западно-фламандских диалектов, испытавших сильное воздействие со стороны французского и других соседствующих языков. Рассматриваются лексические и грамматические особенности франко-фламандского диалекта, отмечается, что в нем довольно часто встречается переклочение кодов. Некоторые синтаксические особенности франко-фламандского диалекта, связанные с антецедентными явлениями, получают свое объяснение в рамках идеи двухчастности, устанавливающей, что любой глагольный или субстантивный член предложения состоит из двух частей, и что первая часть может быть подвергнута модифицированию. Высказывается предположение, что ряд синтаксических явлений в франко-фламандском мог явиться результатом грамматической интерференции западно-фламандского диалекта с французским языком. В работе также приводятся сведения о мерах поддержки франко-фламандского диалекта со стороны Франции и Бельгии, обсуждается возможность выделения этого диалекта из западно-фламандской диалектальной группы в целях придания ему особого статуса, вплоть до статуса регионального языка.

**Ключевые слова:** Фландрия, Французская Фландрия, франко-фламандский диалект, социолингвистика, региональный язык.

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## ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИЕ

UDC 821.113.4

**Aage Jørgensen**

*selvstændig forsker*

### ORD OG VIRKELIGHED — ET BLIK PÅ JOHANNES V. JENSENS JOURNALISTIK. DEL 2

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Siden etableringen i 1993 af Johannes V. Jensen-Centret ved Aarhus Universitet har studiet af Nobelpristageren taget en drejning fra det biografiske mod det tekstuelle, samtidig med, at udgivelsen af kritisk-kommenterede tekster især fra det tidlige forfatterskab er intensiveret. Artiklen hér følger nogle temaer gennem den del af Jensens journalistik gennem et halvt århundrede, som først i 2014 blev sammenbragt i bogform under titlen *Ord og virkelighed*. Materialet nuancerer indtrykket af digterens meninger og holdninger, også fordi den hidtidige antologisering på det journalistiske område af gode grunde har “skummet fløden”. Kunstnerisk er talen altså om bærmen, men også den kan hos Jensen imponere ved den sproglige forførelsesenergi og de fascinerende billeder. Flertallet af de artikler, Jensen selv lod optrykke, indgik i de såkaldte mytebind. Myten udgjorde efter Jensens mening en særlig genre, hans svar i al beskedenhed på eventyreren i H. C. Andersens tilvirkning. Jensens journalistik spænder også biografisk fra den himmerlandske hjemstavn til alverdens egne, med hovedstaden og det landlege Tisvilde som vigtige stationer. Digterens naturfredningsbestræbelser og den dermed forbundne arkæologiske interesse (der ikke begrænsede sig til danske forhold) reflekteres i flere artikler. Ligeså betydningsfuldt er dog modernitetssporet, begejstringen for den tekniske udvikling, maskinerne, samfærdslen til lands, til vands og i luften. Livets tilblivelse og arternes udvikling ses i darwinistisk lys. I artiklens anden del belyses Jensens traditionsforankrede opfattelse af forholdet mellem kønnene og i forlængelse heraf den frygt for “kønsforvildelse”, som ofte kommer til udtryk, pinligst i 1907-intimideringen af kollegaen Herman Bang. Endelig omtales den del af journa-

listikken, som skildrer Jensens egen rejseaktivitet og hvad han skrev om andres bidrag til rejselitteraturen.

**Nøgleord:** Johannes V. Jensen, journalistik, udviklingslære, rejselitteratur, kvindesyn.

## 1. DET EVIGT KVINDELIGE

Johannes V. Jensen har et skidt ry blandt feminister. Da man for en del år siden i Aarhus ville arrangere et seminar om ”Jensen og det kvindelige”, ville kun få af de adspurgte røre emnet med en ildtang. I *Ord og virkelighed* fylder kvinderne godt, individuelt som bunkevist, hvilket måske kan nuancere sagen.

Den store Thérèse glimrer ikke just ved storhed, hun er kun et middelmådigt kløgtigt ”afløvet Pæretræ”, men hun har dog lænset den franske statskasse for voldsomt store pengesummer, og det kan man more sig over dernede, mens vi danskere må gå til i (skin)hellig forargelse derved — et argument i Jensens optik for at tage hendes parti. Anderledes med Eleonora Duse, den guddommeligt smukke italienske sangerinde, der fik Alexandre Dumas’ nok lidt slidte kameliadame til at gnistre og glitre, blive til ”et sært og skønt Eventyr” — ”tro imod alt, hvad hun har set, og elsket, og hvorover hun har grædt”. Duse er ”mest Kvinde af alle der lever”, hun minder om ”den Drøm, der svandt, da vi blev helt Mænd”. Jensen mener tydeligvis, at han har forstået hende — dybere i hvert fald end digteren Gabriele d’Annunzio, ”der har stjaalet en Bog af Duse uden at formaa at ane hendes Væsen”. Hermed være elskerens udbytte af forholdet, romanen *Ilden*, brændemærket.

Hvad angår Agnes Henningsen, elskede Johannes V. Jensen hende mindst lige så meget som ”alle Mænd”. I *Pressen* skildrer han et møde med hende på vej fra Skagen til Skotland, og hendes fregner ”ligner Efterbilleder af Solen, naar man er bleven blændet af den”. Venskabet var kommet i stand ved århundredskiftet, vel efter omtalen af *Strømmen*, hvori han indledningsvis affærdiger den linde strøm af ”Damelitteratur”, der ofte handler om ”den skønne Sjæls Værdi fremfor det skrækkelige Legeme”. Fru Henningsens roman kæntrer kompositorisk, men hun kender kvindesjælen til bunds; ”hun er selv Kvinde, idet hun skriver”, og ”dette er Bogens Poesi, den er saa dybsindig som selve Tilværelsen”. I forbindelse med *Den store Kærlighed* pointerer Jensen, at hun skildrer sine kvinder med kvindeøjne, hvor de fleste andre skrivende kvinder skildrer dem med mandeøjne — og jo på afstand af al ”vulgær Kvinde-

sagsstil” (en finte vel til søsteren Thit), et fast punkt af ”gammel europæisk, kompliceret og forfinet Kultur” midt i en mandskompromitterende krig.

Blændet blev han også af Else Marie Ulrik, lærer på Richards Sløjds-skole, da han efter jordomrejsen førte sig frem i Studentersamfundet — og fik øje på hende dér. Derom udtalte han ved 70-årsfesten: ”Hævet over det personlige er de Figurer der gaar i *Den lange Rejse*, men det skal ikke skjules her, udenfor hvad der har været tænkt som Kompositioner der skulde staa i sig selv, at de ikke havde kunnet tegnes uden nært Kendskab til Sjællænderinden med Guldhjelmene jeg som hjemløs Desperado saa i Studentersamfundet, og som skænkede sig til mig for hele Livet. I et Kvad af Norne-Gæst, en af Skikkelserne i *Den lange Rejse*, er det kommen til Udbrud hvilken lang Lykke der knytter sig til Følgeskabet med en Kvinde af Danmark. Gennem de Digte jeg har skrevet gaar der en Linje for sig, jævnsides med hvad jeg har leveret af haard Prosa, Toner om hvad der har bevæget mig, min Glæde og min Ro, paa Omraader hvor Ingen kunde naa mig, et Hjem hvor Tilværelsen udfoldede sig som paa en fredet Ø, forfra, som den gør for Børn.”<sup>1</sup>

Hustruen var, forstår man, selve ”den nordiske kvinde”. Om hende gælder, hvad Jensen ofte understregede, at hun var principielt ligestillet med manden. Det rimer dog ikke med hans konstatering andetsteds af, at sagakvinderne i en samfundsorden præget af megen krigerisk fremfærd faktisk var udsatte (eksemplet er Sigrid, Eyvind Skaldaspillers farmor, der tre gange blev ”lykkelig” gift).<sup>2</sup>

Sorgløst kvidrende var tilsyneladende den kvindesværm, som Johannes V. Jensen så lempe kul i Nagasakis havn. Endda ”altid kronet med en pragtfuld, omhyggeligt passet Frisure, den sunde Kvindes Hjelmmærke” — en hilsen vel til hende med guldhjelmene derhjemme?

Ved flere lejligheder dvæler Jensen ved den kinesiske kvinde og specielt ved modsætningen mellem de ”legitime” kvinder, hvis invaliderede fødder binder dem til hjemmet og til hadefuldt videregivelse af deres

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<sup>1</sup> I forlængelse af denne hypostasering af kvinden ligger i ”Grundtanken i mit Forfatterskab” svaret på spørgsmålet om ”Udviklingens Optimum”: ”Under Bestræbelsen efter at søge en Norm for Mennesket vilde man staa sig ved at gaa til Kvinden, snarere end til Manden, Manden med hans Vildskud i Tanken og Stræben ud over sig selv, hans Stundesløshed, der endnu minder om Abeburet. Kvinden beror i sig selv.”

<sup>2</sup> ”Kvinderne i Egils Saga” stiller i øvrigt en Gunhild Kongemoder-biografi i udsigt, som Jensen leverede i *Kvinden i Sagatiden* (1942); at underklasselivet næppe lignede det storbondelev, som sagaerne skildrer, noteres ikke.

egen skæbne til døtrene, og så de ”frie” kvinder, der løfter den opgave at tilfredsstille mændenes spirituelle behov uden for hjemmet. En af disse sidste, Hri-Hri, fik han tildelt ved en selskabelighed i Shanghai; i færd med at blotlægge ”Kinas ubegribelige, inderste Sjæl” overgår der hende det tragiske, at hun brækker en af sine tommelange negle! Pigebørnene med lotusfødderne jamrer også, om natten nærmest i ét væk, som en ulvetuden, der stiger op fra Shanghais gamle kvarter. Ude i landsbyerne søger de endda ud på marken eller op i højden — efter hvad Johannes V. Jensen har læst hos en amerikansk skribent; dette i to artikler fra 1916, der tilføjer, at en reformbevægelse er ved at danne sig — men ikke, at skikken blev forbudt efter 1911-revolutionen.

Specielt tankevækkende er en håndfuld artikler, der drejer sig om danske oldtidstekstiler. Det felt måtte der ifølge Johannes V. Jensen en kvinde til at opdyrke, og den opgave var jo så blevet taget op af tekstilhistorikeren Margrethe Hald. Han erindrer, hvordan han som barn blev ”hildet i Strikkegarn” eller ”anvendt som Stumtjener”, når kvinderne vandt et garnnøgle; det var som om man ved trolddom blev holdt ”i Ave” — en trolddom, som han ligefrem tilskriver cerebrale forudsætninger. Derfor: ”I Stedet for at bestræbe sig for at udlette Forskellen mellem Mand og Kvinde, hvilket dog ikke gøres med et Par Ridebukser, tværtimod, Frue, skulde man pointere Kønnen og hvad dermed følger, give Manden hvad der er hans, og Kvinden hvad der tilkommer hende.” Et synspunkt, som han vel kunne dele med Karen Blixen.

Den gammelnordiske ligestilling fik de middelalderreligiøse magtthavere jo sat en stopper for. Man kunne så tro, at forbedringerne i 1908 og 1915 (hvor kvinderne fik stemmeret til henholdsvis de kommunale råd og Rigsdagen) ville give Johannes V. Jensen anledning til positive kommentarer — hvilket dog ikke er tilfældet. Tværtimod, hvis kvinden, f.eks. hende med ridebukserne, mander sig op, bliver hun mødt med ironi og sarkasme. Finten gælder borgerskabets kvinder. På landet sker der ganske vist også et skred, men da gårdenes kvinder blev fritaget for at kærne smør, ville de jo lære at spille klaver, efter Jensens begreber to skridt frem og et tilbage.

”Nilens Døtre” skildrer muntert forholdene ved dronning Hatasus hof. Hvor meget vides om Kleopatra, er kendsgerningerne færre om Hatasu, også fordi man har forsøgt at udradere hende af historien. Til gengæld kan fantasien så forsyne hende med en intimhistorie. Det purunge hof kvidrede mændene ud af Theben og oprettede et kvinderegimente



og fik tiden til at gå med uskyldige gøremål, såsom at pynte og forklæde sig, men efterhånden bredte mandgalskaben sig, og det kom for en dag, at der har været hemmelig kontakt med graviditet til følge. Et komediemotiv, altså — gynarkiet undermineres uvægerligt af den søde kløe.

## 2. DEN TRUENDE KØNSFORVILDELSE

Nilens døtre omfavner forsøgsvis hinanden, ”men det var ikke noget, de gjorde det ikke om igen”; nej, teksten er ikke om lesbianisme, endsige om, hvad mændene samtidig havde gang i. Det er temaet i ”Samfundet og Sædelighedsforbryderen”, en artikel, der med grund har belastet Johannes V. Jensens eftermæle. I hvert fald citeres den ofte for bemærkningen om en kendt forfatter, der har ytret sig om landets forsvar: ”Staklen, der næppe nogensinde har haft et Vaaben i sin Haand, lider formodentlig i Øjeblikket af platonisk Kærlighed til en Løjtnant”, en umisforståelig reference til Herman Bang, der ”foruden at være abnorm ogsaa har vist Talent”.

Man må erindre, at kronikken er skrevet ind i en bredere, betændt sammenhæng og for så vidt er tidskarakteristisk. Den drager skingert en skarp grænse mellem formodet normalitet og homoseksualitet og sætter lighedstegn mellem homoseksualitet og sædelighedsforbrydelse. Den normalitetsdefinerende kompakte majoritet må gardere sig, så at sige inden forbrydelsen sker — forholde sig ekskluderende, holde ”de andre” tre skridt fra livet og beskytte familierne.

Men Jensen vil også have en årsag på bordet og nævner muligheden for, at sygdommen kan have med ”uhensigtsmæssig Krydsning” at gøre — hvad det nu end betyder (hensigtsmæssig krydsning bestod i, at f.eks. det jødiske element udgjorde det salt, der fik Berlins kultur- og erhvervsliv til at blomstre). Som en anden årsag, der kan have fremmet udbredelsen af ”seksuelle Perversiteter”, nævner han den kulturelle offentligheds optagethed af kønsspørgsmålet; den kan have ”givet en og anden Afsmag for det Naturlige”! Jensens bestandige utilfredshed med firserrealismen havde måske ikke mindst at gøre med, at man — især i Hans Jægers Kristiania — snakkede og skrev så umådelig meget om spørgsmålet. Man kunne gerne synde, *udføre akten*, men til omtale var den rent ud sagt ikke egnet. Jensens egen usnerpede tekst ”Louison” (i *Intermezzo*, 1899) demonstrerer fint, hvordan man kan lade akten udføre uden at omtale den!

Tilfældet ville, at Jensen efter overfaldet på Herman Bang indledte en artikelserie om amerikansk litteratur og straks fik øje på spændvidden mellem Mark Twain og den Walt Whitman, som han havde oversat og modtaget impulser fra. Twain, repræsentanten for ”den store Settler-tid”, vender han nogle gange tilbage til (f.eks. i sommerferieartiklen ”Vore Fædres Hjem”). Som bekendt var Whitman ”Homoseksualist”; men det var han ifølge Jensen ”paa den almindelige gemene Maade” — ”i Modsætning til Eksempler herhjemmefra, hvor man begynder med at være en snavset Sædelighedsforbryder og derfra med alle andre forfaldne Skønaandens og Bastarders lidenskabelige Billigelse avancerer til Digter”.

Hvad er nu den afgørende forskel? Jo, den er, at man histovre ”ikke har haft et 64”!<sup>3</sup> Amerikanske forfattere voksede ud af journalistikken og gebærdede sig på virkelighedens overflade, i dagen og nuet. Dette er Johannes V. Jensens evige omkvæd — som han ganske vist får tiltagende besvær med at tage i sin pen; i en Hemingway-artikel må han f.eks. postulere, at den amerikanske dekadence slet ikke er amerikansk, men skyldes sydeuropæisk påvirkning.

Den påtænkte serie løb af sporet, idet Jensen kom i indenlandsk modvind — og måtte gribe til stenkastning mod selveste Valdemar Vedel, tidsskriftet *Tilskueren's* redaktør, en af de forfaldne skønånder og bastarder, der udsatte ham for et frontalt angreb og tillige gav Harald Kiddes roman *De Blinde*, ”om en Skoledrengs Kønsforvildelser”, rosende omtale. Jensen satte adskillige dybe hug ind og antydede, at Vedel ”foruden at nære Sympati for Abnorme ogsaa selv er en Fruentimmersjæl”. Han gik endda videre og nedgjorde selve den historiske metode, som Vedel — en sen efterkommer af en slægt grundlagt ved ”en Historikers Omgang med en Foliant” — repræsenterede eller blev tillagt.<sup>4</sup>

Et par år senere skrev Johannes V. Jensen til Bang, at skytset jo var rettet ikke mod ham personligt, men mod almene forhold. Men tilnærmelsen blev tilbagevist. Både med Bang og Vedel havde Jensen tidligere haft i hvert fald professionel kontakt.

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<sup>3</sup> Reference til det smertelige nederlag til Preussen-Østrig i Den Anden Slesvigske Krig i 1864, hvor ved fredsslutningen Danmark måtte afstå Slesvig, Holsten og Lauenborg.

<sup>4</sup> Valdemar Vedel nedstammede fra historikeren Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542–1616), der oversatte Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* og udgav Danmarks første folkevisesudvalg.

Langt senere skulle Jensen så anmelde T.E.Lawrences roman *Visdommens syv Støtter* (1926). Det gjorde han udførligt med afsæt i en konstatering af, at talen her var om en afvigelse fra normen, der adskiller sig fra ”den vulgære aandsfortærende Kønsforstyrrelse” og fordrer sin egen målestok. De menige tyrkiske soldater slipper hér lettere fra at stå til rådighed for officererne. Og hvorfor nu det? Fordi ”Naturtilskyndelsen endnu ikke har spaltet sig”, det er ”af en uskyldig, sødmefuld Natur, unge Arabere der griber efter hinanden, uden i Varmen af deres Følelser at sanse Forskel paa hvad Køn de faar mellem Hænder”. Næsten ligesom i de gode gamle dage i Jensens beundrede Hellas.

Splittelsen måtte altså overkommes, om Jensen skulle få opfyldt ”Som Dreng skar jeg Skibe”-drømmen om blot én gang i livet at blive krystet af et mandfolk. Og fortabe sig må man jo ikke, tværtimod må det ”holdes i Erindring”, at ”hvad der paa et uudviklet Trin kan være Natur, paa højere Stadier falder ind under Begrebet Abnormitet”.

### 3. REJSER OG REJSELITTERATUR

At rejse er som bekendt at leve. Johannes V.Jensen rejste glad og gerne, dog vist uden at slå H. C. Andersens rekord, selvom den hele og den halve jordomrejse, reportagerejserne til Spanien og Paris, dannelsesrejsen til Ruhrområdet, Paris og London, rejserne til Amerika, incl. en større togrundtur, sejlturen til De Kanariske Øer, ferieopholdene i Telemarken, flyrejsen til Tromsø, jagtturen til Stockholms ydre skærgård, studierejsen til svenske industribyer, rekreationsrejsen til Ægypten og Palæstina, pilgrimsrejsen til Les Combarelles og flere til tynger en del på vægten.

Karakteristisk for Jensen som rejsende er, at han ser sig om og sanser sig frem uden at inkludere sig med de stedlige befolkninger. Så når han f.eks. bebrejder de opdagelsesrejsende, at deres indtrængen i hidtil knap nok kortlagte afrikanske territorier tilsyneladende ikke har bragt dem i nærkontakt med de indfødte, kan det med lidt ond vilje vendes mod ham selv.

Den tredje og sidste artikel om luksusturen på ”Stella Polaris” til Kanarieøerne uddrager essensen: ”en fin, fremmed og intim Duft af Eucalyptus, krydret og hed som oplagret Solskin”. Men ”Naturens stillestaaende Smil paa de lykkelige Øer” holdt ham ikke fast, veen ud blev som så ofte før krydset af veen hjem.

”Jul paa Rejser” indebærer gerne ensomhed, på Café Bismarck i slagteriernes by Chicago dog oplivet ved, at en ret grisetæer fremtryllede en erindring om de hjemlige juleslagtninger. På det indiske hav i et midlertidigt fællesskab var alle ”meget brave men undertiden ligesom lidt fraværende”. Om de ”brudte” piger i Ceylons paradisiske klima véd Jensen, at de drømmer om ”at trykke et koldt Grantræ med Naale og Isslag til deres Hjerte”.

Under Besættelsen, hvor bilen var klodset op, kunne der blive langt selv til indenlandske destinationer, som Ordrup Næs og Spøttrup, og en før krigen planlagt Frankrigsrejse måtte naturligvis stilles i bero (jf. *Drømmen om Rejsen*, 1943). Men gennem læsning kunne man forsætte sig til fortiden eller til fjerne riger, hvor livet gik sin gang uanfægtet af ”udviklingen”. Nordmanden J. G. Ræders skildring af en rejse til portugisisk Angola følger sig — i 1944 — til ”de andre Prismer man ejer, hvorigennem man ser Verden, naar man ikke selv kan komme til den”.

Johannes V. Jensens interesse for Afrika blev vakt tidligt i århundredet af tyske dyrefotografer, især Arthur Berger, udtryk for en ny ånd, uhæmmet på udebane af sin tyske dannelse, og i øvrigt forvisset om, at de ”rigtige” safarijægere udgjorde en trusel mod dyrebestandene. Jensen tilsluttede sig partiet: ”Indtil videre bekender jeg mig til Fotografiet, en refuseret Smag, men jeg udviser nu den Appetit.”

Så tidligt i århundredet var det endnu de zoologiske haver og de omrejsende menagerier, der drog omsorg for, at folk blev oplyst om fremmede landes eksotiske dyreliv, men efterhånden jo assisteret af dyrefotograferne med deres ofte fortrinlige, dog jo sort/hvide glaspladeoptagelser. Det næste spring fremad kom med de levende billeder, som tilmed snart fik tilsat lyd og efterhånden også farver. Amerikanerne udrustede store og dyre ekspeditioner med hele hære af indfødte bærere, snart også med lastbiler og hydroplaner til rekognoscering og fotografering.

Martin Johnson var en af de fremmeligste i denne industri. Men hans filmsekvenser med indfødte, også pygmæer, er ”uden anden Oplysning om dem end deres blotte Udseende”, undtagen på et billede, hvor ”den store brede Amerikaner rager op mellem de nøgne Vilde” — og ”hele Udviklingsskalaen ligger mellem denne høje hvide Mand [...] og de smaa Skovvæsner med Menneskebestemmelsen endnu slumrende i de barnlige Træk”, som Jensen pointerer. Johnson er tilmed ”ekstra adlet” ved at have med filmen at gøre — men altså dog ”blank” undtagen på økonomien og de faktiske ekspeditions- og produktionsomstændigheder.

Pygmæerne har tydeligvis fascineret Johannes V. Jensen. Han læste om dem også i Lord Moynes *Walkabouts*, om et togt til de øer mellem Ny Guinea og Andamanerne, hvor nogle mindre grupper holder til, samt i Attilio Gattis *Great Mother Forest og South of the Sahara*, om længere tids samarbejde med pygmæerne i de congolesiske Ituriskove om at indfange to okapier.

En Afrika-bog, der mishagede Johannes V. Jensen og måske blev incitament til *Det Blivende* (1934), var amerikaneren W. B. Seabrooks *Jungle Ways* (1931), om shamanisme, af forfatteren, der selv havde givet sig hen i løjerne, opfattet som den sorte medicinmands svar på naturvidenskabernes mystificering, af Jensen dog som ”kulørt og okkult, natligt og gejlt” — bagsiden af ”den hvide Mands soleklare Verden”.

For god ordens skyld bør tilføjes, at også andre dele af verden toner frem, hvor Johannes V. Jensen skriver om rejselitteratur: Helge Ingstads forsøg på at finde spor i Sierra Madres uvejsomme bjerge efter de ubarmhjertigt jagtede og næsten totalt udryddede apacheindianere; William Beebes skildpaddeekspedition i Darwins efterfølgelse til Galapagos-øerne; Hugo Bernatziks *Die Geister der gelben Blätter*, især om yumbri-folket, et reliktfolk i Thailands nordlige egne; og Aage Krarup Niensens ”raske Bog” om et besøg blandt papua-kannibalerne på Ny Guinea, ”de vildeste Folk, man kender”, med mindelser imidlertid om ”Folk, jeg har kendt for 40–50 Aar siden” (i Himmerland, altså!).

Hertil kommer, som en særlig kategori, en række artikler med fokus på udforskningen af polaregnene. Helten *par excellence* er hér naturligvis Knud Rasmussen, der ”bragte os den Vilde, ikke som en Kuriositet, men som en indenfor sit Udviklingstrin fyrstelig udstyret Type”. Han søger den eskimoiske sjæl og distancerer sig således fra det selvpromoverende leben, som Jensen med satanisk vid forestiller sig udfoldet i Polarforeningen ”et Sted bagom Tromsø”.

I omtalen af Ejnar Mikkelsens omstændelige og lidet velskrevne bog om udforskningen (sammen med amerikaneren Leffingwell) af Det Arktiske Hav og kortlægningen af Alaskas nordkyst noteres som et plus, at en uskadeligt æstetiserende nation som Danmark på denne vis bliver fremholdt for en sjælden hårdførhed og udholdenhed ”bestemt af *the long trail*”, en reference vel til Kipling-digtet, hvor ”life runs large”.

Et par artikler helliges Vitus Bering, der stillede tilsvarende egenskaber — ”en enestaaende Evne til at udholde et Liv uden Behageligheder, i en Sags Tjeneste” — til rådighed for den russiske tsar. Paa samme linje

befinder sig en omtale af beretningen om Danmark-ekspeditionen, en opgave, som jo først stillede sig for Achton Friis, da ekspeditionslederen L. Mylius-Erichsen og hans fæller omkom, en ”ypperlig” bog, ”et Minde-mærke for dansk anstændigt Arbejde og for det danske Sprog”.

#### 4. FIKTIONER

Der er i det foregående blevet talt om *artikler*, men det bør ikke forblive unævnt, at der i *Ord og virkelighed* også indgår en håndfuld fiktionstekster. Den tidligere nævnte stenaldermyte ”Den lykkelige Ø” anslår, ligesom artiklerne om rejsen til ”De lykkelige Øer”, et genkommende tema i forfatterskabet, understreget gennem henvisningen til Juan Ponce de Leóns søgen efter de øer, hvor man ville genfinde sin ungdom (”som beskrevet med hemmelig Glød og et stort Suk af Heine i Digtet ’Bimini’”). Også Sjælland er skildret som et barnligt Paradis. Myten slutter med, at Kalv ser Pil springe ind i puberteten — man kan fundere over, hvorfor han tager dette som tilskyndelse til at bygge båd og sejle hjem til fastlandet.

Det er kendt, at Johannes V. Jensen nærede en drøm om at slå igennem på teatret, jf. de store numre: *Sangerinden*, *Darduse*. *Bryllupet i Peking* og *Hamlet*-bearbejdelsen. Hertil føjer sig et par minidramaer. Til det kortlivede tidsskrift *Vagten* skrev han før verdensomrejsen ”Oluf Hunger”, et traurigt liv/død-stykke i historisk ikklædning, og til *Illustreret Tidende* skrev han efter hjemkomsten ”Kejseren af Sahara”, en burlesk fantasi over en fransk galnings forsøg på at indrette et rige i sandet.

Til *Pressen* digtede Jensen føljetonen om den ulykkelige farmaceut Ove Andersen, der som en anden Hans Jæger har ”opsparet et betydeligt Fond af uanvendt Elskovslængsel” til den udfordrende, uopnåelige Jesabel, opkaldt vel efter kong Achabs herskesyge hustru. ”Manden i Rullestolen”, en lignende serie til *Riget*, rullede tilsyneladende ud i sandet.

”Billedstøtten” endelig, nærmest en myte, er skrevet til et udstillings-katalog. Forgudelsen af en beundret kendis leder til ”en tiltagende Størken af Personligheden”, og en skønne dag fuldbyrdes så forvandlingen til monument. Så vidt nåede Johannes V. Jensen trods alt ikke.

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**WORD AND TRUTH — A LOOK AT JOHANNES V. JENSEN'S JOURNALISM. PART 2**

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Since the establishment of the Johannes V. Jensen Centre at Aarhus University in 1993, studies of the Nobel Prize winner have shifted from the biographical to the textual. At the same time, the publication especially of early works with critical commentary has intensified. The present article traces some themes throughout a half-century of Jensen's journalism, which was first assembled in book form in 2014 under the title *Word and Truth*. The material brings more nuance to impressions of the poet's opinions and positions, in part because the anthologizing of his journalistic works has, until now and for good reason, skimmed only the cream. Now the dregs are considered as well, and even this portion of Jensen's work impresses with its linguistically seductive energy and fascinating images. Jensen himself agreed to have most of the articles reprinted, and they were included in the so-called mythic volumes. Jensen regarded myth as a special genre, his own reply in all modesty to what H. C. Andersen had done for the fairy tale. Jensen's journalism spans also biographically, from the poet's native soil in Jutland, to distant parts of the world, with the capital as well as rural Tisvilde as important stops along the way. The poet's efforts to protect nature and implied archeological interests (not only in a Danish context) are reflected in a number of articles. Just as meaningful, but modernity-oriented, is an enthusiasm for technical development, machinery, and traffic on land, sea, and air. Life's origins and the development of the species are viewed with a Darwinist perspective. The present article's second part deals with Jensen's tradition-bound understanding of the relationship between the sexes and, in that connection, his fear of "sexual confusion" often mentioned, most painfully in the 1907 intimidation of his colleague Herman Bang. Finally, attention is given to the part of Jensen's journalism that portrays his own travels and his writings on other's contributions to the genre of travel literature.

**Keywords:** Johannes V. Jensen, journalism, evolutionary theory, travel literature, women's studies.

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## ON ONE SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON DUTCH, DANISH AND SWEDISH LITERATURE IN GERMANY AND RUSSIA IN THE 1830s IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FORMATION OF THE CANON OF WORLD LITERATURE

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The article analyzes the book by the famous German literary historian O. L. B. Wolff (1799–1851), *The Fine Literature of Modern Europe* (1832), in which an attempt was made for the first time to create a canon of European literature, which at that moment was a substitute for the non-existent canon of world literature. This article provides a comparative study of Dutch, Danish, and Swedish literatures in this work, which introduced Dutch, Swedish, and Danish authors little-known at the time to the general reading public outside their own countries. The introduction of this forgotten source allows us to reconstruct the criteria for evaluating “Northern” literatures within the circle of “major” European literatures and to identify a “set” of those writers who, from the author’s perspective, deserved some attention and could therefore form a canon for the literatures described, which only partially coincides with the modern canon. Of particular interest is the comparison of the German text of the book with its Russian translation, published in 1835, which contains elements of a veiled polemic with the German scholar, manifested not only in cuts made and the stylistic treatment of Wolff’s value judgements, but also in replacing certain sections by texts of Russian origin whose authorship was established for the first time in the article. The juxtaposition of the original text and its Russian translation demonstrates a discrepancy of perceptions about the hierarchy of specific literatures within the constitutive canon of the period and the translator’s desire to place Russian literature at the forefront, which he saw eclipsing the literatures of the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark.

**Keywords:** Dutch, Danish, Swedish literatures, reception of “Northern” literatures in Germany and Russia in the 1830s, canon of European literature, translation as polemic.

The emergence of the term “world literature” is traditionally associated with Goethe, who, in a conversation with Eckermann on 31 January 1827, expressed the opinion that “National literature is now of little importance, the age of world literature is approaching, and everyone should contribute to its earliest possible arrival” (“National-Literatur will jetzt nicht vielsagen, die Epoche der Welt-Literatur ist an der Zeit und jedermann muß jetzt dazu wirken, diese Epoche zu beschleunigen”) [*Goethes Gespräche*, 1890, s. 46]. Although it is now known that C.M. Wieland used the term long before Goethe [Birus, 1995, s. 5; Weitz, 1987, s. 206], it is generally accepted that Goethe is the starting point for the history of the idea of world literature, even though Goethe did not have a coherent concept of world literature, and his view of this phenomenon is reconstructed from isolated, often conflicting opinions, mostly formulated in private correspondence or private conversations that do not extend beyond this private sphere [For more details see: Birus, 1995]. Meanwhile, the very idea of world literature had long been in the air and was directly linked to European debates of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries on cosmopolitanism and the national spirit, including in relation to literature. In this regard, it suffices to recall Jens Baggesen with his “cosmopolitan excesses” and his dream of Europe as a common literary “cultivated homeland” where there would be no “slaves of nations” [for more details see: Jørgensen, 1997].

The actual emergence of world literature began with numerous anthology-type editions, which appeared in the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They introduced examples of folk poetry from different countries, sometimes quite exotic (Brazil, Madagascar, Mexico, etc.). At the same time, this special material became an object of description, both purely academic and aimed at the general reading public. In fact, this was all there was to it: a picture of world literature, neither in its historical perspective nor at that moment in time, remained for a long time uncharted, just as no general picture was drawn of European literature, which became a substitute for world literature on the conceptual level. Even F. Schlegel, who attached great importance to the universal-historical principle, in his famous lectures “History of ancient and new literature” (“Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur”, 1812), covering the period from the Middle Ages to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, considered only a selection of European literature — German, French, English, Italian, and Spanish, although he pointed out that a “truly universal-historical, nationally in-

formed history of literature” requires the inclusion of at least “northern and eastern literatures,” which may not be as significant regarding their impact on other peoples (a factor important to Schlegel) but are instructive “in their relationship to the lives of those peoples” [Schlegel, 1841, s. 259, 260]. In explaining why these literatures were beyond his scope of study, he cited his lack of knowledge of these languages and his reluctance to rely on information from other sources [Schlegel, 1841, s. 60]. The same argument (lack of knowledge of respective languages) is used in the book *Literary History of the Last Three Centuries (Litterär-geschichte der letzten drei Jahrhunderte, 1814)* by Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), a famous German theologian and historian, professor at Göttingen University. Eichhorn considered literature to be all written texts, and in his voluminous work he mostly treated “the fruits of scholarship,” i.e. texts from various fields of knowledge (astronomy, geography, physics, philosophy, etc.), among which the literature of individual countries, including the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark, occupied a very modest place and was in most cases represented by a brief annotated bibliography.

The first European book to fill the gap was a work by a German professor at the University of Jena, Oskar Ludwig Bernhard Wolff (1799–1851), *The Fine Literature of Modern Europe (Die schöne Literatur Europas in der neusten Zeit)*, published in 1832 and devoted exclusively to literature. The book was a major event in European cultural life, both because it was the first to offer a comprehensive overview of current literature in various countries and because its author was a leading figure in German literary life, well known outside Germany as a popularizer of literature, a novelist, and a translator. In 1831 he provided a German translation of a collection of old French folk songs (*Altfranzösische Volkslieder, 1831*), which was reviewed in detail in the influential German newspaper *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* [*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung, 1833, s. 255–256*]; in 1832 he published a collection of old Dutch folk songs with an appendix providing samples of old Swedish, English, Scottish, Italian, Brazilian, and German songs (*Proben alt holländischer Volkslieder, 1832*). In-depth reviews of this collection were published in the Dutch newspaper *Algemeene Konsten Letter-Bode* [*Algemeene Konsten Letter-Bode, 1833, p. 447*], as well as in the English magazine *The Foreign Quarterly Review* [*The Foreign Quarterly Review, 1835, p. 188–191*]. Later on, Wolff published other translations of poetic and

prose folklore texts from various countries: *Poetic Native Treasures from Abroad* (*Poetischer Hausschatz des Auslandes*, 1848), *The Most Beautiful Tales of All Times and Peoples* (*Die schönsten Märchenaller Zeiten und Völker*, 1850), and *Songs of Lamentation and Songs of Freedom* (*Klage-lieder und Freiheitslieder*, 1861). It is noteworthy that in all these collections, a considerable amount of space was given to Dutch, Danish, and Swedish texts, unknown to the German reader. In the preface to his first anthology in this series (a collection of old Dutch songs), Wolff wrote of the unfair, dismissive attitude of Germans towards Dutch literature in general and Dutch folklore in particular: “With all the zeal with which German scholars search for other nations’ treasures and their endeavors to unearth precious metal from long-abandoned and forgotten mines, they either neglect the poetic riches of our near north-western neighbors or regard them as rather insignificant” [*Proben*, 1832, s. V]. Noting the German public’s complete ignorance of Dutch literature, owing to the small number of translations and prejudices about the ability of the Dutch to create poetry, Wolff admitted that he, too, “shamefully” had overlooked Dutch literature for a long time, even though “ex officio he should have taken a closer look at it a long time ago” [*Proben*, 1832, s. VII–VIII]. The result of “his closer look,” which also spread to other “neighbors,” was not only a collection of old Dutch songs, but also a series of public lectures that Wolff gave in the early 1830s in Jena to a wide circle of literature lovers, whom Wolff thought it necessary to acquaint with the current state of European literature that he recognized as an entity in itself made up of separate national literatures, mutually complementing and contrasting each other when seen in juxtaposition. These lectures formed the basis of his book *The Fine Literature of Modern Europe*, which he published at the insistence of colleagues and audiences. The book was aimed not at the academic world, but at interested general readers, who for the first time were offered a portrayal of both “big” and “small” literatures existing side by side in the same cultural space, each of them described not in the logic of individual genres, as had hitherto been the custom, but in the logic of writers’ individuality.

In presenting this picture, Wolff significantly expanded literary geography, taking his subject beyond the core of the already established literary canon (literatures of France, England, Spain, Italy, and Germany) to the literatures of the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, as well as Portugal, Poland, Russia, and Hungary, which, although individually

described in more or less detail in European specialist scientific works, nevertheless remained little known to the general reader. While striving to maintain the principle of “equality,” the author still had to deal with the issue of internal hierarchy, reflected in the sequence of the material described: the section on Dutch literature follows immediately after the first sections on the literatures of France and England, while the section on Russian literature comes after those of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and towards the end there are essays on the literatures of Denmark and Sweden. The book concludes with an overview of German literature, giving it a “strong position” in the composition of the book. Another special feature of the book was that not only did it contain biographical information about the authors and detailed descriptions of the literature of a particular country from a historical perspective, but also included samples of texts by selected authors, translated into German, which gave the reader a very informative and well-commented anthology.

For Wolff, the first and essential criterion for evaluating a particular literature was the people’s poetic potential, embedded in the language and directly linked to the “spirit” of the people. This idea of a direct correlation between the quality of literature and the characteristics of the national language and national mentality was not new. Even Friedrich Schlegel, who believed that no language, especially an unknown one, should be denied the right to perfection, nevertheless admitted that some languages “are in a certain sense averse to poetry or less favorable to it than others” [Schlegel, 1841, s. 260]. According to Wolff, an example of this “disinclination” towards poetry is the Dutch language, which gives the same impression as “a respectable man in a colorful schlafrock, slippers, and nightcap, who takes it upon himself to speculate on important subjects of global interest” [Wolff, 1832, s. 387]. Noting the “positive qualities” of the Dutch people (“susceptibility to truth and goodness,” “persistence and diligence in all undertakings,” “favorable attitude to spiritual aspirations,” “industriousness”), he believes that all these qualities are “sufficient to make a quiet respectable citizen, but not sufficient to make a good poet” who could show “imagination and depth” and rise “above the mundane everyday life,” so dear, as Wolff wrote, to the heart of every Dutchman who was prepared to be satisfied with the very mediocre “poetic products” that filled the book market in great numbers [Wolff, 1832, s. 388]. It was precisely by this pragmatic down-to-earth attitude of the people in general, and the undemanding reading tastes in the ab-

sence of impartial criticism, that Wolff explained the lack of major poetic “geniuses” in Dutch literature, whose main achievements he attributed to “successes in didactic poetry,” owing above all to the pragmatic spirit so characteristic of the Dutch people [Wolff, 1832, s. 388]. Having listed a number of contemporary Dutch poets (A. C. W. Staring van den Wildenborch, H. A. Spandaw, W. Messchert, P. Strick van Linschoten), whose work Wolff described as “home-grown” [Wolff, 1832, s. 431], and, of all novelists, having singled out only Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken, whose novels Wolff considered “useful reading” because they gave “a picture of Dutch mores” [Wolff, 1832, s. 432], Wolff chose for a more detailed analysis those authors, old and new, who had gained fame in other countries: P. C. Hooft (1581–1647), J. Cats (1577–1660), J. van den Vondel (1587–1679), H. C. Tollens (1780–1856), R. Feith (1753–1824), W. Bilderdyk (1756–1831), J. Kinker (1764–1845). Biographical information about each poet was given, followed by a detailed description of their work and extensive examples translated into German, in some cases with a parallel original. Some of the translations Wolff borrowed from the book *Collection of Flowers — Selected Readings from Dutch Poets with an Essay on Dutch Poetry in German (Deutsche Blumenlese aus niederländischen Dichtern nebst einer Abhandlung über die Niederländische Poesie*, 1826) by Peter Ludwig von Eichstorff (1799–1848), German-born Dutchman, lieutenant in the Royal Dutch Army and the first populariser of Dutch poetry in Germany, and some of the poems Wolff translated himself. While in his preface Eichstorff started that his task was “justifying” the Dutch literature and showing through translation that even behind the “ugly language” there is true poetry [Eichstorff, 1826, s. II], Wolff, in his own words, deliberately “eradicated” some “Dutch blemishes” which resembled the original too much [Wolff, 1832, s. 420] in order to bring the poetic language closer to a kind of conventional common European language and thus “raise” Dutch poetry to the level of world/European literature. The presence of the texts, even in translation, allowed the reader to make an independent judgement on the distinctive features of Dutch poetry, without prompting from the author, who, noting the glimmers of a true “poetic feeling” in some poets, reproached the Dutch for the inexorable imitation of the Germans in their lyrical poetry, and the French in epic and dramatic poetry, and drew a disappointing conclusion about the backwardness of modern Dutch poetry compared to the other enlightened countries [Wolff, 1832, s. 412].

By comparison, the picture of Swedish literature, as presented by Wolff, was much more favorable. He attributed the Swedes' successes to the harmonious language, refined during the Reformation process, and to the people's propensity for poetry in general, as reflected in the richness of the folklore [Wolff, 1832, s. 618, 619]. However, in Swedish literature Wolff did not find "geniuses" of the first magnitude either, because, in his opinion, the dependence on France, which lasted until the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was too great, and most of the names the Swedes themselves were proud of (G. Stiernhielm, G. Rosenhane, H. Spegel, S. Triewald, O. Dalin) were of interest, as Wolff believed, only in a historical and literary sense, but not in the poetic sense proper, although their poetic works were indeed different from most of their contemporary "imitators and rhymers" [Wolff, 1832, s. 619]. Among those who even in the era of "francoomania" managed to escape from "French captivity," Wolff included the poetess Hedvig Charlotta Nordenslycht (1718–1763) with "her light poems," Bengt Lidner (1757–1793), "a lyric poet full of feeling, animation, enthusiasm and not without originality," as well as Gustav Philipp Creuz (1726–1770), "a master of the poetic story," Johan Henrik Kellgren (1751–1795), "a national poet in all his manifestations," and Carl Michael Bellman (1740–1795), "a true son of his country" [Wolff, 1832, s. 619, 620]. Speaking of current Swedish literature, Wolff outlined the conflict between supporters of Romantic poetry, grouped around the journal *Phosphorus*, and the "Hustavists" — a confrontation useful for the development of literature, as Wolff believed [Wolff, 1832, s. 620]. Listing the leading poets of his time, Wolff named Esaias Tegnér (1782–1846), Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom (1790–1855), Karl August Nicander (1799–1839), Erik Johan Stagnelius (1793–1823), and Frans Michael Franzén (1772–1847). Citing the fact that most of them were involved in the formation of the new Romantic school and were themselves still in development [Wolff, 1832, s. 620], Wolff confined himself to a more detailed description of only two poets, E. Tegnér and E. J. Stagnelius, choosing the former as an example of an established poet who achieved national fame, and the latter as a young talent with rich poetic potential, who did not have time to fully develop because of his early death. Among the qualities that distinguish Tegnér's poetry, Wolff identified "brilliant imagination," "light jocular-ity," "rich figurative language" and "harmonious euphony." Yet, Wolff did not fail to note that the poet lacks "rich, warm feelings and <...>



rapture of heart,” which is why his poetry “dazzles and delights rather than moves and touches” [Wolff, 1832, s. 621]. After rebuking Tegnér for his lack of heartfelt feeling and some superficiality, Wolff contrasted him with E. J. Stagnelius, whose poetry, especially his dramatic poetry, as Wolff wrote, is marked by passionate feeling and deep thought, as well as by euphony of language and the beauty of the verse, so perfectly embodied in his philosophical and religious poetry collection *Lilies in Sharon* (*Liljori Saron*, 1821–1822) [Wolff, 1832, s. 635]. While praising E. J. Stagnelius as a lyric poet, Wolff thought that his experiments in epic poetry, in particular the poem *Vladimir the Great* (*Wladimir den Store*, 1817), devoted to the Baptism of Rus, were much weaker and did not reach the heights which any epic work should aspire to [Wolff, 1832, p. 635]. This contrasted with the rave response to the German translation of the poem (*Wladimir der Große*, 1827) by Olof Berg (1790–1854), whose unmatched mastery, as the newspaper *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* reported, enabled German readers to get acquainted with a poem that was “in no way inferior to the works of the best German authors” [*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 1828, No. 17, s. 136; see also: *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 1828, № 226, s. 120]. Other works by E. J. Stagnelius had not yet been translated into German at the time Wolff’s book was published, so he was not able to present this important poet properly. As a matter of fact, the other contemporary Swedish poets he mentioned were also left without any textual “illustrations,” although some of their works had been translated into German and were available to the author, who could have consulted an anthology of Swedish poetry compiled by Ludolf Schley (1798–1859) (*Schwedische Dichtungen*, 1825). As a result, while “backward” Dutch literature turned out to be represented by numerous poetic examples, the much more “promising” and rising Swedish literature, according to Wolff [Wolff, 1832, s. 636], was illustrated only by a large fragment from the epic poem *Frithiof’s Saga* (1825) by E. Tegnér, first published in German in 1826 in what became a “classic” translation by Amalie von Helvig (1776–1831), a close friend of Goethe and Schiller and the Heidelberg Romantics. She enthusiastically translated Swedish poets including Attenbom and Nicander mentioned by Wolff and whose poems she mostly published in literary newspapers.

Wolff presented Danish literature in an even more favorable light by prefacing his description of contemporary writers with a thorough literary-historical survey, starting with Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1150 —

c. 1220), followed by Anders Christensen Arrebo (1587–1637), “the father of Danish poetry,” and moving on to the “original and genial” Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) [Wolff, 1832, s. 610], through whom, as Wolff wrote, Danish literature for the first time obtained its true independence [Wolff, 1832, s. 636]. Wolff noted that the satirist Christian Falster (1690–1752) used a language that, while easy of style, was also somewhat crude and clumsy [Wolff, 1832, s. 612], and the lyrical poet Christian Braunmann Tullin (1728–1765), a Norwegian by birth, was “of versatile talent” [Wolff, 1832, s. 612]. Wolff commented on the next generation: Johannes Ewald (1743–1781), “the unrivalled dramatist”; Johannes Hermann Wessel (1742–1783), a Norwegian “patriot” and author of scathing comedies and epigrams; Edvard Storm (1749–1794), a Norwegian literary man who spent a large part of his life in Denmark, and whom Wolff characterized as “a talented author of ballads and fables, of deserved fame” [Wolff, 1832, s. 613]; and Johann Clemens Tode (1736–1806), who made a significant contribution to Danish culture, as reported by Wolff, with his numerous writings (mainly on medical subjects) and who gained attention with his lyrical songs [Wolff, 1832, s. 613]<sup>1</sup>. Among the writers of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Wolff singled out Knud Layne Rahbek (1760–1830), who, according to Wolff, had a significant influence on the formation of the Danish literary taste with his national dramas, “excellent lyrical poetry,” “exemplary” prose and “sharp literary criticism” [Wolff, 1832, s. 613], Thomas Thaarup (1749–1821), “an excellent lyric poet, <...> translator and librettist” [Wolff, 1832, s. 613], the Norwegian poet Johan Nordahl Brun (1745–1816), the satirist Thomas Christopher Bruun (1750–1834), Frederik Høegh-Guldberg (1771–1852), author of “successful elegies and satires” [Wolff, 1832, s. 613], and the Norwegian Claus Frimann (1746–1829), famous for his “outstanding” ballads and “folk” songs [Wolff, 1832, s. 613]. Among the most important literary phenomena of his time, Wolff listed three authors — Jens Baggesen (1764–1826), Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850), and Bernhard Severin Ingemann (1789–1862). He gave a detailed characterization to each of them, pointing out that, for all their undoubted merits, only Oehlenschläger could be considered “a European star of the first magnitude” [Wolff, 1832, s. 614]. Justly assuming that these three writers were well

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<sup>1</sup> Wolff neglected to discuss Tode’s prose and dramatic writings.

known to the German reader by numerous translations, and in the case of Baggesen and Oehlenschläger also by their texts originally written in German, Wolff dispensed with examples of their work.

Despite the programmed selectivity and a certain subjectivity of the author's assessments, Wolff's book, which sketched the broad outlines of individual national literatures from diachronic and synchronic perspectives, without going into the details of literary struggles, but with an exclusive focus on the quality of the texts, could serve as a reliable "guide" to European literature as a common cultural space. The very fact of being included in that space meant a kind of "canonisation" of both the particular literature as a whole and of the authors mentioned, regardless of the private opinion expressed by Wolff about this or that writer. Immediately after this work came out, there were many favourable reviews published, including some from outside Germany. Some excerpts from it concerning German literature were soon translated into Dutch and published intermittently in fourteen issues of the newspaper *Bredasche Courant* in 1833, 1835, and 1836. It was also translated into Russian, in its entirety and relatively quickly: the translation came out in 1835. It was printed in the print shop of Moscow University and was included in the list of "books of remarkable importance and usefulness" in the 1835 annual report of the university [*Report*, 1836, p. 44]. It was also available in the university library [*List*, 1838, p. 189]. The interest in Wolff's work in the university circles was not coincidental: there was no comprehensive course of foreign literature at the university, and students received information about "major" Western literatures (French, German, and English) in the corresponding lectures, linked to the study of a particular language. According to students' memoirs from that time, the study of Western literature often consisted of a joint translation of individual, often random, samples of texts, the choice of which was dictated by the logic of rhetoric and poetics, when the focus was on knowledge of forms and genres in their correlation with the appropriate style, rather than on the authors and their style of writing [Dmitriev, 1998, p. 122–123]. In this context, Wolff's book seemed an absolute novelty, both because it focused on the authors, and because it provided an integrated picture of world/European literature, introducing also literatures little known in Russia, which included those of the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark.

Wolff's work was translated by N. G. Lavdovsky, a third-year student who took part in a joint student translation of August Schlegel's work

*On Dramatic Art and Literature (Überdramatische Kunst und Literatur, 1809–1811)*, under the supervision of well-known professor I. I. Davydov (1794–1863), who later included this text in his *Readings on Literature* (fourth year), published in 1838. It was probably Davydov who brought Wolff's work to Lavdovsky's attention. As early as 1833 an enthusiastic review of the German edition of Wolff's book appeared in the *Notes of the Imperial Moscow University*, of which I. I. Davydov was the editor: "This is a truly remarkable work on literature! It is a collection of lectures given not to students but to lovers of literature; it is not intended for scholars but for people who are interested in poetry and want to become acquainted with the finest and most curious works of European literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Judgements made by the esteemed author about writers are supported by characteristic passages from the analysed works or translations from them, moreover, in most cases with the presentation of the original itself" [*Scientific Notes of the Imperial Moscow University*, 1833, p. 157]. At the same time, extracts from Wolff's book, although only concerning German literature, appeared in the magazine *Telescope* [Wolff, 1833], published by the literary critic and professor of Moscow University, N. I. Nadezhdin (1813–1890). Lavdovsky studied under Nadezhdin and left deeply felt recollections about his teacher. The first Russian readers of Wolff's book, among whom was Alexander Pushkin<sup>2</sup>, saw it as a solid, accurate guide to contemporary literatures. In the words of V. G. Belinsky, it might also prove a reliable aid for translators in their search for new texts of importance for formation of literary taste in Russia [Belinsky, 1953, p. 131]. It is not known whether any translators heeded Belinsky's advice and whether Wolff's book attracted attention of those who were particularly interested in "Northern" literatures. Yet, the way this work was translated into Russian gives us an idea of how its ideas were received by its first "active" reader, N. G. Lavdovsky.

On the whole, Lavdovsky's translation is remarkably accurate in the part included in the Russian edition which, however, does not match the volume of the original. The translator made some cuts, consistently "deleting" political concepts (revolution, constitution, etc.) from the book, as well as individual passages relating to the political context, removing

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<sup>2</sup> Wolff's book was in Alexander Pushkin's personal library. [Modzalevsky, 1910, p. 60–61].

all samples of the texts Wolff quoted (probably for want of translations), and significantly increasing the stylistically negative characteristics, particularly those relating to Dutch and Swedish literatures. However, the most radical revision of the text was the rejection of Wolff's proposed "canon" and its internal hierarchy: indeed, the "canon," while declaring the "equality" of all literatures, was nevertheless based on a division into "major" literatures and those "lagging behind." Among those "lagging behind" in the European panorama were not only literatures of the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark, with all the merits of the latter two, but also Russia, about which Wolff noted the richness of folk poetry and described the work of Lomonosov, Derzhavin, Kapnist, Neledinsky-Meletsky, Bogdanovich, Karamzin, Zhukovsky, Batiushkov, Pushkin, and Ozerov, with examples from Karl Friedrich von der Borg's (1794–1848) anthology *Poetical Works of Russians (Poetische Erzeugnisse der Russen, 1823)*. The conclusion of Wolff's discussion of Russian literature was that it never rose above the imitation of Western models, which at the time included, as Wolff wrote, romantic poetry, mainly German and English [Wolff, 1832, s. 540]. The whole section on Russian literature was completely omitted by the translator and replaced by the article "On the constituent origins and direction of national literature in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries" by N. I. Sazonov (1815–1862), a student of I. I. Davydov, who was awarded a gold medal by Moscow University for this essay. The article was originally published in *Notes of the Imperial Moscow University* [Sazonov, 1835] and was a panegyric glorification of the consistent and uninterrupted successes of Russian literature from antiquity to modern times under the banner of nationalism. The author considerably expanded the "set" of names to include Simeon Polotsky, Dmitry Rostovsky, Feofan Prokopovich, Stefan Yavorsky, Sumarokov, Fonvizin, Khemnitser, Krylov, and Merzliakov; he did not mention Pushkin. He provided an ideological basis for the imitativeness, characteristic of Russian literature, which he did not deny, but interpreted this as a result of the particular receptivity of the Russian people, who were organically involved in a special Russian-European development [Wolff, 1835, p. 471] and therefore capable of fulfilling an important historical and cultural mission: "Russia stands between the two worlds, a partner of both in its development; — perhaps it is destined to merge these worlds in itself, combining the education of Europe and Asia, to begin a new era in the intellectual life of all humankind. Russia has already

done much; there is more to be done,” Sazonov wrote at the end of his article, concluding with a quote from Derzhavin’s ode *On the Taking of Izmail* (1791): “Where is there a people in the lands of the universe, / That would have as much strength in them?” [Wolf, 1835, p. 474]. This rhetorical question concluded not only Sazonov’s essay, but Wolff’s entire book in Russian translation, as the translator moved the section on Russia to the very end of the book, placing it in a compositional “strong position” and thereby engaging in an implicit polemic with the book’s author. Wolff proposed a literary canon that proved unacceptable in its internal hierarchy to the Russian translator, who could see competitiveness in the proposed scheme and found it necessary to introduce his own amendments: in the Russian version, Russian literature, which Sazonov characterized by its nationalism and religious spirit, emerged victorious from the cultural competition with Europe and definitely outshone the literatures of the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark.

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### **Марина Коренева**

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#### **ОБ ОДНОМ ИСТОЧНИКЕ СВЕДЕНИЙ О НИДЕРЛАНДСКОЙ, ДАТСКОЙ И ШВЕДСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРАХ В ГЕРМАНИИ И РОССИИ 1830-х гг. В КОНТЕКСТЕ СТАНОВЛЕНИЯ КАНОНА МИРОВОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ**

**Для цитирования:** *Koreneva M.* On one source of information on Dutch, Danish and Swedish literature in Germany and Russia in the 1830s in the context of the formation of the canon of world literature // *Скандинавская филология.* 2021. Т. 19. Вып. 2. С. 360–374. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2021.209>

Статья посвящена анализу книги известного немецкого историка литературы О. Л. Б. Вольфа (1799–1851) «Изящная литература Европы новейшего времени» (1832), в которой впервые была предпринята попытка сложения канона европейской литературы, замещающего собой отсутствовавший канон литературы мировой. В центре рассмотрения — сравнительная характеристика нидерландской, датской и шведской литератур в этом труде, который знакомил широкую читающую публику с творчеством малоизвестных тогда за пределами своих стран писателей Нидерландов, Швеции и Дании. Введение в научный оборот этого забытого источника позволяет реконструировать критерии оценки «северных» литератур в кругу «главных» европейских литератур и вычлнить «набор»

тех писателей, которые, с точки зрения автора, заслуживали некоторого внимания и потому могли составить канон описываемых литератур, лишь частично совпадающий с современным канонам. Особый интерес представляет сопоставление немецкого текста книги с ее русским переводом, опубликованным в 1835 г. и содержащим элементы скрытой полемики с немецким исследователем, которая нашла свое выражение не только в произведенных сокращениях и стилистической обработке оценочных суждений Вольфа, но и в замене отдельных фрагментов текстами русского происхождения, авторство которых впервые установлено в статье. Сравнение оригинала и его русского перевода демонстрирует несоответствие представлений о иерархии отдельных литератур внутри конституируемого канона данного периода и о стремлении переводчика вывести на первый план русскую литературу, которая по его представлениям затмевала собой литературы Нидерландов, Швеции и Дании.

**Ключевые слова:** нидерландская, датская, шведская литературы, восприятие «северных» литератур в Германии и России 1830-х гг., канон европейской литературы, перевод как полемика.

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## ТЕОРИЯ И ПРАКТИКА ПЕРЕВОДА

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### HET VERTALEN VAN NEDERLANDSE MODALE PARTIKELS

#### ‘WEL’ EN ‘MAAR’ IN HET RUSSISCH

**For citation:** Tereshko E. Het vertalen van Nederlandse modale partikels ‘wel’ en ‘maar’ in het Russisch. *Scandinavian Philology*, 2021, vol. 19, issue 2, pp. 375–385. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2021.210>

Het artikel behandelt de mogelijke manieren om een betekenis van de Nederlandse modale partikels weer te geven in Russische teksten als een manier om de Nederlandse cultuur toe te passen in de vertaling. Modale partikels in het Nederlands fungeren als communicatieve markers die specifiek zijn voor de Nederlandse taal. Om erachter te komen welke methodes het meest gangbaar zijn bij het vertalen, onderzoekt dit artikel aan de hand van voorbeelden uit de literaireteksten de lexicale, grammaticale en syntactische methoden om de modale betekenis van de Nederlandse modale partikels in de Russische vertaling te behouden. Bovendien wordt de kwestie van de vertaalbaarheid van de poëtische tekst aangesneden. In navolging van N. M. Azarova en S. Y. Bochaver aanvaardt de auteur de stelling over de vertaalbaarheid van een poëtische tekst. De moderne poëzie heeft echter haar eigen specifieke kenmerken, zoals beknoptheid, het belang van de grafische verschijning van het gedicht, discrete presentatie van gedachten. Binnen de grenzen van het groeiende belang van de beeldcultuur in de moderne wereld zien de Nederlandse dichters praktisch af van ‘overbodige’ woorden, als voorbeeld het uiterst zeldzame voorkomen van modale partikels in de poëzie.

**Slutelwoorden:** Nederlands, modaliteit, modale partikels, culturele accommodatie, vertaling, poëzie, visuele wending, beeldcultuur.

## 1. INLEIDING

Over de vraag of een tekst volledig kan worden vertaald, wordt al eeuwenlang gedebatteerd. Hierover bestaan verschillende meningen, evenals verschillende benaderingen van het vertaalproces zelf en de evaluatie van het resultaat ervan. Maar “over de vertaalbaarheid van de linguïstische structuur moet men blijven nadenken, zelfs wanneer die voor de mens onvertaalbaar lijkt” schrijft Walter Benjamin [Benjamin, 2000, p. 47] en veel vooraanstaande hedendaagse taalkundigen, vertalers en dichters zijn het met hem eens. Zo hebben N. M. Azarova en S. Y. Bochaver heter in hun artikel “Van de moeilijkheden naar het gemak van het vertalen. Over de moderne filosofie van het vertalen en de vertaalde tekst” over dat de moderne realiteit ons ertoe brengt de poëtische tekst als fundamenteel vertaalbaar te behandelen, in tegenstelling tot de situatie van de jaren 1960–70: “paradoxaal genoeg is poëzie, door de overvloed aan betekenissen en de maximale semantische lading die elk element van de poëtische tekst draagt, altijd vertaalbaar” [Azarova, Bochaver, 2019, p. 151].

Ons artikel zal het aspect van modaliteit, die met modale partikels in het Nederlands weergegeven wordt, in vertaling onderzoeken als een manier om de tekst toegankelijktemaken voor de Russischtalige lezer, en zal de eigenaardigheden van het gebruik van modale partikels in hedendaagse poëtische teksten belichten.

## 2. MODALE PARTIKELS ALS COMMUNICATIEVE MARKERS VAN HET NEDERLANDS

Als we de vertaalbaarheid van poëzie als axioma aanvaarden en de vertaling opvatten als een van de interpretaties van de tekst, zoals N. M. Azarova suggereert [Azarova, Bochaver, 2019, p. 151], dan kunnen we de vertaalbaarheid van een literairetekst evenmin ontkennen. Het is een feit dat de lezer van een werk in zijn moedertaal, of het nu proza of poëzie is, niet altijd in staat is alle betekenissen die in de tekst besloten zijn te lezen. Soms gebeurt het ook dat de auteur zelf zich niet bewust is van de diepgang van zijn eigen werk. Als voorbeeld: toen men tegen de Nederlandse dichter en prozaschrijver Remco Campert zei dat zijn prozatekst poëtische passages bevatte die grafisch niet overeenkwamen met het visuele beeld van het gedicht, maar een eigen ritme en rijm hadden, erkende hij dat dit klopte [Tereshko, 2015].

Een van de moeilijkheden bij het vertalen uit het Nederlands zijn modale partikels [Balén, Caspers, Wouden, 2014]. Ondanks het feit dat modale partikels ook in het Russisch worden gebruikt, wordt er aangenomen dat de Russische modale partikels qua betekenis niet overeenkomen met de Nederlandse partikels, waardoor deze laatste in de Russische vertalingen vaak worden weggelaten. E. B. Krylova merkt terecht op dat “modale partikels een karakteristiek kenmerk zijn van zowel Slavische als een aantal Germaanse talen, maar dat het Russisch, Duits en Deens daar een bijzondere plaats onder innemen” [Krylova, 2018, p. 27]. Ook Nederlands kan aan deze lijst worden toegevoegd. We nemen ook aan dat een bepaalde reeks modale partikels en hun combinaties deel uitmaken van de culturele code van een bepaalde taal.

### 3. MANIEREN OM NEDERLANDSE MODALE PARTIKELS IN HET RUSSISCH TE VERTALEN

A. D. Arutyunova merkt op dat “partikels in staat zijn zich te groeperen, een monoloog te dialogeren, te intoneren en te transformeren, de nadruk te leggen op de auditieve waarneming en een bepaalde reactie op te roepen bij de deelnemers aan de communicatie. Dit alles leidt tot een grotere overtuigingskracht en het behoud van de aandacht van de geadresseerde” [Arutyunova, 2010, p. 7]. In het Nederlands komen de modale partikels zeker voor in het mondelinge taalgebruik, maar ze worden ook gebruikt in geschreven literaire teksten. Het onvoldoende gebruik van modale partikels in de spraak van buitenlanders duidt volgens Nederlandse onderzoekers [Balén, Caspers, Wouden, 2014] op een lage beheersing van de Nederlandse taal en een nog niet gevormde communicatieve competentie. Dus zijn modale partikels één van de communicatieve markers van het Nederlands die vertalers voor bepaalde moeilijkheden stellen bij het vertalen naar het Russisch.

Volgens de ANS (Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst) zijn modale partikels woorden die de hele zinsinhoud op een subtiele manier kunnen veranderen, in tegenstelling tot focuspartikels die betrekking hebben op een bepaalde woordgroep [Haeseryn, 1997, s. 457]. Bekende voorbeelden zijn ‘nou’, ‘dan’, ‘toch’, ‘maar’, ‘eens’, ‘even’ en andere. Hier zijn een paar voorbeelden voor partikel ‘maar’:

- (1) *Je hebt **maar** 5 minuutjes gewacht.*  
'You have **only** waited for 5 minutes.'
- (2) *Ik heb **maar** uren zitten wachten.*  
'I have been waiting for hours.'

In het eerste voorbeeld wordt het woord ‘maar’ gebruikt als een focus partikel en het heeft betrekking alleen op de woordgroep ‘vijf minuutjes’ en in het tweede voorbeeld wordt ‘maar’ gebruikt als een modaal partikel dat een irritatie uitdrukt die als oorzaak langdurig wachten heeft.

Het weglaten van modale partikels wordt als een van de vaak gebruikte technieken genoemd bij het vertalen van het Nederlands naar het Russisch vanwege het ontbreken van een adequaat equivalent en de overbodigheid van de modale betekenis in het Russisch [Tereshko, 2021]. Het partikel ‘wel’ wordt bijvoorbeeld in het Nederlands gebruikt om een expliciete of impliciete negatie in een tekst te ontkennen. In het Nederlands moet deze tegenstelling worden uitgedrukt met het partikel ‘wel’, terwijl dat in het Russisch niet nodig is. Als er echter een expliciete ontkenning in een tekst staat, wordt die ook in het Russisch weergegeven. Dit wordt vaak gedaan door ‘ja’ of ‘nee’ te zeggen of door werkwoorden of bijwoorden met de tegenovergestelde betekenis te gebruiken.

- (3) *Dag Anne, hoe gaat het met je? — Goed, dank je wel.* (Anne Frank)

‘Привет, Анна, как дела? — Хорошо, **спасибо**.’

‘Hi, Anne, how are you? — Fine, **thanks**.’

- (4) *Moeder heeft op het ogenblik HEEREN, VROUWEN, KNECHTEN, dat mag ik natuurlijk niet hebben (Margot **wel**!), ik moet eerst wat meer ontwikkeld zijn zoals mijn begaafde zuster.* (Anne Frank)

‘Мама читает сейчас “Господа, дамы и слуги”, мне это, конечно, запрещено (а Марго **можно!**), сначала надо стать чуть более образованной, как моя талантливая сестрица.’

‘At the moment mother reads ‘LORD, WOMAN, KNIGHT’, of course I can’t have that (Margot **can!**), first I have to be more developed like my gifted sister.’

In voorbeeld (3) is de betekenis van ‘wel’ in het Russisch overbodig want het is een deel van een beleefdheids formule ‘dank je wel’ en daarom is het in de Russische vertaling weggelaten. In voorbeeld (4) wordt een expliciete tegenoverstelling uitgedrukt met ‘mag niet — wel’ in het Nederlands en *запрещено — можно* ‘verboden — toegestaan’ in het Russisch.

Uit de analyse van de twee meest voorkomende partikels ‘wel’ en ‘maar’ in literaire teksten kan worden geconcludeerd dat bij weglating de modaliteit, die in het Nederlands door modale partikels wordt uitgedrukt, niet geheel verdwijnt, maar haar uitdrukking vindt met behulp van andere taalmiddelen: grammaticaal, lexicaal en syntactisch. Het

materiaal dat voor de analyse is gebruikt is het Amsterdams Slavisch Parallel Aligned Corpus (ASPAC), dat vriendelijk ter beschikking is gesteld door de samensteller Adrian Barentsen. Dit corpus omvat originele en vertaalde teksten van fictie, in totaal 6.000.000 tokens. Zes literaire werken werden onder de loep genomen (zie Literatuur), waarvan 1000 zinnen zijn geanalyseerd.

Aldus is vastgesteld dat het mogelijk is om de betekenis van modale partikels in de Nederlandse tekst weer te geven met behulp van Russische modale partikels. Meestal gaat het daarbij om de zogenaamde axiologische modaliteit (goed/slecht, wenselijk/ongewenst) [Krylova, 2012, p. 4], bijvoorbeeld:

- (5) *Het is **maar** goed dat ik geen mopperpot ben, want dan zou ik verzuurd worden en niet m'n goede humeur kunnen bewaren.* (Anne Frank)  
'It's a good thing I'm not a grumbler, because then I'd get soured and not be able to keep my good mood.'  
'Хорошо **хоть**, что я не брюзга, иначе бы я скисла и мне не удалось бы сохранять мое хорошее настроение.'
- (6) *'Kom dan **maar** hier, kleine Wiplala,' zei Nella Della.* (Wiplala)  
'Then come here, little Wiplala,' said Nella Della.'  
'Ну **так** иди сюда, миленький Виплала!'

Andere Russische partikels komen in vertalingen van Nederlandse literatuur ook voor wanneer ze de modale betekenis van de Nederlandse tekst uitdrukken. Wij zullen dit als lexicaal middel beschouwen. Naast modale partikels worden Russische modale werkwoorden ook als lexicaal middel gebruikt om modaliteit over te brengen:

- (7) *Dan kan iedereen **maar** doen.* (De aanslag)  
'Then anyone can just do (what he wants)'  
'Тогда каждый может делать, что **захочет**.'

Wat de grammaticale manier betreft om modaliteit in het Russisch weer te geven, spelen de vorm van het werkwoord, de aan- of afwezigheid van voorvoegsels en de door de vertaler gebruikte tijd een grote rol.

Bovendien is er een manier om modale betekenis over te brengen, in de regel in imperatieve zinnen, met behulp van werkwoordherhaling (давай-давай 'geef-geef', иди-иди 'ga-ga', делай-делай 'doe-doe', говори-говори 'zeg-zeg' enz.). Een dergelijke herhaling kan een verscheidenheid van sprekersattitudes uitdrukken: irritatie, ongeduld, emotionele opwindning, maar ook berusting of gebrek aan geloof in de

doeltreffendheid van acties of hun positieve uitkomst. Hoewel in dit geval een woord wordt herhaald, beschouwen veel onderzoekers dit verschijnsel als een syntactische aanpak, maar er is ook een andere mening dat het een fraseologische uitdrukking is [Umarov, 2009].

Op basis van syntaxis kan een modale betekenis, bijvoorbeeld de betekenis van het partikel 'wel', worden weergegeven door middel van het thema-rhema indeling van de Russische zin:

- (8) *Nieuwe stoppen waren wel in huis, maar de stop moest helemaal achter in 't donkere magazijn ingezet worden en dat was niet zo'n prettig karweitje 's avonds.* (Anne Frank)

'New plugs were in the house, but the plug had to be inserted all the way back in the dark warehouse and that was not such a pleasant job at night.'

'**Электрические пробки в доме были**, но вворачивать пробки надо в самом конце темного склада, и это сомнительное удовольствие вечером.'

Daarom kunnen we zeggen dat 1) een bepaalde set modale partikels in het Nederlands kan fungeren als een communicatieve en culturele marker. Op zo'n manier wordt het gekenmerkt als een bepaalde moeilijkheid bij het vertalen en ons doet nadenken over manieren om de Nederlandse onderliggende modaliteit een plaats te geven in vertalingen naar het Russisch. Dat betekent dat de vertaler telkens moet beslissen of en hoe de modaliteit die inherent is aan de Nederlandse tekst moet worden uitgedrukt, 2) de Russische taal heeft een voldoende arsenaal om de modale betekenis die in het Nederlands door modale partikels wordt uitgedrukt, weer te geven, wat betekent dat de modaliteit van een Nederlandse literaire tekst in het Russisch volledig kan worden vertaald.

#### 4. MODALITEIT IN HEDENDAAGSE POËTISCHE TEKST

Ondanks het communicatieve belang van modale partikels in het Nederlands en hun wijdverspreid gebruik, vooral in proza, zijn modale partikels zeer zeldzaam in de moderne Nederlandse poëzie. Om wat statistiek te geven, wordt modale partikel 'maar' in de gedichtenbundel van Astrid Lampe *De Taiga zwijntjes* (2015) geen enkele keer gebruikt: van de 15 voorbeelden van 'maar' in deze bundel is het 3 keer als focuspartikel gebruikt en in 12 gevallen is het een voegwoord. In andere bundels van verschillende auteurs wordt 'maar' in zijn modale betekenis slechts schaars gebruikt, de voorbeelden waarvan komen later. In tegenstelling

daartoe komt dit partikel in literaire teksten wel vaker voor: ongeveer in 20 % van alle zinnen met dit partikel heeft 'maar' een modale functie. Het gaat dus over 65 zinnen van 297 zinnen met alle soorten 'maar' in het boek 'Eerst grijs dan wit dan blauw' door Margriet de Moor, 59 zinnen uit 300 in het boek 'Minoes' van Annie M. G. Schmidt en 58 zinnen van 300 in het boek 'Het geheime dagboek door Hendrik Groen, 831/4 jaar' van H. Groen.

In poëzie wordt het modale partikel 'maar' af en toe gebruikt vooral in de evaluatieve functie, waarmee de duur van een actie of de vanzelfsprekendheid van een gebeurtenis wordt aangegeven. In de gedichten van de hedendaagse Nederlandse dichter Huub Beurskens, bijvoorbeeld, zijn de volgende regels te vinden: *het dat ik dit tot geen een iemand voortplanten / wil en maar ga en ontwricht deshalve in me keer* [Beurskens, 2004, s. 47] — het partikel 'maar' geeft hier de onontkombaarheid van het gaan weer; *niet ademloos onttrekken aan het nu het onttrekt zich / voortdurend maar aan ons in het kortstondig defect* [Beurskens, 2004, s. 27] — in dit voorbeeld betekent het gebruik van 'maar' het accent op de langdurigheid van de actie. De regels van Mark Boog bevatten een gelijke betekenis: *Maar dat is wat sommigen doen: praten, / altijd maar praten. / Muziek in een lift. / Hadden ze gelijk, ze zouden zwijgen.* [Boog, 2013, s. 28] Het is interessant op te merken dat de titel van de gedichtenbundel van Mark Boog ook 'maar' bevat, maar in deze context kan het partikel zowel als modaal partikel als focus partikel als alsconjunctie worden gezien.

In de moderne poëzie worden partikels uiteraard gebruikt in gebiedende zinnen, net als in de gesproken taal en in proza. Zo vinden we in Ramsey Nasr's vrije vertaling van Psalm nummer 6 de regels: *Sleur me maar mee / Maar niet zo boos.* Een ander voorbeeld is te vinden in een gedicht van de bekende dichter en kinderboekenschrijfster Joke van Leeuwen: *Een men zegt geloof maar, wat iedereen / mooi vindt vindt iedereen mooi* [Leeuwen, 2010, s. 17].

In sommige gevallen kan het gebruik van de gebiedende wijs met modale partikels, die de gebiedende wijs verzachten, gezien worden als een techniek om de hele tekst in te kaderen, bijvoorbeeld in het gedicht van Hannah van Binsbergen:

*huil maar dieren huil maar  
huil maar jager die het hert doodschiet  
huil maar jong hert dat zijn moeder verliest*

*huil wind die het blad van de takken blaast  
huil **maar** snijbloem halfdood in je vaas  
je broeders in 't veld blijven argeloos knikken  
en blijven doof voor je bittere snikken  
terwijl het water stijgt en op zijn tijd  
alle bloemen van hun stelen snijdt.*  
[Binsbergen, 2017, s. 24]

Er zijn echter niet veel van dergelijke gedichten. We kunnen een aantal veronderstellingen maken over waarom modale partikels zeldzaam zijn in poëzie, terwijl ze veel gebruikt worden in zowel alledaagse gesproken en geschreven taal, als in literaire teksten in het Nederlands.

De eerste veronderstelling houdt verband met het grafische beeld van het gedicht. N.M. Azarova spreekt over de grafische vormgeving van het gedicht, die in de moderne poëzie op de voorgrond is getreden. De informele norm van moderne verzen is de afwezigheid van hoofdletters en een minimaal gebruik van interpunctie. Daarnaast spelen de vorm van het gedicht, de lengte van de regels, de ordening ervan allemaal een rol in het “oogritme” van het werk [Azarova, 2015, p. 71]. Dit houdt zeker verband met de paradigmaverschuiving in de perceptie van kunst. Met deze verschuiving bedoelen wij de zogenaamde visuele wending — een verschuiving naar de waarneming van visuele informatie in tegenstelling tot de verbale presentatie ervan. De *visual turn* heeft de plaats ingenomen van de *linguistic turn* en een impuls gegeven aan de ontwikkeling van de wereldwijde moderne beeldcultuur — Visual Studies. Het verschijnsel van de beeldcultuur is nauw verbonden met de nieuwe technologieën op het gebied van de computercommunicatie: “Misschien pas in het tijdperk van de tekstverwerker of de computer begonnen wij als schrijvers aandacht te besteden aan de ruimtes tussen de woorden” [West-Pavlov, 2009, p. 15] — schrijft Russell West-Pavlov in “Space in Theory”. De afwezigheid van ‘overbodige’ woorden maakt meer ruimte vrij, en modale partikels, die geen eigen lexicale betekenis hebben, kunnen in de moderne gedichten als ‘overbodige’ beschouwd worden. De afwezigheid van een woord geeft vaak nog meer betekenis aan een werk dan de aanwezigheid ervan, omdat de lezer in dit geval zelf de door de auteur gelaten leemten invult (of niet).

De tweede veronderstelling houdt ook indirect verband met de groeiende superioriteit van de beeldcultuur boven de tekstcultuur op



wereldschaal. In veel gevallen leidt de dichter het verhaal discreet, alsof hij tekeningen maakt, als in een stripboek, zodat de lezer de ontbrekende schakels zelf kan aanvullen. In deze benadering zijn inhoudswoorden waardevoller dan functiewoorden en partikels.

Hoe het ook zij, modale partikels worden in het hedendaagse poëtische discours in Nederland verrassend weinig gebruikt, wat enerzijds de taak van de vertaler vergemakkelijkt, maar anderzijds een maximale investering, concentratie en aandacht vereist voor het gedicht in zijn geheel: het grafische beeld van de tekst en verborgen consonanties en verwijzingen, zoals de verticale lezing van bepaalde elementen van het gedicht. De dichters van vandaag streven ernaar meer te zeggen met minder woorden, wat betekent dat de vertalers deze beperkingen moeten aanvaarden en hun potentieel ten volle moeten benutten.

## 5. CONCLUSIE

Modale partikels zijn specifiek voor het Nederlands, maar de betekenis daarvan blijkt universeel te zijn, wat elke tekst vertaalbaar maakt. In het Russisch zijn er veel manieren om deze betekenisweer te geven. Het poëtische discours biedt de vertaler echter een moeilijker taak: het 'understatement' handhaven met een beperkt aantal middelen. Poëzie is altijd vooruitstrevend geweest en blijft ook vandaag de dag vernieuwend maar vertaalbaar.

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#### **TRANSLATING DUTCH MODAL PARTICLES 'WEL' AND 'MAAR' INTO RUSSIAN**

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The article considers ways of transferring the meaning of Dutch modal particles in Russian text. Modal particles in Dutch act as communicative markers that are specific to Dutch culture. In contrast to the popular opinion, that in translating modal particles the method of omission prevails, this article examines the lexical, grammatical, and syntactic methods for preserving the modal meaning of the Dutch text in Russian translations, using examples from fiction. In addition, the question of translatability of poetic texts is touched upon. Following N. M. Azarova and S. Y. Bochner, the author accepts the thesis of the translatability of the poetic text. Modern poetry, however, has its own specific features, such as brevity, the importance of graphic appearance of the

text, and discreteness of the statement. Within strict limits of the growing importance of visual culture in the modern world, Dutch poets practically refuse “superfluous” words, including modal particles, which are extremely rare in poetry. This observation has a great value, because in today’s world of computer technology, the zero is as important as the one.

**Keywords:** Dutch, modality, modal particles, cultural accommodation, translation, poetry, visual turn, visual culture.

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## КУЛЬТУРА И КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ СВЯЗИ

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### PIZZA “GRANDIOSA” AND NORWEGIAN CULINARY TRADITIONS

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When it comes to the harmful effects of globalization on Norwegian traditional values, one often draws on the example of the pizza “Grandiosa” phenomenon. Not only the daily assortment of dishes, but also traditional Christmas fare gave way to the “Grandiosa.” Experts in the field of culture and cultural heritage show much interest in this phenomenon; it is also addressed in Norwegian fiction, mostly as something ignoble. The change in Norwegian tastes that happened with this pizza is called the “revolution in eating habits.” Researchers render it impossible to find a rational explanation of this phenomenon. However, the traditional Norwegian cuisine is rather ascetic, with preference to universal dishes, which is easily explained by difficult natural conditions. And in our days, the lack of time dictates the extra need for universal dishes that combine components of the first and the second, as well as a side dish, and which do not require much time for cooking. Frozen pizza is perfect in that regard, and kebabs, tapas, and tacos followed it to the Norwegian table. Pizza was just the first to announce the era of food globalization, and it served as a conduit of globalization in Norwegian cuisine.

**Keywords:** Norwegian cuisine, culinary traditions, universal foods, pizza, globalization.

When it comes to the harmful effects of globalization on Norwegian traditional values, one often draws on the example of the pizza “Grandiosa” phenomenon. In some families “Grandiosa” has supplanted not

only the everyday assortment of food, but also traditional Christmas dishes: already in 2003, 3% of Norway's adult population ate pizza on Christmas Eve. On average, sales of "Grandiosa" grow by 40% in December [Rognerud, 2018]. The purely quantitative side of the penetration of pizza into the everyday life of Norwegians is also impressive. Norwegians consume 47 million frozen pizzas per year, half of which are "Grandiosa" pizzas [Gordon, 2018]. An article titled "Yes, We Love Frozen Pizza" — a pun with the first line of the Norwegian national anthem "Yes, we love this country" [Larsen, 2019] — published on the eve of Norway's National Day celebrated on May 17<sup>th</sup>, states that the popularity of this simple dish is constantly growing. In the first quarter of 2019, Norway imported 3,581 tons of pizza (and this with a population of only 5,334,762, according to the statistics office of Norway as of May 20, 2019!). Frozen pizza sales grew with 45% over this period compared to the last quarter of 2018. The same article mentions that "Grandiosa" is also popular among Swedes and Finns. But still, they are far behind Norwegians: the choice of frozen pizzas in Norway is three times higher than the choice in Sweden, although the Swedes are ahead in other types of food [Myklebust, 2019].

Pizza is an object of study by an ethnologist of the NEG (Norsk etnologisk granskning — Norwegian ethnological studies) group, sponsored by the The Norwegian Museum of Cultural History [Bolstad Skjelbred, 2004]. From the 1920s to the end of the 1980s the most popular Sunday dish of Norwegians was meatballs, which on weekdays shared the first place with sausages; pizza was not mentioned at all. By 1999 more than 20,000 tons of frozen pizza was sold in Norway. This figure does not include pizza eaten in pizzerias and other food establishments or homemade pizza [Bolstad Skjelbred, 2004, s. 4]. As has been mentioned, many people eat pizza at Christmas; pizza has recently started competing with sausages, a traditional food on Norway's national day, May 17<sup>th</sup>.

The fact that pizza as a phenomenon is of interest not only to cultural experts is evidenced by the fact that it is often referred to in fiction, usually in an attempt to characterize something low-quality. For example, in a novel about the morals of the publishing industry, the title of which can be roughly translated as *You Are Unbelievable*, the protagonist describes the impressions of visiting the tradition-steeped *Theater Café* in Oslo: "Grandiose? Absolutely! (I almost made a slip of the tongue and, out of habit, blurted out "Grandiosa," because it was this pizza that

I used to treat myself to when my mother went to dinner with one of her friends in the church circle. Just think how nice it would've been — the writer is sitting at the exquisite Theater Café and ranting about frozen pizza!)” [Freihof, 2009, s. 264].

Another writer, Olav Løkken Reisop, used the name “Grandiosa” as a title to his entire novel about the modern life of the wealthy and seemingly elite residents of Oslo [Reisop, 2015].

Reisop uses the name of this unsophisticated dish metaphorically to refer to other phenomena of modern Norwegian life, which he finds vulgar, ethically and aesthetically opposed to traditional values. These phenomena are imposed by globalization and designed to be successful among a wide range of undemanding public. As an example of such phenomena, the author names the Barcode-rekken architectural ensemble in the Norwegian capital, otherwise called “The Opera Quarter” (*Operakvarteret*), and detective novels by Jo Nesbø, which are also very popular among Russian readers. One of the book heroes addresses the character who embodies such base tastes with the following words: “You are making fun of the *Pizza Grandiosa Original* — I took the trouble to utter the entire original designation — but you don't understand that your bookshelves are full of ready-made pizza, frozen pizza, disgusting semi-digested semi-processed product” [Reisop, 2015, s. 313].

Meanwhile, “the disgusting semi-processed product” has taken a firm place among the culturally significant Norwegian phenomena. In the educational online interactive game kahoot [*kahoot.it*], recommended for Norwegian language teachers during summer courses at the University of Oslo in 2019, the following question was included in the quiz on the knowledge of Norwegian culture: “Where is pizza ‘Grandiosa’ made?”

This cringe-worthy ready-made dish gets a separate chapter in the book by the influential journalist and writer Per Egil Hegge, *The Soul of the Norwegian People*, with the subtitle *Words That Tell Who We Are* [Hegge, 2016, s. 83–85]. A total of 65 such words are described in the book, which speaks of the important place that Grandiosa occupies in the minds of modern Norwegians. Hegge calls the change in Norwegians' addictions that happened when this pizza manifested itself, “a revolution in eating habits,” and insists on the impossibility of a rational explanation of this phenomenon. Perhaps, this is one of the cases when “lookers-on see most of the game.” We believe that it is quite possible to explain the popularity of pizza “Grandiosa”.

It is no secret that Norwegians are traditionally ascetic and not spoiled when it comes to nutrition. Norwegian cuisine is not characterized by a variety of dishes; preference is given to all-in-one dishes, easily explained by the arduous conditions of existence. For centuries, staple foods for the majority of the inhabitants in this harsh northern region was fish, lamb, barley, and northern root crops. For several months a year, Norwegians consumed mainly goods meant to be preserved for a long time. They were harvested for future use in summer and autumn: dried and salted fish, cured mutton, dry unleavened flatbreads. Preparation of such food required considerable amounts of time, of which the villagers who made up the majority of the population had plenty during winter months. After all, it was impossible to engage in agriculture, thus only crafts and cooking remained. And, finally, their food was supposed to go well with beer, which was and is the most widespread alcoholic drink in the region. Also, beer served as a source of vitamins. The descendants of the Vikings were not accustomed to fruit; even now many of them don't know fruit very well and consume it only in small amounts.

But what do ascetic and unspoiled Norwegians eat nowadays? The well-known writer Eric Fosnes Hansen characterizes a girl named Siri in this, somewhat exaggerated, way: "Siri doesn't know much about cooking. All her life she has only been eating Findus frozen fish sticks and frozen pizza" [Fosnes Hansen, 1996, s. 58]. And this is same old fish and flatbreads, the only difference being that now they are preserved in the freezer and not in the barn!

Already in 1993 we can read following in one of Norwegian leading newspapers: "The Norwegian food culture is being supplanted. The national dish is no longer lamb ribs, but Pizza Grandiosa" [Omdahl, 1993, s. 22]. In 2004 20% of the Norwegians called Grandiosa their unofficial national dish [Gordon, 2018].

In 2017, the website of the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation published a recipe for the Danish national dish, fried bacon with parsley gravy. The text contained the following passage, which was deleted after a short time: "For the Swedes, the national dish is meatballs and crayfish. And the national dish of the Norwegians is 'Grandiosa' pizza. Just kidding. For Norwegians it is lamb with cabbage" [*Stekt flesk med persillesaus*].

So why is it so popular and at the same time a target for so many attacks? We have already briefly characterized the phenomenon of Gran-

diosa [Livanova, 2010, p. 563]. In particular, it was mentioned that the lack of time typical for working city people in developed countries dictates the need for universal dishes that combine the components of the soup and main course, as well as a side dish. At the same time these dishes do not require much time and effort to prepare for serving. Pizza “Grandiosa” was mentioned as an example of such a dish. It is not surprising that the opponents of pizza are often older Norwegians living in the countryside: they have a lot of time on their hands and profess preparing their meals from scratch [Bolstad Skjelbred, 2004, s. 7].

The “Grandiosa” pizza was put into the spotlight by traditionalists as a symbol of the onset of alien habits precisely because of its popularity, especially among children and young people. Lamb and cabbage (*fårikål*) has officially been considered the national dish of the Norwegians since 1972. The next survey on this subject was carried out 42 years later, in connection with the bicentennial anniversary of the Norwegian constitution, which was celebrated in 2014. Lamb remained in the first place, having won 45 % of the votes, but the 11 thousand schoolchildren who participated in the survey put tacos, pizza and kebabs in the first three places [Nymo, 2014].

One way or another, it is now a tradition for many to finish off work week with pizza. “Friday pizza” has become a concept. There is a type of pizza that is called that, and pizza on Fridays is often indicated when listing other Norwegian habits. For example, in the novel *The Man Who Didn't Want to Go Home* the writer Roger Pihl describes the end of the working day when people “went home to their wives and children, football on Tuesdays or pizza on Fridays” [Pihl, 2014, s. 24].

In the last decade, however, tacos have been competing with Friday pizza, although the dish was introduced in Norway back in the 1980s: “Chances are that on Friday night you shovel in tacos that ooze with sauce and burst with corn kernels and minced meat” [Med andre ord: Taco, 2019].

A popular culinary magazine that was available free of charge from the defunct ICA supermarket chain, gives a recommendation for weekend hikers with confidence in what they ate for dinner the night before: “If you have anything left from a tacos dinner, this would be perfect as a filling for a backpacker’s sandwich” [Skeie, 2010, s. 11].

And finally, a somewhat odious example. In the fall of 2019, Norwegians were actively discussing a case of a girl who had to euthanize



her injured horse. The indignation of people was caused by the fact that the girl ate dishes from the meat of this horse and even posted the corresponding photos on social networks. Her answer to this was as follows: “People don’t eat their own horse, and in any case they don’t share photos on Facebook. But why can they upload photos of their Friday tacos, but I can’t upload photos of my Friday steak?” [Børstad, Kringstad, 2019]. Let’s leave aside the discussion of the legality of using the term *steak* in relation to a horse meat dish.

However, tacos are eaten not only on Fridays. The uncomplicated dish has spread to Saturday evening, that was earlier dedicated to pizza, according to the tradition established in recent decades. A note was published on the website of the Norwegian public broadcasting service entitled “I got my way if viewers choke on their tacos.” [Vedeler, 2018] The article deals with the rough lyrics of the songs performed by the participants of the TV competition “Star Battle” (*Stjernekamp*), Norwegian analogue of the Russian show “Star Factory.” The program is broadcast on Saturdays. Viewers enjoy life in front of the TV with beer in one hand and tacos in the other.

Tacos have provided a tough competition for pizza. Two female Norwegian students like this simple dish so much that they ate only its variants for five months on a bet with friends, and the girls did not even get bored with it [Hareland, Viken, 2019].

A 2012 study found that 8.2% of Norwegians eat tacos every Saturday, but they don’t want to skip pizza either. Therefore, here’s what they do: they put nachos on top of the pizza, cover with minced meat with spices, sprinkle with cheese, and then pop it in the oven [Gordon, 2018]. Thus, pizza was just the first, but not the last, to announce the era of food globalization.

The food industry responded quickly to new trends: back in 2001, *Grandiosa Mild Taco* appeared in stores, which, however, held out only until 2005, when the adherents of this brand voted for a slightly different version of pizza, with tacos as topping. Pizza with tacos (*Grandiosa Taco Fiesta*) was one of the new flavors of 2019 for the most popular pizza brand — *Grandiosa*. The author of this article saw the packaging of this particular pizza in a dumpster of a decent Norwegian house in a respectable neighborhood of Adamstuen, where representatives mostly of the middle class live (Fig. 1). After having tasted this new kind of pizza, experts invited by the newspaper *Dagbladet* unanimously recom-



Fig. 1. “Grandiosa” package in the dumpster. Photo by the author

mended it as an excellent remedy for a hangover [Dalseg, Guldbransen, 2019].

The popularity of fast food, especially burgers and pizza, among young people is a worldwide phenomenon. Talking about why Chinese teenagers also love burgers, but with age most of them begin to prefer traditional Chinese food, British gastronomer Tom Parker Bowles (son of the Duchess Camilla) suggested that the popularity of fast food is probably due to the fact that it tastes the same everywhere and does not conceal any surprises, neither pleasant nor unpleasant, while local dishes often have a specific taste that you need to get used to [Parker Bowles, 2007, p. 102]. It is not for nothing that at the entrance to kindergartens and schools of France, famous for its cuisine, a menu of school lunches (very intricate) is hung every day: parents know what exactly is offered to their children, and children from a very early age get used to eating varied food with complex flavors.

Older and more educated Norwegians also enjoy other “aliens,” such as tapas, which resemble the familiar Norwegian finger foods (*fin-*

*germat*): simple, small-sized snacks that you can eat with your hands. Tapas are often served as a treat at crowded celebrations; for example, one article [Ingebrigtsen, 2018, s. 38] describes a luxuriant wedding for 70 guests who were treated with tapas and French pastries.

This raises three questions: 1) What has always distinguished Norwegian traditional cuisine? 2) In what direction is the traditional food of any people developing? 3) What is so unusual about new dishes, including pizza?

We have already answered the first question.

The answer to the second question was succinctly formulated by the already mentioned culinary critic Tom Parker-Bowles: “Food is inherently dangerous. It rots and becomes poisonous and perilous to our health. What civilization has done, over countless millennia, is remove this danger. From that moment where meat and fish first met fire, through preservation via salting, drying, pickling or canning — right up until the advent of refrigeration, irradiation and climate-controlled vacuum packing — we have been locked in a battle to make food safe and longer lasting, to remove any chance of spoilage or bacteria or poison”. [Parker Bowles, 2007, p.82–83] Much the same, albeit in a completely different context, writes the American culinary critic Mort Rosenblum: “The whole mystery of cheese ... is in figuring out how different bacteria behave in changing circumstances. Cheese people have spent centuries at this, perfecting how to get consistency and taste without danger to health.” [Rosenblum, 2000, p.246] Frozen pizza is a high speed vacuum-packed dish that can be stored for a long time and does not spoil for a long time. So, the “semi-digested semi-processed product,” as the writer Reisop called the pizza (see above), is rather an advantage than a disadvantage for the majority of modern working Norwegians.

What is so unusual about pizza and other dishes new to Norwegians? It is the replacement of carbohydrates in the form of the habitual barley and root crops with wheat or corn flour, as well as the presence of plant components: tomatoes, peppers and others (the exact set of ingredients from which the so popular “Grandiosa” is made, is kept secret). Many participants in a survey conducted by ethnologists wrote that it was thanks to pizza that they got used to the taste of baked tomatoes, paprika, garlic, olives and oregano [Bolstad Skjelbred, 2004, s. 9]. In addition, the presence of these new multi-colored ingredients gave this

dish a very unusual appearance for Norwegians. The two most common lines of first-time pizza eaters were said to be: “Who vomited on my flatbread?” and “Did you bake the rag rug today?” [Bolstad Skjelbred, 2004, s. 6] Now pizza evokes quite different associations for the majority of the population, and these are rather pleasant ones. The popular pizza “Grandiosa” even got a diminutive form, “Grandis.” It is this pizza that the Norwegian fairytale hero Askeladd (“Ash lad,” the Norwegian analogue of Cinderella) finds in a modern version of the old fairy tale published on the teacher’s website of the Cappelen Damm publishing house [Anly, Stjern Frønes, Kvinge, 2019].

The way pizza is stored in the freezer rather than dried in the traditional ventilated *stabbur* barn is relatively new. However, many other foods are also stored in freezers now. It’s possible to find pizza in almost every freezer in the Norwegian households. This, by the way, is evidenced by the popular rude joke: “jeg har pizza i fryseren” (I have pizza in the freezer), built on playing with the fact that the words “pizza” *pizza* and “pissa” *peed* sound almost the same in Norwegian.

It is by accident that pizza turned out to be the most convenient, handy, successful, and universal dish of our time for Norwegians. As we mentioned in a different article, the world’s population owes the global distribution of pizza not so much to Italy, where pizza was just a cheap regional dish, but to Italian immigrants in the United States, who opened massive numbers of pizzerias at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century [Livanova, 2010, p. 563]. One of the American Italians, Frank Pepe, together with his wife Filomena, opened a similar pizzeria in 1925. One of the employees at this pizzeria was a man named Louis Jordan, who after a while moved to Norway together with his wife Anna, whose ancestors immigrated to the USA from Norway. In May 1970 he opened a pizzeria in Oslo and called it *Peppes Pizza*. This inexpensive establishment quickly gained popularity and expanded its geography, becoming the most popular pizza chain in Norway with more than 70 restaurants today [Gordon, 2018].

Half of the pizza imported to Norway does not come from Italy, as one might suppose, but from Germany, although Italy accounts for 35 % of import; the rest comes mainly from Denmark and Sweden [Dypvik, 2019].

Peppes’ ready-to-eat, freshly baked pizzas are still popular today. When skier Hans Christer Holund, who won the gold medal at the

Seefeld World Championship, came home, he was greeted with pizza by his sister at Oslo airport. She was actually going to invite him home for pizza, but the plane was late, and so that her brother could eat in the car on the way home, she bought a ready-made pizza, hoping that she remembered his favorite brand correctly. The accompanying photo shows it was “Peppes Real American Pizza” [Lote, Sandtholt, 2019].

It was in the seventies, when masses of people gushed from villages to cities, and women joined the ranks of hired workers, that there was an acute need for a change in culinary habits, for a universal dish that could be stored at home in widespread refrigerators and quickly prepared for serving on the table.

In a study of the eating habits of modern Norwegians, the following statement describes an opinion of a commoner (*folk flest*): “We are, perhaps, very traditional in our choice of dishes. This is ordinary Norwegian food: meatballs, fish cakes and fish casserole, and on Fridays we eat spaghetti and on Saturdays we eat pizza” [Bahr Bugge, 2008, s. 16]. In another publication, the journalist asked a forty-eight-year-old mother and her two daughters, “What is home sweet home to you?” and got the following answer: “A cozy evening on the couch in front of the TV, with pizza and stearin candles” [Åmotsbakken, 2019, s. 11]. Having entered Norwegian life as a Saturday treat, pizza has spread to the rest of the week.

In 1974, the food concern Nora began working on pizza recipes. When in 1979, things went badly at one of the factories of the concern, in the village of Stranda in the west of the country, the director of the factory received a call from the management and was offered to try to produce frozen pizza. The director, Ivar Moss, agreed without hesitation. However, after finishing the conversation, he allegedly turned to his wife and asked: “Listen, Oddbjørg, what the hell is this pizza?” [Øyehaug, 2004, s. 20]

Before that, both Findus and Frionor had already been producing frozen pizzas. But the head of the freezer department at Nora, Arnold Harang, managed to come up with a good name that both evoked associations with the size of the pizza, which was supposed to be enough for several people: *grand* — and reminded of its Italian roots — the Italian suffix *-osa*. In just three years, *Grandiosa* surpassed all competitors [Øyehaug, 2004, s. 20]. By the end of the nineties, *Grandiosa* had established itself as an outstanding item in the history of the Norwegian food



Fig. 2. Advertising in an illustrated supplement to the largest Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*. October, 2019

alone indicate how important this dish is in the daily life of Norwegians. Advertisements for *Grandiosa* are published by leading national newspapers in Norway (Fig. 2).

So, pizza “Grandiosa” has not only become a symbol of globalization. It has served as a conduit for globalization in Norwegian cuisine.

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industry and remains the favorite brand of Norwegians to this day, with more than 9 million pizzas sold annually.

The song dedicated to *Saturday Grandiosa* from the commercial “Respect for Grandiosa” (is available on YouTube [Grandiosa reklame, 2012]) held the first place on the music chart of the newspaper *Verdens Gang* for 8 weeks, and did not leave the first 20 places for 14 weeks [Grandiosa.no].

During a transport strike that lasted for five weeks in 2005, an exception was made for some essential food products. Many Norwegians remember pizza “Grandiosa” being among these. Although the food concern’s referral service does not confirm this, such testimonies

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#### **ПИЦЦА «ГРАНДИОЗА» И НОРВЕЖСКИЕ КУЛИНАРНЫЕ ТРАДИЦИИ**

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Когда речь заходит о пагубном влиянии глобализации на норвежские традиционные ценности, нередко приводят в пример феномен пиццы «Грандиоза». Ей уступил место не только повседневный ассортимент блюд, но даже рождественские угощения. Большой интерес к этому явлению проявляют культурологи; к нему обращаются и в норвежской художественной литературе, в основном характеризуя как нечто вульгарное. Изменения во вкусах норвежцев, произошедшие с появлением этой пиццы, называют «революцией в пищевых привычках». Исследователи считают невозможным найти рациональное объяснение этому явлению. Однако традиционная норвежская кухня довольно аскетична, предпочтение в ней отдается универсальным блюдам, что легко объясняется сложными природными условиями. В наше время дефицит времени диктует дополнительную потребность в универсальных блюдах, сочетающих в себе компоненты первого и второго, а также гарнира, и не требующих длительного приготовления. Замороженная пицца подходит для этого идеально. Вслед за ней на норвежском столе появились кебабы, тапас и тако. Пицца первой возвестила о начале эры глобализации продуктов питания и послужила проводником этого явления в норвежской кухне.

**Ключевые слова:** норвежская кухня, кулинарные традиции, универсальные блюда, пицца, глобализация.



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## THE SWEDISH PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF KRAKOW IN 1655\*

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In this article we present an unknown map of Krakow and its surroundings with an attached description in Swedish, which is stored in the Riksarkivet, the National Archives of Sweden (Stockholm). We are scrutinizing the circumstances in which this work came into being, which indicates that the source was created between 1 and 7 October 1655, making it the oldest known map with an attached legend presenting not only Krakow, but also the adjacent towns of Kleparz and Kazimierz and the suburb of Stradom. This document was attached to an unpreserved letter that was probably sent to the Scandinavian Peninsula. We present this relic as an attempt to depict war events in an epistolographic message through a two-dimensional representation of space with a legend. We place this against the broader background of changes in worldviews at that time, shaped by increasingly popular atlases and printed maps. This work had no tactical significance, nor was it used in propaganda of the Swedish Empire. Its main purpose was to document epoch-making events. The map and legend were to complement the epistolographic message, common in correspondence of the diplomatic and military elites of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The author must have been an educated person with considerable spatial imagination. This person's intellectual horizons are evidenced by, among others, knowledge of the chorography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

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by Szymon Starowolski (Kolonja 1632 and Gdańsk 1652). The map was presumably made by Matthias Palbitzki, a diplomat and art connoisseur.

**Keywords:** legend (cartography), critical cartography, epistolography, the Second Northern War, the Swedes in Poland, Krakow, documentation of wars of the early modern period, chorography.

The Riksarkivet (National Archives of Sweden) holds a visually inconspicuous sketch map accompanied by an extensive legend in Swedish (see Appendix)<sup>1</sup>. This document has not been analyzed so far; moreover, it was not even catalogued by the excellent cartographic researcher Ulla Ehrensverd [Cartographica, 2008]. In this article, we intend to provide a description of this plan, which features the siege of Krakow by the Swedish army in 1655. As we will prove, this is the oldest known map depicting the city with the directly adjoining towns of Kleparz and Kazimierz and the suburb of Stradom<sup>2</sup>. The paper deals with the circumstances of the completion of this work (Fig. 1) and analyzes the legend written in Swedish (Fig. 2). We describe this relic as an attempt to illustrate war events in epistolographic messages by means of a two-dimensional representation of space supplemented by a legend. We place this attempt against the broader background of the changes in worldviews at that time, shaped by increasingly popular atlases and printed maps [Harley, Zandvliet, 1992; Koeman et al., 2007].

The siege of Krakow is well described in both Polish and Swedish literature. In particular, works by Tadeusz Nowak [Nowak, 1963; 1973], Adam Kersten [Kersten, 2006], and more recently by Mirosław Nagielski and his team [Nagielski et al., 2015, s. 325–373]. The findings of Swedish historians were summarized by Peter Englund [Englund, 2000, s. 243–283] in a well-documented and comprehensive monograph. We also have a view and plan of besieged Krakow made in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century by Erik Jönsson Dahlbergh (Fig. 3). These drawings are certainly an important source, although Dahlbergh did not witness

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<sup>1</sup> Riksarkivet Stockholm, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriska samlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavs krig. Polska kriget 1655–1660), ~ Kartor, no. 4:1.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest known plan of Krakow was made in 1594 by a Jesuit, Gracias Alabiano. It depicted the city within its walls, as well the road leading to the Wawel Royal Castle and to the Vistula River through the so-called Old Vistula via Stradom. However, no other facilities survived for another 60 years [Bartoszewicz, Bartoszewicz, 2013, s. 237]. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, FOL-HD-4 (12).

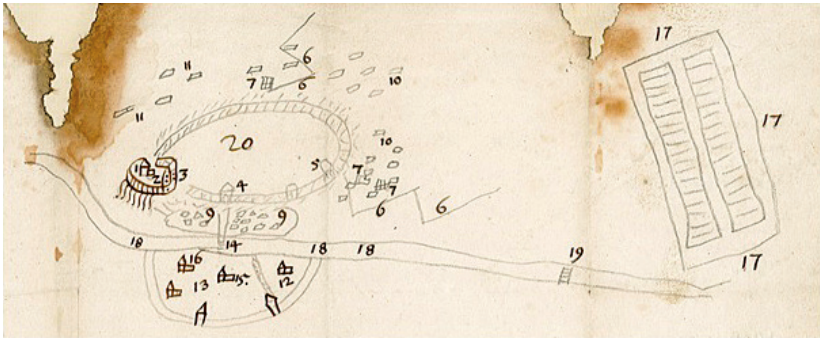


Fig. 1. Plan of the Krakow area (Kazimierz, 1655), Riksarkivet, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriska samlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavs krig. Polskakriget 1655–1660), ~ Kartor, no. 4:1 (public domain)

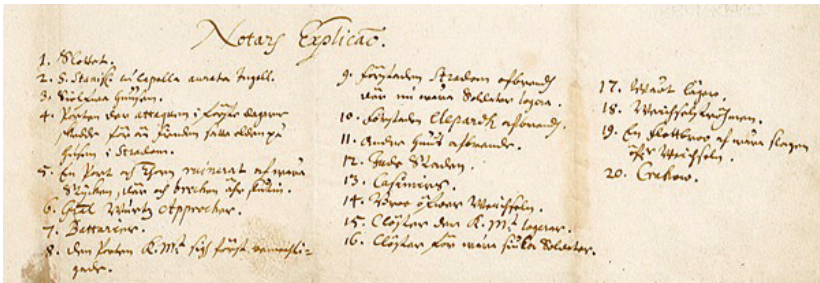


Fig. 2. Legend attached to a plan of the Krakow area dating from 1655, Riksarkivet, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriskasamlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavskrig. Polskakriget 1655–1660), ~ Kartor, no. 4:1 (public domain)

the siege (he did not join the army until 1656, just before the Battle of Warsaw) and made the drawings using various accounts, descriptive and iconographic alike [Dahlbergh, 1912; Stade, 1967, s. 143–217; Cederlöf, 1973]. In this paper we pose the question of correlations of the completed plan (Fig. 1) with a drawing depicting the same siege published in 1696 (Fig. 3).

Already by August 1655, the Swedish progress alarmed the Krakow authorities, who started the first preparations for the expected incursion. Soldiers were recruited, the walls were repaired, and on 9 (19) Sep-



Fig. 3. Erik Dahlbergh, *Cracovia Sedes Regia. Obsessa et a Serenissimo Sueo Gothorum Rege. Carolo Gustavo deditione Capta d. 8 Octob. 1655*, *Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich*, vol. 5, no. 1: Kraków, ed. by Z. Noga, Krakow, 2007, p. 40, plan 1.3

tember<sup>3</sup>, Jan Kazimierz himself arrived in Krakow at the head of the troops defeated at Żarnów, consisting of regular soldiers recruited for the conflict and the Polish levée en masse (*pospolite ruszenie*). It turned out, however, that neither the demoralized gentry troops nor the king, heartbroken by failures, would stay in Krakow. The ruler left the city on 14 (24) September, which further weakened the defenders, who numbered about 2,200 soldiers under the command of the castellan of Kiev, Stefan Czarniecki. He had equally many townspeople and students, and about 160 cannons at his disposal.

<sup>3</sup> Dual dating is provided in the calendar, according to the Julian calendar used in Sweden, and in the brackets the Gregorian calendar used in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The Swedish army reached the borders of the city on Saturday, 15 (25) September 1655. Completely surprised by the unexpected arrival, the Crown Army left the three military camps located near Krakow in a panic. They set the camps on fire, along with the town of Kleparz, and fled to the other side of the Vistula. On 16 (26) September, troops under Charles X Gustav occupied the fortified town of Kazimierz, the bridge, and the suburb of Stradom without encountering much resistance. The attempt to continue the incursion and capture Krakow itself failed. Fighting continued for some time in the suburb of Stradom. The Bernardine Monastery and Church located there became an important point from where the attackers started to fire at the Wawel Royal Castle. They even broke into the Grodzka Gate in Krakow, yet the defenders' counterattack derailed the possibility of immediately capturing the city [Pufendorf, 2013, s. 70–71; Gordon, 2005, s. 44–45, 47–48; Kochowski, 1966, s. 48–74; Isacson, 2004, s. 52, 54; Kersten, 2006, s. 262–263].

In the following days the Swedish king decided to begin a regular siege. This is when a military camp was established, visible on the plan as a long rectangle to the east, stretching from Dąbie to the urban manor houses. Approximately 13,000 to 14,000 Swedish soldiers settled there. Siege trenches (*aprosz*) were dug, shown on the plan in the form of zig-zags. Batteries were set up to fire at the city. During Charles X Gustav's brief absence, lasting from 20 (30) September to 26 September (5 October), a pontoon bridge, also shown on the plan, was built (Fig. 2).

At that time, Charles X Gustav and his subordinate troops, numbering 5,000 soldiers, encountered the quarter army (*armia kwarciana*) commanded by Hetman Stanisław Lanckoroński. The success of the Swedes in the battle of Wojnicz on 24 September (3 October) 1655 destroyed the besieged city's hopes for relief [Krawczuk, Miodunka, Nabiałek, 2009, s. 275–283]. On 27 September (6 October), after the king's return to Kazimierz, surrender negotiations began, ending on 7 (17) October with the signing of the relevant document [Gordon, 2005, s. 49–51; Kersten, 2006, s. 263–272].

Based on the description and after confronting it with the events of the siege, it is undeniable that the plan was made during the siege, but before the surrender of the city. We can see that the king *lives* in the monastery, and the Swedish soldiers *are quartered* in Stradom; hence, the author uses the present tense. The places of the first attack are indicated, while the area of Krakow itself is empty, which means that the city had not yet been con-

quered. There is no mention of the surrender, which took place on 9 (19) October; St Florian's Gate, through which Stefan Czarniecki marched out of the city at the head of 1,800 soldiers, is not marked, either. The commander-in-chief of the defence was then received in the camp, and a feast was prepared for him, which cannot be seen on the plan. In our opinion, all of this suggests that this drawing was made between 1 (11) and 7 (17) October 1655. This is confirmed by point 9 of the legend, where it is noted that Stradom was burned down but manned by Swedish soldiers. This is a reference to the capture of the suburb by the regiment of Imperial Field Marshal Philip Florinus of Pfalz-Sulzbach, and then Czarniecki's successful counterattack on 30 September and 1 October (9 and 10 October), who first set fire to the suburb and then seized the Bernardine Monastery, which was recaptured after three days [Gordon, 2005, s. 48; Kochowski, 1966, s. 59–62; Kersten, 2006, s. 262–264]. Additionally, a large pontoon bridge, 36 meters long, which was begun on the last day of September, was marked at point 19 [Nowak, 1963, s. 82].

After creating the sketch map, its author attached it to the correspondence. This is evidenced by the marks from folding the card three times, which was a standard action when preparing a letter for mailing. The card measures 21 × 31.5 cm and is badly damaged. There is significant loss and discolouration on two folds, which fortunately do not detract from the legibility of the plan. The drawing was made with a pencil on an area of 11 × 23.5 cm. At the second stage the author marked the most important objects in ink with a pen, added points and noted a legend describing the details of the siege. At this stage, four schematic drawings of the buildings were made, and the Wawel Castle complex was treated with greater care. Regarding the suburb Kraków — Kazmierz — Kleparz — Stradom, the map has a north-western orientation. The scale can be measured only on the basis of several points located at Wawel, Kazimierz and the gates of the city of Krakow. It is approximately 1 : 20,000.

Undoubtedly, the published plan was not completed by a military engineer<sup>4</sup>. It is too cursory, lacking details important for planning a siege. It

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<sup>4</sup> During the Second Northern War (1655–1660), the Swedish army was superbly prepared in terms of the number of engineers and military cartographers. The general staff consisted of a quartermaster general, a lieutenant quartermaster general, and four military engineers. Additionally, a regimental quartermaster had to be in every regiment; the same standards applied to artillery, where the staff also included a quartermaster. These officers were tasked with laying out the marching routes, building bridg-

lacks a scale, and a compass was not even used when it was made (it has no compass rose). In addition, the shape of the city is schematic and does not correspond to reality (in the opinion of contemporaries, it was compared to a lute [Kochowski, 1966, s. 57]). The river layout is erroneous and simplified; a spatial disruption of the suburbs is also discernible (see Fig. 1, 3). Both the inscriptions in Swedish and their content indicate that their author was a subject of Charles X Gustav. The plan was shown from the perspective of the besieging army. Thus, the town of Kazimierz was accurately depicted, with two key buildings included: the monastery where the king lived and another building converted into a military lazaret (points 12–13, 15–16). The image of the Wawel Royal Castle, attacked and observed in the first phase of the incursion, is also clearly discernible. The description even includes the Royal Archcathedral Basilica of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus on the Wawel Hill (point 2), by which the Sigismund's Chapel was added, and whose gilded scales fired the imagination of the besiegers (and, of course, could not be seen from the besiegers' perspective)<sup>5</sup>. Siege trenches and batteries in the area of St Nicolas' Gate and St Florian's Gate were surrendered (points 6–7). Separate enclaves (*jurydyka*) and the town of Kleparz burnt down by the Polish army itself were highlighted (points 10–11).

The credibility of the plan deserves to be stressed. Indeed, the stationing location of Charles X Gustav is confirmed. An eyewitness to the events, the priest Stefan Ranotowicz (also canon at the Corpus Christi monastery in Kazimierz) left behind a description of the Swedish invasion, including information on the siege from late September until mid-October 1655 [Ranotowicz, 1958, s. 14–16]. Kazimierz had been occupied by the Swedes from the very beginning of their invasion. In his notes, the canon stated: *on the third day the Swedish king himself arrived with his court and appeared in the (Corpus Christi) monastery*. The monastery became the Swedish headquarters for several weeks until the end of October 1655<sup>6</sup>. Other elements shown are also confirmed in the sources.

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es, establishing camps, supplying provisions, conducting siege work and constructing fortifications [Tersmeden, 1973, p. 126, 130, 134].

<sup>5</sup> The Royal Chapel (also known as Sigismund's Chapel or Zygmunt Chapel) was erected in the years 1517–1533 as the burial mausoleum of Zygmunt I, and later of his entire family (Zygmunt II August, Anna Jagiellonka). It was designed by Bartholomeo Berrecci from Florence [Marczak, Sarzyński, 2005].

<sup>6</sup> Until the end of October 1655 the royal documents are dated from Krakow, then in November from Iłża and other places. Riksarkivet Stockholm, Riksregistraturet vol. 302, k. 224; Riksarkivet Stockholm, Riksregistraturet vol. 303, k. 2228 v.



What is unique is the way in which the space is presented, dominated by the military camp on the right-hand side of the drawing and the Wawel Royal Castle on the left. Detailed points serve to accentuate the path from the author's place of residence (the camp) to the point where he watched the royal castle (Kazimierz). It is a land route, hence first the pontoon bridge over the Vistula River and then two town gates of Kazimierz are marked. Admittedly, another bridge leading across the Old Vistula to Stradom and the suburb itself is marked, but no other structures can be seen. Besides, the place was dilapidated and too dangerous to watch Krakow from there. The author observed Wawel from Kazimierz and certainly visited two facilities there: the royal quarters and the military hospital (points 15–16). In addition, the author made a "trip" to the north of Krakow's walls, where he observed the already mentioned siege works and the charred rubble of old buildings.

It is worth emphasizing that Patryk Gordon, who describes the siege of Krakow, underlines almost all the elements accentuated on the map. He writes about Kleparz, the burning of which he considers an act of madness, highlights the fortified Kazimierz and a separate Jewish settlement located there, and focuses on the suburb of Stradom. He emphasizes the necessity of moving across the Vistula through bridges and fords, describes the so-called Old Vistula, the former mainstream of the river, and writes about the camp. As a horse rider, he only omits the issues of fortification activities and fails to emphasize the two locations in Kazimierz, even though he was stationed in this town [Gordon, 2005, s. 45–49].

There is one more, extremely suggestive account of the siege of Krakow. The participant of this event was Matthias Palbitzki (1623–1677), a naturalized Swedish nobleman, who came from Pomerania (Słupsk, in German Stolp). After a brief episode of Swedish military service (1642–1643), he travelled across western and southern Europe and the lands of the Ottoman Porte between 1644 and 1648. After returning to Stockholm he led diplomatic missions in Venice, Tuscany, Spain, France, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Germany (Altes Reich), and the Netherlands. He was both an art lover and an art agent [Nisser, 1934; Backhaus, 1992–1994].

We do not know much about what he was doing in the last quarter of 1655, but his surviving notebook with drawings shows that he was with the Swedish army (but not on military duty) in the Commonwealth. He made two drawings near Krakow. The first one shows Wawel, Stradom,

and the clearly accentuated city gate from the perspective of the Augustinian monastery in Kazimierz. The walls of those structures were at the same time a fragment of the city's defensive walls (Fig. 1, points 3, 9, 4, and 16). The second drawing also depicts the castle of Krakow, but it shows the south-western side; the author must have left the walls of Kazimierz. For each drawing he writes the relevant information in Latin, each time emphasizing the risk of life involved in making these sketches. Particularly interesting is the first annotation, in which he mentions that the drawing is "a view of the castle and the city of Krakow made by me, M. Palbitzki, during the siege from the window of the monastery located directly opposite the Augustinian church, when, spotted from the Wawel castle by the enemy, I almost got hit by a bullet from a war machine, and avoided danger only thanks to a monk's warning" [Muczkowski, 1932; Banach, 1983, s. 86–87]<sup>7</sup>.

The coincidence of the recorded locations and the interest in Wawel in both cases may be accidental, especially that the sources contain descriptions in different languages (Latin and Swedish). Nevertheless, Palbitzki appears to be one of the possible authors, all the more so as he had an excellent command of written Swedish, as evidenced in numerous letters and diplomatic reports.

It is indisputable that the author of the map we have published created it on his own, based on his reconnaissance of the area. This is proven by the cartographic awkwardness, as the author could not have used plans previously prepared by Swedish engineers. Such plans had already been made on 16 (26) September, when Charles X Gustav made a reconnaissance of the fortifications [Gordon, 2005, s. 47]. The effects of these measurements were used in the drawing created by Erik Dahlbergh and titled "Cracovia Sedes Regia. Obsessa et a Serenissimo Sueo. Gothorum Rege. Carolo Gustavo deditione Capta d. 8 Octob. 1655" (Fig. 3) [Petrus, 2012, s. 141–143]. The artist is famous for using any sources available to him in his works, which allowed him to make attractive images, even of places that he had never observed [Łopatecki, 2017]. This author also created a second drawing of Krakow depicting a *veduta* of the city with the marked key urban buildings and an extremely precise spatial layout

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<sup>7</sup> "Prospectus arcis et civitatis Cracoviensis delineatus a me M. Palbitzki tempore obsidionis, et ex fenestra monasterii e regione Augustianorum, cum ab hoste ex arce vistus ictu tormenti peterer vixque monitu monachii periculum evaderem" [Muczkowski, 1932, s. 157; Banach, 1983, s. 215].

of the Swedish military camp [Komorowski, 2019, p. 136, 154, 158–159; Ziemierski, 2004]<sup>8</sup>.

A comparison of Dahlbergh's work with the published map leads to the conclusion that they are completely different. An archetype common to both plans (Fig. 1, 3) could not exist, and there is no indication that a Swedish engineer might have made any use of the plan stored in the royal archives. If at least one of these hypotheses were true, one of Dahlbergh's two drawings would have contained the information noted in the plan legend. Undoubtedly, he would have noted the whereabouts of Charles X Gustav; the first incursion and the capture of the gate would have been marked, too. After all, the printed plan shows only one place where the siege trenches were dug, while, according to the published drawing, the fortification yards were located on two sides of Krakow (from the west and from the north).

If we reject the hypothesis about the military significance of this plan and its use for propaganda purposes, only the informational purpose is left. The witness to the siege visualized the space to clarify the narrative related to the siege of the city. Why did the author consider documenting this information worthwhile? Likely this was because of the significance of the event. When Charles X Gustav and the Swedish soldiers crossed the borders of Poland in July and August 1655, they certainly did not expect that in the second half of September they would reach Krakow, which was almost 470 km away to the south-east. Krakow was the most recognized city by foreigners in the entire Commonwealth, as evidenced by existing chorographies. It was emphasized in the chorographies that Krakow was the country's capital. It was to be a rich place, comparable to the most famous German and Italian cities. Suburbia were accentu-

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<sup>8</sup> The work has an almost identical title as its predecessor: "Cracovia Sedes Regia obseſa et a Sereniſſimo Sueo: Gothorum Rege Carolo Gustavo deditionecapta d: 8 Octob. Anno 1655". Based on an analysis of this source, it is clear that Dahlbergh had at least a plan including a layout of Charles X Gustav's troops near the city. Already Jerzy Banach [1983, 113, 115] pointed out that the panorama of Krakow is presented in a mirror image, probably being a copy of the work by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg entitled *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. This was because Dahlbergh had no view of the city from the east (the Swedes were attacking from that side). The establishment of the camp and camp life, on the other hand, is brilliantly portrayed. It was possible thanks to the use of the so-called *ordre de bataile*, the layout plan of the troops near Krakow, part of Dahlbergh's legacy. Riksarkivet Stockholm, Erik Dahlbergssamling, arkicnummer 720269, omslagsnummer 45, bladnummer 1.

ated in the chorographies. Suburbia were other towns near the capital, such as Kazimierz, Kleparz and the settlement of Stradom; the role of the university existing there was stressed [Kromer, 1578, p.47–49; Vigèner, 1573, p.IX–XV; Starovolski, 1652, p.44–59]. A hypothesis might even be put forward that the author of the plan was familiar with the chorography of Szymon Starowolski, who, when describing Wawel, stressed the Royal Archcathedral Basilica of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus with the tomb covered with a golden dome [Starovolski, 1652, p.45–46]. The coincidence of terms and certain abbreviations of thought contained in both texts (see Annex, point 2) make this assumption plausible. It should be stressed that the coronation ceremonies of the kings were also connected with Krakow, and it was there that the symbols of regal authority were kept, and subsequent rulers were inaugurated into office; Wawel was also the place of the rulers' burial [Ochman, 1983; Bues, 2004].

The second element was no less important for the author and concerned documenting warfare. This type of activity was extremely popular in the era, as Helmer Helmers [Helmers, 2016, p.358–363] emphasizes. He stresses that drawings combined with situational descriptions of military actions enabled the European public to observe wars on a regular basis. This points to the combination of cartography and description, increasingly popular in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which together was supposed to visualize the presented events. It should also be added that not only were printed drawings used, but it was not uncommon for the correspondence to include copied or hand-made diagrams and plans.

Such cases in Central and Eastern Europe are not unique. Two cartographic sources attached to the letters are known from the military operations of Stefan Batory (king of the Commonwealth in 1576–1586) against Gdańsk. It is known that a map of the Gdańsk area, the mouth of the Vistula River, including the Lighthouse fortress, was made (or rather copied) by the ambassadors of the Elector of Saxony, Augustus Wettin. Unfortunately, the work by Abraham von Bock and Andreas Pauli has not survived. The map prepared on 17 September 1577 by Ferdinand von Schönaich was more fortunate. It presents an isometric view of Gdańsk and the Lighthouse, the military camps and field armies against the background of the river network in the Vistula delta [Behring, 1903, s.104–115; Korzon, 1912, p. 20].

A similar situation occurred in 1615 during the Russo-Swedish War (1610–1617). For example, the future bishop at Västerås, Johannes Rud-

beckius, included a map of the surrounding area with a detailed legend in a letter to a professor of logic at Uppsala University that described the siege of Pskov also [Hallenberg, 1794, p. 1005–1011]. A year later, in two letters, the Lithuanian military commander Aleksander Gosiewski, writing to his superior, Field Hetman Krzysztof Radziwiłł and to the royal court of Zygmunt III, noted that he had attached to his correspondence a map showing the location of Russian and Lithuanian camps and blockhouses around Smoleńsk<sup>9</sup>. Maps were also included in the correspondence by people travelling across Europe. A good example is the Polish nobleman Krzysztof Arciszewski, who, while in the Netherlands, used to send letters to Krzysztof Radziwiłł containing plans for the siege of Breda and maps with the location of the Spanish and Dutch camps. The plans and maps detailed his descriptions of the next stages of warfare [Łopatecki, 2019]<sup>10</sup>.

Examples could be multiplied — they testify to the increasing interest in the new form of depicting space, which partly replaces, or rather complements elaborate descriptions. Unfortunately, in the vast majority of cases, the sketches, plans, and maps attached to the correspondence did not survive. The relic published in this article is unique in this respect. Its author shows his stay near the exotic city of Krakow. He presents not only warfare, but also documents his presence at Wawel and the golden dome of the basilica there.

In order to obtain more information about the analyzed work we conducted an analysis concerning the origin of this plan. There is probably a contemporary inscription on the reverse: “d. 7 decemb: Å 1655”. This does not indicate the date of posting; it is rather an annotation by the recipient of the date on which the package was received (it was almost certainly a Julian calendar date). Thus, the approximately 8- or 9-week delivery time indicates that the likely destination was the Scandinavian Peninsula; perhaps Stockholm<sup>11</sup>. Otherwise, the addressee would probably have used a different language, and the letter to the

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<sup>9</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, chapter V, ref. no. 4560/II, p. 20; Riksarkivet Stockholm, Skoklostersamlingen, E 8600, k. 72v. Versions of these maps were so popular that even the poet, Jan Kunowski, included one in his poetic work describing the Lithuanian-Russian battles [Łopatecki, 2018].

<sup>10</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, chapter V, ref. no. 190, p. 50, 58.

<sup>11</sup> Shipments from the United Provinces to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or to the territory of Livonia arrived even after 80–90 days, which meant an average daily letter travel time of 24 km [Łopatecki, 2019, p. 267–268].

Swedish estate located on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea would have reached its addressee faster.

Both the surviving 20<sup>th</sup>-century archival annotation on the back of the plan and the cardboard wrapper in which this relic was stored contain information that this source was removed from archival materials. The archivists' decision to separate cartographic sources from archival material and place them in new, specially created units was common throughout Europe at least until the end of the interwar period. In Riksarkivet, a unit entitled “~ Kartor” is attached to the individual groups, where all the plans and maps that were removed (inconsistently, by the way) are stored.

Theoretically, finding the document from which a map or plan was extracted into a separate unit is not a difficult task. In fact, on the wrapper and the reverse there is information about the original place of storage of the source. We followed the advice of the archivists; yet, in the indicated unit we failed to find any document that could be linked with the plan<sup>12</sup>. Searching further units within the group that dealt with the year 1655 we found the location of the original storage of the cartographic source<sup>13</sup>. The plan was part of the documentation produced by the Swedish administration concerning the siege of Poznań and Krakow. It was included in a separate fascicle entitled: *accords puncteremellan Feltmarskalken Gr. Wittenberg och åtskillige Polske Magnater wid Posens och Cracous öfvergång. in Octobri 1655* (“Points of agreement between Field Marshal Count Wittenberg and some Polish magnates at the surrender of Poznań and Krakow in October 1655”).

The first item in the fascicle was the original act of surrender, signed and sealed by Stefan Czarniecki and Arvid Wittenberg, dated Kazimierz, 7 October (according to the old style) 1655. It was followed by the clue that we were looking for, the so-called “Hänvisningsblad,” about the transfer of the plan of the siege of Krakow to another archival unit keeping cartographic sources (which was to happen in 1933). Next, there was a mandate from Charles Gustav issued from Kazimierz near Krakow on 7 (17) October 1655, addressed to the Swedish troops, in which the king

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<sup>12</sup> Riksarkivet Stockholm, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriska samlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavs krig. Polskakriget 1655–1660), M 1304.

<sup>13</sup> Riksarkivet Stockholm, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriska samlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavs krig. Polskakriget 1655–1660), M 1297. The unit does not have pagination.

informed them of the approval of the act of surrender and called for the fulfilment of its points. The fascicle also contained the concepts of this mandate, rough drafts of the act of surrender in various variants, a list of noblemen of the Krakow province signing a separate agreement with Wittenberg in two copies, safe conduct issued by Hieronim Radziejowski, instructions for colonel Hans Böddeker and many other documents not very much related to the siege of Krakow.

The problem is that the units are not paginated or stitched together, which means that any negligent user of the “Hänvisningsblad” card could reposition it elsewhere, although this was unlikely to happen within different units. There are few letters that were also tri-folded and additionally matching in date. However, none of them are matching in terms of damage or content. The most likely hypothesis is that this plan was inserted much later into the diplomatic and military documentation related to the surrender of Krakow. The addressee received the shipment with the map on 6 December 1655, and then, in circumstances that are difficult to reconstruct, the map itself (without the letter) ended up in the official Swedish state records. Therefore, it is impossible to unambiguously determine the sender and the addressee of the work.

To sum up, the author of the plan must have been an educated person with considerable spatial imagination based on frequent use of various maps and plans. This person's intellectual horizons are evidenced by the knowledge of the chorography of the Commonwealth by Szymon Starowolski. One might assume that the author of the map and the accompanying description had something to do with the operation of the military lazaret noted on the plan (Fig. 1, point 16) — perhaps a physician. This is also evidenced by the lack of engineering and cartographic fundamentals, which the officers must have mastered at least to a basic extent. On the other hand, the Augustinian monastery appears to be the place from which the most curious Swedes observed Wawel and Krakow, as shown by Matthias Palbitzki's example. This outstanding diplomat and art connoisseur may as well have been the author of this map. It is worth noting that the legend was written in Swedish, which indicates that both the sender and the addressee were Swedes, not the numerous enlisted foreigners from the German Altes Reich [Tessin, 1965].

Finally, we would like to stress that this is another example of a custom popular in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: attaching maps and plans to correspondence. This item can be treated

in terms of a contemporary postcard, in which the author symbolically showed the place where he was staying; hence, there is the background of Krakow, Kazimierz, Kleparz, Stradom and, above all, Wawel. This source, however, served primarily to provide more precise details of the described event (in this case, the siege). Creating the legend in Swedish is also an interesting solution and may be associated with the desire for a wider reception of the work<sup>14</sup>. Unfortunately, an analysis demonstrated that after the plan was included in the state documentation related to the surrender of Krakow, it was not used in any way for propaganda purposes. The research has shown that this is a reliable and at the same time the oldest surviving plan of the Krakow area, which was created between 1 and 7 October (11–17 October) 1655.

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<sup>14</sup> With a high degree of writing skills in pre-industrial Sweden and the much more common reading skills, which preceded writing skills. Unfortunately, more accurate data come from the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries [Johansson, 2009].



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### **ШВЕДСКИЙ ПЛАН ОСАДЫ КРАКОВА В 1655 ГОДУ**

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В статье представлена неизвестная карта Кракова и его окрестностей с прилагаемым описанием на шведском языке, хранящаяся в настоящее время в Национальном архиве Швеции (Riksarkivet) в Стокгольме. Анализ обстоятельств создания данного источника указывает на то, что он был создан 1–7 октября 1655 года. Таким образом, это самая древняя из известных карт с приложенной легендой, на которой изображен не только Краков, но и соседние города Клепаж, Казимеж и пригород Страдом. Этот документ был прикреплен к письму, которое не сохранилось и, как мы предполагаем, было отправлено на Скандинавский полуостров. Мы рассматриваем этот памятник картографии, как попытку изобразить военные события в эпистографическом послании посредством двумерного картирования пространства, дополненного легендой. Мы помещаем это явление на более широкий фон мировоззренческих трансформаций того времени, сформированный набирающими все большую популярность атласами и печатными картами. Эта работа не имела военно-тактического значения и не использовалась в пропаганде Шведского королевства. Основной целью ее создания было задокументировать, по мнению автора карты, события. Карта и подробная легенда должны были завершить эпистографическое сообщение, которое было явлением, встречавшимся в переписке дипломатической и военной элиты XVII века. Автор плана должен был быть образованным человеком со значительным пространственным воображением, основанным на частом использовании карт и планов. О его интеллектуальных горизонтах свидетельствуют, среди прочего, знание хорографии Речи Посполитой авторства Шимона Старовольского (Кельн 1632 г. и Гданьск 1652 г.). Мы выдвигаем гипотезу, что вероятным создателем карты был Матиас Палбицкий, дипломат и знаток искусства.

**Ключевые слова:** легенда (картография), критическая картография, эпистография, Вторая Северная война, шведы в Польше, Краков, документация войн раннего Нового времени, хорография.

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## APPENDIX

The legend can be found at the bottom of the plan. Neo-Gothic minuscule with individual words written in humanist minuscule.

Notar(um) Explica(ti)o. — [*Explanation of the notes*]

1. Slottet. — [*castle*]

Comment: *virtually the entire defensive establishment. The map shows the castle walls, which were located above the embankment by the Vistula River.*

2. S. Stanisl(ai) cu(m) Capella aurata Tegell(ata). — [*the Cathedral of Saint Stanislaus with the gold-domed chapel*]

Comment: *the author refers to the Royal Archcathedral Basilica of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus on the Wawel Hill, to which the Sigismund's Chapel was added.*

3. Sielfwa huusett. — [*the building itself*]

Comment: *this is the castle building.*

4. Porten der attaquett i förste dagarne skedde för än fienden satte elden på husen i Stradom. — [*the gate that was attacked on the first days before the enemy set fire to the houses in Stradom*]

Comment: *This is the Grodzka Gate, now non-existent, located at the exit of Grodzka Street.*

5. En Port och Thorn ruinerat af våra Stücken, där och brechen ähr skutin. — [*Gate and tower ruined by our guns and cannons; this is where a hole was shot*]

Comment: *this is the Nowa Gate and the Bakers' Tower at the end of Sienna Street.*

6. G(ene)ral Würtz Approcher. — [*General Würtz's siege trenches*]

Comment: *this refers to Paul Würtz (1612–1676), the future governor of Krakow.*

7. Battarier. — [*batteries*]

Comment: *Swedish gun and cannon batteries.*

8. den Porten K(ungliga). M(ajestät). sigh först bemechtigede. — [*the king captured this gate first*]  
 Comment: *number “8” is missing on the plan. Given the fact that the first gate captured by the Swedes in Krakow was the one recorded under no. 4, this probably refers to the first gate captured in Kazimierz (Bocheńska Gate). Two such items are noted on the plan.*
9. Förstaden Stradom afbrendh där nu ware Soldater logera. — [*the suburb of Stradom that has been burned down, where our soldiers are now quartered*]  
 Comment: *Stradom was officially a suburb of Kazimierz (from 1419).*
10. Förstaden Clepardh afbrendh. — [*the Kleparz suburb that has been burned down*]  
 Comment: *from 1366 an independent town, it did not have defensive walls.*
11. Andra huus afbrende. — [*other houses that have been burned down*]  
 Comment: *this refers to the destruction of separate enclaves located to the west of the town walls (Grabary, Biskupie).*
12. Jude Staden. — [*Jewish Town*]  
 Comment: *Jan Olbracht removed the Jews from Krakow in 1495 and moved them to the former village of Bawół. The Jewish settlement was clearly separated from Kazimierz, i.a. by a fence and a stone wall.*
13. Casimirs. — [*Kazimierz*]  
 Comment: *a town since 1335, Kazimierz had defensive walls.*
14. Broo öfwer Weichseln. — [*bridge over the Vistula River*]  
 Comment: *it was a permanent bridge with a wooden structure, called the Royal Bridge, connecting Krakow with Stradom, across the Old Vistula River.*
15. Clöster der K(ungliga). M(ajestät). logerar. — [*the monastery where the king lives*]  
 Comment: *The Monastery of the Canons Regular in Kazimierz.*

16. Clöster för våra siuka Soldater. — [*the monastery for our sick soldiers*]  
Comment: *the Augustinian monastery located in Krakow's Kazimierz with the adjoining Church of St Catherine of Alexandria and St Margaret.*
17. Wårt läger. — [*our camp*]  
Comment: *the Swedish camp.*
18. Weichselströhmen. — [*Current of the Vistula River*]  
Comment: *at the level of Krakow and Kazimierz there are two currents: the northern, so-called Old Vistula (until the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was the main branch) and the proper, southern one. At the time of the siege, the levels of the currents were low.*
19. En Flottbroo af våra slagen öfer Weichseln. — [*the pontoon bridge built by our soldiers over the Vistula River*]  
Comment: *a Swedish temporary military bridge built with connected boats or barges.*
20. Crakow. — [*Krakow*]  
Comment: *a legally separate city since 1257.*

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