WITS

WISCONSIN INTRODUCTIONS TO SCANDINAVIA

Einar Haugen

THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

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A. INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW

1. *What are the Scandinavian languages?* There are two answers to this question, one political, the other linguistic. *Politically,* any language is Scandinavian if it is natively spoken or written in one of the five Scandinavian nations: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, or Sweden. *Linguistically,* only those languages are generally called Scandinavian that constitute the northern branch of the Germanic family of languages: Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian (Bokmål and Nynorsk), and Swedish. These are also known as the *Nordic* languages, and they will be our chief topic in this essay. In a later section we shall discuss briefly the languages that are politically, but not linguistically Scandinavian: Finnish, Greenlandic, Samic (Lappish), and Romany (Gypsy), plus German in some border communities of Jutland. At present there are also considerable numbers of foreign workers in Scandinavia, some of whose languages are recognized in the school systems.

The Nordic languages that are spoken on the mainland of Scandinavia are closely related and to a large extent mutually intelligible, having not only developed from a common older language which we shall here call *Proto-Scandinavian,* but having also undergone many of the same changes. Danish is used by about 5 million speakers in Denmark, Norwegian by about 4 million in Norway, and Swedish by about 8 million in Sweden plus 350,000 in Finland, in all between 17 and 18 million people. We may call these the *central* or *mainland* languages. The other two are Faroese, used in the Faroe Islands by some 40,000 speakers, and Icelandic, used in Iceland by some 200,000 speakers. We may call these the *marginal* or *insular* languages, but historically and culturally they are very important. They are not immediately intelligible to other Scandinavians, in part because they have preserved older forms of the common mother tongue that are lost on the mainland.

Nordic languages have also been spoken outside the present political borders of Scandinavia, but are either lost or weakened. During and after the *Viking Age* (800–1050) some form of Scandinavian was spoken in parts of Russia, northern Germany, Normandy, northern England (the Dane law), the Shetlands and Orkneys, Scotland and the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, the coastal towns of Ireland, including Dublin, and on the eastern seaboard of North America (Vinland). In *modern times* Swedish was spoken in the seventeenth century colony in Delaware known as New Sweden. The two to three million Scandinavian immigrants to the United States and Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have created a considerable Scandinavian presence in these countries (see page 18).

2. *The written languages.* Any form of spoken language can be written down in alphabetic characters, but when we speak of "languages," most people think of the *official* written languages, the ones that are taught in school and used in the public printing as well as private writing. Today these are more or less strictly *standardized,* according to norms controlled by official or private authorities. We may call these *standard* languages, written norms that have developed since the invention of printing in the fifteenth century. In contrast to the enormous variations in speech these are relatively stable and unified, serving thereby in a practical way to simplify written communication and in a symbolic sense as evidence of national unity. Compared to speech they are usually conservative, preserving features that are now lost in daily communication. Once a written norm has been established and learned by the people of an entire country, there is enormous resistance to any reform that will require a change in writing habits.

Before the invention of printing there were written traditions that go back to around A.D. 200 in Scandinavia. Down to c. 800 these consist of short inscriptions on wood, bone, metal, or stone in a 24-letter alphabet known as the *older runic futhark.* The characters are called *runes,* a word meaning 'mystery, secret,' probably because only a few persons knew them. But they function in the same way as the Greek and Latin alphabets and are clearly derived from these. The language of the inscriptions seems to be fairly uniform throughout Scandinavia and is usually called *Proto-Scandinavian (urnordisk).* In the Viking Age the 24-letter futhark was simplified to 16 characters, the *younger runic futhark,* which persisted among the people in some areas down to modern times. But with the introduction of Christianity in the tenth to the eleventh century came the *Latin alphabet* and writing on parchment. Used at first for church and state documents composed in Latin, this alphabet soon spread 'to

writings in the vernacular. The earliest preserved documents in Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic are from c. 1150, in Old Swedish and Old Danish from c. 1250. There are already some noticeable differences between these traditions, and even within each of them there are local peculiarities which may or may not reflect speech differences.

With the help of the medieval and early modern documents, which gradually changed from parchment to paper and eventually from being handwritten to being printed, we can reconstruct with some assurance the older history of the Scandinavian languages. We can see how Scandinavian gradually branched off from the other Germanic languages; and as separate kingdoms were established, the royal chanceries and the monastic orders developed writing traditions, which gradually became fixed as norms that form the basis of modern standards. But for speech there is always a margin of uncertainty, especially in the earlier periods, since writing is in general a poor reflection of the spoken language.

3. *The spoken languages.* The prestige of the written languages in official usage has obscured the basic fact that speech is the actual language in which most people communicate most of the time. It is also learned first and usually from one's immediate family and neighbors, elders as well as peers. While one can modify one's spoken language or even abandon it in later life, especially if one moves to a new environment which speaks a different language, for most people it remains their real language. Since each child learns it a little differently and each generation modifies it in some ways, communities that are isolated from one another tend to split apart. The closer together they live and the more they communicate, the more likely they are to stay together linguistically.

The many geographical obstacles to travel in Scandinavia helped to isolate communities and led to the development of dialects in the original Proto-Scandinavian. If we think of dialects as spoken language forms that have developed from a common older form, known as their "ancestor," we can draw up a kind of genealogical tree for the dialects. But we must not lose sight of the fact that many if not most of the changes are due to the spread of outside influences. The linguistic innovations move from community to community and are then stopped by various barriers to communication. These barriers were not just geographical, but to a high degree social. Before national governments were established, Scandinavia was a more or less continuous area of speech variation, with innovations spreading, usually from south to north and such favorite routes of communication as the Baltic in the east, and the North Atlantic in the west. This must be the basis of the oldest cleavage in Scandinavia, between West Scandinavian, including Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic, on the one hand, and East Scandinavian, including Old Danish and Old Swedish, on the other.

When governments were established, they enforced the differences and provided centers in their capitals from which innovations were spread to the local dependent communities. The communities, too, were more isolated, each being left to develop its own dialect, one that became characteristic of the people in that community. In so far as these were populated by a settled group of farmers and fishermen, their dialects tended to be conservative, undergoing changes more gradually. We may call the rural dialects that developed in this way *primary.* But as cities grew from which the people were governed and in which trade sprang up, new, *secondary,* or urban, dialects came into being. These were the result of a leveling out or blending of the primary dialects of the speakers who constituted their population. As late as 1750 there is reason to believe that even major cities like Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Bergen had fairly uniform dialects. But within the population of the cities class distinctions arose. The upper classes, including the nobles, the government officials, the clergy and the military, as well as the wealthier merchants intermarried and came to associate only with each other. With the rise of middle and upper classes in the cities there arose a form of speech that distinguished itself from that of the working classes, a form of élite speech (which we may also call a *tertiary* dialect). Not only was this a socially more accepted form, but it also had a tendency to be more bookish, since the upper classes were the only ones that had access to higher education, in which books and the reading of books played a large role.

Today many of the attitudes based on these distinctions are changing. In the first place, rural communities are not as isolated, urban workers as well as farm youth have abundant access to education, and the upper classes have fewer privileges. In the second place, there is an emphasis on authenticity, and less willingness to change one's dialect as a precondition to (or consequence of) one's rise in the world. Local and regional dialects are acquiring a certain status, at the same time as they are becoming less marked.

4. *Which Scandinavian language should an American learn?* The answer to this will depend on one's purpose and one's sympathies. Basically, mastery of any one will give an entrée to all of them. Educated Scandinavians communicate in any one of the mainland languages without translation. Icelanders and Faroese learn Danish so they can participate in inter-Scandinavian cooperation, while Finns learn Swedish for the same purpose. We should not exaggerate the similarities, however, for each language has its own standards, and there are differences that impede mutual communication. For historical reasons that we shall discuss later, Danish and Norwegian have more vocabulary in common than do Swedish and Danish, while Swedish and Norwegian sound more alike. Danish pronunciation is felt to be difficult by Swedes and Norwegians, while Swedes and Norwegians in turn stumble on each other's vocabulary.

In selecting one or the other of these for learning, most people will be guided by one of the following motivations: (a) *Family background* and/or experience, which may involve a desire either to build on a foundation of home speech, or to communicate with relatives in the home country of one's ancestors; in short, a search for roots, (b) Desire to acquaint oneself with the *literature* of one or more Scandinavian countries. Those who are fond of the Old Icelandic sagas will want to study Old Norse, which is also valuable as an auxiliary to the study of Old English, Old High German, and Old Saxon. Knowledge of Old Norse leads directly into the study of modern Icelandic, which has a large and important literature of its own; and in some degree to the study of Faroese, where the medieval ballads are the chief attraction, though not the only one. The major countries have world famous authors of their own: Denmark Hans Christian Andersen and Søren Kierkegaard, Sweden August Strindberg and Ingmar Bergman, Norway Henrik Ibsen and Knut Hamsun. A host of new authors await the student, authors who have not won world fame, (c) *Opportunities for work and travel,* including the foreign service, American and Scandinavian business firms, and arrangements for study abroad, which in turn can lead to teaching the language(s) in this country.

(d) *Ease of learning* is hard to assess. Since most Americans find complex case and number systems difficult, Old Norse-Icelandic is probably the most difficult, with Faroese a close second. In learning all of the languages, German is a great help, since much of the vocabulary of higher learning is of German origin. But the grammar is simpler, in terms of the number of declensions and conjugations that have to be learned. Swedish and New Norwegian (= Nynorsk) are slightly more complex than Danish and Dano-Norwegian (= Bokmål). Dano-Norwegian has a more direct relation to its spelling than Danish and has been chosen as a kind of Scandinavian interlanguage for use by Scandinavian Airlines Systems. The problematic aspect of Dano-Norwegian is its high degree of orthographic variability, though the élite standard is well established.

B. COMMON CHARACTERISTICS

1. *What are the Scandinavian languages like?* Even though each one is different, all have some things in common when compared with English or German, their nearest relatives. We'll list these very briefly under the headings of: Letters, Sounds, Grammar, and Vocabulary.

2. Letters. There are more vowels and (except for Icelandic) fewer consonants than in English. You can expect to see the following extra symbols at the end of the alphabet:

æ in Danish, Norwegian, Faroese, and Icelandic; *ä* in Swedish (sounds like *a* in *can)*
ø in Danish, Faroese, and Norwegian; *ö* in Swedish and Icelandic (German *ö*, sounds like *e* in *her)*
å in Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish (sounds like *o* in *for).*

These are ordered as above (i.e., *æ,ø,å)* in Danish and Norwegian, but *å ä ö* in Swedish. In Icelandic and Faroese some vowels appear both with and without acute accents: *á a é* (only Icelandic) *e í i ó o ú u ý y.* The accents usually give the vowels a different sound, often diphthongal.

The consonants *c, q, w, x,* and *z* appear in the alphabet, but are little used, except in non-Scandinavian names (z was used in Icelandic for ts or s). In native words *c* is either *k* or *s; q* is *kv; w* is *v; x* is *ks* (except in Swedish), z is *s.* Proper names often retain these "foreign" spellings, as do some borrowed words.

Only Icelandic has retained the old runic symbol *þ* for the voiceless th-sound (as in *think)* and *ð for* voiced *th* (as in *this).* In Faroese the *ð* is either silent or else pronounced *j* or *v,* according to the nature of the next vowel.

3. *Sounds.* Norwegian and Swedish (outside of Finland) have a special musical speech tone. Tonal differences provide a means by which speakers distinguish some words that are otherwise identical. These are known as *Accent 1* (used on words that are or were monosyllabic and on some foreign words) and *Accent 2.* A native Norwegian can hear at once if you are saying *bønder* 'farmers' or *bønner* 'beans' and a native Swede if you are saying *buren* to mean 'the cage' or 'borne. ' In each pair the first word has Accent 1, the second Accent 2. The exact nature of the tones differs from dialect to dialect, but in general Accent 1 is more concentrated on the first (stressed) syllable, 2 spreads out into the next syllable as well. Non-Scandinavians find it very hard to learn to pronounce these and to know when to apply them, but fortunately they seldom make any difference in actual understanding. They are absent in Finnish Swedish, in Danish, some Norwegian, and in all Icelandic and Faroese. Danish has a glottal stop (like a gentle hiccup) in many Accent 1 words: *bønder* [bøn'a] vs. *bønner* [bøna].

Stress in native words falls on the first syllable, but in words borrowed from other languages such as French or Latin, it may be retained on a later syllable, at least in educated speech. So, for example, *nat'ten* 'the night,' *næt' terne/net' tene/nät' terna,* 'the nights,' but *natu' r* 'nature,' *natu' rlig* 'natural,' *naturalis' t* 'naturalist.'

The *vowels* originally had values like those in German and Italian today, what may be called "European" values. We cannot list the changes in the insular languages, but note the difference of the vowel system that is found in Norwegian and Swedish (where the contrast is even greater):

European	*Norwegian-Swedish*
i y u	i y u o
e ö/ø o	e ö/ø å
ä/æ a å	ä/æ a

The vowel diagram given above is only approximate, but indicates how the Scandinavian vowels have been shifted in value. The vowel that usually causes most problems for learners is *o,* which is almost like *oo* (European *u),* but not quite. In Danish the shift is mostly in the other direction: *a* has moved toward *æ* (*gade* 'street' almost like [*gæðe*]) so that *æ* and *e* have moved up closer to *i.* The native diphthongs *au, ei,* and *ey/oy/øy* are lost in Danish and Swedish, and are pronounced differently in each of the languages that retain them. Secondary diphthongs later arose in Danish and Swedish and occur in loan words.

Vowels are commonly shortened before double *consonants (kk, pp, tt* etc.), and except in Danish, the consonants are then lengthened; vowels are also short before many clusters of different consonants *(st, lm, nd,* etc.). After vowels single *p t k* in the other languages correspond to *b d g* in Danish spelling. In pronunciation these, especially the *d* and g, are usually softened or made into vowels: *mat* (Icel and Far *matur)* 'food' is Danish *mad* [mæð]. Before front vowels *(i y e ö/ø ä/æ)* and *j* there is a strong tendency in all the languages except Danish to soften the consonants *g k sk* in some way, the most extreme being Norwegian and Swedish [j ç š], e.g. in Nynorsk *gjeva,* Bokmål *gi,* Swedish *giva,* all of which have [j], i.e. English *y,* against hard *g* in Danish *give* 'give.' The sound [ç] is difficult for speakers of English, since it must be kept apart from English *sh* and *ch* (it is most like German *ch* in *ich).* In Swedish there are several varieties of [š], but one can use the English sound of *sh* and be understood. There are two kinds of *r:* the old tongue-trilled one (as in Italian) in most of Scandinavia, and the uvular one (as in French) in Denmark, southern Sweden, and the south coast and southwestern part of Norway (including the cities of Stavanger and Bergen). In Eastern Norway and most of Sweden the *r* joins with following *d l n s t* (the dentals), producing what are called "retroflex" sounds, while in the same region *l* after certain sounds is pronounced "thick," i.e. with a retroflex flap which has something in common with American *r.*

4. *Grammar.* The parts of speech known as nouns, articles, adjectives, and pronouns have in common that they may have declensions that show different forms according to gender, case, and number. Icelandic and Faroese are here of about the same complexity as German, while the mainland languages are more like English. Similarly in the verbs, Icelandic and Faroese have different conjugations with special forms for person, number, tense, and mood. Forms for person and number are lost in the mainland languages, and moods are severely reduced, but tense is clearly marked (in the two typical ways for Germanic, with "weak" and "strong" verbs).

In connection with the *nouns and articles,* the special feature of Scandinavian is that there are two kinds of definite articles: those that precede adjectives (Icelandic *hinn,* Faroese *tann,* all the rest *den* for masculine singular, nominative; with special forms for other cases and numbers) and those that are suffixed to nouns (Icelandic *-inn,* Faroese *-in,* all the rest-*en* for masculine, singular nominative): *den store* 'the big one,' but *sten-en* 'the stone.' If the two are combined into one phrase meaning 'the big stone,' the languages differ. Icelandic usually drops the adjectival article: *stóri steinninn,* Faroese, Norwegian, and Swedish keep both: *tann stóri steinurin/den store steinen/den stora stenen;* Danish drops the noun article: *den store sten.*

In the *verb system* the most striking feature is the mediopassive form, *-st* in Icelandic, Faroese, and Nynorsk, *-s* in Bokmål, Danish, and Swedish. The suffix goes back to the reflexive *sik* 'oneself,' attached to the end of the verb: Icelandic *klæðast* 'dress (oneself),' Faroese *venjast* 'get (oneself) used to,' but the meanings cover a broad spectrum. The *-s(t)* can also be *reciprocal:* Nynorsk *møtast* 'meet (one another),' Bokmål *skilles* 'part' (from one another); or *passive:* Swedish *musiken hördes* 'the music was heard,' Danish *det kan ikke sees* 'it can't be seen'; or deponent: Icelandic, Faroese and Nynorsk *minnast* 'remember,' Bokmål and Danish *minnes/mindes,* Swedish *minnas;* Bokmål and Danish *jeg synes* 'I think' (cf. Icelandic *mér finnst* 'meseems, I think,' Swedish *det tycks* 'it seems').

The *syntax* is very much as in English, except for a few special points. While the subject normally precedes the verb, it has to follow if an adverb or any other part of the predicate

is put first: Bokmål *mine venner kommer i dag* 'my friends are coming today,' but *i dag kommer mine venner* 'today my friends are coming.' This rule is just like that of German, but Scandinavian does not usually have the German order in subordinate clauses (putting the verb last). But at least the mainland languages do put the negative and some other adverbs before the verb in subordinate clauses: Bokmål *mine venner kommer ikke* 'my friends are not coming,' but *hvis mine venner ikke kommer...* 'if my friends are not coming....'

5. *Vocabulary.* There is a great cleft between the insular and the mainland languages on this point. In the mainland languages one may say that there are three layers of vocabulary: a native, a Germanized, and an international. The native vocabulary is in many cases related to well-known English and German words: *hus* 'house,' *land* 'land,' *bord* 'board, table,' *bok/bog* 'book,' *stol* 'chair' (cf. English *stool), hundrede/hundre/hundra* 'hundred,' etc. As the examples show, cognate words do not always mean exactly the same, since the meanings have diverged over time: *smør/smör* 'butter' is clearly related to English *smear, kaste/kasta* 'throw' is the same as English *cast.* Other native words are special to Scandinavian, but are usually short and easy to learn: *gris* 'pig, *'høst/höst* 'harvest, fall,' *jul* 'Christmas' (cf. English *yule), gøre/gjøre/göra* 'do, make,' *lege/leika/leke/leka* 'play' (games), etc.

Key words that express basic Scandinavian attitudes are the Danish and Norwegian *hyggelig* 'nice, cozy' and Swedish *trevlig,* with the same meaning.

The Germanized vocabulary is especially characteristic of the trades and professions: *betale/betala* 'pay,' *forslag/förslag* 'proposal,' *ind-/innstilling* Swedish *inställning* 'attitude,' *udtrykke/uttrykke/uttrycka* 'express,' *sprog/språk* 'language,' *trykke/trycka* 'print,' etc. Many expressions of intellectual and religious content came in from German: *digter/dikter/diktare* 'poet,' Bokmål *geistlig* 'clerical,' *anbefale/anbefalla* 'recommend,' *rettighed/-het/rättighet* 'right,' etc.

The international vocabulary is chiefly from Greek, Latin, and French: *telefon, radio, national/nasjonal, appell, parti, komité, isolation/isolasjon, irritabel, gynekolog, introspektion/-sjon,* etc. Today there is a considerable number of English words as well, usually spelled as in English, but sometimes adapted to native spelling norms: *weekend* (Swedish *veckoslut), teenager* (Swedish *tonåring,* Norwegian *tenåring), jazz, rock, pop, hippie, sex, sport* (also *idrœt/idrett/idrott), service,* Norwegian *røff* 'rough,' Norwegian, Swedish *tuff* 'tough,' etc. The English words generally reflect the Anglo-American world of business, sport, and leisure pursuits, including the entire entertainment industry.

Even in the mainland languages some efforts are being made to replace loanwords with native words, especially where they clash too strongly with native habits of spelling and pronunciation. So *plastics* has been made into *plast, broadcasting* in Norwegian into *kringkasting.* But Icelandic (and to some extent Faroese) has made it a principle not to accept any foreign word unless it has been reshaped to native patterns, and preferably to make a new native word. So the German loanwords listed above correspond to Icelandic *borga* 'pay,' *tillaga* 'proposal,' *viðhorf* 'attitude,' *segja* 'express,' *tungumál* 'language,' *prenta* 'print' (which is not originally native, but clearly from Low German *prenten,* going back to Latin *imprimere).*

The learner of Scandinavian therefore has a head start in his knowledge of the bread-and-butter words of English, which are often akin to those of Scandinavian, as well as in many of the international words. His chief problem will be with the German words, which entered in the late Middle-Ages for reasons we shall discuss elsewhere.

C. THE LITERARY LANGUAGES

1. *Icelandic.* Starting from the west, we shall first take up the language of Iceland, the 'classical' language of the North. Icelanders are the only Scandinavians who can still read their medieval classics, because they have retained most faithfully the grammar and vocabulary of Old Scandinavian. Icelandic has the longest unbroken tradition of writing in the native language. It began around A.D. 1100, but the earliest preserved manuscripts are from about 1150.

Old Icelandic must have been identical with Old Norwegian at the time of Icelandic settlement 870–930, and it is still difficult to find many differences in the earliest manuscripts. The period of the Icelandic republic, which lasted to 1262, was also the time when original literature flourished. Icelandic scribes committed to parchment literally hundreds of works, ranging from literature in verse and prose to history, astronomy, grammar, medicine, and theology. We need mention only the *Poetic Edda,* preserving verse about the gods and heroes of all Germanic peoples; and the *Prose Edda* of Snorri Sturluson, which expounds the metrics of the intricate poetry of the skalds, the bards of the North, and incidentally supplements the other *Edda* by telling the mythology in prose. The prose literature is cast in the form of *sagas,* tales that are partly historical, partly fictional, dealing with Scandinavian kings and Icelandic chieftains, as well as many other topics.

After the subordination of Iceland in unions with Norway from 1262 to 1380 and with Denmark from then until

1944, the production of original literature slackened, but the old manuscripts were constantly copied, and with the Reformation in the sixteenth century a new literature arose. This was strengthened by the fact that Iceland got a printed *New Testament* of its own in 1540 and the whole Bible in 1584.

Because of the Danish administration, the written language was strongly influenced by Danish, but in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries new national pride awakened, leading to a policy of deliberately eliminating as much of the foreign vocabulary as possible. It was a symbol of resistance to make Icelandic as native as possible, and the movement succeeded remarkably, not only in restoring native usages in writing, but in creating new terminology for modern concepts. When the telephone and telegraph came to Iceland, an old Icelandic word, *sími* 'rope, wire,' was resurrected to make *talsími* 'telephone' (lit. 'speak-wire') and *ritsími* 'telegraph' (lit. 'write-wire'). Today *sími* usually means 'a telephone,' and it has spawned new words like *sima* 'to telephone,' *símaskrá* 'telephone directory,' *símtal* 'telephone conversation,' etc. Some words were cut down to resemble Icelandic roots, e.g. *bill* from automobile, *berkill* from tubercle *(berklaveiki* 'tuberculosis'). The names of the sciences are translated from the Greek originals: 'geology' is called *jarðfræði,* lit. 'earth-science,' from *geo-* 'earth' and *-logia'* wisdom, science.'

One reason for the success of this policy was the retention of the old system of grammar, which it was felt might be threatened if too many foreign words were admitted. The nouns still distinguish three genders (masc, fem, neuter), each with four cases in the singular and plural (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative). For each gender there are several declensions with numerous irregularities. Articles, pronouns, and adjectives also have inflected forms and have to agree with the nouns they modify, in the same way as in German, but with different endings. Verbs have distinct suffixes for first, second, and third persons in the singular and plural, in the present and past tenses, plus a number of compound tenses (like English *have seen, had seen).* Here, too, there are different classes, or conjugations, as well as special forms for the subjunctive. While the definite articles are suffixed as in other Scandinavian languages, they are suffixed to case endings, e.g. *mann-s-in-s* 'the man's' (cf. Norwegian and Swedish *mann-en-s).* Another conservative feature is that Icelandic has not adopted an indefinite article: *bók* means 'a book' as well as 'book' (cf. Danish *en bog* 'a book').

In standardizing their spelling, the Icelanders have also been deliberately archaic. While allowing some changes from the Old Icelandic, they have maintained many unphonetic spellings in order to preserve the inner grammatical system in writing. An example is the distinction of *i* and *y: bíta* 'bite' and *býta* '(ex)change' are spelled differently but pronounced alike (with the i-sound of English *machine).* (Note that in English we don't spell *lie* 'falsehood' and the chemical *lye* alike, for a similar reason.) This orthography brings Icelandic readers closer to their old classics, but adds to the problem that children have in learning to read, or especially to write. Conspicuous in the spelling are the accents on vowels: *á é i ó ú ý* as well as the special symbols *þ (th* in *think), ð (th* in *this), æ* (like i in *high),* and *ö* (the same sound as in German, i.e., like *e* in *her).* When the accents were used in normalized Old Norse, they stood for long vowels; today they usually stand for different qualities, most often for diphthongs (*á* in Old Norse is long, like *a* in *father,* but in Icelandic it is *ou* as in *house).*

In modern times grammatical and lexical conservatism is a source of pride to Icelanders, in spite of certain inconveniences. Historical factors that account for it include the inner coherence and contact within Iceland, the isolation from overwhelming external influence, and the strength of the literary tradition. The pronunciation has changed in many ways, but its till reflects its kinship with the pronunciation of the Faroe Islands and even Western Norway, where the first settlers came from. An important change that shows in the spelling is the softening of final unstressed *t* to *ð*: ON *húsit* > Icelandic *húsið* 'the house,' *vit* 'we two' > *við* 'we,' *þit* 'you two' > *þið* 'you.' Note that the old dual forms *vit* and *þit* have changed to plurals, while the old plurals have become formal pronouns *(vér, þér).*

2. Faroese. Contrary to Icelandic, the writing tradition in the Faroes is short and meager, having begun with the notation of traditional dance ballads in the eighteenth century. The ballads are of the same type as the English and Scottish ballads (and some American ballads brought over from the British Isles) and the other Scandinavian ballads of the Middle Ages. But the Faroes are the only place where these were (and are) in use as public and private entertainment in dancing down to the present time, a chain dance without instruments, only the singing of the participants. Except for some Old Norwegian documents with Faroese features and a manuscript from 1639 (which burned in the Copenhagen fire of 1728), the first Faroese writings were three ballads recorded by J. C. Svabo about 1773. Only in the nineteenth century did a few persons begin seriously to write Faroese, and since 1948 (when the Faroese got home rule) it has been the basic language in schools and government (with Danish as a strong second language).

Svabo wrote Faroese the way he heard it, using the values of the letters as in Danish. From the purely phonetic point of view it was a good orthography: *tuj* 'time' and *meavur* 'man' give a clear idea of how these words are pronounced. But for one thing there were a number of dialects and it would be hard to decide whose sound should prevail. For another, the words so spelled looked strange to other Scandinavians. Finally, it was felt that the written language ought to reflect its history and would therefore gain greater "dignity" by being closer to Old Norse. In 1846 a literary orthography was proposed by V. U. Hammershaimb, based on Old Norse and inspired by the Icelandic revival of national tradition. With minor modifications and in spite of numerous attacks by advocates of an "easier" spelling, this has prevailed. So the two examples above are now spelled *tið* and *maður,* exactly as in Icelandic, but with very different pronunciations. The Old Norse voiced th-symbol *ð* was introduced to give visual body to the words, although the th-sound is totally gone in Faroese. The rule is that in final position and before *a* it is silent, before *u* it is pronounced [v] and before *i* [j].

The semi-Icelandic spelling has deceived some writers into thinking of Faroese as a dialect of Icelandic, but this is far from the truth. Just as it is geographically and historically intermediate between Western Norway and Iceland, so its language is in many ways intermediate. Because of the many Danish loan words in the language, it is easier for Norwegians to understand than Icelandic; offhand, it sounds like the dialects of the rural areas between Bergen and Stavanger. They have in common a tendency to diphthongize long vowels, but have gone farther than either Icelandic or West Norwegian, e.g. in making [ui] out of *i* and *j* (as in Icelandic *i* and *y* and also *í* and *ý* merged). A striking feature of the pronunciation is the hardening of intervocalic *j* and *w* to *gj* (pronounced [dj]) and *gv,* e.g. in *oyggjar* [åddjar] from ON *eyjar* 'islands' and *sjógvur* [šegvur] from ON *sjór* (by way of **sjōwur).* While Icelandic has made *g, k,* and *sk* palatal before front vowels *(gera* [gjera] 'do,' *kæri* [kjairi] 'dear,' *skera* [skjera] 'cut'), some Faroese dialects have gone a step further and affricated them, i.e. made sounds like English *j* and *ch* out of them: *gera* [djera], *kaeri* [tçeari], but *skera* [šera]. As for the voiceless *th,* this has mostly become *t* (ON *þing* > *ting* 'meeting, assembly'), but in some pronouns it has become *h* (ON *þetta* 'this' > *hetta).*

Like Icelandic, Faroese has kept a fairly elaborate system of genders and cases in the noun, but the genitive case is hardly ever used actively in speech. Instead of saying *mansinshøvd* 'the man's head,' it is usual to say *høvdið á mannimum* 'the head of (lit. 'on') the man.' An effort is being made to encourage the use of the genitive in writing. In the noun suffixes there are a good many mergers and simplifications, just as there are in the verbs. The accusative plural is now identical with the nominative: *bátar* 'boats' (where ON had *báta* for the accusative). There is very little left of the personal endings in the verbs: *kasta* 'throw' and *kastaðu* 'threw' are general plurals, where ON had separate forms for first and second persons: *-um* 'we,' *-it/-ut* 'you.' Many singular forms are similarly reduced.

Teachers and writers of Faroese make an effort to keep as many Danish words out of their writing as possible and make up new words, usually modelled on Icelandic, whenever they need them. But the influence is more pervasive and harder to eliminate than in Icelandic, so that many of the new words have remained on paper only, or not even there. The community is small, although by now there is a fair number of good authors, the best known being probably Heðin Brú (b. 1901). The internationally most recognized author, however, William Heinesen (b. 1900), writes in Danish, which is an indication of the problems of this struggling language.

3. Nynorsk *(New Norwegian).* The dynastic union between Norway and Denmark, which was not the result of conquest but of intermarriage and untimely deaths in the royal families, became in its national effects a disaster for Norway. Although in name it remained a union down to its dissolution in 1814, the "twin kingdoms" of Denmark-Norway were in fact administered from 1380 on by Danish (or Dano-German) rulers with their offices in Copenhagen, the capital of both countries. Danish replaced Norwegian in official administration after about 1450, and the writing of Old Norwegian gradually died out. When the Reformation was introduced in 1537, it was not considered necessary to translate the Bible into Norwegian, so that from this time on Norwegians learned to write Danish, while continuing to speak their rural or urban dialects as before. Although books were printed in Denmark from 1482 on, Norway did not get its first press until 1643.

The establishment of a new union with Sweden in 1814 gave Norwegians internal independence and sovereignty, which inevitably led to concern about the continued use of Danish as a written language. Contrary to Icelandic, the written tradition of Norwegian was dead, and the dialects were too varied to form the base of a new Norwegian. A completely new start was called for, while the Icelanders had only needed to carry on the old tradition, modifying and purifying their language to meet the new demands.

The man who accomplished this remarkable, and almost

unique feat in the history of languages, was a self-taught farm boy named Ivar Aasen (1813–1896). Having firsthand experience with the difficulties for Norwegian children, especially those with remote rural dialects, in learning to read and write Danish, he decided that Norway should have a language of its own that would be easy to teach. He also saw this as an important symbol of national independence, a bulwark against political dominance by Sweden and cultural dominance by Denmark. Having a genius for language and grammar, he set to work as a linguistic field worker, going from community to community to study the essentials of the grammar and vocabulary of each dialect. The result of his deliberations was not merely the first scientific description of Norwegian rural dialects, but also the development of a norm for writing that he called Norwegian *landsmål* 'language of the land.' His first grammar appeared in 1848, his first dictionary in 1850, and his first samples of writing in the new norm in 1853. But his final norm was embodied in his *Norsk Grammatik* of 1864 and *Norsk Ordbog* of 1873. In these he simply called his language "Norwegian," referring (as have his followers since) to the usual written language of Norway as "Danish."

This norm got its first official recognition in 1885, when it was voted by the parliament as having equal status with the usual written language. Schools were permitted to use it, if the local school boards approved. It spread rapidly into the schools of the mountainous midland and western regions of Norway, where the dialects were closest to the forms of the new norm. A number of writers, mostly of rural origin and from these regions, began using it in prose and poetry. Some of these were quite gifted and came to be among the most beloved of Norwegian writers. Aasen himself was no mean poet, and he was followed by great writers like Aasmund Olafson Vinje (1818–1870) and Arne Garborg (1851–1924). After the turn of the century *landsmål* writers came to constitute one of the important streams in Norwegian literature. They formed an important part of the Norwegian thrust toward final independence, which came in 1905 with the dissolution of the union with Sweden. With a vigorous and enthusiastic propaganda organization, this minority pressure group spread the use of the language to about one-third of the school children of Norway by 1942. The users of *landsmål* established their own theater in Oslo, newspapers, publishing houses, and even a system of urban cafés *(kaffistovor)* where genuine Norwegian (rural) food could be obtained. While still remaining firmly entrenched in their cultural and legal position, they have today lost much of their original impetus to win all of Norway. Urbanization, industrialization, and in general the modernization of the Danish written language into a Dano-Norwegian have left New Norwegian (now officially known as *nynorsk)* in possession of less than a fifth of the schools. But every child has to learn to read it, and for entrance to the universities students must at least have the ability to write a simple essay in it.

The norm of Aasen's *landsmål* was a kind of idealized dialect, somewhat as he imagined Norwegian would have developed if the tradition of Old Norwegian had not died out. It was to pick up where the old writing tradition left off. Inspired by the revival of Icelandic and Faroese, he produced a spelling that gave his language dignity equal to that of Danish and Swedish. Later generations have dropped some of the silent letters he put in for historical reasons, e.g. *kastade* 'threw,' *kastat* 'thrown' where most dialects say *kasta*. But others have been kept, e.g. the *d's* and *t's* in words like *tid* 'time,' *god* 'good,' *huset* 'the house,' but not in words like *ski* 'ski' (Aasen: *skid), li* 'mountain slope' *(lid), hei* 'heath' *(heid).* Some of the features that have become a firm part of Nynorsk are (Danish forms in parentheses):

(a) Diphthongs *au ei øy* for Danish *ø e ø : laus* 'loose' (*løs*), *stein* 'stone' *(sten), øyra* 'ear' *(øre);*
(b) Full vowels *a e o* for Danish *e: kastar* 'throws' *(kaster), griser* 'pigs' *(grise), visor* 'songs' *(viser);* this last has now become *viser;*
(c) Voiceless ('hard') stops for voiced, after vowels: *ape* 'ape' *(abe), ute* 'out' *(ude), kake* 'cake' *(kage);*
(d) Doubled final consonants after short vowels: *lett* 'light' *(let), takk* 'thanks' *(tak), stopp* 'stop' *(stop);*
(e) Restoration of the feminine gender of nouns: *soli,* now *sola* 'the sun' *(solen), visa* 'the song' *(viseri).*

Aasen eliminated from his dictionary and his writing as many as possible of the 'foreign' words in Danish, especially those from German, even when they had penetrated into the primary dialects. Those he could not eliminate, like *betale* 'pay,' he marked as foreign. In general he avoided words with the German prefixes *an-, be-, er-, ge-* or the suffixes *-else* and *-het.* In their place he advised using native dialect forms of Norwegian origin, e.g. *kjærleik* 'love' for *kjærlighed, storleik* 'size' for *størrelse, tenkja etter* 'think over' for *betænke,* etc. He would have wished to eliminate also, as the Icelanders did, such international words as *geologi* and *telefon,* but his followers did not accept this idea and use such words freely today.

The controversy over this new-old language has been continual and often very bitter. Nynorsk has unquestionably meant a release of latent forces in the lives of many

Norwegians, especially those from the countryside, the mountain and fjord regions. For the rest it is either an irritation or a cultural enrichment, a Norwegian with overtones of home, countryside, nature, like Robert Burns' Scots a language best suited for poetry. Recent legislation has assured it of equal treatment in the production of textbooks, and one-fourth of the time of the national broadcasting.

4. Bokmål *(Dano-Norwegian).* We use the term Dano-Norwegian here not in any derogatory sense, but to clarify its distinctness from the preceding New Norwegian. Down to nearly the end of the nineteenth century it was the only generally written language in Norway and for the most part it was spelled exactly like contemporary Danish. Even then most people simply called it "Norwegian," since it was pronounced with Norwegian sounds and included some Norwegian words and grammatical forms. But after long and vigorous agitation by the grammarian and teacher Knud Knudsen (1812–1895), with the support of writers like Bjørnson (1832–1910) and Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), the Danish spelling was altered to fit the Norwegian pronunciation. Knudsen began advocating the change in the 1840s and published an influential grammar (1856) and dictionary (1881), believing, contrary to Aasen, that a Norwegian language should be attained by gradual reforms rather than by sudden revolution.

The decision to make the break with Danish spelling did not come until just after the political break with Sweden in 1905. Then a series of reforms were adopted after vigorous parliamentary debates, the most important being those of 1907, 1917, and 1938. Each of these meant a step in the direction of Aasen's *landsmål (nynorsk),* which was also modified on the latter two occasions. Many of the reformers saw it as a goal to merge the two language forms into one, sometimes called *samnorsk* 'united Norwegian. ' The usual name of Dano-Norwegian in Norway was *riksmål,* 'language of the realm' until the government in 1929 adopted the misleading term *Bokmål* 'book language.' Its more conservative supporters insist on retaining the term *riksmål* and have set up their own private norm, while those who teach in the public schools and work in government offices are expected to follow the official norm called *bokmål.*

While *nynorsk* has no community of natural speakers, except for those who have learned it at school, *bokmål* in one form or another is close to the élite or tertiary dialect, which has a well-defined norm. The reforms mentioned above have also included a number of urban dialect elements, e.g. diphthongs, the feminine gender, past tenses in *-a,* and forms like *sju* 'seven,' *tjue* 'twenty,' *fram* 'forward' (for *syv, tyve, frem).*

The many controversies involved in the decision to adopt such forms from the 'folk language' have led to the establishment of permanent advisory language boards, from 1952–1972 the *Norsk språknemnd,* from 1972 the *Norsk språkrad* 'Norwegian Language Council.' This is a kind of language academy, in which many private organizations of language users are represented, where language problems are debated and proposals for changes are made.

As it stands, *Bokmål* is a flexible compromise between the traditional Danish forms, which are often retained (at least in speech) for more formal and elevated discourse, and the spoken Norwegian forms of informal and daily life. For example, everyone says and now writes *sak* 'case' for the Danish *sag,* but many say *sagfører* for 'attorney,' even though the spelling has now become *sakfører.* On the list of features of *nynorsk* given above, points c and d are fully accepted, e.g. *tak* 'roof' and *takk* 'thanks' for Danish *tag* and *tak.* Points a and e are partly accepted, but have different stylistic values: *sten* is used for a jewel *(edelsten),* but *stein* for a boulder; *hytta* 'the cabin' is universal, but *dronninga* 'the queen' is felt to be disrespectful (it should be *dronningeri).* But it is clear that such attitudes are changing, and eventually many of these forms, once regarded as 'vulgar,' will come to be accepted as normal. The schools are here a powerful influence, supported by the state-owned broadcasting and television.

Thanks to the interplay of these two norms—*bokmål* and *nynorsk*—which have not yet amalgamated into one, the language situation in Norway is interesting, but sometimes a little confusing. But it does not in any way interfere with oral communication, and there is greater tolerance for dialectal speech than in any other Scandinavian country. It is chiefly a problem for educators, officials, students, and writers, who bear the burden of Norway's search for linguistic identity. When older writers in Bokmål like Ibsen and Bjørnson are reprinted for modern readers, their works are edited by respelling into current orthography, much as Shakespeare is in English. But it is considered wrong to tamper with their vocabulary or grammar.

Bokmål is the language used by four-fifths of the Norwegian population in writing, though by a much smaller proportion in speaking. Because its pronunciation is similar to Swedish and its vocabulary to Danish, it forms a kind of bridge between the central Scandinavian languages.

5. *Danish.* Danish is the official written language in Denmark, and is the second language in the Faroes and Greenland. At one time it was also used in adjoining parts of Sweden (Skåne, Halland, Blekinge) and Germany (Schleswig-Holstein).

In its earliest written form (rune stones from the Viking Age, parchments from 1250) it was very close to Swedish, and we classify them together as "East Scandinavian." But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a rapid development away from Swedish which appears clearly in the manuscripts of that time. The literary language was based on the practices of the royal chancery in Copenhagen, and received a reasonably fixed form in the Bible (1550) and other writings of the Reformation period. The language developed a very extensive literature in modern times, being used by the (Norwegian-born) dramatist Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1875) in his fairy tales, Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) in his philosophical and religious writings, and many others. The eighteenth century initiated a trend toward replacing some French and German loanwords with native equivalents, e.g. *samvittighed* for 'conscience,' *indbildning* for 'imagination' (after German *Gewissen* and *Einbildung).* Firm spelling rules were adopted in 1889 and modified only slightly in 1948, when capitalization of common nouns' (a German custom) was abolished, as had long been the case in the other Scandinavian languages. At the same time the Swedish *å* was adopted for *aa,* as the Norwegians had done in 1917.

As a language Danish is characterized by its extensive reduction of word length, which often makes their endings so weak as to be inaudible to other Scandinavians. Thus for Old Norse *baka* 'bake' Danish has not only, like Bokmål, weakened the last *-a* to *-e,* but has "softened" the *k,* first to *g* (as it is written: *bage),* then to a weak back-throat scrape, and finally eliminated it altogether, so the word sounds something like [bæe] or even [bæ]. The *r* has changed from tongue-trilled to uvular, but is mostly made vocalic so that it is virtually inaudible: *far* 'go,' *fare* 'to go,' *farer* 'goes' all sound something like [faå]. A striking feature is the glottal catch in many originally monosyllabic words (like a slight hiccup): *ben* [be'n] leg, *benet* [be'neð] 'the leg.' There are long and short vowels, the latter marked by double consonants after them (when another vowel follows), but contrary to the other Scandinavian languages, the double consonants are not long. In this position the language furthermore does not distinguish between *kk* and *gg, tt* and *dd, pp* and *bb,* e.g. *lække* 'leak' and *lægge* 'lay,' *labbe* 'plod' and *lappe* 'patch.' In the short vowels the spelling is often deceptive, since e.g. *skyide* 'owe' is pronounced [skyle], but *skylle* 'rinse' is [skøle]. Standards of pronunciation vary somewhat in the provinces, but the educated standard of Copenhagen is considered the most prestigious.

The grammar keeps the basic features of the Scandinavian system, such as the suffixed definite article *(manden* 'the man,' *kvinden,* 'the woman,' *husene* 'the houses' etc.), the mediopassive suffix *-s (synges* 'is sung,' *synes* 'thinks'), and the comparison of adjectives *høj-højere-højest(e)* 'high-higher-highest.' While it distinguishes noun and adjective plurals from singular, and verb preterites from the present, it has lost inflectional suffixes except for *-s* in the genitive, and even the plural verb forms are now obsolete. Masculine and feminine gender have coalesced in a common gender: *en hane* 'a rooster,' *en høne* 'a hen.' Noun plurals are either *-e* or *-er. (huse* 'houses,' *høner* 'hens') plus a number of irregular ones.

The vocabulary is strongly influenced by German, including such subtle things as the use of *De,* originally 'they,' to mean 'you' in formal usage (like German *Sie,* from *sie* 'they'). Today the English influence is stronger. Danish is a vigorous and supple language, with a rich flora of current innovation. In some ways it is more continental than the other Scandinavian languages, which is not surprising in view of its location.

6. *Swedish.* Beside being the official language of Sweden, it is a mother tongue in parts of Finland, including the rural communities on the east coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, some of the southern and western towns, and on the semi-independent Åland islands. It is one of the official languages of Finland, and in many places one sees street signs in both Swedish and Finnish, e.g. in Helsinki (Swedish: Helsingfors) or Turku (Swedish: Åbo).

The Swedish writing tradition in the thirteenth century was close to that of Danish, and was influenced by it in the centuries when Denmark and Sweden were united. But when the Swedes revolted in 1523 and set up their own state under King Gustav Vasa, there was a strong reaction against Danish influence. With the translation of the Bible (1541) Swedish became a fully standardized national language, developing along its own lines. In 1786 the Swedish Academy was established, one of its purposes being to regulate the norms of writing. But official guide lines for the schools were not laid down until 1889, with one important reform since that time in 1906: at that time silent *f* and *h* before *v* were eliminated, making *hvad* 'what' into *vad* and words like *hafva* 'have' into *hava* (now usually *ha).* Since 1874 a staff of experts have prepared a word list of correct spellings, revised at intervals, and widely regarded as authoritative.

One aspect of the norm that was proposed by the Academy in 1801 and that has had great influence was the decision to respell foreign words of Romance or Greek/Latin origin according to the Swedish spelling: *bureau > byrå, lieutenant >löjtnant.* Even English words that have been picked up orally undergo this change: *gang > gäng* [jæng], (to) *shanghai >sjanghaja.*

The Swedish standard grew out of official practice in the capital, Stockholm, and reflects many features of the dialects spoken in the Uppland region, as well as the Gotaland region immediately to the West. There are marked differences in the regional cultivated Swedish of south Sweden (the old Danish region) and in Finland. The written language maintains a number of forms that are often omitted in speech, though there is a growing tendency to pronounce them, especially informal speech: final *-t* in the definite article *(huset* 'the house') and *-de* in the preterite of weak verbs *(kastade).* As in Norwegian, the back vowels *(a å o u)* have been shifted in their pronunciation, so that each vowel approaches the original position of the next (and *u* has moved forward to a position close to that of *y).*

The grammar has been simplified to about the same point as the other mainland languages with regard to case or personal endings. Until the mid-twentieth century the written language maintained plural verb forms, but these have now disappeared. The noun declensions are more complex than those of Danish and *bokmål,* but in turn there is no complication with feminine gender as in both kinds of Norwegian. The pronouns are similar, except in the second person plural, where Swedish has detached an old *-n* from the verb and added it to the pronoun: *kommen I > komme ni* 'are you coming.' This *ni* (acc. *er)* is also used as a semi-formal pronoun, but the really polite form of address has been the use of the third person: *Vad önskar herrn?* 'What does the gentleman (i.e. you) wish?' or even in the passive: *Vad önskas?* 'What is desired (i.e. by you)?' Nowadays there is increasing use of the informal pronoun *du* for 'you' in all situations and to all people.

Swedish has undergone a rapid change in recent years from a highly elaborate syntax, with complex, German-type sentences, toward a lively, colloquial usage in the journalistic and literary world. There are many English words in use, and the vocabulary of slang and other forms of jargon is rich and colorful. The vocabulary has a large component of German loans, e.g. *fönster* 'window' for Danish and Norwegian *vindu* (a native Scandinavian word borrowed into English), but otherwise much the same as Danish and Bokmål. New words are constantly being added, mostly from the international technical vocabulary, but also such happy solutions as *tonåring* 'teenager,' *plast* 'plastics,' *veckoslut* 'weekend' (where Bokmål and Danish mostly use *weekend).*

7. *The non-Nordic languages.* Conquest and migration have brought several populations speaking non-Nordic languages under the political *ægis* of the Scandinavian countries. We shall briefly sketch the location and status of these. Their presence has created problems of bilingualism which are just now beginning to be recognized.

(a) *Finnish* is the most important, since as mentioned earlier, it is the major language of Finland. It belongs to the family of languages known as Finno-Ugric, which includes Esthonian to the south, Samic to the north, Hungarian, and various languages in the U.S.S.R. Finnish is mutually intelligible with Estonian but not with Samic, and the relationship with the other languages is remote. The New Testament and part of the Old Testament were translated into Finnish by Mikael Agricola in 1548–52, but the language remained that of a subject population until after the annexation of Finland by Russia in 1809. Finns had then been ruled by Swedes since the twelfth century and had in many ways been assimilated to their culture. But when Sweden no longer ruled the country, the Finnish majority got its chance and developed its language to full equality with Swedish. As a Grand Duchy under Russia, Finland made rapid strides toward modernization, and a strong nationalism grew up that led forward to the liberation of 1917. The first great literary monument, and still the basis of Finnish culture, was the *Kalevala* (1835), a folk epic put together and in part created by Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884).

Finnish was deeply influenced by Swedish, but in recent years it has made rapid strides toward complete independence. The Swedish minority of 6–7% has difficulty maintaining itself, although it is culturally active and can look to nearby Sweden for support and renewal. Conversely, there is a minority of Finnish speakers who live in Tornedalen in northern Sweden, where they were cut off from the other Finns in 1809. Likewise it is estimated that there are a million Finns living in Sweden as migrant workers, many of whose children are being assimilated in spite of efforts to give them Finnish schools.

(b) *Samic (Lappish),* although spoken by a much smaller population, is not only split into various mutually non-intelligible dialects, but is divided among four nations: Norway (about 22,000), Sweden (about 10,000), Finland (about 3,000), U.S.S.R. (about 2,000). The Lapps have been driven back to the arctic and subarctic parts of Scandinavia, where their traditional occupation has become reindeer herding. But in recent years they have become increasingly sedentary,

and efforts are being made to give them a common written language, with schools in which they can get training in their native tongue. Their position in Scandinavia, as a picturesque (and neglected) minority, is not unlike that of the American Indians. They are probably the first inhabitants of these areas and may be an aboriginal European stock that has lived there for at least two thousand years. The words *same* (a Lapp) and *samisk* (Lappish, or Samic) have now been adopted both administratively and officially in Norway and Finland, and are well on the way to being adopted in Sweden also.

(c) *Greenlandic* is a form of Eskimo, which is closely related to other Eskimo languages spoken across the arctic areas of Canada and Alaska. Various Eskimo tribes had long occupied parts of Greenland before Norse occupation began in the late tenth century. Greenland fell under the rule of Denmark in the fourteenth century, when Denmark asserted dominion over the old Norwegian colonies. The Eskimos re-established themselves in the very late Middle Ages after the island was abandoned by the Norse settlers, but new Danish colonization began in 1721. Home rule was introduced in 1979, which will encourage the further expansion of education in the Greenlandic language.

(d) *Low German* is spoken in a few communities in southern Jutland, where there has been a century-long push-and-pull between German and Danish. In the border duchies of Schleswig and Holstein Danish and German rulers alternately asserted dominion, and for a long time there was a slow movement of German northwards at the expense of Danish. In 1864 Prussia and Austria conquered both duchies, but in 1918 those parts that were still predominantly Danish-speaking were returned to Denmark. There are still a few Danish parishes south of the border, since the line was a political rather than ethnic demarcation.

(e) *Romany* is the language spoken by some thousands of Gypsies who still roam, or have settled down in Scandinavia. Having come originally from northern India, the Gypsies have wandered far, while still doing their utmost to keep uncontaminated by, and resist assimilation to, their host countries. Studies show that they still have a considerable element of Indic in their language, while having picked up words along the way. One of the Indic words has even entered the slang of Norway and Sweden, a word for 'girl,' Norwegian *kjei,* Swedish *tjej.* Romany is their secret language, whose structure, however, is often that of the language of their host country.

D. A HISTORICAL SKETCH

1. *Germanic: the prehistoric era* (to about A.D. 550).Before our era began, Scandinavia had long been occupied by migratory tribes of hunters and gatherers who had followed the retreating glacier, at least since 10,000 B.C. Their skulls are silent, so we do not know what language they spoke. But it is certain that since the Neolithic Age, or from 3,000 B.C., they were speakers of Indo-European, the ancestor of most European languages and of such Asian languages as Iranian, Pashto, and Indic, including Sanskrit. From a center somewhere near the Caucasus they spread to the east and the west, and developed dialects, which in Europe included those languages and language families that came to be known as Armenian, Greek, Albanian, Italic (from which came Latin and the Romance languages), Baltic, Slavic, Celtic—and Germanic. The Germanic dialect of Indo-European developed among those who settled around the western shore of the Baltic and on the North Sea, i.e. Scandinavia and most of what is today Germany and the Netherlands.

What we know about Indo-European and Germanic is entirely based on reconstruction from the "daughter" languages, since their speakers left no written monuments. Forms that are not attested in any written texts, but are reconstructed, are usually "starred," i.e. preceded by an asterisk. Thus the words for 'man' and 'wolf,' which combine into *werewolf* in English, are assumed to be **wiros* and **wlkwos* in Indo-European, **weraz* and **wulfaz* in Germanic. From these we have Old Norse *verr* and *ulfr,* Old English *wer* and *wulf (ct.* Lat. *vir* and *lupus).* Modern Icelandic has *ver* (archaic) and *úlfur.* In mainland Scandinavian and Faroese *verr* is retained only in compounds like Faroese *vermamma, vermóðir,* Nynorsk *vermor* 'mother-in-law'; and in the words for 'world,' Swedish *värld,* Faroese *verð,* Nynorsk *verd,* Danish and Bokmål *verden* (ON *veröld,* Icelandic *veröld,* Faroese *verøld,* literally 'mankind'). But 'wolf' is *ulv* in the mainland language, *úlfur/úlvur* in the insular ones.

These words also illustrate some of the regular changes that took place in the development from Indo-European over Germanic to the modern Scandinavian languages. Initial **w* stayed **w* in Germanic and in modern English, but changed to *v* in Scandinavian (and German, where it is usually spelled *w)* except that in Scandinavian it was lost before *u* and *o* (so we have pairs like English *wool:* Scandinavian *uld/ull, word: ord, wonder: undre/undra, worm: orm, work: orke/orka).* Unstressed syllables tended to get lost. Final **s* in an unstressed syllable became **z,* which was lost in English and mainland Scandinavian,

but became *r* in Old Scandinavian. Indo-European labialized *k (*kw)* sometimes became **f* in Germanic, which remained so in English, but after vowels it was voiced to *v* in Scandinavian (in Latin it in some cases became *p,* therefore *lupus).* The words also illustrate the changes in meaning (in Iceland *ver* now means only 'husband') and the loss of words *(verr* is lost on the mainland in favor of *mand/mann/man* 'man'). On the other hand, 'wolf' has generally maintained itself, in spite of competition in some areas from *varg,* apparently a word that originally means 'criminal, accursed.'

Scandinavian shares with other Germanic languages two of the main differences from most other Indo-European languages: (1) In native words the main stress falls on the first syllable (not counting prefixes, which were generally lost in Scandinavian anyway), e.g. compare English *fatherly,* (Scandinavian *faderlig)* with the Latin-derived *paternal* (medieval Latin *paternalist.* (2) Indo-European consonants (stops like *pt k* and *b d g)* have shifted from one type of closure to another in a regular way known as the "Germanic consonant shift." By this rule Latin *pater,* 'father,' *tres* 'three,' *canis* 'dog' have kept the IE initial consonants, while English and Scandinavian have changed them to *f, th* (written *þ* in Old English and Old Norse), and *h* (as in *'hound,'* Scandinavian *hund).* In mainland Scandinavian and Faroese *th* has further changed to *t,* while Iceland has kept the *th* (written *þ*): Danish/Swedish/Norwegian *tre,* Faroese *tríggir,* Icelandic *þrír.*

2. Common Scandinavian (A.D. 550 to 1050). This was a period of great change from the Proto-Scandinavian or North Germanic that preceded it. While the earliest runic inscriptions have forms that differ very little from Proto-Germanic, they are so few that we cannot see some of the early changes that distinguished North Germanic from East and West Germanic. By A.D. 550 the loss of *w* before *u* and *o* mentioned above had certainly taken place, and we can be sure that Scandinavian was set on its course. Exactly when each of the other changes took place remains unknown, although we can set up a fairly meaningful relative chronology. One of the major changes was the loss of many unstressed vowels and a consequent shortening of the words, a process that was certainly complete by A.D. 800, the beginning of the Viking Age. Along with this went the appearance of new vowels in the stressed syllables, a process known as *Umlaut* (vowel mutation). If a back vowel *(a o u)* was followed by an unstressed front vowel *(i),* it was fronted to *æ ø y: *manniz > mænnr* 'men,' **bokiz > bøkr* 'books,' **hauzian > hœyra* 'hear.' In some dialects there was also umlaut by *u,* which rounded an unrounded vowel like *a: *barnu > bōrn* 'children' (from which we have Icelandic *börn,* Danish and Faroese *børn).*

A striking illustration is offered by the inscription on the famous second Gallehus horn, found in Denmark in 1734, one of two curved golden horns, later stolen and melted down, but not before drawings had been made of the horns and the inscription on the one. We show it first in runes, then in a transliteration into our (Latin) alphabet. Beneath this Proto-Scandinavian language (dated to about A.D. 400) we place the same words or a translation, where needed, into two Old Scandinavian dialects, Old Norse (a normalized form of Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic) and Old Swedish, and then into each of six modern norms (whose spellings are often deceptive with regard to pronunciation):

Runic	ᛗ ᚲ	ᚦ ᚱ ᛖ ᚹ ᚨ ᚷ ᚨ ᛊ ᛏ ᛁ ᛉ	ᚺ ᛟ ᛚ ᛏ ᛁ ᛃ ᚨ ᛉ	ᚺ ᛟ ᚱ ᚾ ᚨ	ᛏ ᚨ ᚹ ᛁ ᛞ ᛟ
Proto-Scan.	e k 'I	H l e w a g a s t i z *Lee-guest	h o l t i j a z *son of Holti	h o r n a (the) horn	t a w i d o made'
Old Norse	e k	*H l é g e s t r	H o l t a s o n (*H ø l t i r)	g e r ð a (*t a ð a)	h o r n (i t)
Old Swedish	i a k	*L æ g i æ s t e r	H o l t a s o n	g i o r þ e	h o r n (i t)
Icelandic	é g	*H l é g e s t u r	H o l t a s o n	g e r ð i	h o r n (i ð)
Faroese	e g	*L æ g e s t u r	H o l t a s o n	g j ø r ð i	h o r n (i ð)
Nynorsk	e g	*L e g j e s t	H o l t e s o n	g j o r d e	h o r n (e t)
Bokmål	j e g	*L e g j e s t	H o l t e s e n	g j o r d e	h o r n (e t)
Danish	j e g	*L æ g æ s t	H o l t e s e n	g j o r d e	h o r n (e t)
Swedish	j a g	*L ä g ä s t	H o l t e s o n	g j o r d e	h o r n (e t)

Here are some points of interest:

(a) The pronoun *ek* 'I' (compare German *ich,* Old English *ic)* keeps its vowel in West Scandinavian, but in the East it is 'broken' to *ia,* later *ja.* In all the later languages the *k* is 'voiced' to *g* because it is weakened in unstressed position, and then it is either lost or becomes a semivowel *j* or a spirant *g* (pronunciations: Icelandic [jeg], Faroese [ēa], Nynorsk [ē or ēg], Bokmål [jæi], Danish [jai], Swedish [jā or jāg].

(b) Final unstressed syllables shrink by loss of vowel: *-iz* > *-r, -az* > *-r, -a* > zero; if the vowel is long, it is shortened: *-ō* > *-a.*

(c) The final *-r* that marks the nominative masculine singular either develops a new vowel between itself and preceding consonant *(-e-* in Old Swedish, *-u-* in Icelandic and Faroese) or is lost (the mainland languages).

(d) Consonants like *-w-* and *-j-* disappear between vowels, taking the following vowel with them: *-wa-, -ja,- -wi-.*

(e) Three of the words have disappeared in later Scandinavian, suggesting that the inscription is very close to Germanic. *Hlewagastiz* is a compound of **hlewa* 'famous' and **gastiz* 'guest'; the first part is lost, but would have become **hlé,* later *læ/le/lä,* while the second part is a common word. The suffix *-ijaz* became *-ir,* but the usual way of indicating 'son of' became the word *son(r)* 'son'; if *holtijaz* had continued, it would have changed the *o* to *ø* (or *y*), giving **Høltir* or **Hyltir. Tawidō* 'made' must have had the infinitive **tawian,* which we find in Gothic as *taujan* 'make,' but not in later Scandinavian, where the usual word for 'make' is ON *gera,* and so we have substituted that verb.

(f) *horn* is related to Latin *cornu* 'horn' by the Germanic consonant shift (see above) of *k* > *h.* It has survived well, but in later Scandinavian it needs a definite article here, which developed during the Common Scandinavian period and was suffixed. In the neuter singular nominative it had the form *-it* and was originally a separate word meaning 'that.'

(g) The word order may be due to the poetic nature of the inscription, which is close to that of the Germanic verse line, with four beats, of which the third has to alliterate with one or both of the first two. So *horna* has to stand before the verb, an ordering which is now found only in German, in subordinate clauses. But the order may also be an old Germanic feature, which the later languages have given up. The verb normally stands before the object in Scandinavian, so we have turned the later versions around.

3. *Old Scandinavian* (1050–1350). This is the period of the first major writing traditions, the High Middle Ages, which saw the greatest expansion of the three established kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Denmark had subjugated the Dane law and for a time ruled all of England (under King Knut and Harald, his son). Norway asserted dominion over the Western Isles off Scotland, the Faroes, and after 1262 over Iceland and Greenland. Sweden (still limited by Denmark and Norway to its central region) expanded into Finland and established its rule firmly there. Writing traditions sprang up in each country, in which we can distinguish clearly the major split between West and East that developed in the previous period. We can distinguish a strong trend toward growing apart along national lines: in the West Scandinavian area small differences appear between Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, in the East Scandinavian area differences between Old Danish, Old Swedish, and Old Gotlandic (on the island of Gotland). Along with other Catholic orders a specially Scandinavian one comes into being, the Birgittine Order, after St. Birgitta of Sweden, its founder. The monks and nuns of this order wrote a kind of mixed Scandinavian, which could have become a general Scandinavian written form if the countries had united politically. Remarkably, the most important literature was written not in the central mainland countries, where the Church and the Royal Court supported one another in suppressing initiative among the common people, but in Iceland, the colony peopled mostly from Norway between 870 and 930.

While runic writing continues in inscriptions, especially by the common people, nearly all the more important sources of our knowledge of the language are on parchment and in the Latin alphabet. From this time on there is preserved a considerable variety of language, not just regional or national differences, but also different kinds of genres and styles: laws, saints' legends, sermons, deeds and property lists, medical treatises, translations (from German, French, English, and Latin), as well as extraordinarily precious remains of the partially pre-Christian literature: poetry (of the gods and heroes in the *Poetic Edda),* court verse (by the skalds, often functioning as court poets, praising the deeds of kings and earls), sagas of Germanic heroes, of Norwegian and other Scandinavian kings, of Icelandic family feuds, and a great deal more.

Important changes that appear in later Scandinavian are reflected in these manuscripts. In Old Danish and Swedish the diphthongs *au, ei,* and *ey* are monophthongized and merge, respectively, with *ø, e,* and *ø:* West Scandinavian

preserves them, e.g. *lauss* 'loose' > Danish and Swedish *løs,* ON *rauðr* 'red' > Danish/Swedish *rød/röd,* ON *steinn* 'stone' > Danish/Swedish *sten,* ON *hreinn* 'clean' > Danish/Swedish *ren,* ON *ey* 'island' > Danish/Swedish *ø/ö,* ON *leysa* 'loosen' > Danish/Swedish *løse/lösa.* At the end of the period Danish shows a number of changes that separate it from the other languages: unstressed vowels *-a, -i, -u,* as they were traditionally written (sometimes *-e* for *-i, -o* for *-u),* were merged as *-e,* as in *løse* 'loosen' above, or in *kaste* for older *kasta, viser* for *visur/visor* 'songs,' *hane* for *hani* 'rooster.' But not only were the vowels weakened, the preceding consonants were also "softened" (by changing from voiceless to voiced stops) ON *baka* > 'bake' > *bage,* ON *hlaupa* 'run' > *løbe,* ON *leita* 'seek' > *lede.* In a later stage many of them opened from stops to spirants, even if this did not show in the spelling, which was fixed in somewhat the form Danish had reached by 1300.

4. *Middle Scandinavian* (1350–1550). These two centuries were a transition between the Middle Ages and the Modern period, in which Scandinavian history is very complex. During the early years of the period the countries were peacefully united under one king, with his seat in Copenhagen, which then functioned as a kind of Scandinavian capital. This is the time of the so-called Kalmar Union, which lasted from 1397 until 1523. But rebellions soon broke out, with the Swedes seeking independence most vigorously, and succeeding by the end of the period in establishing their own powerful kingdom under Gustav Vasa.

At the beginning of the period, the Catholic church was a powerful force, while at the end it was brushed aside by the kings of both Sweden-Finland and Denmark-Norway. They established each their own Lutheran Church, so that from that time on Scandinavia was more closely allied to the Lutheran north German princes than ever. But long before this, at the end of the Old Scandinavian period, Scandinavian trade and politics were dominated by the north German cities united as the Hanseatic League.

In the newly translated printed Bible these royal state church alliances had a powerful weapon of unification. Through religious and secular authority Swedish was established as the official written language of the Swedish realm, including Finland, where most of the population did not understand the language. Danish was similarly established in Denmark, Norway, the Faroes, Iceland, and (eventually) Greenland, all of which were part of the Danish realm. The old writing traditions were now reduced to two, aside from the fact that Icelandic continued to be written in private, and Finnish was used for some religious purposes. Latin was no longer the church language, though it continued to dominate higher education for a long time as the chief international medium. The great influence of Germans in some of the Scandinavian cities and courts threatened to make German the chief language of these countries. Before Luther it was Low German, the language of the Hanseatic League; after Luther it was High German, the language of the Lutheran Bible.

During these centuries Iceland retained a continuous tradition of writing, which was respected even by the reformers who gave the country a Bible of its own. But the central Scandinavian writing norms of the new period, Danish and Swedish, were based on the official language of the capitals, Copenhagen and Stockholm. Meanwhile the people continued speaking their old dialects, now gradually changing under the impact of new conditions, and becoming more and more diverse. At least by the beginning of this period many of the present-day speech forms must have been almost fully developed.

While dialects that were remote from the centers of influence (especially in Iceland, but also in the Faroes, the inland areas of Norway and Sweden, and the island of Gotland) retained some or most of the old grammatical and lexical forms, the newly developing standard languages were greatly changed from the Common or even the Old Scandinavian. Nouns, pronouns, and adjectives had had four cases (nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative), three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter), with singular and plural, and suffixes for the definite article, which were also declined. Except in certain styles the nouns now retained only two cases (nominative and a genitive, all of whose forms were reduced to *-s),* two genders (common and neuter), but a clear distinction of singular and plural, and of definite and indefinite, all greatly simplified. The pronouns retained nominative, genitive and dative, e.g. *han* 'he,' *hans* 'his,' *ham/honom* 'him,' but the adjectives kept no case endings, only simple forms in *-t* for neuter singular, *-e/-a* for definite and plural.

This amazing simplification is interestingly and probably significantly parallel to what went on in English and in Low German in the same period. The mutual intelligibility and consequent mixture of languages in Scandinavia, as well as the presence of many German immigrants, may have helped to break down the grammatical endings and replace them with a more fixed word order. At least in the vocabulary the influence of German is overwhelmingly obvious. Great numbers of native words were displaced by German words, just as in England Anglo-Saxon words were displaced by

French after the Norman Conquest. Thousands of new words were borrowed from German, which in its Low German form was not so different from Scandinavian that they were felt as especially foreign. To this day a large part of the vocabulary of the mainland Scandinavian languages is either of German origin or is influenced by German. Polite terminology like *herre* 'gentleman, sir,' *frue* 'lady, madam,' *frøken* 'young lady, miss' are all from German. Titles like *greve* 'count,' *oberst* 'colonel,' *fenrik* 'second lieutenant,' *amtmann* 'district governor,' *borgermester* 'mayor,' and many others are German; even if they are originally from another language, like French or Latin, they have often been filtered through German, e.g. *løjtnant* (French *lieutenant,* German *Leutnant).*

In religious language *dåb/dåp/dop* 'baptism' from Low German *dop* has displaced ON *skírn* (from *skíra* 'purify'), *barmhjertighed* 'mercy' from LG *barmhertigheit* has replaced *miskunn, arbejde/arbeide/arbeta* 'work' has displaced ON *vinna* and *sýsla, begære/begjære/begära* 'desire' has taken the place of *girnast, ære/ära* 'honor' replaced or supplemented *heir,* modern *hæder/heder.* Many of the handicrafts reflect the dominance of German craftsmen: *skrædder/skredder/skräddare* 'tailor' (even Icelandic has it as *skraddari,* alongside *klæðskeri* 'clothes-cutter'), *skomager/skomaker/skomakare* 'shoemaker' (the ON was *skósmiðr* 'shoe-smith,' in Iceland still *skósmiður), jæger/jeger/jägare* 'hunter' (the ON was *veiðimaðr* 'hunter, fisherman,' Faroese and Icelandic *veiðimaður),* etc. Two observations: note that the mainland Scandinavian languages have usually borrowed the same words, while the insular ones have resisted (or eliminated) them; and note that the corresponding English words are mostly of French origin *(sir, madam, count, colonel,* etc.).

5. *Modern Scandinavian* (1550–present). This is the period when Scandinavia is gradually broken up from the one kingdom of the late Middle Ages to the five nations of today. It is also the period when each of the nations developed a school system for everyone, so that by the middle of the nineteenth century one can count on general literacy. The teaching of a standard language in each nation became not only a practical convenience, but a national symbol. Sweden expanded militarily at the expense of the Danish kingdom and became for a time (c. 1620–1720) a major European power. In the provinces taken from Denmark and Norway, the Swedish language was introduced. But in 1809 Sweden lost Finland to Russia, which laid the foundation for the rise of Finnish as a major language of Finland, especially after liberation in 1917. In 1814 Denmark lost Norway, and a strong nationalistic movement led to the creation of a new Norwegian standard language by the linguist Ivar Aasen at mid-century (1848–1853), the *landsmål* or *nynorsk* (New Norwegian). Under this threat Danish had to accommodate itself in Norway to the elite spoken dialect and in 1907 broke the framework of Danish spelling and grammar to become *riksmål,* later called *bokmål* (also referred to as Dano-Norwegian). Aasen and his contemporaries were in part inspired by the rediscovery and cultivation of Icelandic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Faroese ballads were written down from the 1770s on, but the definitive standard language, a norm that made it look as much like Icelandic as possible (though it sounds very different), was devised in 1846.

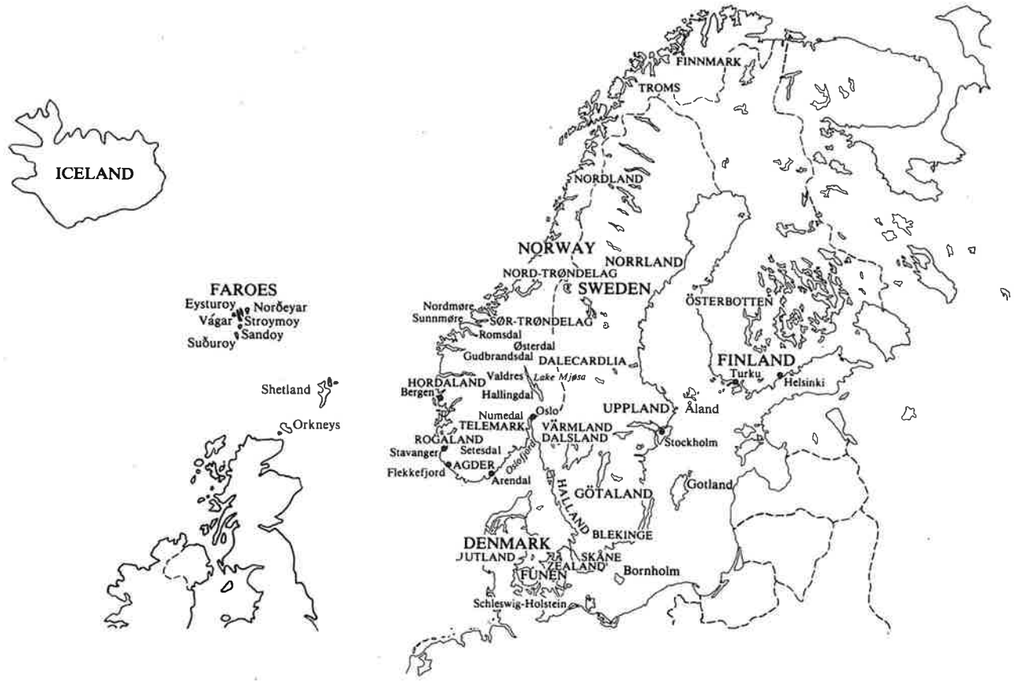
In each country there are, as mentioned above, local *dialects* that characterize each community. The smallest local deviations are probably in Iceland. While no two dialects are identical, they do fall into regional groups which have much in common. Just as a general guide we can make these distinctions (see map, on page 17):

Denmark
1. West Danish in Jutland (divisible into West and East Jutland).
2. Central Danish in the islands (Sjælland/Zealand, Fyn/Funen, etc.).
3. East Danish in Bornholm.

Sweden
1. South Swedish in Skåne, Blekinge, some of adjacent Halland and Småland. Rural speech here is an old East Danish dialect.
2. The Göta dialects in Götaland, Dalsland, and in Värmland. These have many contacts with East Norwegian.
3. The Svea dialects in the central areas of Uppland, including Stockholm, Uppsala, and surrounding areas; plus Åland and south Finland.
4. Dalmål, the remarkably deviant and old-fashioned dialects of Dalecarlia.
5. North Swedish in Norrland and opposite parts of Finland (Österbotten).
6. Gotlandic on the island of Gotland

Norway
1. East Norwegian: the lowlands that include the Oslo fjord and the farm areas around Lake Mjøsa, up to and including lower Gudbrandsdal.
2. Midland: the upper regions of the eastern and central mountain valleys: from Setesdal to Østerdal, including Telemark, Numedal, Hallingdal, Valdres, and upper Gudbrandsdal.
3. Trønder: from Romsdal to the southernmost part of Nordland, including Nordmøre, South and North Trøndelag.
4. South Norwegian: the coast strip from Arendal to Flekkefjord.
5. West Norwegian: west of the mountain divide, from Setesdal in the east to Romsdal in the north, including the districts of Agder (except for the coastal strip), Rogaland, Hordaland, and Sunnmøre.
6. North Norwegian: the three northern countries, Nordland, Troms, and Finnmark.

The Faroes
1. Northern in the Norðoyar
2. Central in Eysturoy, Streymoy, with Tórshavn.
3. Western in Vágar and Mykines.
4. Southern in Sandoy and Suðuroy.



None of these divisions have sharp borders, and one can divide them further or combine them in various ways. Only a series of maps showing the major differences and their overlapping would make it possible to show how complex their relationship is.

In the more urbanized regions, especially in Denmark and Sweden, the dialects are slowly but surely yielding to urban and élite speech. While the same is true in Norway, there is now a great emphasis on the value and importance of maintaining one's dialect.

It is impossible in this short sketch to indicate the differences between the dialects. Anyone interested is referred to the many studies that have been made. In each country there are dialect archives, where materials are collected and studies are published.

6. *Inter-Scandinavian movements.* In modern times, at least as far back as 1850, many individuals have deplored the trend of the Scandinavian languages to develop along independent lines. Growing communication has made it important for Scandinavians to understand one another,

and the necessity of a common defense against aggression has encouraged the growth of inter-Scandinavian institutions. A student-dominated, idealistic movement toward unionism in the mid-nineteenth century foundered on the failure of Norway and Sweden to support Denmark militarily against Prussia and Austria in 1864. In World War II again, Finland was left to fight her own war against Russia, Norway and Denmark against Germany. In spite of such setbacks and the failure of these countries to join in a common defense pact there have been many efforts to make sure that Scandinavians will continue to understand one another.

In 1869 a conference was held in Stockholm at which proposals were made to bring the Scandinavian orthographies closer together. One of the proposals was to give up *aa* and adopt the Swedish å; this was eventually done. Since World War II progress has been made by the setting up in each country of Language Committees, which have as one of their mandates to confer with other Scandinavians on any proposed reforms in their own language. An important aspect of this work has been agreement on using the same terms for new, international concepts. Scientific terminology and the names of technological products are constantly multiplying, and it is felt to be a great advantage if the Scandinavians can agree on the words used. It is regrettable that such agreements could not have been made earlier: the second story in a Norwegian hotel is called *annen etasje,* in a Swedish *första våningen,* and in a Danish *første sal.*

As of 1978 the Nordic Council, a voluntary organization in which the Scandinavian parliaments are unofficially represented, has voted to establish a Scandinavian Language Secretariat (Nordisk språksekretariat), with offices in Oslo. Its purpose will be to promote cooperation and to encourage the teaching of the Scandinavian languages in each other's countries, as well as the exchange of films, theater performances, and TV programs.

7. The Scandinavian languages in America. As mentioned on page 1, the coming to the United States and Canada of almost three million immigrants from all the Scandinavian countries has led to an important group of Scandinavian communities and institutions, in which at least the first and second generations have actively used and encouraged the teaching of their languages.

The early Norse crossings to Vinland left no colony or linguistic remains on the American continent (the Kensington Rune Stone and other supposed inscriptions are modern hoaxes). In 1638 the Swedish government established a trading post in Delaware, which soon expanded into a colony with Swedish churches and industry. Even though it was captured by the Dutch in 1655 and the English in 1664, Swedish continued in use into the early 1800s. The real thrust of Scandinavian settlement in America came with the opening of the West, which offered abundant opportunities for cheap farmland and well-paying employment.

Settlements in which the numbers of immigrants from Scandinavia were large enough to create churches, schools, newspapers, and even literature began springing up in the Middle West in the 1830s. The first such settlement of Norwegians was near Ottawa, Illinois, in 1834, the "Fox River Settlement." From this point Norwegians spread north into Wisconsin, west into northern Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. Swedes followed close on their heels. In 1841 the Reverend Gustaf Unonius established "New Upsala" in Wisconsin, but the main thrust of Swedish immigration came in the late 1840s and 1850s with the settlement of Minnesota. Swedes were also numerous in Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. Danes were slower to follow, and their earliest immigration was actually instigated by the Utah Mormons. But eventually, especially after 1860, they also moved into the farming regions of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The Finns and Icelanders were the last to arrive, making their entry on the scene largely in the 1870s. The Finns either settled on marginal lands in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, working also as miners, or went to the industrial centers as laborers. The Icelanders count their initial settlement from 1875 in Manitoba, from where they spread into nearby North Dakota.

From the 1890s, with the disappearance of free land, most of the immigrants settled in cities and towns, where they found their first employment as craftsmen and factory workers: Swedes in Worcester, Massachusetts, Norwegians and Swedes in Brooklyn, New York, all of them in Chicago and Minneapolis, and as the West opened, in Seattle and San Francisco. Here they added to their former social coherence all kinds of secular societies, from men's choruses, secret lodges, insurance societies, temperance unions, and working men's clubs to burial societies.

It is impossible to be sure how many Scandinavian immigrants settled in the United States or how many descendants they have today. Estimates of the number of immigrants from 1830 to 1930, when mass immigration ceased, run as follows: 800,000 Norwegians, 1,100,000 Swedes, 370,000 Danes, 300,000 Finns, 12,000 Icelanders. These two to three million immigrants have many times that number of descendants, most of them thoroughly Americanized

today. But more significant are the literary monuments to their experiences in the novel *Giants in the Earth* (and its sequels) by Ole E. Rolvaag (1876–1931) and the tetralogy *The Emigrants* by Vilhelm Moberg (1898–1973), as well as works by many less noted authors.

Most of the early immigrants were of rural background and spoke primary dialects; later many were urban and spoke secondary, or even elite dialects. But all their native institutions—newspapers, schools, and churches—employed the standard languages. By and large they were left alone to pursue their native tongues as they wished, except that their children generally had to go to English-speaking public schools. Here, often in the midst of totally foreign-speaking enclaves, the schools gradually taught them English. This placed the older people in the dilemma of whether to insist on maintaining the native language or to encourage a shift to English. Both views were expounded, and in practice the result depended largely on the location and attitudes of the group. Country folk tended to keep the languages longer, since they were more isolated from the American environment, while urban groups often lost their Scandinavian in the American-born generation.

Those who did keep their language tended quite inevitably to adapt it to the new conditions that met them in America. Just as their ancestors in Scandinavia had adopted German words while Scandinavia stood under influence from Germany, so in America they adopted words and constructions from English. In daily life one could constantly hear farmers speaking of putting up *et fens* 'fence' around their *fil* 'field' so that the cows would not *jumpa ut* 'jump out' and *rønna evei* 'run away.' The fact that words were available in their native dialects for all of these things did not deter them from adopting terms they heard frequently from American neighbors. More educated and linguistically self-conscious persons tried to keep their borrowings to a minimum, but even they inevitably had to accept American terms of the social and political organization under which they lived. They had to speak of *en kvartland* 'a quarter of land,' containing 160 *æker* 'acres,' and when they spoke of *mil* 'mile,' they naturally meant the American mile, not the six-times larger Norwegian or Swedish mile (10 kilometers). *En daler* was an American dollar, not the Scandinavian one (that was in use until the 1870s, when the *krone/krona* came into use).

It is a reflection of the pride that Scandinavians feel in their heritage, both culturally and linguistically, that many institutions of higher learning in the areas mentioned above still teach Scandinavian languages. One can look to the universities of the mid and far West, as well as the colleges founded by Scandinavian church groups, to continue for a long time yet to bring to the American academic world the opportunities for insight into the language and culture of the Nordic countries.

E. A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY

For greater detail on the topics treated here see Einar Haugen, *The Scandinavian Languages: An Introduction to Their History* (London: Faber and Faber; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976). The bibliography there will lead into the Scandinavian literature on the subject; but the specialist will want to use also Einar Haugen, *A Bibliography of Scandinavian Languages and Linguistics 1900–1970* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1974) and his *Scandinavian Language Structures* (Niemeyer and the University of Minnesota Press, 1981). On the language of Norwegian immigrants see Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior,* 2nd edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, in cooperation with The American Institute, University of Oslo, 1969). On the language controversy in Norway see Einar Haugen, *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966).

SPECIMEN TEXTS

PARABLE OF THE SOWER

(Matthew 13:1–9)

[1]That same day Jesus, leaving the house, sat by the seaside, [2] and such great crowds gathered around Him that He stepped into a boat and sat down while the whole multitude stood on the beach. [3]And He told them many things in parables, saying: "A sower went out to sow [4]and, in his sowing, some seeds fell along the road and the birds came and ate them. [5]Some fell on rocky soil, where they had little earth and sprang up quickly because the soil was shallow; [6]but with the rising sun they were scorched and having no root, withered. [7]Some fell among the thorns and the thorns grew up and choked them. [8]But the rest fell on the good soil and bore a crop—some a hundredfold, some sixty and some thirty. [9]Whoever has ears, let him listen." [Berkeley version]

Icelandic

[1]Á þeim degi gekk Jesús að heiman og settist við vatnið; [2]og mikill fjöldi manna safnaðist að honum, svo að hann steig áskip og settist þar; og allur mannfjöldin stóð á strön dinni. [3]Og hann taladi margt til þeirra í dæmisögum og sagði: Sjá, sáðmaður gekk út að sá. [4]Og er hann var að sá, féll sumt við götuna, og fuglarnir komu og átu það upp. [5]En sumt féll í grýtta jörð, þar sem það hafði ekki mikinn jarðveg, og jafnskjótt rann það upp, af því að það hafði eigi djúpan jarðveg; [6]en er sol kom upp, skrælnaði það, og sökum þess að það hafði engar rætur, visnaði það. [7]En sumt féll meðal þyrna, og þyrnarnir uxu upp og kæfðu það. [8]En sumt féll í góða jörð og bar ávöxt, sumt hundraðfaldan, sumt sextugfaldan, en sumt þrítugfaldan. [9]Hver sem eyru hefir, hann heyri.

Faroese

[1]Sama dagin fór Jesus frá húsum og setti seg niðri við vatnið. [2]Og stórar mannamúgvur komu saman um hann, so at hann fór út í ein bát og settist har; og øll mannamúgvan stóð á strondini. [3]Og hann talaði mangt til teirra í líknilsum og segði: »Sí, ein sáðmaður fór út at sáa. [4]Og í tí hann sáaði, fell sumt fram við veginum, og fuglarnir komu og ótu tað upp. [5]Ogsumt fell í gaddajørð, har sum tað ikki hevði nógva mold; og tað nældi skjótt, av tí at har var ikki djúplent. [6]Men tá iðsólin kom upp, varð tað avsviðið, og av tí at tað onga rót hevði, følnaði tað. [7]Men sumt fell millum tornir, og tornirnir runn uupp og køvdu tað. [8]Men sumt fell í góða jørð, og tað bar ávøkst, sumt hundraðfaldan, sumt sekstifaldan og sumt tríatifaldan. [9]Hvør, ið oyru hevur, hann hoyri.«

New-Norwegian (nynorsk) /1900 version

[1]Men den same Dagen gjekk Jesus ut or Huset og sette seg ved Sjøen. [2]Og myket Folk kom saman til honom, so at han steig inn i Baaten og sette seg, og alt Folket stod paa Land. [3]Og han talat mangt til deim i Liknadar og sagde: "Sjaa, ein Saamann gjekk ut og skulde saa. [4]Og daa han saadde, fall sumt ned ved Vegen, og Fuglarne kom og aat det upp. [5]Men sumt fall paa Steingrunn, der det ikkje hadde myket Jord; og det rann snøgt upp, av di det ikkje hadde djup Jord. [6]Men daa Soli steig, skein det av og visnad, av di det ikkje hadde Rot. [7]Men sumt fall imillom Klunger, men Klungren voks upp og kjøvde det. [8]Men sumt fall i god Jord og gav Grøda, sumt hundrad, sumt seksti og sumt tretti Foil. [9]Den som heve Øyro til aa høyra med, han høyre!"

New-Norwegian (nynorsk) / modernized form

[1]Men den same dagen gjekk Jesus ut or huset og sette seg ved sjøen. [2]Og mykje folk kom saman til honom, så at han steig inn i båten og sette seg, og alt folket stod på land. [3]Og han tala mangt til dei i liknader og sa: "Sjå, ein såmann gjekk ut og skulle så. [4]Og da han sådde, fall sumt ned ved vegen, og fuglane kom og åt det opp. [5]Men sumt fall på steingrunn, der det ikkje hadde mykje jord; og det rann snøgt opp, av di det ikkje hadde djup jord. [6]Men da sola steig, skein det av og visna, av di det ikkje hadde rot. [7]Men sumt fall imellom klunger, men klungeren voks opp og kjøvde det. [8]Men sumt fall i god jord og gav grøde, sumt hundre, sumt seksti og sumt tretti foli. [9]Den som har øyre til å høyre med, han høyre!"

Dano-Norwegian (bokmål) /1930 version

[1]Samme dag gikk Jesus ut av huset og satte sig ved sjøen, [2]og meget folk samlet sig om ham, så at han gikk ut i en båt og satte sig der; og alt folket stod på stranden. [3]Og han talte meget til dem i lignelser og sa: Se, en såmann gikk ut for å så, [4]og da han sådde, falt noget ved veien; og fuglene kom og åt det op. [5]Og noget falt på stengrunn, hvor det ikke hadde meget jord; og det kom snart op, fordi det ikke hadde dyp jord; [6]men da solen gikk op, blev det avsvidd, og da det ikke hadde rot, visnet det. [7]Og noget falt blandt torner, og tornene skjøt op og kvalte det. [8]Og noget falt i god jord; og det bar frukt, noget hundre fold, og noget seksti fold, og noget trettifold. [9]Den som har ører, han høre!

Dano-Norwegian (bokmål) / modernized version

[1]Samme dag gikk Jesus ut av huset og satte seg ved sjøen. [2]Det samlet seg så store folkemengder om ham at han måtte stige ut i en båt. Han satte seg der, og alt folket stod på stranda. [3]Og han talte mangt til dem i liknelser og sa: "Se, en såmann gikk ut for å så. [4]Mens han sådde, falt noe langs veien, og fuglene kom og åt det opp. [5]Noe falt på steingrunn, der det ikke var mye jord, og det skjøt straks opp fordi det ikke hadde dyp jord. [6]Men da solen steg opp, ble det svidd, og fordi det ikke hadde rot, visnet det. [7]Noe falt blant torner, og tornene vokste opp og kvalte det. [8]Men noe falt i god jord og bar frukt—noe hundre, noe seksti og noe tretti foll. [9]Den som har ører, han høre!"

Danish

[1]Samme dag gik Jesus hjemmefra og satte sig ved søen. [2]Og store folkeskarer samlede sig om ham, så han gik om bord i en båd og satte sig, mens hele folkeskarer stod inde på bredden. [3]Så talte han meget til dem i lignelser og sagde: "Se, en sædemand gik ud for at så. [4]Og som han såede, faldt noget på vejen; og fuglene kom og åd det op. [5]Noget faldt på sten grund, hvor det ikke havde megen jord, og det kom straks op, fordi det ikke havde dyb jord; [6]men da solen steg, blev det svedet, og det visnede, fordi det manglede rod. [7]Noget faldti blandt tidsler, og tidslerne voksede op og kvalte det. [8]Og noget faldt i god jord og bar frugt, noget hundrede, noget tresindstyve og noget tredive fold. [9]Den, som har øren, han høre!"

Swedish

[1]Samma dag gick Jesus ut från huset där han bodde och satte sig vid sjön. [2]Då församlade sig mycket folk omkring honom. Därför steg han i en båt; och han satt i den, medan allt folket stod på stranden. [3]Och han talade till dem mycket i liknelser; han sade: "En såningsman gick ut för att så. [4]Och när han sådde, föll somt vid vägen, och fåglarna kommo och åto upp det. [5]Och somt föll på stengrund, där det icke hade mycket jord, och det kom strax upp, eftersom det icke hade djup jord; [6]men när solen hade gått upp, förbrändes det, och eftersom det icke hade någon rot, torkade det bort. [7]Och somt föll bland törnen, och törnena sköto upp och förkvävde det. [8]Men somt föll i god jord, och det gav frukt, dels hundrafalt, dels sextiofalt, dels trettiofalt. [9]Den som har öron, han höre."