

МОВОЗНАВСТВО

УДК 811.113.4(091)

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THE HISTORY OF THE DANISH LANGUAGE

У статті висвітлюються основні етапи розвитку історії данської мови, окреслюються функційні обов'язки держави щодо регулювання мовного питання в країні та становлення мовних норм. Автор поступово доводить, що історія мови тісно пов'язана з історією розвитку суспільства. Історія данської мови сягає рунічної мови, яка у 200 році виникла під впливом римської культури. Автор наголошує на тому, що данська мова розвивалася одночасно зі скандинавськими мовами, германськими мовами і перебуває під значним впливом англо-американської культури. Мовне законодавство в Данії регулюється на рівні держави, особлива увага приділяється правилам орфографії.

Окремо у статті розглядаються міністерські накази й рекомендації Ради з питань данської мовної політики, у яких регулюється питання розвитку данської мови. Також автор статті детально розглядає найбільш значущі періоди для розвитку і становлення данської літературної мови.

На сучасному етапі розвитку данська мова перебуває під впливом англійської мови. На думку данських мовознавців, процес суттєвого впливу англійської на данську мову розпочався з 1945 року. У дослідженні доведено, що 80% нових слів у данській мові були запозичені з англійської. Незважаючи на той факт, що населення Данії вільно володіє двома мовами – данською й англійською, питання двомовності в країні не стоїть, оскільки, опановуючи іноземні мови, молоді данці стають більш пильними до рідної мови.

Разом із тим данська мова зазнала чималого впливу від німецької мови, проте запозичення з німецької мови не приживалися в данській мові з огляду на значне протистояння німецькомовному світу через трагічні історичні невдачі Данії, коли в 1864 році Данія програла війну з Німеччиною під Пруссією і частина Данії ввійшла до складу Німеччини. Данський уряд проводив послідовну політику щодо недопущення впливу німецької мови на данську.

Ключові слова: данська мова, історія мови, рунічна мова, запозичення, орфографічні норми, англіцизми, мовна політика.

The history of the language is closely connected to the history of the society. The first runes were written in year 200 under the influence of the Roman culture. In the following centuries, the Danish language developed in interaction with other Nordic languages, German language and not the least the Anglo-American culture. Moreover, the question how a language develops has to do with the language policy of the State. In this article, I shall explain some important parts of the Danish language policy. In the first chapter, I shall explain some crucial spelling principles. In the second chapter, I shall show how law, ministerial orders and The Danish Language Council regulate the development of the Danish language. In the last chapter I shall point out some of the more important traits in the history of the Danish language.

1: Why do Danes spell as they do? This section is about the different spelling principles that are the background for the Danish spelling. Several principles can interact and complement each other in determining a word spelling, but they can also compete with each other and make the decision about a word's spelling more complicated. Some principles are very explicit and are frequently used as an argument for a certain way of spelling, other pop up every now and then. Usually is referred to only a few principles. I will mention the six most discussed [14].

1. The phonetic principle. The basic principle of Danish orthography is the phonetic principle. The idea of the writing with letters is to depict the pronunciation of the words by dividing them up into individual sounds. Thus, the letters correspond to sounds; letter writing is thus a kind of phonetic transcription or phoneme writing.

If one only followed the phonetic principle, scriptures would have changed much over time, it would be more onomatopoeic than it is today, and be very close to a phonetic writing. The reason why it is not so, is that there are principles and forces that go against the phonetic principle and draws the spelling away from the phonetic principle (see below for example tradition principle).

The phonetic principle, though, may contribute to an orthographic change. There are examples of changes in The Language Council Dictionary [4], where the consideration for the pronunciation the words have had great weight.

2. The tradition principle. The tradition principle, together with the language usage principle, described in Ministerial Order on Danish Language Council's activities and composition. Spelling Principles were approved by Language Council Order in 1997 by the group of scholars Henning Bergenholtz, Rufus Gouws). Among the principles that govern spelling, only the tradition principle and the language usage are directly referred to in the notice, and are characterized as "The main principles of Danish orthography" by Henning Bergenholtz, Rufus Gouws. About the tradition principle, the Order says: "Following the tradition principle, words and word forms in Danish should be written in accordance with the practice in force since the Ministerial Order no. 24 of February 27, 1892, and since 1955 has come to expressions in the dictionaries as Danish Language Council has released. Following the tradition principle is spellings of the existing vocabulary in principle solid, other than adjustments following language principle. One element of the traditional principle is that the foreign words that have become common in Danish are written in accordance with the rules governing the original Danish word and older loan words and foreign words in Danish. This principle applies first all words from Greek, Latin and French and words formed from Greek, Latin and French ingredients. Words from other languages, especially newer words, are written – as a rule – in accordance with the spelling of the language concerned or with international practice."

By referring to the Language Council, dictionaries since 1955 and spelling practice in force since 1892 Ministerial Order [19], the orthographic principles that have been followed for over 100 years are held fixed. One can therefore say that the tradition principle more or less implicitly contains a number of other orthography principles – in fact virtually all other than language usage principle.

When it comes to foreign words, tradition principle describes both a Danification principle and an international principle (see further on both principles below). The Danification principle applies to words from Greek, Latin and French, which are written in accordance with the rules governing the original Danish word, and older loan words and foreign words in Danish. The rules for the Danish translation of foreign words are based on the rules, recommended in 1892 Ministerial Order. The international principle is concerning especially newer words from other languages, i.e. mainly words from English, written in the same way as in English in accordance with the language usage principle.

When you just ignore the Danish translation of French foreign words, which thus can provide new spellings (*resource* / *resurse*, *mayonnaise* / *majonæse*), ensures tradition principle that spelling remains largely unchanged. Generally, the words are written in the same way as you have always done, unless the language usage principle dictates otherwise (see below). According to the tradition principle, it does not matter that the orthographic form eventually moves away from the pronunciation – it is more important the overall picture of the spelling is stable. So, the tradition principle is attacking the phonetic principle and is the reason that today we have, for example: *dumb H's hvem* (*who*), *hvordan* (*how*), *hjerte* (*heart*), *hvalp* (*puppy*), etc.

One of the arguments used to highlight the superiority of the tradition principle, is that one without major problems can read texts that are hundreds of years old. And as Erik Hansen puts it: "An orthography that only change slowly will ensure a linguistic community between different ages within a speech community" [25].

3. The Language usage principle. The Ministerial Order says about the Language Usage Principle: “As for language usage principle, written words and word forms in Danish are in accordance with the practice followed in good and safe language users’ written language” [26].

In most cases, language users spell words in the same way as in The Language Council Dictionary, and as long as that is the case, go tradition principle and language usage principle hand in hand. The traditional forms are preserved because language users use them. But it happens that a very large number of good and safe language users use a different spelling of a word than that laid down in The Language Council Dictionary, and then you have to consider introducing it in the dictionary and thus make these spellings correct. Language usage principle has won over tradition principle if this ‘misspelling’ is introduced in the dictionary, but it happens only if the spelling is otherwise in accordance with the rules applied to the Danish spelling.

4. The Danification principle. The Danification principle is mentioned along with the traditional principle. As shown in the Language Council Order, applies this principle mainly to loan words and foreign words from Greek, Latin and French, but they must be fully recorded in Danish. It is inter alia, when the pronunciation follows the Danish rules and thus may be written in accordance with the Danish spelling rules: *kaptajn* (of capitaine) *kø* (of queue), *miljø* (of milieu), *portræt* (of portrait). The boundary between fully recorded and not fully recorded words can be difficult to set, and this is one of the reasons, why in many respects some words have still no or only partial a Danish translation (see 1892 order): *acceptere* (accept), *charme* (charm), *arrangere* (arrange), *artikel* (article), (which should have double-k under Danish rules). Another reason for some of these strange spellings is that there is the following sentence in the 1892 notice: “Yet, *ch*, *g*, *j* or *ti* should never be exchanged with *sj*, (except *ansjos* (anchovy)). Older words from English have also been danificated, e.g. *træne* (of train), *strejke* (of strike) and *kiks* (of cakes). Never foreign words are usually not danificated, but even here, you will find exceptions: at *tjekke* (of to check) and *nørd* (of nerd)”.

5. The international principle. From the tradition principle one can derive the international principle. According to this principle, the strange spelling of recent loan words and foreign words is maintained. This is indeed the case with English, but Danish also gain also words from other languages, such as Italian and Spanish, which spelling in the original language is preserved. One can say that this principle has been strengthened in recent years, because today it is common to have knowledge of English and other foreign languages. Language users are familiar with the strange spelling and pronunciation of the words, and they try to preserve both. The language usage principle plays therefore also a role here.

One gets the impression that some language users appreciate this principle. When the strange spelling is preserved, you can see where loan words and foreign words are derived from (corresponding to an etymological principle, not mentioned here), and it is convenient to be able to recognize the words in foreign languages.

Some would therefore like to take account of an international linguistic community.

6. The Nordic principle. As a result of the strengthened international principle, is the Nordic principle in return. It is true that the Danish language Council cooperates with the Language Councils in the other Nordic countries, among other things in order to prevent that the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish languages defer unnecessarily from each other, and to a certain extent, we avoid introducing spellings, that conflicts with spellings in Norwegian and Swedish. Example, we could have chosen the form “*osse*” for English “*also*”, but it is too distant from Norwegian “*også*” and Swedish “*också*” than the authorized form “*også*” [8]. When defining the spelling of a new foreign word is looked only to Swedish and Norwegian. That is because the two languages go more in the direction of phonetic spelling than Danish (in Swedish and Norwegian they write e.g. *interøju* and *frilans* for interview and freelance). Ultimately, take Danish – as well as Swedish and Norwegian – most regard to its own circumstances and traditions.

Excuse: when discussing The International Principle, it is a natural thing to wonder, if there are traces of Ukrainian words in Danish Language. It does not seem so! According to Ivan Nester Nielsen, the Chairman of Danish-Ukrainian society and an expert of Ukrainian Language, one will have to go back

to the languages spoken before the Viking Age (that is Old Nordic and Old Slavonic languages) to find what might be an influence on Nordic Languages (unpublished, Vol. 30 (2), pp.105-135). It seems that the old languages were untouched by the interaction between peoples, although there were widespread trading connections between the Nordic Countries and the area, which today is known as Ukraine. On the contrary, the traders often were bilingual (or multilingual) [6], and thus they were able to negotiate without letting their mother tongue being influenced of the situation. For obvious reasons, it would be tempting to think, that the successors of the Danish Viking Rurik, and his fellow Vikings, when, according to the myth, they arrived in Kiev, picked up some Ukrainian words and exported them to Denmark (and vice versa) but there is no evidence of that [2].

2: Who tells the Danes how to spell correctly? “The Danish Language Council” (Dansk Sprognævn) is the official regulatory body of the Danish language as a part of the Danish Ministry of Culture, and resides at the University of Copenhagen. It was established in 1955.

The tasks of The Danish Language Council are defined in Orthography Act (Act no. 332 of 05.14.1997 on Danish orthography).

Language Council Act (Act no. 320 of 17.05.1997 on the Danish Language Council).

Language Council Order (Order no. 707 of 09.04.1997 on Danish Language Council’s activities and composition).

The council has three main objectives:

- 1) to follow the development of the language;
- 2) to answer inquiries about the Danish language and its use;
- 3) to update the official Danish dictionary, The Language Council Dictionary (Retskrivningsordbogen).

The working members of the Council are included in language development by reading newspapers, magazines and books and by listening to the radio and watch TV. It is supplemented by searches for text bases [1]. Employees note new words and quotations with the words are introduced in the electronic word database and saved on the cards in the Council’s word index. There are several examples of each word, comprises a total base about 1 million. Examples of about 300,000 different words. The base is growing by 5,000 – 7,000 words and examples per year.

The word database is a kind of living dictionary that shows important aspects of the Danish language development since the mid-1950s. The word database gives a picture of what words actually are used in Danish, without considering if individual words are good or bad, correct or incorrect. Being taken into the word database does not mean that the word is approved; it is only registered by the Language Council.

Language Council’s word database is the core of the council’s work. Internally, the Council’s staff in their work with information, advice and research primarily use it. However, dictionary editors, students and researchers who need to know about the latest in the Danish language vocabulary also use it. New words, which have appeared enough times in print and speech to be considered notable, are added to The Language Council Dictionary, which all Government institutions and schools are obliged by law to follow. The Council receives some 14,000 inquiries by phone or mail each year about the Danish language, half of them from private companies, but also by private citizens.

The Danish Language Council cooperates on a daily basis with its equivalents in the other Scandinavian countries, the Swedish and Norwegian Language Councils, to make sure that the three Mainland Scandinavian languages, which are more or less mutually intelligible, do not diverge more than necessary from one another.

The Language Council establishes the Danish spelling, and edits and publishes the official Danish spelling dictionary. The latest version is The Language Council Dictionary, 4th edition, 2012 [15].

The Language Council Dictionary is to be followed by all government agencies and schools, unless otherwise provided by law. However, almost everyone – companies and individuals – use it as an answer book. The Language Council Dictionary shows how about 64,000 words are spelled and bent (but not what they mean). Besides the alphabetical dictionary contains The Language Council Dictionary the official Danish spelling rules, i.e. rules for the use of capital letters, hyphenation, punctuation, etc.

The key words in the guidelines that the Danish Language Council should follow in determining the Danish orthography are the tradition principle and the language usage principle. These are the main principles that the Language Council should take into account in its work on language stipulated norms, including the definition of spelling.

Discussion:

Should Danish Language Council have an active and guiding role developing the Danish language? Alternatively, should the Board let the language flow freely? The debate divides the scholars and politicians and has done so ever since the Board was established about 60 years ago. However, many critics of the Board agree of one thing: if the work of the Danish Language Council should be meaningful and influential in the years to come, the Board shall become more visible in the future.

Klaus Kjølner, Lecturer in modern Danish language and language usage at the University of Copenhagen: "Language Council takes care of its website, The Language Council Dictionary and all the things they must. However, they do not create so much debate. There is dynamite in the language, but The Language Council does not have the outgoing, provocative strength" [9].

The former minister for as well education as culture, Bertel Haarder, thinks that the Board within the present framework can play a much more active, guiding role in society. "I have always thought that the Language Council only detects how language develops, degenerates and is common placed". The information has been provided by Council of the European Union: Identification of endocrine disrupting substances - Information from the Danish, Netherlands and Swedish delegations, supported by the Luxembourg delegation ST 12959 2016 INIT, European Union News.

Frans Gregersen, Professor of Danish Language and a member of the Language Board's Board of Directors, belong to the more liberal wing that believes, that one to a higher degree should allow the written language evolve alongside the development of the spoken language [9].

The discussion is lively and goes on, however the practice of the Council is unchanged.

3: History of the Danish Language – Some important periods were mentioned in the book *Dansk sproglære* by Kristiansen Tore in 1996.

Iron Age and Viking Age 200-800

Some of the first Danish words we know of are written in runes on the shield handle found in Illerup Valley in Jutland and dated to ca. year 200 AD. The words on the shield were not Danish in the modern sense, but a language, which was common throughout the North.

The Germanic language family was described in the book by Milling Lone, Nedergaard Elisabeth *Norsk* in 2004. The Nordic languages stems from the Germanic language family. Moreover, the Germanic language family has roots in Indo-European language.

Runes and joint Nordic languages [Hybel, N.; Poulsen, B. (2007), National Museum: *Danske runeindskrifter*, available at: www.runer.ku.dk, (accessed 10/11/17)]. Everything that has been handed down from the year 200 to 800, are written in runes. Rune signature consisted of 24 characters, which together are called the earlier runes or the older futhark (Futhark after the first 6 runes in a row).

Rune scientists believe that these runes occurred during the Early Roman Iron Age [22]. In this period, there were close links between the Germans in the north and the Roman Empire to the south. Germans imported both things for everyday use and craftsmanship from the Roman Empire, including the ability to write.

At the beginning of the Danish language community's history, the Nordic area was not yet divided into several distinct dialects. There was a common Nordic language, and the early inscriptions found in the area were written in the same language.

The texts consisted of short inscriptions on wood and metal.



The picture above shows rune row, futhark, with 24 runes.

One of the best-known artifacts with rune inscription are the Gold Horns from year 400 AD. If one compare this inscription with modern Danish language, you will find that the words then had more

vocals and hence more syllables, e.g. *"gastiR"* for *gæst/guest*. It is because there were more derivative suffixes, and especially inflexional suffixes, than we find in modern Danish. *"GastiR"* is nominative masculine, *"tawido"* from Illerup shield is first person preterit weak conjugation, *"tawide"* is third person preterit, weak conjugation. Thus they had personal conjugation of verbs (which we have no more) and case conjugation of substantives [24].

Viking Age and early Middle Ages 800-1100

These years changed runic writing, and alphabet went from 24 characters to contain no more than 16 characters, which in turn accounted for more sounds. Moreover, there was a series of sound changes in the language, and there was gradually consolidated an East Nordic dialect and a West Nordic dialect.

The younger rune alphabet. It is believed that the name Denmark, from about 900 years, designated an area that was almost identical to the Denmark we know today, plus Scania in southern Sweden and Schleswig in northern Germany.

The runes, which are found on some stones from this time, is different from the previous rune font. There were now only 16 characters, and it meant that one character could now stand for more sounds.

We call this the younger runic alphabet. The transition from 24 to 16 sign took its beginning about the year 700.



The picture above shows the younger runic alphabet with 16 runes.

During the Viking Age, there was a series of sound changes in the language, and there was gradually consolidated East Nordic dialect and a West Nordic dialect.

The East Nordic dialect was spoken in Denmark, most of Sweden and in the southern parts of Norway. The West Nordic dialect was used in the rest of Norway and later in Iceland and the Faroe Islands.

East Nordic and West Nordic [20]. The main difference between the East and West Nordic dialect is monophthongification.

Monophthongs means single sounds. Moreover, monophthongification means some sounds that previously consisted of two sounds, were made into one sound.

Thus, in Danish and Swedish people during this time began to say *"ben"* (bone), *"løse"* (loose) and *"brød"* (bread), while in Norway they held on to say *'bein'*, *'løysa'* and *'braut'*.

Another difference was the weakening of the ending sounds of the words, which you will find even today comparing Danish and Swedish: *"b"* instead of *"p"*, *"d"* instead of *"t"*, *"g"* instead of *"k"*, etc.

A large part of the changes started in Denmark, and some of them never reached Sweden. Hence arose also a dialect boundary between Danish and Swedish in the East Nordic language area.

Medieval years 1100-1550

The introduction of Christianity in the late 900s meant a gradual introduction of the Latin language and written culture. Latin was the language of religious scholars and especially the administrative language. Runic writing was still used epigraphic – even in the church, and you wrote both Danish and Latin in runes.

Increasingly writing community. In the period up to about 1300/1400 lived the ancient runes and Latin letters continuously side by side, but as society became increasingly writing and began to use the Latin letters in the Danish language, went runes out of use.

Jyske law from 1241 is written in Danish – in the vernacular – and not in Latin. Otherwise, the older medieval 1100-1350 was predominantly an oral public community – with a beginning writing Administration (royal letters and wills) and written law.

Cultural change and new words from Old English and Latin. Many cultural changes took place in Denmark during the Middle Ages, and with these changes emerged a need for new words. Many of these words were taken in from other languages.

Word concerning church as *"kirke"* (church) and *"biskop"* (bishop), borrowed one into Danish from Old English. These words came furthest from Greek.

Also words of education, among other *"skole"* (school), *"skrive"* (write) and *"pen"* (pen) were borrowed from other languages; in this case, the Latin, from which also borrowed words like *"kansler"* (Chancellor), *"nonne"* (nun) and *"rose"* (rose).

Impact of German. During the Middle Ages (lower) German language influenced Danish in a high degree. The reasons for this influence was partly German noble families, who migrated to Denmark, German merchants and craftsmen in the country and especially the kings who were brought to Denmark from German area [23]. From German occupied the Danish language a number of loanwords, including a number of handworker designations as *"skomager"* (Schumacher/shoemaker), *"snedker"* (Schreiner/carpenter). Words, which already were in Danish, was replaced by German loanwords. From Lower German borrowed one also words like *"fyrste"* (Prins/prince), *"jomfru"* (Jungfrau/ virgin) and *"persille"* (Petersilie/ parsley). Thus, words were loaned from many languages and many things. Mostly, words were derived from Latin or Low German. Today one would typically not think that these words have not always been Danish.

Danish took over from German and Latin. In general, German was a high status language. For a period, German was spoken at the Danish Court. The Public Administration used Latin for their language, but began in 1300 years to write in vernacular. Initially it meant Low German, but from Queen Margrethe time, one wrote also in Danish. In the late Middle Ages (1350-1550) one used to increasingly Danish in the administration, and they began to use Danish as Literary Language [7].

The older "new-Danish" community 1550-1700

As time went by, the Danish language broke through in the public administration and in several other places. They began to translate various texts from Latin or German into Danish. This development took place from around 1500.

Danish achieved a higher status. In general, they assessed the Danish language, the mother tongue, much more positive at this point in history than previously. They began to write in the language of the people generally restrained best. The vernacular had more prestige and higher status. Most people considered Danish, to be equally suitable means of expression as Latin. After Reformation began Danish to be used also in the church context. It was also at this time, we saw the first tentative theoretical usage with the Danish language.

Danish spelling norm. Along with the art of printing in the Reformation, came the first attempt to establish a Danish spelling norm. A norm of the Danish written language. Especially King Christian 3.s Bible from 1550 took the place of honor as one of the best examples of the norm for printed Danish. The printed books showed how the true Danish language should look like. They showed the standards for how the Danish language had to be written in texts meant for the public.

Danish spoken language, standard Danish and correct Danish. The Danish spoken language was lively discussed in the mid-1600. They discussed the differences between spoken and written language, and they discussed where the best Danish was spoken. The vast majority agreed that it was in the island Zealand, where the important cities Roskilde and Copenhagen were situated. Well-educated Copenhageners language was, from then on, the scale of what good Danish spoken language was, and thus for what was right and wrong. Being able to speak this dialect was important if one would be have a career. The dialect was called "standard Danish" and occurred primarily in the central government administration. The language, the staff of the central administration talked, looked very much alike. The many similar features in the language of these employees served as marker of a special areal identity and thus became a standard language, a standard Danish. This standard language became the norm for the good and "proper" Danish spoken language.

Enlightenment 1700-1800

In the beginning of 1700-years was the German influence very strong. They spoke German at court, and there were German schools and German-language theaters. In addition, in a number of major cities church services were held in German. In addition, the command language in the army was German.

Danish in academic and literary works. During the 1700s spread the Danish language, however. The Danish written language was now used in areas where they previously had used Latin and German. Both Holberg's [18]. Danish comedies, essays and historical works were examples of Danish being cultivated.

At the same time, other authors wrote both poetry and popular articles in Danish, and thus was the Danish language used for all genres at the time.

Patriotism and school reform. From the late 1700s spread patriotism in Denmark. One highlighted his country's importance. Denmark was not yet a nation as we understand the meaning of the word today [21], and it was not the language but the king that bound the country together.

In 1775 held a reform within the school system, the students had to learn to speak and write "true Danish".

Therefore, written textbooks were published in Danish for many subjects, and students experienced being taught in Danish literature, Danish dictation and Danish grammar.

The consequence of the reform was thus that the Danish language was of significance in Latin schools.

The reason for this major reform was that it was believed that thoughts could be acquired more deeply and lead to action if the acquisition occurred in the mother tongue.

"Tainted Danish"? The Danish spoken language was only slightly standardized during this period and most Danes spoke a dialect. These dialects were often viewed as tainted Danish and an author wrote in 1787 "It is incredible how misshapen the Jutland dialect". There is today still many positions about dialects – even negative – among Danes.

Nationalism 1800-1900

The concept of mother tongue were highlighted in Romanticism. The language that the individual has learned as a child was called the mother tongue. In Romanticism the special position of the mother tongue was highlighted and it was believed that it especially expressed the language user's inner being.

A language, a people – national identity. In this period, you were very concerned about the close relationship between language and national identity.

The mother tongue was not just the individual's language, but also the nation's language, the language of the people. The language that expressed the entire people being, indeed the spirit of the people, one thought. Now it was the general opinion, that precisely the language that gave each nation its uniqueness. That was described in PhD report by Glenthøj Rasmus "Fælles kultur, forskellige nationaliteter", Copenhagen University, Copenhagen, Denmark in 2010 (unpublished).

From considering themselves as inhabitants of a kingdom with a king, they gradually considered themselves as a people. A people, which consisted of people who had grown up under common conditions, which had a common language. In this way, the language was considered to both embody and reflect a Danish national identity.

Relics of bygone times. Previously dialects had been considered as tainted Danish, but in romanticism, there is an upgrading of the local spoken language. In romanticism, dialects were perceived as relics of bygone times and it was thought they had preserved many old – and thus venerable – words and forms.

At the same time began linguists to take an interest in these dialects, and they perceived not the local languages as less good Danish or corruptions. Instead, they considered dialects as distinct entities.

Migration to the cities. In the latter part of the 1800s began a mass migration to the cities. Many people moved from the countryside to the cities – mainly to Copenhagen, but also other major towns.

In these cities were areas often uniform – socially. Different population groups lived in different parts of the city. For example, working class neighborhoods and middle class neighborhoods. Also, it was stressed in PhD report by Glenthøj Rasmus "Fælles kultur, forskellige nationaliteter", Copenhagen University, Copenhagen, Danmark in 2010 (unpublished).

Karsten Hammer described city dialects and low Copenhagen dialect in "The genesis of the social welfare system", University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1978 (unpublished). In the new

urban working-class – especially in the poorer parts of Copenhagen – the inhabitants spoke city dialect which was partly linked to the geographical place, but which was also linked to a specific social class.

The workers in these parts of the city spoke low Copenhagen dialect.

That is, they spoke a Copenhagen language with a different pronunciation than the higher social strata in the city. Among other things, they pronounce *a*'s like in words like 'land' and 'man', and "t" sounded more like "ts"

The higher social strata spoke high Copenhagen dialect and pronunciation of this dialect approached often something that resembled the written language. Moreover, the written language was based on this dialect.

A special high Copenhagen thing was for example the soft "d" as the first sound in English "the". Previously they had pronounced 'the street' (gaden – "g" as in "goat") as (gajen – "j" as "y" in "why") but high Copenhagen used the soft *d*, (gaden – "d" as in "the") which meant that the pronunciation is similar to the one we use today.

High Copenhagen and standard language. The description of the high Copenhagen dialect (or sociolect) filled not much when, at that time, dialects were described. This is due primarily to the fact that it was not considered a dialect. Instead, it was considered the standard language.

National Language is the language form that both the State and the society recognize as the appropriate standard for a country's language, and this was precisely the case with the high Copenhagen dialect. The high Copenhagen dialect was elevated to national language – to the right standard for the Danish spoken language. The social and cultural elite in Copenhagen awarded their own dialect that status – and since it has been the Danish society's standard language.

Language development in provincial towns. There are not as detailed information about language development in other major Danish cities. Language researchers assume, however, that it resembled the situation in Copenhagen a lot. Among others, there records and descriptions that tell how the Funen peasants tried to change their language when they came to provincial towns. Even in very little villages, there was a difference in the language of the village and the countryside [3].

New communities, new languages.

In the late 1800s, it was really ending with the old village communities where you only sporadically got in touch with people from elsewhere in the country. At this time in history, also the peasants began to change behavior.

New communities: Folk high schools, associations and cooperatives. Young peasants, on a voluntary basis, went to folk high schools and met people from elsewhere in the country. They were active in associations. In addition, one no longer produced only for himself, but for a market, and they were often members of the cooperatives. New communities – about cooperatives and around associations, thus replaced the ancient village community. These communities were not nearly as distinct defined as the village community was. Communities were still locally based, and therefore the language here of course still had a local trait. Nevertheless, the local languages slowly disappeared. The local features of the language disappeared first. The local dialects began to be depleted [11, p. 76].

Dialect as obstacle. In 1814, the compulsory education for all children from 7-14 years was introduced in public school [11, p. 76]. In school, the rural dialects were considered wrong and useless language by Charlotte Appel (2013–15), Dansk Skolehistorie, Aarhus Universitetsforlag, Danmark. The teachers had to correct student's language, in the same way as they corrected the spelling in student's essays. It was believed that the children's dialects were obstacles in relation to learning to write and read. In order to learn a standard written language one had to be able to speak a standard spoken language. That was the general idea.

Distance from German. After the defeat of the Danish army to Preussen in 1864, there was a strong public opposition against German words and expressions. After this war, Denmark lost about one third of its territory, i.e. the part of Denmark where the German language traditionally was dominant. German words for currency (Mark and Skilling) were replaced by Scandinavian terms (kroner and oere). Plum Frederik (1802), Haandbog for Lærere og Opsynsmænd ved Borgerog Almue-Skolerne, en frie

Omarbeidelse af Riemanns Beschreibung der Reckanschen Schule, Odense: S. Hempel, Danmark. Many prefixes and suffixes of German origin were deleted from the Danish language.

During World War II had the Danish language again close contact with German language due to the occupation years 1940–45. This time there was no influence from German into Danish, as was hundreds of years before with Low German. On the contrary, these years delivered the psychological background, like after 1864, that the Danish Government wanted to separate the Danish language as much as possible from the German language. In 1948, thus, the Danish Government passed a law concerning a spelling reform, which abolished the big (German) initial letters of the noun. The reform changed also past tense forms of e.g. 'could' ("kunne" instead of "kunde"). Likewise, also the letter 'å' introduced. All in all this reform meant an approximation of the Danish language to Scandinavian norms [17, p. 90].

Postwar 1950

The language development in Denmark since 1945 has been characterized by massive influence of English and American – the Anglicization. Linguists also believes that it is the most comprehensive import of words since the period with many loans from Low German in the 1400s [16].

During the period, three trends generally prevailed:

- An increased internationalization
- Improved level of general education and
- Developments in the mass media

Overall, these three trends paved the way for the Anglicization of the Danish language.

English to Danish. Pia Jarvad from Danish Language Council has made a study of new words in Danish in the period 1955–75. The study showed that there had come about 4000 new words, seen away from business vocabulary. It was due to 81% influences from English. That is to say an overwhelming dominance of English.

The new words that we have borrowed from other languages can be divided into different types. The details can be found in "Låneord gennem tiderne" by Jensen Jørgen Nørby (2017), available at: www.sproget.dk, e. g.

1. Direct loans
2. Significance loan
3. Pseudo loans
4. Translation Loans

1) Direct loans are words or phrases that are used in (largely) the same form as in the lending language, e.g. English: *hacker, podcasting, blog, powernap, (to) google, match fixing, smoothie, power shopping, spyware, and deadline*.

2) Meaning loan is the case when words we already had, have added a new meaning under the influence of the corresponding word in another language. Patetisk (pathetic) is traditionally used in the sense of 'solemnity', but under the influence of the English word pathetic, the meaning 'pitiful' or 'ridiculous' has gradually become quite widespread. The word *orm* (worm) is not new in Danish, but has gained the extraordinary meaning 'computer virus' under the influence of the corresponding use of the word worm in English. Moreover, when users of the social online service Facebook write on each other's walls, it is a matter of contamination from the corresponding extended use of English wall.

3) Pseudo loans are words that look alien, but actually formed at home (i. e. Denmark). The standard examples are baby lift, which is in English is called carrycot, and station car, called in English either the station wagon or the estate car. In addition, words like pushup-bra, bad taste-party and flexicurity are formed on Danish grounds.

4) Translation loans are words or verbs whose elements are more or less directly translated from another language into Danish, e.g. *Banana Republic* (from English Banana Republic), *posedame* (from English bag lady), *tilvalg* (from Swedish tilval), *cross-country tracks* (from German Kriechspur), *dåselatter* (from English canned laughter), *vejvrede* (from English Road Rage), and *den creative klasse* (from English the Creative Class).

Therefore, the Danish language took not just 'direct loans' from English like 'lobby', 'hard ware' and 'wide screen'. We see that many words are 'translation loans' where English words are transferred to Danish: 'countdown' has become 'nedtælling', 'non-violent' has become 'ikke-vold' and 'freeze dry' has become 'fryse tørret'.

In recent years, young people can also 'hang out' (*hænge ud*) with friends at the disco. It was not possible 10 years ago.

In most cases, where the word comes to Danish from English, we talk about translation loans. In these cases, the English word that is translated into Danish, before it is included in the Danish vocabulary.

Longer verbs and whole sentences may also appear as translation loans. When one, after a long day of work, decides to "*kalde det en dag*", the English expression "*call it a day*" is behind. When it comes to something that is easy to understand, one may say "*det er ikke raketvidenskab*", infected of English "*it's not rocket science*".

Danish domain loss – the future

Domain loss is a term often heard in the new millennium, when the discussion is about the import of English words into Danish [12, p. 196]. In some areas, called 'domains', replace the English language completely Danish. This is why we talk about a loss of domain. Danish loses a domain and English takes over.

Examples of domain loss: can be when higher education courses are held exclusively in English.

It may be in the European Union where Danish MPs use English in contexts where Danish is an official working language. Much scientific literature published in Denmark, is written in English.

Debate:

The former president of the Danish Language Council, Niels Davidsen Nielsen, warns against the tendency allowing the Danish language to suffer for lack of domain [19].

Erik Hansen, another former president of the Danish Language Council, however, disagrees with this point of view. In the book, "*then she laughed so heartily*", he explains that there is no reason to worry.

Danish has been under strong influence for 1000 years. It does not disappear so easy. Therefore, there is "no reason to believe that the Danish language will perish because of the linguistic influence from the outside," says Erik Hansen.

"Language is almost impossible to eradicate," he continues. "The fact, that a large part of a population masters two languages (here Danish and English) does not in itself establish a bilingual society," explains Erik Hansen, "and it does not mean a threat to the mother tongue." "On the contrary, experience shows that people who are skillful in a foreign language are becoming more aware of and more careful in their native language. This is how it will be, also in Denmark" [10].

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KARSTEN HAMMER

THE HISTORY OF THE DANISH LANGUAGE

The article covers the main stages of Danish language history development, outlines the state function in regulating the language issue in the country and the establishment of language norms. The author gradually proves that the history of language is closely linked to the social history development. The history of the Danish language dates back to the Runic language, which in 200 arose under the influence of Roman culture. The author emphasizes that the Danish language developed simultaneously with Scandinavian languages, Germanic languages and is under the considerable influence of Anglo-American culture. Language legislation in Denmark is regulated at the state level, the special attention is paid to spelling rules.

Separately, the article deals with ministerial orders and the Council on Danish linguistic policy recommendations, which regulate the issue of the Danish language development. Also, the author considers in detail the most significant periods for the development and formation of the Danish literary language.

At the present stage of development, the Danish language is influenced by the English language. According to Danish linguists, the process of significant influence of English on the Danish language began in 1945. The study proved that 80% of new words in the Danish language were borrowed from English. Despite the fact that the Danish population is fluent in two languages – Danish and English – there is no question of bilingualism in the country, because young Danes are becoming more and more alert to their native language when learning foreign languages.

At the same time, the Danish language experienced a great deal of influence from the German language, but borrowing from the German language did not get used to the Danish language because of a significant confrontation with the German-speaking world due to the tragic historical failures of Denmark, when in 1864 Denmark lost the war with Germany under Prussia and part of Denmark became part of Germany. The Danish government has pursued a consistent policy of preventing the influence of the German language in Danish.

Key words: *the Danish language, language history, runic language, borrowings, spelling rules, anglicism, language policy.*

Одержано 25.10.2017 р.