A CASE FOR THE DANISH ELEMENT
IN NORTHERN AMERICAN

by

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April, 1969
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The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date April 30, 1969
ABSTRACT

Less than four decades ago it was thought that there was no substratum influence on the English language spoken in America. It had been noted that the Indians gave a few words to English and that there were small "pocket" colonies formed by the Germans in south-eastern Pennsylvania, the French in south-eastern Louisiana, the Spaniards in the Southwest, and ethnic groups in the large cities. Only more recently have scholars begun to see the important role that the speakers of continental Germanic languages have had in forming the speech patterns of American English. More than fifteen million immigrants whose mother tongue was a Germanic language other than English have settled in what is now the North American Midland, Northern, and Canadian dialectal regions. These immigrants and their many offspring formed the major linguistic group for many towns and vast rural areas and were second to the English speaking group in most other cities and areas.

Much research has already been done on the German linguistic influence in North America and the results are generally accepted by linguists today. This thesis will concentrate on the Scandinavian element which has been sorely neglected to this date.

1This viewpoint is stated by E.C. Hills in "Linguistic Substratum of American English," American Speech, 4.31-33(1929).
The methods used have been many. The first method was much of the nature of collecting curiosity items: during my two years as an English teacher and translator in Denmark, I collected those items which seemed common to Danish and North American. Later, sources concerning Germanic language influence in America were consulted. In addition, a study of the North American and British dialects was made. It should also be noted that continual contact with the Danish-Canadians in Vancouver was maintained. The mixing and interference of Danish and English here must be closely reminiscent of the language contact and interference in Minnesota one century ago.

The problem involved was mainly that of separation of identity. An item might have found its source in German, Dutch, Yiddish, or an English dialect if not in a combination of any of the above. A further separation difficulty comes from the close historical affiliation of Danish and English and the previous mixing of Danish into English during the Viking era.

There are minor influences from Danish in Northern American English phonology, morphology (mainly word-compounding), and syntax (with such cases as the attributive noun). The

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2 There was a practical reason for such a collection. The Danes expected to be taught a very conservative British English; therefore it was advantageous if not absolutely necessary for me to know those Scandinavian and Germanic items that were acceptable in Northern American but that had been beaten out of every Danish school-child's English.

3 My wife is Danish.
chief contributions can be found in idiomatic expressions formed from loan translations, loan shifts, and loan creations. Word frequency is also affected by the Scandinavian substratum as are personal names and place-names.
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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

More than three million Scandinavians have by now immigrated to North America. With them they brought their customs, traditions, beliefs, aspirations, and their languages. These languages were not to receive the status of an official language of any area, and generally speaking they have fallen into disuse. But, although these languages receded rather rapidly, three million bilingual people and their many descendants created an area of language contact and interference wherein took place the second mixing of Scandinavian into English.

The first mixing of Scandinavian into English took place from the ninth to the twelfth centuries on the east coast of Great Britain. The Viking raids and invasions, the subsequent reign of the Danish kings, and the final assimilation of the Scandinavians in the Danelaw resulted in a very thorough and intimate mixing. This initial mixing of the two languages, English and Scandinavian, is crucial to the present topic because old Scandinavianisms often cannot be separated from new Scandinavianisms. A Scandinavian item originally

1 One exception was in the Colony of New Sweden where Swedish was the official language from 1637 to 1655, further see page 3.

2 Even a closed word class was affected; compare our present day pronouns they, their, them.
introduced into the Old English dialects and later recorded in the standard or in a dialect is often revived, reinforced, or given extended meaning centuries later in America by Scandinavian immigrants. An evaluation of just how much Danish there is to be found in either Middle English or Northern American is further clouded by the fact that both Danish and English are Germanic languages. Indeed, similar constructions and parallel developments have occurred independently and will continue to do so.

Here then we have the first indication of the problems of identity of origin and of separation. We must first determine whether an item or structure is an Americanism. This is difficult due to the many English back-borrowings and the lack of sufficient data covering all of the dialects. After determining that an element is indeed an Americanism, we must try to find out whether it is an independent innovation or whether its origin is Scandinavian, German, Dutch, Yiddish, French, Spanish, Italian, etc. Naturally the other Germanic languages influenced English in a manner very similar to the Scandinavian; often they reinforced one another. A single Germanic linguistic sub-stratum would have influenced the English of North America somewhat, but the combination of ethnic groups representing all of the Germanic languages forms the largest linguistic sub-stratum to affect American English.

A cursory look at these Germanic members shows us that the German speaking immigrants numbered around eleven million. They were the largest and no doubt the most influential group
of non-English speaking immigrants. They far outnumbered
the immigrants from Great Britain or Italy from 1820 to 1967. They
affected a great number of activities in the United
States. Linguistically too, the German element dominates. The
German speakers settled predominately in the present Midland
Dialect area and in the Northern Dialect area, in the large
industrial cities and on rural agricultural land.

The Dutch, while not large in numbers, were very early
in settling their own colony in eastern New York and New
Jersey. They may have created some of the Americanisms that
we associate with the German sub-stratum.

Yiddish speakers have been very influential in the
large cities in cultural and entertainment fields. Their
number is very difficult to discern.

The Frisians, whose language is historically most
closely related to English, are usually numbered among the
Dutch.

The immigration of Scandinavians to North America began
as early as 1637 with the formation of New Sweden, a colony
which was situated at the present location of Wilmington,
Delaware, and the surrounding area. Scandinavian immigration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>6,879,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria-Hungary</td>
<td>4,289,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>338,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,506,807</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

taken from *The Statistical Abstract of the United States*,

has continued ever since. The main influx was in the 1880's: 1882 saw 105,326 Scandinavians enter the States. Just before the turn of the century the Scandinavians were numerically inferior to the English speaking and the German speaking groups only.

The languages of the Scandinavian immigrants were by no means identical but neither were the speech habits of German speaking immigrants from South Tirol or Schleswig. Indeed, Dano-Norwegian was the official language of both Norway and Denmark and their possessions during most of the time of the migration. Furthermore the dialects of southern Sweden in the provinces of Smaaland, Halland, Skaane, and Blekinge are closely related to Danish; these provinces have always been separated from the rest of Sweden by huge swamps and forests and were once a part of Denmark. It is for these reasons that the Danish language is used as the reference language in this research.

The area into which most of the Scandinavian immigrants settled, the "second Danelaw", was the Great Lakes basin, the Upper Midwest, and finally the Pacific Northwest. Linguists now designate an almost identical area, the Northern American dialectal area. See map on following page.
The dialect of this area has been very productive in the formation of General American and of Canadian English. In addition, this dialect is often considered to be identical with "Standard American", the language that nation-wide broadcasting corporations and the United States Information Service English teachers use or strive for—a prestige dialect.

The Scandinavians certainly were not alone in settling this Northern Dialect region, but were accompanied mainly by the Northern English and Scots as well as the Germans. Naturally enough the foundation of the dialect was formed by the Northern English and Scots who came from their native homeland or Western New England or Upper Canada.
The fact that North English and Scots English had been so intimately mixed with Norse once before,⁵ plus the historically close relationship between North Germanic and North Sea Germanic (the Anglians came from Jutland), makes our more recent contact and mixing that much more productive and interesting. For given contact, the more similar the languages, the more thorough the mixing there will be. Certainly Danish is one of the languages most similar to English today. Another linguistic reason for the many Danish elements in Northern American is that Danish often had a simpler form than English had. If contact of two similar languages takes place, the simpler forms will often prevail. Another reason for much Danish influence is that the first generation Scandinavians spoke, printed, published, preached, and broadcasted in English very soon after arrival.⁶ This created a culture group using and abusing English which was so essential in influencing the language in this frontier region.

Many non-linguistic reasons for the Danish influence upon the Northern dialect are listed as follows: 1. There was

⁵There are more than 1,000 Scandinavian loan words in Middle English as listed in Erik Bjorkman's Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English, Halle, 1900.

⁶Albert Baugh mentions that over 1,400 Norse place names can be found in Great Britain, A History of the English Language, New York: 1957, p. 115.

a great deal of cultural similarity between the Northern English and Scots as well as the Scandinavians who worked together to push back the frontier in northern America. 2. The Scandinavians ranked second numerically within the non-English speaking groups and first in many areas. 3. They were among the earliest settlers of this area. 4. They had one of the highest standards of education among the settlers. 5. Crime rates and pauper rates were very low. 6. They were quickly assimilated into the community; in a nation where rapid assimilation has been encouraged and even forced, the Danes seem to have had a short cultural road to travel and willingly—often enthusiastically—abandoned their traditions in favor of the new common denominator. Typical of the praises to the Scandinavian immigrants are the following quotations from Carl Wittke's *We Who Built America*:

The Swedes are generally described as even-tempered, serious-minded individualists. They have a strong sense of property ownership and a deep religious sense, which often turns to the pietistic and puritanical, especially in contrast with their fellow Lutherans among the Germans. The Swedes are noted for their adaptability to American conditions, for their ability and willingness to work hard, and for their marvelous physical stamina. They are essentially an industrious, law-abiding, simple-minded, honest folk. They come to the United States to stay, and no other immigrant group becomes so quickly Americanized.

Swedes are clean and neat, and save for a rainy day. The percentage of home ownership is high among them. Families are large but, on the whole, well kept. Swedes also have unsurpassed devotion to education, and send their children to school; the rate of illiteracy

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7See Appendix, Table II.
among them is extremely low. In more recent years, many Swedes have gone to the cities to become successful tradesmen and workmen, especially in the lumber and furniture business. Like other Scandinavians, the Swede has little difficulty in adjusting himself to the American democratic system of government, for he comes from a country in which he has already learned the technique of popular elections.

The Norwegians are a strong, resolute people. Practically all are Lutherans, and combine a Lutheran piety and sense of duty with a strong desire for material advancement. They are thrifty and eager to acquire a homestead. They are strong and stubborn individualists, lovers of freedom, law-abiding, and vigorous defenders of their Church.

As the rate of illiteracy is very low in Denmark and the people are familiar with economic and political democracy, the Danes represented in every way a substantial and desirable addition to the American population.

These have been presented to show the high acceptability rating that the Scandinavian immigrants enjoyed.

The mixing of the Scandinavians with the North English-Scots was in many ways similar to the mixing of these two peoples during the Viking settlement in Northumberland, Durham, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, etc. Economically both groups were approximate equals working together in an agriculturally based commerce. Culturally they were similarly deficient. As in the Viking age the linguistic influences were not of a superior or literary culture giving new concepts and words, but of cousins who had different dialects working side by side

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8 Cleveland: 1967, pp. 266, 278, 286.
exchanging words for household things, confusing sounds, and leveling grammar.

Let us now look at Danish linguistic influences on Northern American. Only those elements which are understood and used by millions of non-Scandinavians will be presented. The main levels of language analysis seem to give the best way of dividing up the corpus: phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon will be taken up in that order.
CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

When we analyze Danish and American, we can see quite a number of co-occurrences of Danish sounds with sounds typical of the Northern American dialect. These common sounds are contrasted with the Standard Southern British pronunciation.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Danish and Northern American have:</th>
<th>For the Standard Southern British pronunciation:</th>
<th>Examples:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>[ju]</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lieu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æə]</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
<td>glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>[I]</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>city, kørte</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>liter</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>[nd ]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɻ]</td>
<td>[g ]</td>
<td>doggie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buggie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[hw ]</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sb]</td>
<td>[sp ]</td>
<td>spin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>spool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sd]</td>
<td>[st ]</td>
<td>stood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>steal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Standard Southern British, perhaps a more descriptive term than received pronunciation, is the privileged accent of the public-school elite, see David Abercrombie's "The Way People Speak", The Listener, BBC 3rd Programme, Sept. 6, 1951.
Danish and Northern American have:

For the Standard Southern British pronunciation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[sg]</td>
<td>[sk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark l</td>
<td>[l] (East Norwegians &amp; West Swedes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark r</td>
<td>[r] only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulmonic ingressive</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a more monotonous intonation (esp. among women)</td>
<td>Oh it was simply gorgeous!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u] for [ju]</td>
<td>Standard Southern British [ju] after alveolar consonants is unstable and in a state of change, cf. the older [sjut] (suit) and [In'θjuz] (enthuse) with the present [sut] and [In'θuz]. However [ju] and [u] are contrastive in the minimal pair dew-do.²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Northern American the alveolar consonants [t d n l s θ] are followed by [u] instead of [ju]. Danish and German have [u] only. The Scandinavian and German influence was not strong enough to change the [ju] to [u] after labials and velars.

---

² Northern American has homonymic clash here. No difficulties arise because each belongs to a separate word-class.
[æ] for [a]
Old English and Old Frisian had [æ], some Middle English dialects retained it, and now English and Danish are the only two Germanic languages to have [æ]. The Danish [æ] has a wider distribution than Standard Southern British and may have been influential in its Northern American occurrence before [s], [t], and nasals plus a consonant. (Note that Northern American has [æ] before [f], modern Danish has [a].)

[ɛ] for I
This seems to occur uniquely in the word milk. Both Danish and Dutch have [ɛ]. This may also be an l coloring phenomenon, note Northern American [ʃɛl] for shall.

[d] for [t]
This occurs in both Danish and Northern American in intervocalic position where the t is in final position of the leading syllable, i.e. words like Da, fatal and fortand or English betake and betide will not have this occurrence. Note also that the r in dirty is classed as a vowel supporting Jakobson, Fant, and Halle's Preliminaries of Speech Analysis, Cambridge, Mass., 1955. This substitution of d for t takes place not only within words, but between neighboring words where there is concatenation from one word to another, e.g. American at all [æd'al] or [ə'dal], put it ['pvdIt'], hat on
[ˈhædən], and Danish sæt af [ˈsɡdæ], hat af
[ˈhædæ].

[n] for [nd] The d is dropped off in final position in
Northern American as in Danish. Danish drops
the d of intervocalic nd, Anders [ænʌs].

Sinclair Lewis in Main Street has non-
Scandinavian Americans pronouncing wonderful
as "won'erful".³ This however is substandard
colloquial while this research emphasizes the
standard colloquial.

[y] for g In both languages, intervocalic g is often
pronounced [y] especially in the environment
of back vowels. In Danish this is ortho-
graphically indicated; single g is [y], double
gg is [g].

[w] for [hw] Western Jutlanders, Danish Americans, and
English dialects all have [w] where [hw] is
prescribed.

[sb sd sg] The Danish and Northern American voiceless
for plosives when preceded by an initial s are

[sp st sk] voiced and lenis.

Dark l, r These are found in initial and final position
for l, r and are often syllabic. Dark l and r are
typical of Eastern Norwegian dialects and
Western Swedish dialects and Northern American.

So typical is this velarization of l and r and possibly n that Europeans hear this as characteristic of American speech and describe the sounds by stating that Americans have "warm potatoes in their mouths." Einar Haugen in his *Beginning Norwegian*, Madison, 1956, p. 16 writes:

> In East Norwegian the [r] that occurs before dentals [dtns] is regularly absorbed by these into simple retroflex consonants which phoneticians write [dtns]. To Americans who pronounce r after vowels this will sound a little like their own rd, rt, rn, rl, and sh; *barn* ba:rn (child) may sound like 'barn'...

Likewise in "Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian" he states on page 115, note 5, "In pronouncing [r] and [l] the tongue elevation is almost identical with that of American [r]..."  

John Clark explains in *British and American English Since 1900* that the retained r is a product of marginality. He states:

> The resemblance of Eastern and Southern American to Southern British and of Western American to Northern British and to Irish English (mainly in the treatment of r) used to be explained by the hypothesis that the English-speaking settlers of Western America were mainly of other than Southern British stock.

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Language, 14.112-20 (1938).
But this seems to be unacceptable because of other than linguistic evidence, and students of the subject now more commonly take another view—briefly, that the retained r of Western America and non-Southern British English is a relic of a feature that in the seventeenth century was found wherever English was spoken including Southern England; that South England subsequently dropped the r; that Eastern and Southern America (that is, the Atlantic seaboard), being in close and continuous contact with the mother country and especially with London and Oxford and Cambridge, did likewise; and that Western America, lacking that contact, preserved the seventeenth-century r.5

However, many of these r's were consonantal burrs, flaps or trills and very unlike the Northern American vocalic r.6 The retracted r of Standard Norwegian and Eastern Norwegian and Western Swedish dialects should be considered as a source of reinforcement and modification to English marginality.

Pulmonic ingressive articulation is heard often in feminine speech in Denmark and in Northern American. Males who have experienced rather protective upbringing may also have this. Due to the mechanics involved a pulmonic ingressive utterance is of very short duration.

6 R.M.S. Heffner in General Phonetics, Madison: 1949, pp. 146-7, writes that the S.S.B. [ʃ] is a dental fricative articulated in the same area as for the rolled dental [r]. The Midwest American [ʃ] is mediopalatal and the tip is normally
A flatness of intonation is very distinctive of Danish. Likewise, Northern American has a very flat intonational pattern. F.E.L. Priestley in Eric Partidge's and John Clark's *British and American English Since 1900*\(^7\) alludes to this flat intonation when he writes: "... in Ontario he would have found a somewhat harsher and flatter speech, closer in pronunciation to American, but, in the fact, close only to the speech of upper New York State."

Although Swedish and Norwegian are both tone languages and very melodious, Swedish and Norwegian-Americans often speak a very flat form of English. In reference to feminine intonational patterns it should be mentioned that Danish-American women find extravagant variation of intonation against their nature, and therefore they are reluctant to develop the intonational extremes and the shrill voice so necessary in projecting competitive compliments.

Initial stress is characteristic of all Germanic languages but is far more prevalent behind the front lower incisors although retroflection may be produced simultaneously.

\(^7\)London: 1951, p. 74.
in the continental Germanic languages than in the more hybrid English language. American English seems to be returning to a more frequent initial stress pattern. Both John Clark and Brian Foster make observations about the tendency in American English, more so than in British English, to place the stress as far forward as possible. Clark writes:

There is an ancient and general tendency in English to put the stress as early as possible in a word, but this is carried further in American English than in British and further in unsophisticated American English than in sophisticated: "resource", "research", and even "United States". 8

Foster in "Recent American Influence on Standard English" states:

The typical American tendency is to bring the stress forward: White House, 9 with stress on the first word, as compared with British equal stress on both words. This is copied to some extent in Britain, particularly by the younger generation, initial stress being frequently heard in "magazine", "research", "cigarette", "after all" (this is very common, as against British "after all" with stress on the second word).10

8Ibid., p. 329.
9This American institution receives special contrastive stress and is therefore a poor example.
10Anglia, Vol. 73, p. 357.
The following list of words often with American initial syllable stress will illustrate pronunciation differences; the British pronunciation of these same words frequently or invariably has the stress on a syllable other than the first:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American Stress</th>
<th>British Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abdomen</td>
<td>incline (V. tend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutely</td>
<td>inquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>address</td>
<td>laboratory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult</td>
<td>miscellany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anchovy</td>
<td>moustache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple sauce</td>
<td>(New) Orleans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>argyle</td>
<td>offense (in sports)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucrat</td>
<td>placate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigaret(te)</td>
<td>poetaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corollary</td>
<td>pogrom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coupon</td>
<td>quinine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuneiform</td>
<td>recess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decretory</td>
<td>recluse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defense (in sports)</td>
<td>renaissance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detour</td>
<td>research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>reveille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doctrinal</td>
<td>rodeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expletive</td>
<td>television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finance</td>
<td>trachea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ice cream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This list was taken mainly from Margaret Nicholson's *Modern American English Usage*, New York, 1957, and Martin S. Allwood's *American and British*, Habo, 1964. Both lists contained some words (eleven and five respectively) where the British stressed the first syllable and the American did not. Final stress in American family names with -ell seems to be an exception to the general
trend, cf. Scandinavian surnames, Chapter VIII, page 111.

In conclusion to this phonological discussion it is well to mention that the Danish immigrants would have resorted often to spelling pronunciations, which are now so characteristic of American Speech.
CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY

Within the category of morphology there are some observations to be made: 1. In the main the Scandinavian immigrants conformed rather well to the established norm in America as they found it. 2. Most of the English inflectional endings had already been leveled by the passage of time and by the intrusions of the Vikings, leaving relatively little to be changed, i.e. the threshold of diminishing returns had already been reached as far as the Scandinavian leveling of English was concerned. 3. Some Danish inflections were, however, simpler and some of these were incorporated. 4. A few Danish structural patterns have influenced American morphological preference. 5. Parallel affixing is apparent.

A list of morphological elements which may have been Danish inspired follows:

A. In Danish there are no person indicators on verbs; in Northern the trend is to drop the person indicators, e.g. the first through the third person singular and plural of will, would, should, don't, and at least the singular of says remain the same throughout. The present-day American is in Where's my gloves? may also be Danish patterned or reinforced.
B. The gerund morpheme -ing is replaced by to plus the infinitive:

1. We are interested to cultivate understanding.
   Vi er interesserede i at kultivere forståelse.
2. They would appreciate to hear from him.
   De ville sætte pris paa at høre fra ham.
3. I love to watch the polar bears.
   Jeg elsker at se paa isbjørnene.
4. It aims to provide a brief introduction.
   Det tilsigter at give en kort indledning.

H.W. Horwill writes in "American Variations", SPE Tract 45, page 194:

A few verbs are used in America in a different construction from that which is idiomatic in England. Thus, aim, in the figurative sense, is followed (according to usage now obsolete in England) by to with the infinitive instead of at with the gerund. Thus, "It aims to provide a brief introduction to Mohammedan law." Here the English usage would be "aims at providing."

H. Poutsma in A Grammar of Late Modern English states:

A great many verbs admit of either the gerund- or the infinitive-construction. With some the two constructions seem to be used indifferently, with some there is a more or less marked predilection for either one or the other, while with a few a certain distinction is observed. As a general rule it may be said that the gerund-construction is chiefly met with in the written, the infinitive-construction in the spoken language; and also that from motives of rhetorical propriety the use of two successive gerunds or infinitives is avoided.1

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1 Groningen, 1904, p. 619.
Where the two constructions are used indifferently, American preference is directed towards the infinitive particle plus the infinitive as is the case in Danish. Where in British a certain distinction is made, the trend in America is for those distinctions to be reduced or eliminated. Because written American English more frequently approximates the spoken language, the infinitive construction is favored once more.

C. The superlative is used in place of the comparative:

1. Who is tallest, John or Bob?
   Hvem er højest, Hans eller Lars?

2. Of the two related languages, Lithuanian is the simplest.
   Af de to beslægtede sprog, litanisk er det enkelteste.

D. The past is often used where the past perfect is expected:

1. He taught (had taught) at Western before he taught at Odense.
   Han underviste paa Western, før han underviste paa Odense Universitet.

2. He said that he saw (had seen) her before the match.
   Han sagde at han saa hende før kampen.

3. She asked whether we were (had been) there yesterday.
   Hun spurgte, om vi var der igaar.
E. The progressive is used more often than in British, probably due to over-compensation as Danish does not have this:

1. He is always coming home late nights.
2. They are making tree decorations every year at this time.
3. She is never baby sitting on week-ends.

(Other immigrant groups tend to over-compensate here)

F. Less and least are the comparative and superlative of both little and few, on analogy with mindre and mindst for both lille and faa:

1. Little less least lille mindre mindst
2. few less least faa mindre mindst

for few fewer fewest for faa færre færrest

G. By the mere process of mixing one finds regular endings more often:

1. accursed, blended, burned, dreamed, hewed, kneeled, leaned, learned, sawed, smelled, spelled, spilled, winded.

These previously had t or n endings, or they were strong verbs.

(All immigrant groups would tend to regularize verbs.)

H. The modal verbs have been changed and simplified:

1. can = permission only: Can I drink this milk?
   Kan jeg drikke denne mælk?
2. **may** = a higher grade of permission: May I eat this sandwich? Maa jeg spise denne mellemmad?

3. **get to** = permission I got to take the test early? Jeg fik lov til at tage examen tidlige.

4. **will** = certainty only: We will leave tomorrow. Vi er sikker for at forlade byen imorgen.

5. **want to** = volition only: We want to leave tomorrow. Vi vil afsted imorgen.

6. **would** = subjunctive only: I would have come, if... Jeg ville være kommet, hvis...

7. **should** = ought to: You should not hit animals. Du burde ikke slog dyre.


9. **shall** = an offer or Shall I open the window for you? Skall jeg aaben vindoen for dem?
Regarding **to get to** as a modal type verb, Brian Foster states the following:

"To get to" do something is found in the best linguistic circles nowadays. "How are we to get to see an important source?" asked the speaker on a Third Programme talk on Purcell manuscripts. This expression was originally an Americanism, presumably of German provenance, since the word *kriegen*, equivalent to "get" is used in the same way. "To get wise to" would also seem to be German-American in the first instance, for there is a German idiom which is identical except for the preposition following the verb. It is also true to say that this type of expression is found in Scandinavian, and in view of Scandinavian immigration into the United States we must not neglect the
possibility of Scandinavian speech-habits reinforcing German influence.

Dr. Foster's indication of possible Scandinavian influence is well taken if somewhat understated. The German kriegen (note etymology!) is used to mean to get to but is restricted to verbs of sense, e.g. Er kriegt die Prinzessen zu sehen. The Danish has a similar construction Han fik hende endelig at se which translated would be, He finally got to see her. The to get to construction has the implied meaning of managed to. In addition to this construction Danish also has at faa lov til, meaning to get permission. The Norwegians and Swedes have reduced this to the simple modal faa. This modal means may and to get to and appears to have been the stronger motivating force behind the Americanism to get to rather than the German kriegen.

The entire American system of modal verbs follows more closely than the British a one to one relationship, that is to say that one modal verb represents fewer meanings. Compare the British English shall, will, should, and would with their complicated usage; they change meaning in collocation with varying tenses, moods, and persons. When linguistic interference occurs, the bilingual people concerned tend to reduce complicated systems such as this to a simpler form. The natural desire is for one "safe and definite" equivalent for the most frequent usage of a similar native expression than for

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a choice of stylistic variations. The framework of the American modal verb scheme shows bias towards accommodating simplification processes moulded by interference from the Scandinavian languages and other Germanic languages. Compare get to, must, and shall. Must in Must you do that? has been lost because must has become specialized to a speculative aspect. Shall, indicating the future, has been lost because of the Scandinavian emphasis on Shall we go? and Shall I open the window? i.e. on an "offering" aspect.

1. The present participle morpheme -ing is often replaced by the past participle morpheme ed which stems from interlinguistic transference. G.V. Carey in American Into English: A Handbook for Translators cites the following examples:

A thin, stooped ("stooping"), shabby figure shambled up.

En tynd, krumrygget, lurvet skikkelse stavrede hen til mig.

He caught a glimpse of men crouched ("crouching") in the undergrowth.

Han fik et glimt af mænd sammenkrobet i underskoven.

The dog sat with his tongue lolling ("lolling") out.

Hunden sad med tungen stukket ud.

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3 This tendency towards interlinguistic identification will be further demonstrated in the chapter on idioms and lexical items. See page 48, item Almost.
Carey continues:

This is in fact part of a more general American tendency to add a transitive use of intransitive verbs and vice-versa, or, to put it in another way, to blur the distinction between active and passive (see also battle, protest, raise, rate, sprawled in glossary). In the above examples "to stoop", "to crouch", "to squat", "to loll" are all intransitive verbs and, grammatically, only their Present Participles can be used as adjectives; for Past Participles are passive in sense, and intransitive verbs have no passive sense.4

Horwill notes that "In America the verb stoop seems to be trans as well as intran. At any rate, it has a past participle stooped = Eng. stooping. 'A tall, gaunt, stooped man.'"5 Brian Foster observes that under American influence sprawling, stooping, slouching, crouching, and heading for are being changed in England to the past participle ed form thus establishing this change as an Americanism. He also agrees with the passive-active and intransitive-transitive explanation.6

This particular change is perhaps best explained as a case of transitive usage of intransitive verbs or indeed of passive structure of intransitive verbs which can have no passive sense. At any rate it is a valid explanation of the result. That is not to imply, however, that the Americanism found its source in a confusion of active and passive or in a

4 Kingswood, Surrey, 1953, p. 24. (Translation is mine.)
confusion of transitive and intransitive. This Americanism is rather a result of interlinguistic transference. The Danish past participle is used in cases where verbs of posture are cited, cf. German too. The Danish past participle used as a verbal adjective indicates a more perfective aspect while the present participle would signify a repetitive and continuous aspect. The immigrants transferred a construction from their languages onto an asymmetrical structure. 7

Affixing, too, frequently appears to be Germanic in nature and follows the Danish pattern.

I. Suffixes

A. -dom, Danish -dom, English meaning: province or sphere of something

The suffix -dom has been used in English since the days of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. But -dom had become non-productive in creating new words. This suffix experienced a revival in North America which has now spread to the rest of the English speaking world. 8 A list of new words includes: boredom, butlerdom, Christmasdom, filmdom, gangsterdom, lobsterdom, Nazidom, officialdom, stardom, and waifdom. Danish has such frequently used words as fattigdom, rigdom, kristendom, jumfrudom, barndom, etc.

7 Compare "the dejected man" and "inclined to be".

B. -fest, Danish -fest, English meaning: celebration participation by a large group

Songfest, slugfest, gabfest, talkfest, bloodfest, are recent American coinages of a rather slangish nature. Compare the Danish brydefest, dobsfest, jubuliumsfest, julefest, etc. Louise Pound further lists the American ananiasfest, batfest, blarneyfest, crabfest, eatfest, gabblefest, gadfest, grubfest, jawfest, singfest, smilefest, smokefest, sobfest, spooffest, stuntfest, swatfest, and walkfest. These latter nouns are not often used nowadays.  

C. -isere, Danish -ize, English extended meaning or use: to so treat or handle

This suffix has had a long history in the English language having come from the Latin izare and the Greek izo. On the American continent, this suffix has experienced great productivity in the creation of new words. The impetus here may have been produced by technological development and social whim, e.g. newspaper head lines style and advertising style, but the correlation between American suffixing priorities and Danish morphological structure (along with the morphology of other Germanic languages) is observably striking. Martin S. Allwood lists in American and British the following words with the suffix -ize which have special and novel uses in American

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English: burglarize, finalize, hospitalize, personalize, rubberize, and slenderize. Brian Foster mentions that finalize is evidently an Americanism in origin and adds liquidize, vitaminize, homogenize, pressurize, Africanize, and sanforize. British immigrants, newly arrived in Vancouver, B.C., object indignantly to Americanize, computerize, hospitalize and modernize.

D. -vis, Danish -wise, English extended meaning or use: to turn almost any noun into an adverb

The use of -wise is by no means new; we have such old standbys as clockwise, crosswise, likewise, nowise, and otherwise with -wise meaning manner or direction. This morpheme, however, aside from such set compound words has become archaic. The American innovation gives a new usage to this suffix, namely to change nouns into adverbs signifying something of the nature of "in regard to". Brian Foster believes this extended usage came forth in America in the twentieth century due to unconscious interlingual transference by German immigrants. Scandinavian participation was undoubtedly a contributing factor. A list of such words is very long; some typical examples include: armchairwise, cashwise, incomewise, moneywise, sportswise, transportationwise, timewise, weatherwise, weightwise.

11 Brian Foster, op. cit., pp. 190-191.
12 Ibid., pp. 94-95.
II. Prefix

A. u-, Danish un-, English meaning: opposite, negative, not entirely extended usage

In American English there has been a tendency to freely place un- in front of words which previously did not have such prefixes. Compare unclear with uklar and unalike with ulige. Even unAmerican has its forerunner in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Danish udansk and utysk. Brian Foster notes German influence in American usage of un- and comments on unwasteful life, un-hero, unfunny, un-books, un-radio, unpublicity, unfreedom, unrobust health, unrich, unprofessional, uncola, unlookalikeable.¹³

¹³Ibid., pp. 170-5.
In the course of their history both English and Danish have developed a functional syntax very similar to one another. However, some of the differences between British and Northern American are also found in Danish as seen in the following list:

A. The position of a word in a sentence often determines its case:

1. It's me. Det er mig.
2. He is taller than me. Han er højere end mig.

Ambiguity occurs with sentences like number 3 above.

There has long been a tendency in both Danish and English for declensional case endings to be dropped, while word positioning has become increasingly significant in determining inter-word relationships.

Danish has evolved a more definite word order pattern than has English. (Danish scholars did not think that Danish had to conform to Latin and Greek quite as much as English scholars thought that English had to.) The linguistic contact of Danish with English helped to speed up an already existing movement within English. Compare the three sentences above and the demise of the distinction of who and whom:

Who should I see about my application?
Danish lost the distinction between who and whom centuries ago. Northern American has in general lost the distinction too. However, due to the written standard, we still experience some instances of whom as prescribed for written English or in the form of hyper-urbanisms. This reduction in the distinction of who/whom to simply who may have occurred as a result of word order requirements; whom, if placed at the beginning of a sentence found itself invariably changed to the nominative case.

B. The attributive noun modifies the abstract noun:

The readiness with which American English forms compound nouns has been noted by H.L. Mencken who writes:

German influence may also have something to do with the extraordinary facility with which American forms compound nouns. In most other modern languages the process is rare, and English itself lags far behind American. But in German it is almost un-restrcited.¹

This is a very true statement but weak in the sense that it slights the other continental Germanic languages. Certainly the Scandinavian languages have made an important contribution to this phenomenon in American English.

This tendency to more freely form compound nouns manifests itself in several different ways in North American. First there is the attributive noun. The attributive noun has long been used in English placed in front of another noun in order to modify it very much as an adjective modifies a noun.

¹The American Language, New York: 1937, p. 159.
In standard British English, however, the attributive noun has been used to modify only the concrete noun, as in such expressions as speech organ. The use of the attributive noun has been extended in America to include the modification of the abstract noun, speech control. This extended usage which Britain has now imported from America is a time honored, normal structure of the Danish language, compare the Danish næstekærlished (charity), frostskade (frost injury), elskovsleg (dalliance), variationsevne (aptitude for variation), magtomraade (sphere of influence), sprogbehandling (style), etc.

A list of typical American attributive nouns includes the following:

- speech therapy
- installment plan
- tense sequence
- neighborhood projects
- music experiences
- language usage
- shop activities
- teacher effort
- pupil activities
- pupil use
- pupil participation
- pupil co-operation
- child command
- tool subjects
- tool activities
- oil-slick damage
- Hoover agitation
- employee morale
- employee ownership
- employee responsibility
- energy resources
- vessel excellence

Ambiguities become apparent when we see child guidance alongside of teacher guidance or with soldier discipline or the title The Idiot Teacher, a book published in Britain in 1952. H.W. Horwill writes of this adjectival use of substantives stating, "This practice is far more common in America than in England."²

²SPE Tract 45, p. 192.
C. Attributive nouns without the Saxon genitive:

There is a second type of attributive noun in American English which also has its Danish forerunner. This attributive noun is in contrast to its counterpart in Britain which has the Saxon genitive, e.g. butcher's shop, barber's shop. The neglect of the Saxon genitive is patterned on the Danish barberstue, skraedderbutik, slagterbod, etc. Thus in American English we can list barber shop, butcher shop and tailor shop. An extension of this type of compounding may be seen in sport coat and sport jacket.

D. The word "half" becomes a prefix:

A third type of compounding is characteristic of both Danish and American as opposed to British. Concerning this H.W. Horwill in "American Variations" writes, "A difference in the order of words may be noted in the use of the indefinite article." An American will say a half mile, a half hour, a half dozen, a half inch, a half pound and the like, whereas a Britisher will say half a mile, half an hour, half a dozen, half an inch... The Danish pattern for this construction is en halvmil, en halvtimer, the not so common en halvdusin, en halvtommer, and et halvpund.

E. The adjective free becomes a suffix:

A fourth type of compounding in American is simple and direct; it is the adjective free used as a hyphenated post-posed member of a compound word, some examples are ice-free,

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3 SPE Tract 45, pp. 191-2.
germ-free, alcohol-free, nicotin-free, caffeine-free, sugar-free and rent-free. The Danish pattern is isfri, alcoholfri, sukkerfri, etc. 4

F. Adverbial extensions:

"The adverb, on the whole, has a far more important role in America than in Britain." 5 In the Scandinavian languages the adverb, more specifically the adverbial particle, has an even greater role, being a part of both separable and inseparable verbs. The strong position that the adverb enjoys in the Scandinavian languages has been one of the bases from which the English adverb has received added importance in America.

The adverb with its extended usage may now be used to intensify verbs which have endured in Britain for centuries without such help. These adverbs may seem useless or added weight to some British observers; nevertheless they fill in a gap for millions of immigrants and their descendants. We find:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>Americanized Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>add up</td>
<td>eat up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat up</td>
<td>face up to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>check up</td>
<td>figure out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close down</td>
<td>get it over with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dust off</td>
<td>give out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>load up</td>
<td>start out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heat up</td>
<td>start in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lock up</td>
<td>start up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lose out</td>
<td>test out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meet up with</td>
<td>try out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Steven J. Byington in "The Attributive Noun Once More" Am. Sp. vol. 7, p. 74, comments that this construction and that of nouns prefixed by world (World War, world history, and world commerce) smack strongly of "made in Germany" and thinks the language richer for their addition.

5 H.W. Horwill, SPE Tract 45, p. 194.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>miss out on</th>
<th>visit with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pass up</td>
<td>watch out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rest up</td>
<td>win out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shut down</td>
<td>wipe off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sound out</td>
<td>wrap up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This list was compiled from a multitude of sources, among them being G.V. Carey, Walther Fischer, Marian Gleason, and H.W. Horwill.

G. The American separable verb replaces Romance "impurities":

The use of adverbs in America has another distinctive feature—the preference of a combination of a monosyllabic verb and adverb to a polysyllabic verb. (Here we have an example of the movement back to the Anglo-Saxon or purer Germanic at the expense of the Romance elements in English.) Thus, we have go out for collapse, throw down for reject, pass up for decline, let up for desist, slip up for commit an error, put across for secure the adoption of, stand for for tolerate, stand up to for resist, get away with for succeed, and get by for manage. H.W. Horwill states:

The advantage of the American idiom is that it preserves the vividness of the metaphor, while in the English idiom one has almost come to forget that the term employed involves any metaphor at all.6

It might be fair to mention that American English seems invariably to resort to Latin and Greek based words when social uneasiness or taboo prevails, compare mortician, memorial gardens, forward defense, or Department of Defense, Sigma Chi Alpha, and sanitation engineer, with undertaker, churchyard,

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6SPE Tract 45, p. 195.
aggression, War Office, the Club, and plumber or dustman.

H. Separable verb syntax pattern follows Danish:

A possible Danish influence is to be seen in the frequency with which the American language places the adverbial particle of the separable verb after the object of the verb instead of immediately after the verb. Thus we have I took my shoes off rather than I took off my shoes. The Danish is Jeg tog mine sko af. Only in "folkeviser" (scaldic poetry) is a syntactical transformation possible.

I. "So that" construction reinforced by Danish substratum:

In America, a consequence clause that follows an adjective by "enough" has a structure which differs markedly from the standard British. This structure parallels exactly the Danish. G.V. Carey lists the following examples:  

1. It was late enough so that wedding guests had already reached the church.
   Det var sent nok til at...
   It was late enough for wedding guests to have...

2. ... an exercise gentle enough so that the doctors had not forbidden it.
   ... en øvelse mild nok (til) at læggerne havde ikke forbud det.
   ... an exercise gentle enough for the doctors not to have...

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7American into English, London: 1953, p. 25. The Danish is mine.
3. The drug stupefies them long enough so that they can be caught.
   Droget bedrover dem lang nok til at...
   The drug stupefies them long enough for them to be caught.

J. The relative pronoun reduced to one item:

There is a noticeable co-occurrence regarding the relative pronoun. Regardless of the situation, in Danish the relative pronoun can be designated with a single lexical item, e.g. som (except for the genitive hvis). Likewise, Northern American that serves for all occurrences of the relative pronoun (except for the genitive whose).

K. The omission of the subordinate conjunction that:

Otto Jespersen in *Growth and Structure of the English Language* wrote of the omission of the subordinate conjunction that as one of several correspondences between Modern English and Modern Danish which he felt might possibly date back to the Viking settlements. Although this claim can not be verified, (compare "Scandinavian Influence on English Syntax" in *PMLA* vol. 74, pp. 503-510), the intimate fusion of the two languages must certainly have influenced syntactical relations. A revival or reinforcement of this possible Scandinavian influence may be observed in the frequency of the omission of the conjunction that in the "second Danelaw".

Example: I think it is good. Jeg synes, det er godt.

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L. Danish and German omit and in five hundred fifty: Northern American very frequently omits and in counting and transcribing numerals, e.g. six hundred thirty, four hundred seven, and three hundred forty-eight. The Danish equivalents are: sex hundrede tredive, fire hundrede syv, tre hundrede otte og fyrre. Carey on page 26 establishes this as an Americanism.

M. An American anocolthon has a Danish background:

The tendency in American English for one type of sentence to lack grammatical sequence can best be understood by analyzing its Danish forerunner. In relaxed Danish speech, the phonetic representations of both at, the infinitive particle, and og, the coordinating conjunction, have experienced reduction or "Aufhebung" to be an unstressed [ə]. Compare (Jens) Otto Jespersen's Modersmalets Fonetik, Copenhagen, 1966, p. 180. A diagram of the reduction of these two words follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{at} - \text{to} \\
[ət] \\
[æ]
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{og} - \text{and} \\
[o] \\
[ɔ]
\end{array}
\]

At varying degrees of "carefulness" all phonetic representations occur.

The following examples with translation will further demonstrate this syntactical aberration:

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{American into English}, London: 1953.
\end{itemize}
1. I am going downtown and (to) buy a map.
   Jeg skal in til byen og køb en landkort.
2. Be sure and (to) watch next week's show.
   Være sikker for og se næste uges udsendelse.
3. I would recommend that you try and (to) do that.
   Jeg ville anbefale at du prov og gøre det.

In each of the above sentences, the Danish og should prescriptively be at. The result of this "Aufhebung" followed by the unitary identification of og and at as og is vividly observable in Danish English and in Danish American and Danish Canadian speech. This phenomenon is now widely spread in American English.

N. Danish and American have simpler syntax than British:

In general, Danish and American are more easily read than British because the sentences are not as long and involved, i.e. British English has more relative clauses, embedded structure and U collocation\(^\text{10}\) than has either Danish or American. This results from social conditions and national character more than any linguistic criteria. In Britain, a more formal, literary style is expected in more situations. Perhaps, the tradition of excellence in scholarship in Britain in the "public schools" and universities has fostered a

\(^{10}\) Alan S.C. Ross' "U and non-U" in Noblesse Oblige, p. 31 writes: "Among European languages English is, surely, the one most suited to the study of linguistic class distinction." The implication is that British English contains more linguistic markers of class distinction than any other European language. The upper class accent and dialect is unavailable to the lower classes.
cultivated style among those who will later come to publish or broadcast. In Denmark and even more so in America the national priorities have been towards universal and uniform education with the resultant leveling of excellence and of class dialects. Denmark and America are by no means similar; Denmark, thoroughly European, has experienced uniformity in education and leveling of class dialects politically through social-democracy; America's relative lack of class dialects can best be explained by the historical fact that in a frontier republic class differences were difficult to create or maintain.
CHAPTER V

IDIOMS AND LEXICAL ITEMS CLASSED AS AMERICANISMS
WITH THEIR PROBABLE DANISH PROTOTYPES

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and articles frequently referred to in this chapter are listed below with abbreviations used:


The Danish influence in Northern American is most evident not in the level of morphology or syntax but in the patterning of idioms and lexical items. In the following corpus of idioms and lexical items, the citation is first given followed by its meaning or extended usage. Then three sentences will follow: 1. The Northern American sentence; 2. The British Standard English equivalent (Br. Std.)¹ (if no British equivalent is available, the British expression is explanatory instead of idiomatic); 3. The Danish expression from which the American may have been derived. Next will come a comment which will attempt to establish the expression as an Americanism, accompanied by any additional comment on the usage, historical background, and sources to be compared.

The Northern American expression is given for a number of reasons: 1. The Scandinavians settled in the northern area of America and influenced speech in that area the most. 2. Northern American is one of the two dialects which are basic to General American, the colloquial speech of more recently settled areas of the United States. 3. The Northern American Dialect, a prestigious dialect, is being used frequently as a literary dialect at this time when authors and indeed society make little distinction between a colloquial style and literary style.

¹Here the standard written language is meant; the accent is not important here though usually it will be S.S.B. or an approximation, see page 10.
1. **ALL IN ALL**

   Meaning: all things considered.

   Northern: Taken *all in all* this was a pretty good day.

   Br. Std.: All things considered this was a pretty good day.

   Danish: *Alt i alt dagen var gænske god.*

   Comment: NBF pp. 92-3: The British usage died out sometime after Shakespeare. This was revived or re-created in America by 1851 in Melville's *Moby Dick*. Note the less equivalent German *alles in allem genommen*.

2. **ALL MORNING, SUMMER, WEEK**

   Meaning: Omission of the.

   Northern: People had waited *all morning* for the sun.

   Br. Std.: People had waited *all the morning* for the sun.

   Danish: Folket ha ventet *hele morgen* for solen.

   Comment: HWH p. 191: Although the British may say *all day* and *all night*, American has *all morning, all week*, etc. without the. This may be due to (a) internal symmetricalization, (b) immigrants making English more regular, and (c) Scandinavian translation loans of the post-posed definite article. Compare CAR p. 26, NBF p. 232, and MAU p. 6.

3. **ALL TIME**

   Meaning: ever

   Northern: These are the greatest Pan Am Games of *all time*.
This is the worst cold spell ever.

Danish: De er allertiders beste Pan Am Games.
Det er allertiders kolde vi har nu.

Comment: BF p. 331: notes that this idiom came to Britain from American film advertising. Headline writers and ad-men have patterned much from the terse continental Germanic languages.

4. **ALMOST**

**Meaning:** nearly, all but, next to, little short of, practically, virtually, so to speak, as good as, pretty well, just about, etc.

**Northern:** He is almost through.

**Br. Std.:** He has nearly finished.

**Danish:** Han er næsten færdig.

**Comment:** Burroughs, G.E.R. in *A Study of the Vocabulary of Young Children* (London: 1937), lists this as one of five words which are found in all first thousand word frequency lists in America and not within the first thousand in Britain. Thus we have an Americanism on frequency credentials only. The Danish correlation is pointed out by the DEO, Vol. II, pp. 39 and 60: "N.B. næsten kan gengives paa mange Maader". The Danish næsten can be translated into English in many ways; the practical immigrants found one "safe and definite" translation for their
word and became oblivious to the other stylistic variations. Compare with comment on modal verbs p. 27.

5. **AND DO**

   Be sure and do
   Try and do
   I'm going upstairs and get

See SYNTAX, Paragraph M.

6. **ANGLE**

Meaning: viewpoint, perspective

Northern: Look at medicare from my angle.
Br. Std.: Look at medicare from my point of view.
Danish: Betragte sygekassen fra min synsvinkle.

Comment: Eric Partridge in *Usage and Abusage* (London: 1965), p. 35, says that angle is an Americanism. The first known recorded usage of Synvinkle is dated 1799 by OODS.

7. **ANY**

Meaning: at all

Northern: That didn't help him any.
Br. Std.: That didn't help him at all.
Danish: Det hjælp ham ikke noget.

Comment: NIC p. 28 states, "any used for at all is a (US) construction to be avoided." This Danish loan translation to American occurs only in final position of a phrase, whereas British has "That
didn't at all help." German has not a close equivalent. Compare EVN p. 36. a pronoun used instead of the adverbial phrase at all.

8. ANYPLACE

Meaning: anywhere
Northern: I can't go anyplace.
Br. Std.: I can't go anywhere.
Danish: Jeg kan ikke gaa nogen steder hen.

Comment: EVN says, "This usage is not acceptable in Great Britain but occurs too often in the U.S. in written as well as spoken English, to be called nonstandard." Compare CAR p. 30 NIC p. 28, FOW p. 31. The -place morpheme seems to be based in part at least on a Scandinavian loan translation of sted found so symmetrical in Danish and Northern American:

Northern: place anyplace everyplace noplace
Br. Std.: place anywhere everywhere nowhere
Danish: sted nogle steder alle steder ingen stered

Northern: someplace another place
Br. Std.: somewhere another place
Danish: nogle steder et andet sted

9. ANYMORE

Meaning: any longer
Northern: They don't work there anymore.
Br. Std.: They no longer work there.
Danish: De arbejder ikke der mere.

The Scandinavian sememic preference would naturally be *more* and the syntactic preference would be subject, verb, adverb of place, adverb of time.

10. **AROUND**

Meaning: about, approximately

Northern: We left around ten o'clock.

Br. Std.: We left about ten o'clock.

Danish: Vi tog afsted omkring klokken ti.

Comment: EVN p. 41, states that in America,

It is used to mean within a certain area as in They Traveled around Europe, and approximately, as in He is worth around a million. These uses have been standard in the U.S. for at least seventy-five years. (Dated 1957)

The Danish *omkring* may have been the source of the Americanism and if not then it certainly reinforced *around* to its high frequency rating.

It is interesting here also to note that Northern American *approximately* is not restricted to indicate approaching closely, coming near to,
but also mean to exceed slightly, i.e. a synonym of around: I have twenty-three dollars, I have approximately twenty dollars.

11. **ASIDE FROM**

Meaning: apart from, in addition to, except for

Northern: Aside from the material, it cost $200.

Br. Std.: In addition to the material, it cost $200.

Danish: Ved siden af materialet kostede det 200 kr.

Comment: The Dansk Engelsk Ordbog designates this usage as U.S. and translates it ved siden af. This translation may also indicate its source. HDAM designates this as an Americanism but dates it 1818, a bit too early for likely Scandinavian influence. Compare CAR 33, SWC 219, FOW 39, NIC 36.

12. **AUTOMOBILE**

Meaning: motor-car

Northern: automobile, auto

Br. Std.: motor-car

Danish: automobil, or bil

Comment: FOW p. 43 comments, "In spite of our general disposition to borrow words from America we have firmly rejected the U.S. automobile in favour of our motor-car, motor, or now more generally car..."

Of interest here is the continued use of automobile in America. One explanation must well be
the German use of Auto and the Scandinavian use bil. Together these German languages have kept automobile alive.

13. BACKED

Meaning: reversed

Northern: I backed the car.

Br. Std.: I reversed the car.

Swedish: Jag backed bilen.

Comment: ALW p. 123 only lists the above sentences. This item occurs only in motoring.

14. BACK OF

Meaning: behind

Northern: (In) back of the store.

Br. Std.: Behind the shop.

Swedish: Bakom affaren.

Comment: ALW p. 123 gives only these phrases. NIC p. 44 writes,

back of as a preposition is an American, not a British, idiom. Much as it is decried by many US scholars, it is seemingly established, at least colloquially, as in Back of (i.e. behind) the house is a wide lawn bordered by flowers. In back of, however, is less respectable, even in US.

In back of is no doubt formed on analogy with in front of and is preferred sometimes to the to the clipped back of. Puritanical taboo may be at work regarding behind. The Swedish bakom is a possible source. Compare FOW p. 46 and CAR p. 34.
15. **BAGGAGE**
Meaning: luggage
Northern: lay your **baggage** here.
Br. Std.: Lay your luggage here.
Danish: **Læg bagagen** her.
Comment: FOW p. 47 comments, "Englishmen travel by land with luggage and by sea and air with **baggage**. Americans, more sensibly travel everywhere with **baggage**." CAR p. 34 notes that luggage is more frequent in English and very rare in American. Danish has only **bagage** which may have swayed American usage. American puritan taboo may again be present, cf. baggage (a saucy girl).

16. **BAKERY**
Meaning: a baker's establishment
Northern: Did you buy it at the **bakery**?
Br. Std.: Did you buy it at the baker's?
Danish: **Købte du den vid bageriet**.
Comment: SWC p. 228 states, "possibly from the Dutch **bakkerij**, noted as a novelty by English visitors to the United States as late as 1846." The first dating is given as 1827.

17. **BARBER SHOP, BUTCHER SHOP, TAILOR SHOP**
See Syntax paragraph C. CAR pp. 26 and 34. ST 86.
HWH 176.
18. **BEAN POLE**

Meaning: a reference for something very thin

Northern: He is as thin as a bean pole.

Br. Std.: He is as thin as a lath.

Danish: Han er saa tynd som en bønnestage.

Comment: a good correlation not commented on by others yet.

19. **BELONG**

Meaning: a new meaning in collocation with prepositions in, with, among or no preposition at all; being an integral part of something, or member of some group, and of being accepted or expected. Before 1932 the British usage was invariably followed by to.

Northern: This tape doesn't belong here.

" She actually belongs in a higher grade.

" This book belongs among the reserve collection.

" This pan belongs with the other teflons.

Br. Std.: This tape shouldn't be here.

" She actually should be placed in a higher class.

" This book belongs to the reserve collection.

" This pan should be with the other teflons.

Danish: Dette baand hører ikke hjemme her.

" Hun hører faktisk hjemme i næste klasse.

" Denne bog hører til blandt de reserverede bøger.

" Denne pande hører hjemme blandt de andre Teflon-pander.
Comment: OED first dating 1861 in O.W. Holmes Elsie Venner. HWH p. 196:

The explanation of the American use of in, with, and among after belong, which in England is invariably followed by to, seems to be that belong may be used in America in a sense unknown in England.

The Danish høre hjemme and høre til are possible precursors to this American usage. Compare NBF p. 86.

20. **BETTER**

Meaning: more than

Northern: He needs it better than I do.

Br. Std.: He needs it more than I do.

Swedish: Han behöfver det bättre and jag.

Comment: TOR p. 217 listed only this example. Another example from a TV show follows: I love my world better than yours. Jeg kan lide min verden bedre end din.

21. **BLADE**

Meaning: newspaper name

Northern: Blade

Br. Std.: Telegraph, Times, Observer, etc.

Danish: Blad.

Comment: Winifred Gregory in *American Newspapers: A Union List* (New York: 1937), lists the Browerville Blade, the Hokah Blade, and the
Pelican Rapids Blade in Minnesota alone. Wild West movies sometimes have a "Blade" in the mining town for local color.

22. BLANK

Meaning: a form

Northern: Fill out the blank on the counter.

Br. Std.: Fill in the form on the counter.

Danish: Udfyld blanketten paa disken.

Comment: OED p. 902 marks obsolete "A document 'paper' or form with spaces left blank to be filled up at the pleasure of the person to whom it is given." The quotation dates range from 1586 to 1780. This is most probably a case of marginality but some reinforcement from the Danish blanket is certain. Compare MAU p. 30 and fill out.

23. BOAT

Meaning: ocean-going vessel

Northern: Boats from all over the world pass by here.

Br. Std.: Ships from all over the world pass by here.

Danish: Baade fra hele verden sejler forbi her.

Comment: The Dansk-Engelsk Ordbog notes under baad (ogs, om storre Skib) establishing this usage as standard Rigsdansk. It is typical in language contact that the minority language standard form will influence only the colloquial form of the majority language.
24. **BOOK BINDERY**

Meaning: a book binder's establishment

Northern: Take it down to the book bindery.

Br. Std.: Take it down to the book binder's.

Danish: Tag det ned til bogbinderiet.

Comment: SWC p. 228 dates this as early as 1810 possibly after the Dutch binderij and it is established as an Americanism by the Penny Cyclopedia in 1833. The Danish bogbinderi and the German Buchbinderei undoubtedly reinforced this usage.

25. **BY**: short for good-bye--by analogy from Hi; see HI.

26. **CANDY**

Meaning: sweets

Northern: I love candy.

Br. Std.: I love sweets.

Danish: Jeg elsker kandis.

Comment: In the nineteenth century Danish kandis was the only sweets Danish children could normally buy; it became a generic term for all sweets in Danish and possibly transferred to Northern American. This item is common European from Arabic qand. Br. Std. has sugar candy. The Swedish form and the older Danish form is kandi. CAR pp. 38, 39 establishes this usage as an Americanism.
27. **CLOUDBURST**

Meaning: a downpour of rain

Northern: The cloudburst flooded the streets.

Br. Std.: The downpour flooded the streets.

Danish: Skybrudet oversvømmede gaderne.

Comment: HDAM gives it an initial date of 1817, the next is 1872 and the "+" he gives it indicates "that the word or sense clearly or to all appearance originated within the present limits of the United States." Danish *sky* means *cloud*. There was a semantic mix-up during the Viking era; the Anglians borrowed the word but changed the meaning, a loan-shift.

28. **COME BY**

Meaning: call, look, look s.o. up, visit

Northern: It was nice to have him come by after church.

Br. Std.: It was nice of him to call after church.

Danish: Det var rart at han komme forbi efter gudstjeneste.

Comment: MAU p. 74 establishes it as an Americanism. The EDO translates come by as komme forbi and gives the example: Next time you're over here *come by*.

29. **COOKBOOK**

Meaning: cookery book

Northern: Cookbook
Br. Std.: Cookery book.
Danish: Kogebo.

30. **CONDUCTOR**
Meaning: guard, an official on a train
Northern: The conductor punched my ticket.
Br. Std.: The guard punched my ticket.
Danish: Konduktøren klippede min billet.
Comment: HDAM cites it as an Americanism and gives 1839 as the initial date. Compare MAU p. 79 and Glen p. 35.

31. **COWORKER**
Meaning: a fellow worker, a colleague
Northern: Coworker.
Br. Std.: Co-worker, fellow worker, colleague.
Danish: Medarbejder.
Comment: HWH p. 176 comments on the American omission of the hyphen. Danish has no hyphen in native compound words. Co- itself seems to be an Americanism, perhaps a loan-creation from the Danish med- and the German mit-.

32. **DOCTOR**
Meaning: title for Ph.D., M.D., Surgeon, Dentist, Druggist, etc.
Northern: Good morning, Dr. Lee; may I help you?
Br. Std.: Good morning, Mr. Lee; may I help you?
Danish: God morgen Dr. Jensen, er De blivet betjent?
Comment: Glen p. 46 writes:

In England, you may be a doctor of science or music or philosophy, or almost anything but medicine, yet be plain 'Mr.' just the same. Even dentists are not referred to as 'doctor'. It is a safe bet that anyone known as 'Doctor Someone' is either a medical doctor, or else a foreign scholar (probably of economics or philosophy).

In America as in continental Europe generally, it seems one is more title conscious. See titles. Compare PAR p. 314 and ST pp. 64, 65.

33. **DOLLAR**

Meaning: a monetary unit

Northern: Dollar. (a large unit of currency)
Br. Std.: Pound. (a large unit of currency)
Danish: Daler. (a large unit of currency)
Comment: Friedrich Kluge, in *Etymologisches Worterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin: 1963), states that *taler*, the original German form, is an abbreviation of *Joachimstaler* which in turn was a coinage (note pun) meaning "of the silver mined in the Joachim Valley." ST p. 19 tells us that the usage *dollar* was applied to a coin in the Spanish colonies of America and used in the British North American colonies. The Danish
daler together with its German and Dutch equivalents served to reinforce this usage.

34. -DOM: See Chapter III, paragraph I. A.

35. DUMB

Meaning: stupid

Northern: He is really dumb.

Br. Std.: He is rather stupid.

Danish: Neg, hvor er han dum.

Comment: Nearly all our sources comment on dumb. ST pp. 20-22 makes the longest comment and notes the productivity of dumb in: dumb-bell, dumb-rock, dumb-Dora, dumb-head, dumb egg, rum-dumb, dumb cluck, dumb blondes and others. NBF p. 93 mentions that "deaf and dumb" is being phased-out and replaced by "a deaf mute". Compare MAU pp. 113-4, HWH p. 176 and Webster who credits German Pennsylvanian Dutch and Dutch but neglects the Scandinavians.

36. EAT

Meaning: take one's meals

Northern: Did you eat yet? [ˈdɪ:tˌtʃɛt] (rapid speech)

Br. Std.: Have you had (breakfast) (lunch) (dinner) yet?

Danish: Har du ikke spist endu?

Comment: MAU p. 115:

There are many passages in the Authorized Version of the Bible where eat = take one's meals. This meaning, now obscure in England,
persists in America. (One may compare the use of the German *essen*).

The Danish *spise* probably reinforced this survival. Compare Swedish *äta* and HWH p. 176.

37. **-ERY**


38. **IN THE EVENT THAT**

**Meaning:** if

**Northern:** In the event that he comes tell him a lie.

**Br. Std.:** If he comes tell him a lie.

**Danish:** I tilfældet af at han kommer, fortæl ham en løgn.

**Comment:** NBF p. 57:

American is sometimes more pompous and long-winded than British, as is the cumbersome in the event that for 'if', a ponderous phrase which is gaining ground in Britain though very slowly.

39. **EVERYPLACE:** see Anyplace.
40. -FEST: See Chapter III, paragraph I. B.

41. FEVER

Meaning: an abnormally high body temperature
Northern: She had a pretty bad fever.
Br. Std.: She had a rather high temperature.
Danish: Hun havde en ganske slem feber.
Comment: Glen p. 136:

When in Swedish you say that someone har feber (literally "fever"), we say in English that 'he has a bit of a temperature' or 'a high temperature'.

EVN p. 176 indicates that temperature probably began as a euphemism to avoid the once-frightening fever. Scandinavian and other Germanic languages served to keep the original usage.

42. FILL OUT

Meaning: to write information on a form
Northern: Fill out this form in BLOCK LETTERS.
Br. Std.: Fill in this form. Please Print.
Danish: Udfyld blanketten med blokbogstaver.
Comment: Walther Fischer in "Amerikanisches Englisch" in Handbuch der Amerikakunde (Berlin: 1931):

Gelegentlich scheinen beim Amerikanischen deutsche Einflusse die Wahl der Praposition zu bestimmen (etwa amer. to fill out a blank, bit. Engl. to fill in a form....).

The Scandinavian influence was present too.
Compare CAR p. 50.
43. **FINALLY**

Meaning: at last, at length

Northern: Finally the north wind gave up.

Br. Std.: At last the north wind gave up.

Danish: Endelig gav nordenvinden op.

Comment: CAR p. 50:

In English this adverb normally marks the last stage in a series fully stated: 'He stopped, stared at me, stammered something, and finally turned and ran.' American uses it far more freely, often with little to lead up to it, and occasionally where 'at length' or 'at last' would be the natural English phrase: I stared at him for a moment. Finally I said ... I think I finally understand what went wrong./Finally you're here./So you finally came ('so you have come at last').

The Danish endelig would fit in perfectly in each case of finally above. Compare NBF p. 210, the footnote.

44. **FIRE** (v.tr. and absol.)

Meaning: dismiss from place of employment

Northern: Joan got fired yesterday.

Br. Std.: Joan was sacked yesterday.

Danish: Johanne blev fyret igaar.

Comment: HDAM p. 975 indicates it to be an Americanism and lists 1887 as the first date. OODS says this is probably the same word as the sixteenth century Danish fyre loaned from Plattdeutsch firen actually the same word as fyre, to celebrate, cf. fyraften and German Feierabend.
45. **FIRST NAME**

Meaning: Christian name or given name
Northern: Remember: last name first and first name last.
Br. Std.: Remember: surname first and Christian name last.
Danish: Husk nu at anbringe efternavet først og fornavnet sidst.
Comment: CAR p. 51 says that first name is more usual than "Christian name" in America; in England this frequency rating is reversed. This constitutes another case for Scandinavian reinforcement. Last name and surname also have this frequency relation. Compare Glen p. 96.

46. **FLOOR** (numbering)

Meaning: storey, level

Only in North America and Norway of the Western world does one find that the ground level floor and the first floor are synonyms. Thus the tenth floor in America and Norway is the ninth floor in England.

47. **FREE**; See Chapter IV paragraph E.

48. **FREEZING**

Meaning: uncomfortable due to the low temperature
Northern: I am freezing.
Br. Std.: I am so cold, it's quite chilly.
Danish: Jeg fryser.
Comment: This idiom is used with great frequency in both Denmark and Northern America. Often the temperature can be quite comfortable, e.g. 20°C, 72°F but still one hears I'm freezing, Jeg fryser. TOR p. 217 points out the parallel structure and usage of the Swedish expression and its equivalent in America.

49. FRESH

Meaning: cheeky, impudent

Northern: He is awfully fresh.

Br. Std.: He is very cheeky.

Danish: Han er meget frek.

Comment: NBF p. 93 comments that fresh is an example of the process whereby the errors of German-Americans have enlarged the scope of the English dictionary. Foster continues,

In German the equivalent word for fresh as in fresh air is frisch, but there is another word frech, 'cheeky', 'impudent' which is vaguely similar in sound to the English fresh. It appears that German immigrants in the U.S.A. must have taken fresh to be equivalent not only to frisch but also to frech.

Hence to get fresh equals to make amorous advances. Substitute Scandinavian for German, frisk for frisch, and fraek for frech and a good case for Scandinavian influence is made. Also, Danish humor and conversation is far more oriented towards sex than is that of the earnest Germans; Danish, therefore, may be a more
logical source of to get fresh. Compare ST pp. 29-30 and HWH p. 176.

50. GET ANYTHING OUT OF
Meaning: to reap benefits from
Northern: Are you getting anything out of your club?
Br. Std.: Do you feel your club is worth while?
Danish: Faar du noget ud af din klub?
Comment: The parallel structure is striking.

51. GET TO See modal verbs, Chapter III, paragraph H.

52. HOW IS IT GOING?
Meaning: a greeting in phatic speech
Northern: Hi, how's it going?
Br. Std.: Good morning, how are you?
Danish: Davs, hvordan gaar det?
Comment: The American is a literal translation of the Danish. Ger: Wie geht es Ihnen? or better Wie geht's? is an obvious counterpart.

53. GOOD (adv.)
Meaning: well
Northern: We know it good.
Br. Std.: We know it well.
Danish: Vi ved det godt.
Comment: This is supported by other Germanic languages.
54. **You've NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD**

**Meaning:** things are better than ever

**Northern:** You've *never* had it so good.

**Br. Std.:** Things have never been better.

**Danish:** Du har *aldrig haft det saa godt*.

**Comment:** During a two-year stay in Germany I may have heard the literal translation of this Americanism a half dozen times, but in Denmark I heard this expression several times a month. In Vancouver, today, this expression is common in Danish, German and a multitude of other languages. It is a popular activity of immigrants to compare the material advantages of Canada with those of the Old Country. Goethe once used this idiom, compare NBF p. 89.

55. **GIVE**

**Meaning:** yield, produce

**Northern:** This farm will *give* forty bushels per acre.

**Br. Std.:** This farm will yield forty bushels per acre.

**Danish:** Denne gaard vil *give* fyrre skæpper pr hektar.

**Comment:** Jesse W. Harris, "German Language Influences, St. Clair Co., Illinois", *Am. Sp.* vol. 23, p. 106, establishes this as a Germanism in America. This usage is widespread.

56. **be GRADUATED from**

**Meaning:** to receive a degree from an institution
Northern: He was graduated from M.S.U. in 1930.
Br. Std.: He graduated from Edinburgh in 1930.
Danish: Han blev dimitteret (promoveret) fra M.S.U. i 1930.
Comment: HWH p. 181 notes that Americans prefer to say be graduated and on page 198 observes that graduate from is un-English.

57. **GREET**

Meaning: give my regards to

Northern: Greet my friends for me.
Br. Std.: Give my regards to my friends.
Danish: Hils mine venner fra mig.
Comment: TOR p. 216 shows the similarity in structure between Swedish and Northern.

58. **HALF** See compound nouns, Chapter IV, paragraph D.

59. **HALTER**

Meaning: a bra designed for a more public display.

Northern: She was in halter and shorts.
Br. Std.: She was in bra and shorts.
Danish: Hun var klædt i busteholder og shorts.
Comment: NBF p. 87 notes this is an Americanism.

60. **HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN**

NBF p. 22 informs us that this form is an Americanism. In England, this great fairy-tale writer is known as Hans Andersen. A truly
American form would be Hans C. Andersen but this is ruled out by Danish Americans who say either H.C. Andersen or Hans Christian Andersen.

61. HELP

Meaning: domestic servant
Northern: The help will be moving soon.
Br. Std.: The (domestic) servants will be moving soon.
Danish: Hushjælperne flytter snart.
Comment: EDO marks this as an Americanism. Help is an euphemism for servant. Danes and Americans are reluctant to show class distinctions in their homes. Compare HWH p. 185.

62. HEX (v. and n.)

Meaning: to cast a spell; a witch; a spell
Northern: He can hex you.
Br. Std.: He can cast a spell on you.
Danish: Han kan forhekse dig.
Comment: Webster credits this to Pennsylvania Dutch. The noun is a straight loan from the Germanic languages. Compare ST p. 36 and Math p. 798.

63. HI

Meaning: a greeting
Northern: Hi, how's it going?
Br. Std.: Hello, how are you?
Swedish: Hej; Hej paa dig!
Comment: Webster tells us that it comes from M.E. hy which he does not gloss. OED states: [a parallel form to Hey]. Hi enjoys very high frequency among students today. The American usage of Hi is more closely patterned on the Swedish greeting than on the M.E. interjection.

64. HOME (syntactically)

Meaning: at place of residence

Northern: No one was home when I called.

Br. Std.: No one was at home when I called.

Danish: Der var ingen hjemme, da jeg ringede.

Comment: CAR p. 56 establishes this usage as distinctively American. The deletion of at in American has its forerunner in the Danish postposed adverbial particle. Thus we have hjem, (home) and hjemme (at home): the schwa ending is reduced further to a zero grade in Jutlandish.

65. HOPEFULLY

Meaning: optimistic anticipation

Northern: Hopefully a decision will be made soon.

Br. Std.: We hope that a decision will be made soon.

Danish: Forhaabentlig bliver en afgørelse snart truffet.

Comment: The British usage of hopefully is very infrequent and always much later in the sentence. OED cites: He set to work hopefully. This is an adverb modifying the verb work. The
American usage allows hopefully to be the modifier of the whole sentence. A similar syntactical pattern is found with finally, endelig; strangely, mårkeligtvis; and luckily, heldigvis.

66. **IN BACK OF**: See back of.

67. **IN-BUILT**

Meaning: constructed as an integral part of

Northern: There is an *in-built* cooler in this unit.

Br. Std.: This unit contains a cooler.

Danish: Der er en *indbygget* koler i den her tingest.

Comment: Both *built-in* and *in-built* may have been modelled on the Danish. NBF p. 106 points to, G. *eingebaut*.

68. **INSIDE OF**

Meaning: Prepositional phrase of time

Northern: This paper is due *inside of* two weeks

Br. Std.: This paper is due in less than a fortnight.

Danish: Denne afhandling skal afleveres *inden* to uger.

Comment: This prepositional phrase is described as an Americanism by EVN p. 244 and OED. Both also mention that it is colonial. Although it follows a Danish usage, it may be a marginality as well with co-incidental Danish parallel form or Danish reinforcement. Compare German *innerhalb*. 
69. **IN TWO**

Meaning: break to pieces, to smithereens

Northern: The window pane broke in two.

Br. Std.: The window pane broke to pieces.

Danish: Vinduesruden gik itu.

Comment: The Dansk Engelsk Ordbog translates itu to all in pieces. The Danish and the American both mean the same but the British English in two must be taken literally.

70. **IN YEARS** See Prepositions.

71. **-IZE** See Morphology Chapter III, paragraph 1.C.

72. **JUST** (how, that, when, where, why, etc.)

Meaning: how exactly, precisely that...

Northern: Just when did you come home?

Br. Std.: When exactly did you come home?

Swedish: Just när kam ni hem?

Comment: NBF p. 46 calls these "American compounds". Norwegian and Swedish use these expressions often, cf. just när han kom (just when he came). The Danish usage of these expressions seems to be an obvious imitation of Swedish.

73. **LAST NAME** See first name.

74. **LOAN** (v.)

Meaning: to lend

Northern: He loaned his pen to me.
Br. Std.: He lent his pen to me.

Danish: Han laante mig sin pen.

Comment: OED says that this usage is now chiefly U.S. This verb, originally a form in M.E. from the Viking influence, lost its usefulness in Britain but continues in North America. This marginality was reinforced by the second mixing of Danish into English. Compare CAR p. 61, EVN p. 281, FOW p. 341, and D.E.O.

75. LONESOME

Meaning: having the feeling of loneliness

Northern: I feel lonesome these days.

Br. Std.: I feel lonely these days.

Danish: Jeg føler mig ensom i disse dage.

Comment: NBF p. 85 gives the credit for the tremendous popularity of this word to the German einsam. Given a choice between lonely and lonesome the German-American would prefer the latter because its second syllable would remind him of his own -sam. The Scandinavian-American would be reminded of his even more similar -som. OED indicates that this is from the Scotch; perhaps a Scandinavian loan to start with.

76. LOUSY

Meaning: mean, contemptible
Northern:  It was lousy of him to do that.
Br. Std.:  It was terrible of him to do that.
Danish:  Det var luset gjort af ham.
Comment:  SED observes, "Now rare". In North America and Denmark this usage is "not rare". Used with high frequency by Danish-Canadians and Danish-Americans.

77. MAD
Meaning:  angry, annoyed
Northern:  Are you mad at me?
Br. Std.:  Are you angry with me?
Danish:  Er du gal paa mig?
Comment:  OED notes, "Now only colloquial. (In many dialects in Great Britain and the U.S. the ordinary word is 'angry')." The American mad and the Danish gal both have dual meanings of angry and rabid.

78. MAKE DINNER
Meaning:  to prepare dinner.
Northern:  Did you make dinner yet?
Br. Std.:  Have you cooked dinner yet?
Danish:  Har du ikke lavet aftensmad endnu?
Comment:  Jesse W. Harris, "German Language Influences," Am. Sp., vol. 23, p. 106, cites this as a Germanism. Danish has the same structure. This is the preferred expression in Northern American.
79. **MAN**

Meaning: a husband

Northern: I am proud of my **man**.

Br. Std.: I am proud of my husband.

Danish: Jeg er stolt af min **mand**.

Comment: OED p. 101: "Now only Scotch and dialectal except in phrase man and wife. In Danish, **mand** is the usual word for **husband** and it is influential in the survival or revival of this form in America. Compare Sinclair Lewis, **Main Street**, p. 30.

80. **MAYBE**

Meaning: perhaps

Northern: **Maybe** he is tired.

Br. Std.: Perhaps he is tired.

Danish: **Maaske** er han træt.

Comment: **Maybe** is the word that Danish-Americans most easily choose to express their **maaske**. OED categorizes this as archaic and dialectal. BF p. 336 writes:

(...It is a fact that at a time when it was little-used in the standard speech of southern England "maybe" never quite died out of the vocabulary of good speakers in the north. But in the U.S.A. it has always had a very wide popularity; indeed many Americans consider "perhaps" to be a Briticism. "Maybe" is now in general usage in Britain, though even now it receives only an incidental mention in the Concise Oxford Dictionary). Although the dictionary does not label it as of U.S. origin it can hardly be doubted that the revival of this word is due to the American example, and
does not come from northern England, where in any case it is more often than not pronounced "mebbe"...

Compare also CAR p. 63, FOW p. 355, NIC p. 336.

81. MEAN

Meaning: cruel, evil, nasty
Northern: He is awfully mean.
Br. Std.: He is terribly nasty.
Danish: Han er rigtig gemen.
Comment: CAR p. 63, NIC p. 336, and the Dansk Engelsk Ordbog agree that the American adjectival usage is synonymous with cruel, evil, nasty, and bad; this usage is parallel to the Danish gemen. The British usage signifies stingy, petty, inferior, or humble.

82. (to be) NOT MUCH FOR

Meaning: to be enthusiastic about
Northern: I am not much for pink.
Br. Std.: I don't care for pink.
Danish: Jeg er ikke meget for lyserødt.
Comment: No one has commented on this co-occurrence.

83. NAMED

Meaning: appointed
Northern: Nixon named Laird Secretary of Defense.
Br. Std.: Nixon appointed Laird Minister of Defence.
Swedish: Nixon utnamnde Laird till forsvarsminister.
Comment: ALW p. 137 demonstrates the similarity of these two idioms.

84. **NEARBY** (adj.)

**Meaning:** close by, in the vicinity

**Northern:** A nearby hotel was raided.

**Br. Std.:** A neighboring hotel was raided.

**Danish:** Et nærliggende hotel blev angrebet.

**Comment:** OED characterizes this as chiefly U.S. NIC p. 358 and Fowler p. 382 also designate this usage as an Americanism.

85. **in the NEIGHBORHOOD**

**Meaning:** about

**Northern:** It cost in the neighborhood of 5,000 dollars.

**Br. Std.:** It cost about 5,000 dollars.

**Danish:** Det kostede i nærheden af 5,000 dollars.

**Comment:** EVN p. 315 writes:

Those British lions, Fowler, Horwill, and Partridge, unite in roaring at the American use of in the neighborhood of (The work will cost in the neighborhood of two million dollars) for about or nearly. Fowler calls it "a repulsive combination of polysyllabic humor and periphrasis." Partridge feels it to be "a bad and wholly unnecessary substitute." And Horwill notes with alarm that the expression has caught on in England. In the United States it is certainly standard, though it does seem awkward, vague, and unnecessary.

Nærheden is the usual "Rigsdansk" form for the English equivalent neighborhood.
86. **NOPE**
   Meaning: a reply in the negative
   Northern: **Nope**, he didn't come.
   Br. Std.: No, he did not come.
   Danish: Nej, han kom ikke.
   Comment: **Nope** is of interest to this research only insofar as **nope** could have been an analogy of **yep**. See **Yep**.

87. **NOPPLACE**: See anyplace.

88. **NUMBERS** (omission of and): See Chapter IV, paragraph L.

89. **ON**: See Prepositions.

90. **OUT FRONT, OUT BACK**
   Meaning: location
   Northern: He is **out front, out back**.
   Br. Std.: He is in front of the house, behind the house.
   Danish: Han er **ude foran, ude bagved**.
   Comment: The similarity is striking.

91. **PHRASAL VERBS**: See Chapter IV, paragraph F.

92. **PREPOSITIONS**

   The following prepositions are found to vary from the British Standard English usage while at the same time they agree with Rigsdansk:

   She lives **on** Maple Steet.
   She lives **in** Maple Street.
   Hun bor **paa** Ahornvej.
I passed him on the street.
I passed him in the street.
Jeg gik forbi ham paa gaden.
(Ask the man on the street.)

It's ten till six / It's ten to six / -
(analogy to other cases)

I drove till Ann Arbor, then he took over.
I drove to Ann Arbor, then he took over.
Jeg kørte til Ann Arbor, saa overtog han kørslens.

Don't wait on me / Don't wait for me / Vent ikke paa mig.

I haven't seen him in years.
I haven't seen him for years.
Jeg har ikke set ham i aarevis.

In most continental Germanic languages (e.g. Danish) for
is associated with ago.

Perhaps there is repulsion working here.

She has a new lease on life.
She has a new lease of life.
Hun har nyt mod paa livet.

"Standard Oil had a monopoly on resources."
Standard Oil had a monopoly of resources.
Standard Oil havde monopol paa naturrigdomme.

93. **QUIT** (v. tr. and absol.)

Meaning: to give up, abandon, cease trying.

Northern: Don't quit now, the term is almost over.

Br. Std.: Don't give up now, the term is nearly finished.

Danish: Kvit ikke nu, semesteret er næsten ovre.

Comment: HWH p. 339 writes:

Newspaper usage has revived the verb "to quit", until recently regarded as archaïc in Britain, except for some stock phrases, "notice to quit", "to quit the service", etc. In the United States this is a very vigorous
word, and so in imitation of American use, British journalists give it the meanings of "abandon" (an area), "terminate one's membership of an organisation", or else intransitively, "to surrender, give up, cease to do something". Though often used in serious British newspaper writing, it is felt to be an Americanism in these senses, especially in the spoken language. Thus, for example, when an American airman appeared before a court during the Maidstone Assizes a question put to him illustrates this fact; "At what point did you decide to quit -- to use your own word?"

The Danish kvitte had these meanings which are considered Americanisms in the English language. OODS dates this usage back to the 1820's. Wildhagen German-English and English-German Dictionary (Chicago: 1965), also designates this usage as American. American newspaper usage is short and prefers terse forms not only to save space but because it wants to take advantage of the linguistic substratum provided by the Scandinavians and the Germans. American newspapers use these forms because they are in the spoken language.

94. RED UP, meaning to tidy up, an original Viking influence on M.E., is found in America and recognized by Scandinavians. Its usage is quite limited in Northern American.

95. RIGHT (away, after, across, now, there, etc.)
Meaning: used as an intensive adverb.
Northern: I can't answer right now.
Br. Std.: I can't answer at the moment.
Norwegian: Jeg kan ikke svar rett nåa.
Comment: CAR p. 77, NIC p. 493, FOW p. 528, and BF p. 342 establish this usage as an Americanism. The Norwegian rett
and the Danish *lige* have had this intensive adverb usage for centuries. Compare Haugen's *Norwegian-English Dictionary* (Oslo: 1965).

96. **ROUNDTRIP**

Meaning: to go somewhere and come back

Northern: We bought a *roundtrip* ticket to Chicago.

Br. Std.: We bought a return ticket to Chicago.

Danish: Vi købte en *rundfarts* billet til Silkeborgsøen.

Comment: Note that *roundtrip* and *rundfart* do not necessarily mean the same thing. The Danish *rundfart* implies sailing around the entire lake; the American *roundtrip* may mean only to go and return in the same path. NBF p. 101 informs us that this form is an Americanism of Germanic formation.

97. **SAIL-BOAT**

Meaning: sailing-boat

Northern: The *sail-boat* has sunk.

Br. Std.: The sailing-boat has sunk.

Danish: *Sejlbaaden* er sunket.

Comment: HWH p. 176 establishes the deletion of the *-ing* as an Americanism. Compare CAR p. 79.

98. **SCANDIHOOVIAN**

Meaning: a term designating a person as a member of a Scandinavian ethnic group

Comment: Webster III claims this term is used disparagingly; perhaps a better description is to say it is used
jocosely. A Scandinavian in North America does not feel the derogatory associations which accompany Bohunk, Chink, Dago, Heinie, Limey, Polack, Wop, etc.

99. **SCARED, SCAREDY** - cat, -pants

**Meaning:** frightened; a timid person

**Northern:** He called John "scaredy-pants."

**Br. Std.:** He called John a coward.

**Danish:** Han kaldte Hans en bangebuks.

**Comment:** OODS dates _bange buchs_ back to the seventeenth century. The Scandinavian forms _skjerra_ (Norwegian) and _skjarra_, (Swedish) seem to have influenced the frequency of these forms. A recent utterance heard at the University of B.C. was, "I get scareder and scareder every time I think of the exams."

100. **We'll SEE YOU**

**Meaning:** phatic communication uttered while parting company

**Northern:** We'll see you.

**Br. Std.:** Cheerio.

**Danish:** _Vi ses, ikke?_

**Comment:** Observe that the _We_ can be said by the first person singular. This may be a case of the Scandinavian substratum coming to light. The Danish reflexive passive is extremely useful here as it blurs the initiator and leaves the action to happenstance. The American usage of
see upon taking leave may be a loan-creation based on the
Danish paa gensyn and vi ses as well as the German auf
Wiedersehen.

101. SEMESTER
Meaning: a unit of the academic year (five months)
Northern: This semester has just begun.
Br. Std.: This term has just begun. (term = one of three divisions)
Danish: Dette semester er lige begyndt.
Comment: The DEO establishes this item to be an American-
ism and notes the similarity between the American and
Danish usage. Compare ST p. 64.

102. (German) SHEPHERD
Meaning: a race of dogs
Northern: German Shepherds are very obedient.
Br. Std.: Alsatians are very obedient.
Danish: En schaeferhund er meget lydig.
Comment: The occurrence of German signifies with a
relatively high certainty that someone other than the
Germans named this race in America. The co-occurrence
of shepherd and schaefer makes a good case for Scandina-
vian influence.

103. SHOULD: See modal Verbs, Chapter III.

104. SICK
Meaning: ill
Northern: My husband is _sick_.  
Br. Std.: My husband is ill.  
Danish: _Min mand er syg_.  

Comment: FOW p. 555 tells us that _sick_ used to mean suffering from any bodily disorder; _to be sick_ later came to be an English euphemism for _vomit_. The original meaning still applies in Scotland and America and in England attributively. The marginality in America was reinforced by the Danish _syg_. Compare NIC pp. 517-18.

105. (I can) _SO_  
Meaning: in retortive reply  
Northern: You can't sing! _I can so!_  
Br. Std.: You can't sing! Yes I can!  
Danish: Du kan ikke synge! _Jo, jeg kan saa!_  

Comment: The Danish and Northern American forms are strikingly parallel. This usage occurs in British dialect; a case for Scandinavian reinforcement can be made.

106. (Is that) _SO?_  
Meaning: used when doubting or questioning  
Northern: I'm Lord Nelson! _-- So? Is that so?_  
Br. Std.: I'm Lord Nelson! _-- Indeed?/Yes?_  
Danish: Jeg er Lord Nelson! _-- Saa?_  

Comment: The DEO observes that _Is that so?_ is particularly American. Saa is pronounced with a long vowel with a rising pitch. The Northern _So?_ and _Is that so" may be derived from, or reinforced by, Danish _saa_.
107. **SO LONG**

**Meaning:** an utterance sometimes coincidental with parting

**Northern:** See you tomorrow. Yeah, so long.

**Br. Std.:** Cheerio. Toodaloo.

**Danish:** Farvel saa laenge.

**Comment:** Steven Byington states that the American farewell, *so long*, is recognized to be derived from the Arabic *salaam*. H. B. Wells offers instead the Hebrew *sholom*. OODS vol. 13, col. 412, dates the Danish farewell *saa lenge* back to 1731. *Saa laenge* is a plausible source for *so long* especially when it is seen as one of a group of words demonstrating intimate fusion, e.g. Hi, yep, greet, how's it going, etc. Compare Glen p. 128.

108. **SO THAT:** See Chapter IV, paragraph I.

109. **SO WHAT**

**Meaning:** a rejoinder

**Northern:** Petersen chose you! **So what!**

**Br. Std.:** Petersen chose you! He did, did he?

**Danish:** Petersen valgte dig! Og **hvad saa!**

**Comment:** Although the co-occurrences of *saa* and *so* are often parallel in Danish and Northern American, Yiddish is most often considered the originating source. Compare PAR p. 253.

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110. SOMEPLACE: See anyplace.

111. -SKI

A parallel treatment of the jocular suffix -ski is found in Northern American and Danish. It may well be that the Danish fascination with the patronyms of their Polish neighbors has been transferred to North America. Danish examples of this phenomenon are slutski, (finished) hun er ski dum, sikke noget pjatski (such ridiculousness) nu skal du staa op ski (get up). American examples are allrightski, bumsky, hurryupski, and youbetski.

112. STANDPOINT

Meaning: a point of view

Northern: He sees things from a Catholic standpoint.
Br. Std.: He sees things from a Catholic point of view.
Danish: Han ser ting fra et Katolsk standpunkt.
Comment: All scholars agree that this is a calque from the German Standpunkt. However, disagreement continues as to whether it was first used in America or England. The Danish standpunkt is a cognate of German Standpunkt, not a borrowing. Compare ST pp. 70-71; Mencken p. 108; POW p. 458; NIC pp. 430 and 544. The awkwardness of the point of view of history with two of's has given impetus to angle, standpoint and viewpoint. The latter Americanism may stem from the Danish synspunkt.

3"Hun er ski dum" is a mild form for "hun er sgu dum" (She is damn dumb). 'Sgu' (God damned) is often uttered in masculine conversation. 'Sgu' has developed from saagu and the earlier saa Gud (so God). Women often begin speech with the interjection Gud to show surprise or to indicate emphasis "Gud hvor det regner!" (God it's pouring!)
113. **STEM FROM**

**Meaning:** (usually figurative) descend from, spring from, originate in

**Northern:** Clearly all these words stem from a common source.

**Br. Std.:** Clearly all these words originate in a common source.

**Danish:** Det er klart, at alledisse ord stammer fra en fælles kilde.

**Comment:** This is a case of an extension in meaning due to language interference. English has long had to stem meaning to stop, delay, dam up; to make headway against, but stem from is a recent calque from the Northern European languages. This loan translation has gained wide acceptance in part at least due to its transparency. Compare Mathews p. 1648, SED p. 2013, and NBF p. 93.

114. **TELL ME**

**Meaning:** an introduction to a question

**Northern:** Tell me, what did you think of Krag?

**Br. Std.:** (Coughing and clearing of throat) What did you think of Krag?

**Danish:** Sig mig engang, hvad mente du om Krag?

**Comment:** A conversational introduction to a question has been lacking in British English. (I say, ... does not signal a question exclusively.) In America the immigrants from the continent simply translated their expressions; this loan translation has achieved wide acceptance. The Scottish usage may have originated from the Viking and

115. THE (omission of): See all morning.

116. THEM THERE and THIS HERE (mainly rural)
There is a tendency to use these expressions far more in America than in Britain. The Danish dem der and dem her have been the source of this increase in frequency.

117. TILL: See Prepositions.

118. TITLES
In Scandinavia and North America one's position may serve as a title. In Britain this is not so. In Denmark every adult is given a title in telephone books, newspaper write-ups, etc. An explanation is that there is not a large enough variety of names in their closed culture. The immigrants with non-prestigious titles dropped theirs upon arrival to the New World but the upper classes could not be expected to do the same. Examples are Congressman Hart, Secretary of the Interior Bliss, Vice President Vance, Director Shrum. Compare HWH p. 176.

119. TWO TIMES
Meaning: twice
Northern: I was there two times this week.
Br. Std.: I have been there twice this week.
Danish:  Jeg var der to gange i denne uge.
Comment:  The parallel structure is striking. This may be an internal analogy on four times, five times, etc. in addition to the loan translation from to gange and German zweimal. Northern American multiplication has two times instead of twice. Twice is losing ground because it is being replaced by a stronger item.

120. TWO WEEKS
Meaning: fourteen days
Northern: We stayed at Banff for two weeks.
Br. Std.: We stayed at Banff for a fortnight.
Danish: Vi blev i Banff i to uger.
Comment: Two weeks may in part be a loan-translation of to uger. However, the analogy of three weeks, four weeks may have been the stronger force. Note that sennight retreated to oblivion without continental Germanic assistance. The careful speaker in the U.S. can no longer distinguish two (separate) weeks from a fortnight. BF p. 336.

121. UNCLEAR: See Chapter III, Prefixes.

122. UPRISING
Meaning: an insurrection
Northern: There is an uprising on Anguilla.
Br. Std.: There is a rising on Anguilla.
Danish: Der var uprør paa Anguilla.
Comment: This is a frequency correlation, i.e. both Danish and American always have op-, up- where British English has rising. Compare ALW p. 149 and Dansk Engelsk Ordbog.

123. VIEWPOINT: See Standpoint.

124. WAIT ON: See Prepositions.

125. WANT (down, in, off, out, up, etc.)
   Meaning: an expression for the desire to be either let down or helped down
   Northern: He wants down, in, out, up.
   Br. Std.: He wants to go down, in, on, ...
   Danish: Han vil ned, ind, ud, op.
   Comment: OED specifies this elipsis as chiefly Scotch, North Irish, and U.S. colloquial. This widespread usage must have been strengthened if not revived by Scandinavian settlers in the Middle West. Compare ST pp. 76-77.

126. (Do you) WANT TO
   Meaning: would you please
   Northern: Do you want to go down in the basement and get my wrench?
   Br. Std.: Would you please go down in the cellar and get my spanner?
   Danish: Vil du gerne gaa ned i kaelderen og hente min skruenøgle?
Comment: This is another excellent co-occurrence. This "imperative" takes advantage of an informal relationship between two persons; a negative reply is never expected and is seldom given.

127. **WARM**

   Meaning: hot
   
   Northern: That plate is too warm, don't touch it.
   
   Br. Std.: That plate is too hot, don't touch it.
   
   Danish: Den tallerken er for varm, rør ikke ved den.
   
   Comment: Danish "lacks" an equivalent for English hot. The Danish immigrant substituted warm for varm and millions of non-Scandinavians followed suit.

128. **WAY OF LIFE**

   Meaning: national outlook, values, temperament, tempo, etc.
   
   Northern: The American way of life is fast and competitive.
   
   Br. Std.: The pace of things in America is fast and competitive.
   
   Danish: Den amerikanske levevis er hurtigt og konkurrencefuld.
   
   Comment: BF p. 333 establishes this expression to be an Americanism. The Danish levevis has long denoted what this Americanism expresses. Way of life is a possible loan creation from levevis and the German Lebensweise.

129. **WENT UP**

   Meaning: ripped
Northern: My skirt went up in the seam.
Br. Std.: My skirt ripped along the seam.
Danish: Min nederdel gik op i sømmen.
Comment: Another loan translation spoken by millions of non-Scandinavians in the Northern Dialect area.
Compare TOR p. 217.

130. WHAT FOR?

Meaning: Why?

This usage seems to be much more frequent in America than in Britain and may have some correlation with the Danish hvad ... for and hvorfor. Hvad gjorde du det for? What did you do that for"?

131. -WISE: See Chapter III, Suffixes, Paragraph I.D.

132. WITHIN

Meaning: extended to include time

Northern: We'll be back within a week.
Br. Std.: We'll be back before the end of the week.
Danish: Vi kommer tilbage inden en uge.
Comment: This extended usage in America follows the Danish precedent.

133. WORD FREQUENCY: See Chapter VI.

134. WORLD WAR: See page 37, footnote 4.
135. **YEH** [jaʰ]

Meaning: affirmative

Northern: **Yeh!**

Br. Std.: **Yes!**

Danish: **Ja!**

Comment: The Danish and the Northern American forms sound identical. OODS dates **ja** back to 1749, and it is the standard form with which to answer a positive question. This form **yeh** and **yep** (see below) both seem to be likely Danish transferrals. Compare Louise Pound, "Popular Variants of 'Yes'", *Am. Sp.*, vol. 2, p. 132.

136. **YEP**

Meaning: affirmative

Northern: **Yep, I agree.**

Br. Std.: **Yes, I agree.**

Danish: **Jep, jeg er enig med dig.**

Comment: OED labels this item dialectal especially U.S. **Jep** is not listed in OODS. It is used colloquially by perhaps all Danes and all Northern Americans. **Nope** may have been from an analogy with **yep**.

137. **YES**

Meaning: to replace **nay** meaning **rather** or **indeed**

Northern: It is difficult, **yes** impossible, to comprehend that.

Br. Std.: It is difficult, **nay** impossible, to comprehend that.

Danish: Det er vanskeligt, **ja** umuligt at forståa det.
Comment: This co-occurrence is found in literary usage in Danish and American. Literary usage has not been affected much by Scandinavian influence; it is usually the colloquial usage that has experienced the most interference and mixture. Compare Glen p. 97.

138. YOU KNOW

Meaning: a particle of "obviousness"
Northern: He is, you know, kind of tall.
Br. Std.: He is rather tall.
Danish: Han er, du ved, jo temmelig høgt.

Comment: Americans appear to say you know much more often than Britishers because so many millions of immigrants from Europe had a particle of "obviousness" in their languages, e.g. German ja, French donc, Russian ved', Danish jo. The European particle of obviousness signifies a culturally accepted "fact", and is directed toward an indefinite hearer. You know seems to be a poor translation of these obviousness particles because it may unwillingly involve the second person. Nevertheless most ethnic groups and Americans in general use you know too freely. Compare Uriel Weinreich, Universals of Language, (Cambridge, Mass.: 1963) p. 123.
CHAPTER VI

WORD FREQUENCY

The vocabularies of American English and British English are not greatly divergent from one another. However, even the casual observer knows that the American preference for one word in lieu of another is often different from the British preference. The case for Scandinavian influence in America could be immensely enhanced if one could show a correlation between word frequency and Scandinavian and continental Germanic substratum. One would surmise, for instance, that a Scandinavian immigrant and those he influenced may choose to use a word of Scandinavian origin, from the Viking era or later, before he would choose a word of French, Latin, or even native English origin. One would expect the Scandinavian immigrant to choose elk over moose, crash over collision, and sly instead of cunning. Unfortunately, there is no extensive comparative word frequency study between American and British English.¹ G.E.R. Burroughs' A Study of the Vocabulary of Young Children² and Henry D. Rinland's A Basic Vocabulary of Elementary School Children³ can be compared for British and American word frequency studies for child speech. However, Burroughs' list of words is very short, containing about three thousand five hundred words. On the other hand

²London: 1957.
there is sufficient information as to Scandinavian words which have been introduced into English previously. Erik Björkman's *Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English* (Halle: 1900); W.W. Skeat's "Distribution of Words", page 750 of *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford: 1882); and Vigfusson and Powell's list on page 559 of *Icelandic Prose Reader* (Oxford: 1879). These books give us a list of words, most of which Scandinavian immigrants to North America would recognize and tend to use more so than their non-Scandinavian synonyms.

A list of the more common words follows:

- aloft, already, anger, as, awe.

- baffle, bait, balderdash, bang, bark, bask, baste, bat, bawl, beach, beck, big, billow, bing, blab, blear, bloat, bloom, blot, blue, blunder, b lunt, blur, bluster, boon, booth, booty, bore, both, boulder, boun d, bout, bow, box, brink, brunt, bubble, build, bulk, bulkhead, bulwark, bunch, bungle, bunk, bush, bustle, by-law.

- carp, cast, champ, churn, clap, cleft, clip, clog, clown, club, clumsy, cock, cow, cower, crab, crash, craw, crawl, craze, crew, cuff, cunning.

- dairy, dangle, dash, dastard, daze, dazzle, die, dirt, dogcheap, down, dowse, doze, drag, draggle, dribble, drip, droop, dug, dun.

- eddy, egg, eiderduck, elk.
fast, fawn, fell, fellow, filch, filly, firth, fit, fizz, flabby, flag, flag-stone, flake, flare, flash, flat, flaunt, flaw, fleck, fledge, flee, filing, flippant, flit, flurry, flush, fluster, fond, force, foss, fraught, freckle, fro, froth, fry.

gad, gain, gainly, gait, gale, gang, garish, gasp, gaunt, gaze, gingerly, glade, glance, glimmer, glimpse, glint, glitter, gloat, gloss, glum, gnash, grab, gravy, greaves, grey-hound, grime, groin, grovel, gruesome, guess, gush, gust.

hail, hale, happen, harbour, harsh, haste, hasten, haze, hinge, hit, hoot, how, hug, hurrah, hurry, husband.

ill, inkling, irk.

jabber, jam, jaunt, jersey, jibe, jumble, jump.

keel, keg, kid, kidnap, kidney, kill, kilt, kneel.

lash, lathe, leak, ledge, lee, leech, leg, lift, liken, ling, litter, lost, log, loom, loon, low, lug, lull, lumber, lump, lunch, luncheon, lurch, lurk.

mane, mash, maze, meek, mess, mis-, mistake, mistrust, mouldy, much, muck, muff, muggy.

nab, nag, nasty, nay, niggard, Norse, nudge.

oaf, odd, outlaw.

pad, paltry, peddle, pedlar, piddle, plough, pod.

quandary.
rack, raft, raid, raise, rake, ransack, rap, rape, rash, rate, riding, rife, rifle, rift, rig, rip, ripple, rowan-tree, rock, roe, root, rotten, rouse, row, rug, rugged, rump, rush, rustle.

saga, sale, scald, scant, scar, scare, scarf, scoop, scotch, scout, scowl, scraggy, scrap, scrape, scratch, scream, schreech, scuffle, scuttle, seat, seemly, shallow, sheer, shelve, shingle, shirt, shiver, shore, shriek, shrill, shrivel, shrug, shuffle, shunt, shy, silt, simper, sister, skid, skill, skim, skin, skirt, skull, sky, slab, slam, slang, slant, slaughter, sleave, sled, sledge, sleigh, sleek, slick, sleeper, sleet, sleight, slop, slot, slouch, slough, slug, slur, slut, sly, smash, smattering, smelt, smile, smug, smuggle, smut, sneer, sniff, snipe, snivel, snob, snort, snout, snub, snuff, snug, spark, spick and span-new, spash, splint, split, splutter, spout, sprawl, spray, spry, spurt, sputter, squabble, squall, squander, squeak, squeal, squint, squirt, stack, stag, stagger, stale, steak, steep, stern, stilt, stoat, streak, struggle, strum, strut, stumble, stump, stutter, swagger, swain, swamp, sware, swirl.

tackle, tag, take, tang, tangle, tatter, teem, their, they, thrall, thrift, thrive, thrush, thrust, thwart, tidings, tight, tike, till, tip, tipsy, tit, tit for tat, tram, trap, trash, trill, trust, tuft.

ugly.
Valhalla, viking.

wad, wag, wail, wake, wall-eyed, wand, want, wapentake, weak, weld, whim, whirl, whisk, whore, wick, windlass, window, wing.

yap.
CHAPTER VII

LOANWORDS

The expressions and idioms of chapter five demonstrate an intimate fusion of the Scandinavian languages into English. In contrast to these expressions and idioms which became a part of American English by means of loan translation, loan creation, loan shift, and interlinguistic transference, one finds loanwords. Loanwords by their nature are set apart from the normal, native, and the indigenous portion of a language. A loanword is usually only partially naturalized and assimilated and easily recognized by unusual spelling. The majority of loanwords in America are probably designations for food and drink somehow foreign to the American kitchen and palate. Other loanwords are found in the professional jargon of certain occupations and fields of activity.

Some Scandinavian loanwords follow:

Akvavit - a colorless or slightly yellow alcoholic liquor produced by redistilling potato spirits flavored with caraway seeds.

Comment: a seventeenth century loan made to Britain and America and continually reinforced in America.

Angst - a term used in psychology to indicate a feeling of uneasiness brought about by the thought of a threat.

Comment: This loanword in the restricted meaning noted above is thought to have been borrowed from
Søren Kierkegaard (1813-55) by Sigmund Freud. Freud made this an international term used in psychology.

Dynamite - a solid blasting explosive.
Comment: This coinage was first made by a Swedish scientist.

Eiderdown - a quilt or comforter filled with the soft light feathers of the female of the northern ducks.
Comment: Icelandic.

Fjäll - a Swedish breed of small white polled dairy cattle with red or black points and flecking on the sides.
Comment: Swedish.

Fjeld - a barren plateau of the Scandinavian upland.
Comment: Danish.

Fjord - a narrow generally deep and steep inlet of the sea.
Comment: Dano-Norwegian.

Geyser - a spring that throws forth intermittently escaping jets of hot water.
Comment: Icelandic.

Iceberg - a large mass of ice broken from a glacier at the edge of a sea which floats with nine-tenths of its mass submerged.
Comment: Dano-Norwegian.

Kraken - a fabulous sea monster imagined on the basis of chance sightings of giant squids.
Comment: Norwegian dialectal.
Krans - a wreath.

Comment: Originating from Dutch or Scandinavian.

Landgang - a ladder for going from a fishing boat to shore and vice versa; a gangplank.

Comment: Norwegian and Danish.

Landsmaal - a literary form of Norwegian based on the spoken dialects of Norway.

Comment: Norwegian.

Ombudsman - a man appointed by the government to hear and rectify public grievances. (The pronunciation is still unstable with the stress on either the first or second syllable).

Comment: This word not listed in Webster's III is about four years old now. It is of Swedish origin. This will be a most interesting loanword to observe. Loanwords of a political nature indicate that someone considers this idea superior to any alternative offered by one's own society. Are there any other words whose concepts we might use? The first ombudsman in North America was appointed in April 10, 1967 in Alberta.

Riksmaal - a literary form of Norwegian developed by the gradual reform of written Danish in conformity to Norwegian usage.

Comment: Norwegian.
Saga - a prose narrative sometimes of legendary content but typically dealing with prominent figures and events of the heroic age of Scandinavia.

Comment: This loanword was introduced to English by the Vikings; more recently, Scandinavian immigrants to North America have popularized it. Many films of the Old West are called **Sagas**.

Skaal (Skoal) - an interjection to toast to someone's health, well-being, happiness. This is said just before a drink.

Comment: This Danish loanword literally means **bowl**.

Sloyd - a system of manual training by means of graded courses in wood-working, etc.

Comment: This system was developed in Sweden and was the forerunner to the American programs to re-train the unemployed, or Seattle's Job Corps.

Smorgasbord - a luncheon or supper buffet offering a variety of hot and cold foods and dishes.

Comment: This is a Swedish custom. The majority of Danes do not know what is meant by this term. Literally it is **smear + goose + table**. Vancouver offers a Chinese **Smorgasbord**.

Smørrebrod - a fancy open faced sandwich, i.e. **hors d'oeuvre** on one slice of buttered bread.

Comment: Danish.

Snaps - an alcoholic beverage consisting of ethyl alcohol flavored with various herbs.

Comment: Danish and Swedish.
A few trips to the local Danish bakery gave the following words:

Buttercake - smørkage

Copenhagen squares - Fransk smørkage

A Danish - wienerbrød (but in a round shape like a "dårlig tårn.

A Danish pastry - the long form for a Danish, the same round bun.

Ambiguity arises when one wishes to talk about Danish pastry in general.

A Danish Kringle - Kringle, wienerbrød in the form of a baker's sign, i.e. Ø.

Danish strips - Stænger, en stang.

Kleiner - klejner.

Brian Foster in *The Changing English Language* p. 83 writes that the iced birthday cake appears to have spread to America from Northern Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century and later to have been introduced to England. The *fødselsdagskage* (birthday cake) of Denmark, an iced layer cake, resembles the American birthday cake more than the German *Geburtstagstorte* (birthday tart). Perhaps Northern Germany was actually Sønderjylland (South Jutland); the international border has been unstable.

Skiing terms have also enriched the English language. The terms used in America frequently have their origins in Norway although some may have been translated to alpine German
and introduced to America through that language. The following are Norwegian loanwords or Norwegian loan translations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Norwegian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Braking ski</td>
<td>bremseski</td>
<td>The ski with which one stops or retards speed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn snow</td>
<td>kornsne</td>
<td>Granulated snow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christiania</td>
<td>Christiania</td>
<td>A skiing turn used for altering the direction of hill descent usually from one diagonally transverse direction to the other or for checking or stopping and executed usually at relatively high speed largely by shifting the body weight forward and skidding into a turn with parallel skies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herringbone</td>
<td>fiskesskittet or fiskeben</td>
<td>A manner of walking up hill with skis on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langlauf</td>
<td>langrennet</td>
<td>A cross country ski tour. Cf. German Langlauf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planks</td>
<td>planker</td>
<td>Slang for skis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ski</td>
<td>ski</td>
<td>A ski.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skijoring</td>
<td>skijøring or snørekjøring</td>
<td>A manner of skiing in which one is pulled by a horse, a tractor, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ski laufing</td>
<td>ski lopning</td>
<td>To ski. Cf. German Skilaufen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slalom</td>
<td>slalaam</td>
<td>Skiing in a zigzag or wavy course between upright obstacles. Literally, a sloping track.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow ploughing</td>
<td>sneplogen</td>
<td>A type of turn or stopping manoeuvre in which the tips are placed close together and the ends are spread far apart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>stemm</td>
<td>To turn or retard oneself by forcing the heel of one ski or of both skis outward from the line of progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem Christiania</td>
<td>Christiania sving</td>
<td>A turn in skiing begun by the stemming of one ski and completed by bringing the skis parallel into a Christiania during the turn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stemm ski</td>
<td>Stemmski</td>
<td>That ski which is placed outward from the line of progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stickriding</td>
<td>stavridning</td>
<td>Skiing with one's weight on one's poles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telemark</td>
<td>telemarksving</td>
<td>A turn or stop in which the ski that is to be on the outside of the turn is advanced considerably ahead of the other ski.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scandinavian furniture has been accepted with great popularity in North America. However, only two words have been discovered. Danish modern refers to a type of light weight (usually teak) furniture.

Danish design is a translation of Dansk design, and it designates Danish style knick-knacks.

Other professions which may have some Scandinavian loans are lumbering and the industry of forest products, northern and west coast fishing, and carpentry.

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CHAPTER VIII

PERSONAL NAMES AND PLACE-NAMES

Surnames

The surnames of Scandinavian immigrants were changed less drastically and less often than were the surnames found in most other nationality groups. The surnames Andersen, Hansen, Jensen, Petersen, Nielsen, Madsen, Mathiesen, Rasmussen, Sørensen, Svendsen, Johansen, Karlsen, Larsen, Olsen, etc. are immediately recognizable to any American and regarded as a native element in American patronymics. The Wisconsin census of 1850 showed that 93% of all Norwegian surnames ended in -sen or -son as in the names listed above. The Danes would have had a somewhat lower percentage due to German influence and larger cities. There were minor adaptations to be made, among which would be the substitution of o for ø, as in Sørensen, e for æ, as in Kjær, and o or oh for a as in Åsen.

There were however hundreds of thousands among the Danes, the Norwegians, and especially the Swedes who did not have these surnames which ended in -sen or -son. Roy Swanson in

1 The German influence introduced new "trade-names" into Denmark, e.g. Møller, Kaufman, and Smidt. The Germans also contributed many "Adelsnavne" names of the nobility, many of these names end in -dorf. In the larger cities there were so many Jensens, Nielsens, and Hansens that people were compelled to seek distinctive names. Nowadays many Scandinavians use their middle name.
"The Swedish Surname in America" comments on how these names were changed or modified; a summary follows, 1. Some Swedes or the immigration officer translated their names, e.g. Grön to Green, Sten to Stone, Öst to East, Nord to North, Hjort to Hart, Stark to Strong, Sjöstrand to Seashore, etc. 2. Other Swedes adopted the nearest sounding "American name so that Bondegård became Bender, Bengtsson became Benson, Modig became Moody, and Nyström became Newsome. Also Ljung (heather) was invariably changed to Young, hence the Swedish-American hybrids Youngberg, Youngdahl, Youngren, etc. Gren meaning "branch" or "bough" was often changed to Grain or Green. Gran (pine) was conveniently up-graded to Grand, e.g. Grandquist. Blad (leaf) was altered to Blade, and Bo (inhabitant) was lengthened to Bow hence Bowman. -Kvist, qvist, and -quist all experienced standardization to -quist which follows American orthography; a few chose the de luxe model -quest.

3. Many Scandinavians found their surname too awkward or too common, they therefore created new names from the first portion of their home-town plus the termination -ing. Thus an immigrant who hailed from Alfvêsta created Alfving.

4. In addition to the umlaut changes already cited for Danes and Norwegians, the Swedes usually simplified bj, hj, lj, lilj, and sj to b, h, l, lil, and sh, sch, or s respectively.

5. The Swedish w (pronounced [v] ) was retained and pronounced [w] by the first generation that could manage it. 6. Spelling

\[2^\text{Am. Sp. 3.468 - 77 (1928).}\]
changes were employed to preserve the original Swedish sound so that Blom was changed to Bloom, Ros to Roos, Cron to Croon, Strid to Streed, and Kilgren to Chilgren as Swedish K is palato-alveolar before front vowels. 7. Many Scandinavians changed their names to an orthographic representation of an American spelling pronunciation. Thus hr. Yman became Mr. Wyman. 8. Fortunately the "borgerliganamn" was only partially translated or anglicized. A complete literal translation would have resulted in a more foreign impression. Mr. Eklöf found that Eklof was more respectfully received than was Oakleaf; likewise Mr. Fagerdahl preferred his Swedish name to the somewhat comical fairvalley.

Many upper-class Swedes have French influenced names, e.g. Linné, Lovén, Munktell, Tranér, Sylvan, Mellin, Almen, Boren, Fromén, Noren, and Oden. Although many Swedish-Americans dropped this accent mark others preserved it or at least insisted upon a stress of the final syllable. This certainly is one of the contributing forces to the American respect for stress on the final syllable. Compare the Swedish Axell, Engzell, Brusell, Lindell, Martell, Rydell, 

3 One's surname in Scandinavia was a century ago, a sure sign of one's station in life. At the top was the "adelsnamn" (the nobility name), the 'adelsnamn' often ended in -skiold (shield), -brand (fire), or -hammar (hammer). Second was the "prastnamn" (the priest name) which invariably ends in either -ius or ander. The "fransknamn" (the french name) was next in order and was the property of the upper middle class. This was followed by the soldatsnamn; these names are derived from adjectives of soldierly virtue, e.g. Modig (brace), Stark (strong), Rask (daring) and Tapper (courageous). The "borgerliganamn" (the civil name) was for
Russell, Sondell, and Wendell all with final stress to the American Liddell, Riddell, and Mac Donnell.4

It was natural that those of high social station in Scandinavia should want to transfer the class system to America upon their arrival to the new world. It was also natural that certain "pretenders" took advantages of the situation. These two types of people gave America the "Prastnamn" (priest names) ending in -ius and -ander, and the even less common "noble name".

All the above comments made by Roy W. Swanson and H.L. Mencken5 no longer apply to immigrants from Scandinavia. Nowadays the Scandinavian immigrants change only the umlauted vowels. One reason for this is that three million Scandinavians have already conditioned North America to Scandinavian names. Another reason is that the situation has changed; no longer is the humble immigrant herded from the boat onto Ellis Island but he disembarks from a shiny jet airliner.

the middle class, the bourgeois, these names referred to nature. The tradesman had his own "erhvervsnamn" (tradesman name), e.g. Møller. The common folk had virtually no name, -son or -dotter was simply added to the father's first name.


Middle Names

In respect to their waning Scandinavian heritage, parents give their children a Scandinavian middle name. It is expected that only the initial will be used and often the children never learn to pronounce it properly. Typical is Harold S. Palmer, of the University of Hawaii who writes:

My mother was born in Norway and her maiden name was Schjøth which I cannot pronounce properly, though it is my middle name and also my older brother's. I usually use only the middle initial....

First Names

Unlike the surname, the first name is lost within a few generations. Scandinavian boy's names include Sven, Gunner, Nils, Ingerval, Lars, Otto, Jens, Hans, Knut, Jørgen, Søren, Karl, Julius, Ole, Anders, Kai, Leif, Fritjof, Harold, Henrik, Hjalmar, Olaf, Erik, Thorvald, Børge, Halvor, Holger, Volmer, etc. Only Harold and Erik, anglicized to Eric, have been adopted by non-Scandinavian Americans.

Scandinavian girl's names include Solveg, Helma, Magdalene, Gerd, Ingeborg, Lisbeth, Gurli, Irene, Edith, Hanne, Hedvig, Kirsten, Dagmar, Ragna, Birthe, Sigreid, Anna, Irma, Brigitte, Emma, Elsa, Charlotte, Lotte, Bodil, Suzanne, Johanne, Olga, Poula, Grethe, Kirstine. Of the above listed girl's names, Mencken tells us that Helma, Karen, and

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6 Ibid., p. 434.
7 Ibid., p. 520.
Ingeborg have been added to the American repertoire. In note 4 of the same page he writes, "In 1947 Dr. Clifford R. Adams, of Pennsylvania State College, reported that Karen was the favorite of the co-eds there assembled...." In this same sub-chapter Mencken mentions that other ethnic groups have adopted the given name Karen, among them the Slavs and the Jews. The fact that these more recent immigrants have chosen a Scandinavian name may support the belief that they also followed some Scandinavian-American linguistic patterns.

Place Names

That region "East and north of Watling Street", it has already been noted, contains over 1400 Danish place-names. The second Danelaw in northern North America has, it must be assumed, well over that number. Unfortunately an extensive study on this subject is not available. Roy Swanson's "Scandinavian Place-Names in the American Danelaw" gives us a good if not complete look at the State of Minnesota. He notes that place names of Scandinavian origin fall into five groups: 1. Those based on personal names. 2. The transplanted Scandinavian place-names. 3. The poetic-patriotic names. 4. The place-names which indicate an American labeling of a predominantly Scandinavian region, and 5. The

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8 The Scandinavians naturally reinforced some of the Inter-Germanic and International names as well.

9 *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin* 3.5-17 (1929).
place names fabricated by the Scandinavian settler from his own language.

Swanson counted over four hundred place-names of Scandinavian origin in Minnesota. Easily one half of the names are Norwegian; one quarter are Swedish. Fewer still are the Danish words. The remainder are names whose exact nationality is not determinable. Sixty-five per cent of all names were derived from personal names, e.g. (Norwegian) Kagero township, Arnesen village, Barsness Lake, Breda station, Torgerson post office, Sorlier Mills, Knutsen Lake, etc. (Swedish) the villages Kost, Lindsbom, Stark, Almelund, Strandquist, Lengby, and Palmville, (Danish) Borup.  

Just as the English settlers transplanted place-names from England, e.g. Boston, New York, Portsmouth, Norfolk, etc., so the Norwegians transplanted Christiania, Bergen, Trondhjem, Stavanger, etc. The Swedes transplanted Stockholm, Upsala, Malmo, Lund, Mora, Karlstad, and so on, while the Danes chose Askov, Skagen, and Torning; there are fifteen Danmarks in the U.S.A.

The poetic-patriotic names are representative of an immigrant's pride for the old country he has left behind. Nidaros and Oslo were Viking names used in Minnesota in memory of the then Trondhjem and Christiania. Tordenskjold, St. Olaf, 

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10 The main reason for the paucity of Danish place-names lies in the Danes' practice of settling independently, not collectively, scattering widely, and mixing freely, factors not favorable to the creation of place-names but conducive to idiomatic linguistic influence.
Eidvold and Wergeland are also cited. The Swedes honored Sweden with Svea, Scandia, Oscar, Christina, Vasa, Lutsen, Runeberg, Tegner, Dopelius, and Lindbergh. The Danes contributed Danebod.

When a nationality is cited in the form of an attributive adjective one can guess that some other nationality has labelled the place. The American neighbors named such places as Norwegian Bay, Norwegian Grove township and Norwegian Lake.

The last group is made up of fabrications entirely Scandinavian in form, e.g. Westerheim (home in the west), Langhei (a long highland), Eckvoll (oak vale), and Espelee (popular slope).

There are also hybrid place-names and completely anglicized names. One once more encounters the problem of separation of identity when dealing with place-names ending in -by. There may well be English transferrals originating in the Viking era or they may have come directly from Scandinavia to Northern America.

Although only four hundred place-names of Scandinavian origin have been counted thus far in Minnesota, one would expect a large increase in that number if one were to investigate schools, buildings, streets, ponds, creeks, hills, fields and ten thousand lakes.

Canada has a number of towns with Scandinavian names. Most of these place-names are more recent than the Scandinavian-American place-names; they include Ymir, Salmo, Hagensborg, Holberg, Lund, Osland, Engen, Danskin and Poulson
in British Columbia. Alberta has New Norway, Scandia, Hanna, and Viking. Saskatchewan has Bjorkdale, Hallonquist, and Jensen. Manitoba has Gimli, Reykjavik, Hnausa, and Hecla of Icelandic extraction, plus Arborg and Norway House. Copenhagen, Dane, Birkdale, Finmark, Finland, and Hager are found within the provincial borders of Ontario. The sixteenth Denmark in North America is found in Nova Scotia.
CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY-CONCLUSION

The Danish linguistic element is intimately mixed into the Northern American dialect for a number of reasons:

1. The Danes (here representing the Dano-Norwegian linguistic community and the southwestern Swedes) were the second largest immigrant group to the United States before the twentieth century. 2. These Scandinavian immigrants were an industrious, literate, clean, moral, and ambitious group highly acceptable to the Americans. 3. They settled a vast area near the great lakes westward to the Pacific in which they created a partial sub-stratum region, which would intimately influence the speech patterns of all people in that region. 4. Because English and Danish have a common historical background and are so closely related, mixing freely took place; it often occurred unknowingly. 5. Another important linguistic reason for Danish influence was that Danish had already experienced some changes which one could expect English and other Germanic languages to experience, e.g. the added emphasis on word order and the loss of some inflectional endings; Danish spurred Northern American on its "natural" way.

Phonologically, the Danish influence is minor. Reinforcement of marginal archaic items as well as some reinforcement of native innovation is present.
In morphology, one can see certain paradigmatical co-occurrences in Danish and Northern American. The Danish developments pre-date the Northern American. Some affixes also follow a Danish pattern.

Danish influence on Northern American syntax is best illustrated by the compound words formed by the attributive nouns which are so common in Northern American. This and other syntactical elements may well be from the influence of all the continental Germanic languages. Danish and the other Scandinavian languages would best be considered second in rank after German but placed in importance in front of Dutch, Yiddish, Frisian and any other immigrant language found in English-speaking North America.

The most significant influence of Danish upon Northern American is found in idiomatic expressions where loan translations, loan shifts and loan creations have caused the idiomatic patterns to differ from standard British English usage. Often the continental Germanic languages have parallel idiomatic patterns which, when translated in America mutually reinforce one another. In addition there seems to be a correlation between Scandinavian prototypes and preferences and Northern American word frequency. The nature of this inter-linguistic mixing is not that of a higher cultural language to a less cultural one but rather the mixing, leveling, and general confusion of rural cousins in a frontier land.
Scandinavian loan words, personal names and place-names have also made an impact on Northern American.

Language is always in a delicate state of balance, affected by innumerable factors. It has been the purpose of this thesis to show that three million Scandinavian immigrants played an important role in upsetting this balance to help form the new speech patterns of Northern American.


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APPENDIX A

STATISTICS

### TABLE I

**Immigration and Naturalization**

**No. 127. IMMIGRANTS, BY COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE: 1820 to 1967**

[For years ending June 30. Data prior to 1920 refer to country from which alien came. Because of boundary changes and changes in list of countries separately reported, data for certain countries not comparable throughout. See also Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1927, series C 80-114.]

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>4,075,665</td>
<td>1,035,039</td>
<td>2,055,479</td>
<td>306,569</td>
<td>297,245</td>
<td>296,697</td>
<td>323,040</td>
<td>361,912</td>
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<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>2,957</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>142,464</td>
<td>3,469</td>
<td>36,637</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>627</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>328,323</td>
<td>12,159</td>
<td>16,519</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>1,154</td>
<td>887</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>328,042</td>
<td>8,073</td>
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1. 1850 to 1915, Austria included with Germany; 1859 to 1899, Poland included with Austria-Hungary, Germany, and U.S.S.R.
2. Beginning 1920, includes data for United Kingdom not specified, formerly included in "Other Europe."
3. Includes Fiji and Tonga in 1909.
4. Includes in "Other Asia" beginning 1922 and in "Pacific Islands" 1914 to 1951.
5. Prior to 1931, recorded separately as inlander travel.

Source: Dept. of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service; Annual Report.
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| Total Population in the U. S. | 31,443,421 | 38,558,571 | 50,155,783 | 62,022,250 |

The number of prisoners born in Denmark, Norway and Sweden is not given separately for the year of 1880, but together they all had 286.

2 This table has been taken from O. Nelson's History of Scandinavians and Biographies U.S. Minneapolis: 1893, p. 262.
APPENDIX B

MAP

3The following map has been taken from Edgar Wesley's Wesley's Historical Atlas of the United States. Chicago: 1956, p. 49.