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THE DANISH DIALECT OF BORNHOLM.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Island of Bornholm lies in the Baltic Sea, 115 miles east of Copenhagen, about 22 miles south of the Swedish coast, and 50 miles north of the German island of Rügen. The total area of the island, which also includes the little group of isles known as Christiansö, is 225 square miles, with a population of over 43,000. Bornholm (ON.¹ *Borgundarholmur*) was the habitat in prehistoric times of an early Nordic race and there are still a number of stone circles, many so-called *bautarsteinar*² and other primitive remains on the island, especially in the neighborhood of Almindingen and Gudhjem. The population developed later into predatory Vikings, who were long notorious for their marauding proclivities. In the twelfth century, Bornholm became a fief of the Archbishop of Lund, under which sway the island remained until 1510, when it was seized by the Hanseatic League, but was captured by the Danes in 1522, and returned by them to the City of Lübeck in 1526. The Swedes took the island in 1625, and their domination was assented to by Denmark in 1658 by the Peace of Roskilde. The Bornholmers, however, desired to be Danish and themselves expelled the Swedish garrison in 1660, since which date Bornholm has been an integral part of Denmark. The curious round churches built in tower-shape and completely circular, with walls often six feet thick, form one of the most interesting features of the island. These buildings, which date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were undoubtedly used at an early date for purposes of defence.

The Bornholmers have always had their distinct speech, which, although popularly regarded by the other Danes as a Swedish dialect, is really the modern representative of the old East Danish

¹ Old Norse: *Borgundarhólmr*; Icel. *-holmur*, a term which in a modified form, *Borgunderholm*, was used until quite recently in Danish.

² *bautarsteinar* memorial stones.

linguistic group to which south Scandian, now in Sweden, also belongs. Bornholmsk shows only a superficial resemblance to true Swedish.

The distinctively Danish dialects may be classified as follows: (1) West Danish, comprising the several idioms of Jutland, whose chief peculiarity is the complete rejection of the ON. ending *-a*; (2) Island Danish, comprising the dialects of Fyen-Langeland; north and south Sjaelland, including the city idiom of Copenhagen, a refined form of which has become the standard Danish (Rigsprog), and the almost uniform speech of Lolland-Falster, all which variants substitute *-e* for the ON. *-a*; (3) East Danish: Bornholmsk and southern Scandian (*skånsk*) in Sweden, shading towards the north into real Swedish; both groups retain the ON. *-a*, in distinction from the other divisions.

Similarly to the linguistic movement on the Faeroes, there exists a less organized action on Bornholm to lay stress on the local dialect which they call a "language," because it is unintelligible to other Danes, and many purists on the island strongly resent the constantly increasing introduction of Danisms from the standard tongue. They are equally annoyed at the statement that Bornholmsk is a Swedish patois, pointing out that so different is their language from Swedish that, when Swedes come to settle on Bornholm, they never learn to speak the dialect correctly. This is perfectly true, as no real Swede can pronounce the palatalized consonants which distinguish Bornholmsk (see below) from most other Germanic idioms. The Frisian of Sylt is distinctly palatal and the ordinary soft *l* of modern Icel. is practically a palatal lingual. The B. *ñ* (palatal *gn*) is, however, rare in Germanic dialects, appearing however in certain other Danish variants, as in Jutland and Fyen.

There are, so far as I know, no societies devoted to the preservation of Bornholmsk, for which reason the dialect will in the course of time be crowded out by the Standard Danish of the government schools, a process which has already begun in the towns, particularly in Rønne, the capital of the island. The most striking popular defence of the local idiom is that of P. Möller, a landscape gardener, who in his "Bornholm Language"³ laments the

³ *Det Bornholmske Sprog af P. Möller, Høvearkitekt og Landskabsgartner, Rønne, 1918.*

decay of the old words and forms and inveighs against the "snob-bish" desire of the younger people to assimilate their beautiful speech to the harsh and monotonous phonetics of Copenhagen. Möller's description of the dialect is, however, not scientific and, therefore, not so valuable for the purpose of record as the highly accurate phonetic treatise of Prof. Vilhelm Thomsen and that of Prof. Ludvig F. A. Wimmer on the Bornholmsk grammar, both included in J. C. S. Espersen's "Bornholm Dictionary."⁴ It should be added that Bornholmsk has had two poets of considerable merit; viz., Espersen himself and J. P. Möller (d. 1891) who, although only a baker in Allinge, was a highly gifted and many-sided genius. Some of the poems of both these writers are given in the edition of the dictionary in question.⁵ There is also a very good collection of Bornholm melodies assembled by H. Johansen,⁶ which gives a large number of characteristic native folksongs, with words and music.

The material for the present sketch, which, so far as known, is the first description in English of Bornholmsk, was obtained during a visit to the Island from a number of personal sources, especially from natives resident at some distance from the towns. The best speaker of the dialect whom I heard was a Mrs. Jespersen, the custodian of one of the most ancient of the round churches, who was able to speak both Danish and Bornholmsk without confusion. This material has been amplified and confirmed by the above mentioned works.

PHONETICS.⁷

The Bornholmsk phonetics are rather complicated and the difficulty of recording the dialect is greatly magnified by the accepted method of writing, which, in at least one important respect, is inaccurate, as the combination *-jn* is used throughout for two

⁴ J. C. S. Espersen, *Bornholmsk Ordbog, med Indledning og Tillaeg, udgivet af det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Copenhagen, 1908.

⁵ See *Bornholmsk Ordbog*, pp. 150-169.

⁶ *Viser i Bornholmsk Mundart, samlede af H. Johansen, Rönne*, 1911.

⁷ The following abbreviations have been used: B. = Bornholmsk; conj. = conjunction; D. = Danish; def. = definite; Eng. = English; Germ. = German; Icel. = modern Icelandic; indef. = indefinite; n. = note; OD. = Old Danish; ON. = Old Norse; pl. = plural; sg. = singular; Sw. = Swedish; Wimmer = article in Introduction to Espersen's *Ordbog Bornholmsk* (n. 4).

different sounds; viz., for *ng* as in *singing* and for the palatal *gn* as in French *signe* (= *ń*). The system dates from Espersen's manuscript prepared in the early half of the nineteenth century, but corrected to a certain extent, as indicated above, by Prof. Thomsen. It should be noted, however, that some of the modern writers in the dialect now distinguish between the soft *ng*-sound and the palatal *ń*, using *ng* for the former and *jn* only for the latter vowel.

The rules for the pronunciation of Bornholmsk may be tabulated as follows: *a*, flat, as in *hat*; *ā* or *â*, as *ah*; *aa* = D. long *aa*, like Eng. *o* in *lone*; *b*, as in Eng.; never soft as medial or final, as in D.; *d* = hard *d* as initial, but nearly as *dh* (= *th* in *this*) as medial or final, except that medial *dd* is always pronounced hard and with emphasis (final *d* is sometimes omitted, as in *vad* 'what,' but it is usually omitted in writing in such cases); *e* = *e* in *met*; *ē* = *ee* in Germ. *Seele*; *f* as in Eng., often omitted in pronunciation as a medial, as *aette* = *efter* = 'after'—*ōta* = *ofta* 'often,' etc.; *g*, as Eng. hard *g*; *gj* or *ǰ* is the palatalized *g*, an approximation between *dy* and soft Eng. *j*; *h*, as in Eng.; *i* = short *i* in *pin*; *ī* = *ee* in *feel*; *j* = Eng. consonantal *y*, when B. *j* is used consonantly (but see just below); *jd* = *d'* = palatalized *d* (*dʷ*); *jl* = *l'* = palatalized *l*, as Span. *ll*; *jn* = *ń*, as in French *signe*, but in some texts = *ng* as in *singing* (see above); *k* as in Eng.; *kj* = *č*, palatalized *ch* as Pol. *č*; *l*, almost like the American *l* in *well* (not so hard as the Eng. pronunciation); *m* and *n* as in Eng.; *o* = obscure Sw. *o*, almost *oo* in *good*; *ō* = Eng. *oh*; *p*, as in Eng.; *r*, always trilled on the tip of the tongue (never gutturalized as in D.); *s*, as initial = *s* in *sad*—as medial or final = Eng. *s* in *rose* (= *z*) and is usually indicated by *z* in such cases; *sj* = *ś*, a palatalized *sh* like Polish *ś* and often a trifle rougher, like an obscure Eng. *sh*; *skj* and *stj* = *śč*; viz., *s* with palatal *č*; *t*, as in Eng.; *t'* = *č*; *u* = *oo* in *soot*; *ū* = Sw. long *u*, like the Magyar *ü* (not Germ. *ü*); *v*, hard and never slurred as in D.; *w* occurs chiefly in the combination *aw* = *ou* in *house*, sometimes written *au* (or *ou*); *y* (always a vowel) = D. *y* or Magyar *ü*; *â* = Eng. *o* in *mortal* (*aa* is used for the long vowel); *âj*, diphthong of *â* and short *i*; *ae*, when short, almost = *a* in *hat*; *āē* = Eng. *a* in *care*; *aej* diphthong of *āē* and short *i*; *aew*, diphthong

of $\bar{a}e$ and short u ; $\ddot{o} = i$ in *bird* and sometimes short Germ. \ddot{u} , as in D. *köd* 'meat.'

INTONATION AND ACCENT.

Bornholmsk has no glottal catch, so frequent in standard Danish and Juttish, but, like the Danish dialects of Lolland-Falster and Fyen-Langeland, uses the glided vowel exclusively. Unlike Sw., B. has no distinct musical tones, although there exists in B. a recognized rather monotonous musical intonation, which causes the Copenhageners to assert that the Bornholmers "sing." This intonation is more agreeable than the "sobbing" cadence used by the vulgar Copenhageners. There is, therefore, in B. no tonal differentiation in meaning, as, for ex., in Sw. between *axel* 'axle' and *axel* 'shoulder,' pronounced respectively *áxél* (two tones) and *áxel* (one tone). The word is *āwsel* in B. for both senses, which must be determined by context. Wimmer points out (pp. 66-67) that the stress-accent in B. differs very slightly from that of the standard D., and that, when it does differ, the stress resembles Sw. or else is entirely distinct, as in nouns ending in *-i* such as *eskeri*, where the accent may rest on the first or the last syllable indifferently; thus, *feskeri* means 'fishery' in general, but *féskeri* = 'fishing.'

It is doubtful whether Bornholmers will ever learn to pronounce D. after the standard fashion, as even the young children find the glottal catch an impossibility. Danish spoken without this unpleasant peculiarity always indicates an "outsider"; viz., either a foreigner or a rural person.

It should be noted that, when consonants are doubled in B., they must be dwelt upon in the same manner as in Italian, a phenomenon unknown in Danish, but usual in Swedish.

The following extracts, the first in the accepted spelling with the literal Danish and Swedish equivalent text, the second in the accepted spelling with Wimmer's phonetic version and Danish translation, and the third in phonetic rendering as heard by me with Danish equivalent, will serve to illustrate the dialect.

I.⁸

Bærrijnhålmarna, dæer nu i många Aar hā (1) arbājad hen te å faa (2) dārra Bornholmerne, der nu i mange Aar har arbeidet hen til at faa deres Bornholmarna, som nu i många år ha arbetat för att få sitt

Spraag satt paa Modan, hā, forudan dā fārra (3) hāer i Baagen omtalde Sprog sat paa Moden, har, foruden de faa her i Bogen omtalte språk satt på modet, ha, förutom de få här i boken omtalte

Maadarna, åw tād (4) dāejn sōmpla Framgangsmaadan te Jaelp, Tæejfram å (5) Maaderne, ogsaa taget den simple Fremgangsmaade til Hjaelp, ligefrem at metoder, också tagit det enkla tillvägagående till hjälp, rent av at

kassera en Maejnde Ōr, som ha syjnts dom å varra for bærrijnhålmaska, kassere en Maengde Ord, som syntes dem at vaere for bornholmske, kassera en stor del ord, som syntes dem att vara för bornholmska,*

aejle som, me ånra (6) Ōr, hā vād (4) dom for mājed forsjiellia fraa dā danske. eller som, med andre Ord, har vaeret dem altfor forskellige fra de danske. eller som, med andra ord, ha varit dem altför skilda från de danska.

Nu hār vaart Spraag ju i åjl āerene Tid vād et rāejt (7) Spraag, så vi kojne (8) Nu har vort Sprog jo fra Arilds Tid vaeret et rigt Sprog, saa at vi kan Nu har vårt språk ju från uråldriga tider varit ett rikt språk, så att vi kunna

sājtas (9) ojnvaera ijn Haaven Ōr å (3) livael hā nok te Hüzbehav. sagtens undvaera en Masse Ord og alligevel have nok til Husbrug. verkligen undvara många Ord ock likväl hava nog till husbehov.

Men ser (10) ijn lājed nåjara aette (11), blēr ijn snārt vār (12), a de(d) ijkje naer Men ser man lidt nøtagtere efter, bliver man snart opmærksom paa, at de ikke naer Men ser man lite nogare efter, blir man snart opmærksom på, att de icke

alltid e dā Ōrn som vi baest kojne ojnvaere (13), dā ha kassert (14), men a dā alltid er de Ord som vi bedst kan undvaere, de har kasseret, men at de alltid äro de ord som vi bäst kunna undvara, de ha kasserat, men att de

mājed öta (11) e Ōr som vi kojne hā Brög for å som nāwe kajn aerstatts (13) meget ofte er Ord som vi kan have Brug for og som neppe kan erstattes mycket ofta äro ord som vi kunna hava bruk för ock som knappt kunna ersättas

me aenkla danska Ōr. Öta e de(dh) ed Or som daer ska flera danska Ōr te å med enkelte danska Ord. Ofte er det et Ord som der skal flere danske Ord til at med enkla danska ord. Ofta är det ett ord som det behöves flera danska ord till att

forklāra å for många å dom ska dæer ejndaa så gāled hēla Saetnijner te å forklare og for mange af dem skal der endog findes hele Saetninger til at förklara ock för många av dem skola även användas hela sätningar till att

⁸ *Det Bornholmske Sprog*, p. 71 (n. 3). The numerals refer to the commentary below.

forklāra. *Detta e sō forārjelit, a ijn kajn blē hēll hārmse* (15) *paaed,*
forklare. *Dette e saa forargeligt, at man kan blīve helt vred ved paa det,*
förklara. *Detta är sō förargelsesväckande, att man kan bli helt vred på det,*

naar ijn taenjnker saj, a de(d) e vaara ājena Landsmaejn som—i
naar man taenker sig, at det er vore egne Landsmaend som—i
när man tänker sig, att det äro våra egna landsmän som—i

ren Forbljñelse—här borred dom sō rystoppena (16) *gāled* (17) *ad.* *Men de(d) e āw*
ren Forblindelse—har baaret dem saa ganske galt ad. *Men det er ogsaa*
ren förblindelse—ha burit sig sō ganska galet åt. *Men det är också*

forarjelit, a di hā kassērt söddena (18) *Or, for, sael om dessa kajn udtrykja*
forargeligt, at de har kasseret saadanne Ord, for, selv om disse kan udtrykke
förargelsesväckande, att de ha kasserat sådana ord, ty även om dessa kunna uttrycka

Menijnen, sō kajn di alri komma te ā passa i vaart Spraag, men vil stödda
Betydningen, saa kan de aldrig komma til at passe i vort Sprog, men vil stöde
betydelsen, sō kunna de aldrig komma till att vara passande i vårt språk, men skola
stöta

ā skārri i Örn ā gjārri vaart aejlans sō naetta bārriñhālmska Spraag styjgjara.
og hakke Örene og göre vort ellers saa behaglige bornholmske Sprog grimmere.
ock hacka öronen ock göra vårt annars sō behagliga bornholmska språk fulare.

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

The Bornholmers, who now for many years have worked to get their language made fashionable, have, in addition to the few methods mentioned in this book, also adopted (taken) the simple procedure of rejecting a great many words which seemed to them to be too Bornholmsk or, in other words, which have seemed (been) to them too different from the Danish (words). Now, our language has been from time immemorial a rich language, so that we really can do without a lot of words and at the same time have enough left over for household use. But if one examines the case a little more closely (exactly), one will at once (soon) be aware that it is not by any means always those words which we can best dispense with that they have rejected, but that these are very often words which we could have use for and which scarcely can be replaced by single Danish words. Often it is a word which it takes several Danish words to explain and, for many of them, even whole sentences must be used to explain (them). This is so annoying that one can get very angry at it, when one considers that it is our own countrymen who, in sheer blindness, have behaved

(themselves) so stupidly. But it is also annoying that they have rejected such words, because (= for), even if these (*i.e.*, the new words chosen) can express the sense, they can never come to be suitable in our language, but will shock and irritate (= cut) (our) ears and make our otherwise so agreeable Bornholmsk language (much) more ugly.

II.⁸

God awtan, liden Elna Gods fred!
Good evening, little Elna, God's peace!

God awtan, min deilia rosa!
Good evening my beautiful rose!

ad gubbajn hajn vill freia, já vedd,
That the old man will court you I know,
Men toustuijn vastu jo toza.

But if you took him, you would be a foolish lass.

Te öfröl dedh lakkar vell snarara, Du!
To funeral ale it is drawing near (for him), do you see?

En konna—dedh bler nok for sijlla,
A wife—it is much too late (for that),
Men já går å stjærnar på piblana nu,
But I am going to peep at the girls now,

Forr já e på nå nu så vijlla.
For I am almost ready (to marry).

Hvad, liden Elna! Hvad min deilia rozal
What, little Elna! What my beautiful
rose!

Go awtan, liden Aelna, go(dh)s frædh!
God Aften, lille Elna, Guds Fred!

Go awtan, min dæjlia rōza!

God Aften min deilige Rose!

A göbbañ hañ vell fræjja, já vædh,

At Gubben vil vel fri, veed jeg,

Maen tawstuiñ, västu (19) jü töza.

Men tog Du ham, var Du jo en Tosse.

Te efröl de' lakkar vael snarara, Du!

Til Gravöl lakker det nok snarere, Du!

En kanna—de' bler nåk (20) får sil'l'a,

En Kone—det bliver nok for silde,

Maen já går å sçaernar (21) på piblana nu,

Men jeg gaar og kigger paa Pigerne nu,

Får já e pånå nu så vil'l'a.

For nu er jeg naesten i Stand dertil.

Vå, liden Aelna! Vå, min dæjlia rōzal

Hvad lille Elna! Hvad min deilige

Rose!

III.⁹

COLLOQUIAL PHRASES.

Sē hæer vå já hær te dāj; praestiñ vå haeruda å já fiéc de(d) udå (22) hannóm.

Se her hvad jeg har til Dig; Presten var herude og jeg fik det fra ham.

See here what I have for you; the priest was out there and I got it from him.

Maa jante (23) gaa te æaerå? Ja, maen hör vå já sājjer dāj; kom snært ijen te baellana (24).

Maa jeg ikke gaa til Kirken? Ja, men hör hvad jeg siger Dig; kom snart tilbage til Börnene.

May I not go to church now? Yes, but listen to what I tell you; come back soon to the children.

⁸ See N. 9.

⁹ *Bornholmsk Ordbog*, p. 150 (n. 4).

Hon fítt ed áhed síñ & folde mēñ (25) jemm. Hañ före-na (26) mē sāj.
Hun ændrede sin Mening og fulgde med ham hjem. Han förde hende med sig.
 She changed her mind and went home with him. He took her with him.

Roserna tåva dårra blā nū. Viñteriñ kommer.
Roserne tabe deres Blade nu. Vinteren kommer.
 The roses are losing their petals now. Winter is coming.

Hañ hār ín ldiñ horra (27) & to píbla (28). Hañ hār trē baella.
Han har een lille Dreng og to Piger. Han har tre Börn.
 He has one little boy and two little girls. He has three children.

Horrin fítt pryl (29) & boññ som hañ möte paa vaeñ.
Drengen fik Prygl fra Bonden som han mödte paa Vejen.
 The boy got a beating (a cudgel) from the peasant whom he met on the road.

De(d) vā ícēe (inte) nötti & gārra,
Det var ikke nödvendigt at göre.
 It was not necessary to do that.

Kom hāer, gōa venner, & tån jorr en rüz!
Kom her, gode Venner, og drik Noget (tag Jer en Rus = 'get drunk')!
 Come here, good friends, and have a drink (with us)!

Hañ tæñte paa & gēfta saj & gícc ud & frājja & saa möte hañ en pājja (30) daer
aelskadiñ (31) mājed.

Han tænkte paa at gifte sig og saa gik han ud at frie og traf en Pige der elskede ham
meget.
 He thought of getting married and so he went out and met a girl who loved him very much.

E daer vann (32) udi cūtan (33)? Ja, maen de(d) maa dūnte (34) faa. De(d) skā
hestana hā.

Er der Vand i Spanden? Ja, men det maa Du ikke faa. Det skal Hestene have.
 Is there water in the pail? Yes, but you can't have that. The horses must have it.

Lokk dörn op & lāñ (35) gaa ud.
Lukk Dörren op og lad ham gaa ud.
 Open the door and let him go out.

Vår e píblan nu? Hon fann horriñ & trač mēñ (25) jemm.
Hvor er Pigebarnet nu? Hun fandt Drengen og trak hjem med ham.
 Where is the little girl now? She found the boy and went home with him.

Hañ spöre māj skā jā gē jorr ín bārrinhålmsk säng; maen de' kañ jante gārra fårr
ja har forgatt al't.

Han spurgde mig, om jeg vil give Jer en bornholmsk Sang (36), men det kan jeg ikke
gøre, for jeg har glemt det Hele.

He asked me to give you a Bornholm song, but I cannot, for I have forgotten everything.

COMMENTARY ON THE TEXTS.

- (1) *arbājad* 'worked'; also written *arbēad* and *arbiād*.
- (2) *dārra* 'their'; used in B., as in D. as the 3 p. possessive reflexive, which in Sw. is always *sin* (m. and f.), *sitt* (n.); pl. *sina*, used for both sg. and pl.
- (3) *fārra* 'few'; note *-rr-* and the redundant pl. *-a* (cf. Icel. *fáir*).
- (4) *tād*, contraction for *tāged* 'taken'; cf. *vād* for *vārid* 'been' (other examples below).
- (5) *ā* = conj. *og* 'and,' the prep. *af* 'of' (as in *udā*, n. 23) and also the infin. particle *at*.
- (6) *ānra*, pl. of *āniñ* 'other' (D. pl. *andre*). Note the elision of *d*, pronounced in both D. and Sw.
- (7) The *k* is completely elided from the original *kt* = *-k*, plus neuter *-t*: *raekt* (D. *rikt*) and the subsequent palatalization of the *t* to *é* (n. 9).
- (8) *kojne* = *koñe*; pres. pl. *kunne*, as Sw. *kunna*, but lost in D. = *kan* for both numbers.
- (9) *sajtas* = *saé(é)as* = D. *sagtens* 'really'; note elision of *g* (original *gt*) and palatalization of *t* to *é*, and total disappearance of *-n* (cf. n. 7).
- (10) *ijn* = *iñ* = D. *een* 'one,' used in B. for the D. and Germ. indef. *man* (Fr. *on*). The indef. *man* is never used in true B.
- (11) *aette* = D. *efter* 'after' and ON. *epfir*. Here there is no palatalization as in nn. 7 and 9. Note also B. *ōta* = D. *ofte*, with compensative long *o* for loss of *-f*.
- (12) *vār* 'aware' = D. and Norse *var* (not in use in colloquial D.) = Germ. *gewahr*.
- (13) *ojnvaere* 'dispense with'; a Danism: *undvaere* in D. is a Germanism like *undvara* in Sw. = Germ. *entbehren*. It should really be *undvarra* in B., as the verb 'to be,' on whose analogy the word is made, is *varra*. Note also B. *aerstattas* = D. *erstatles*, also a Germanism, from *erstatten*.
- (14) *kassért* 'rejected'; observe the absence of the vowel (*a*) before the participial *t* (D. *kasseret*; Sw. *kasserat*).
- (15) *hārmse* 'angry'; cf. Sw. *harmsen* 'angry' and D. *Harme* 'indignation.'
- (16) *rystoppena galed* 'exceedingly stupidly'; used in B. only with *galed*; OD. *ryskgalen* 'very angry' (*rysker* means 'mad' in B.). *Toppena* = Dalicarlian *tupppande* (Espersen, 279) 'one who is excessive,' probably cognate with Germ. *toben* 'rage' (thus Espersen).
- (17) *galed* 'stupid' = Sw. *galet*.
- (18) *sōddena* 'such,' pl. Note *ō* for D. short *aa*, pron. like short Eng. *aw*; D. *saadane*, but Sw. *sādan*, with long *ā*.
- (19) *taustuiñ* 'tookst thou him' = 'if thou didst take him' = OD. *togst Du ham*.
- (20) *nāk* 'enough,' pron. almost like short *nok*, as in D.; cf. Sw. *nōg*.
- (21) *śaernar* 'stare'; cogn. with Eng. *stare* more than with D. *stirre*. The expression *pānā* = D. *naesten* 'almost' is purely B., and now almost obsolete. *Pānā* is probably a translation of Germ. *beinahe* (cf. Frisian *binai*; Sylt.).
- (22) *udā hannōmm*; lit. 'out of him' (see n. 5) = D. *udaf* in the same sense (cf. New York slang: *off'n him* 'from him').
- (23) *jante* = *ja inte* 'I not.'
- (24) *baella* 'children.' This stem is probably not *balg* 'bellows,' from the pot bellies of small children, but the same as in south Germ. *bübli*, dim. of *bube*

'boy.' It is seen also in Scotch *billy* 'boy, lad.' It is probable that the Amer. slang *Bill*, used in address for any name at all, contains the forgotten sense *boy*. The sg. in B. is *baell* with the masc. article *baelliñ* 'the child.'

(25) *mēñ* = *mēdiñ* 'with him'; D. *med'en* = *med ham*.

(26) *före-na* = *före haeñe* 'he took her.'

(27) *horra* 'boy'; a difficult word and purely B., thought by some to be cogn. with *herre* in Småländsk *ollherre* 'cattle-boy' (Espersen, 134), but this *herre* is probably a variant of Sw. *herde*, seen in *fårherde* shepherd; D. *Hyrde*; Germ. *Hirt* and scarcely connected with B. Note that the form *hork* 'boy' is used in North Sjaelland and also in Jutland for *boy* in an opprobrious sense. With this latter use, cf. Scotch *hawkie* 'clumsy lad.' These latter forms may be diminutives of the original stem of B. *horra*.

(28) *pibla*, pl. of *pibel* 'small girl,' undoubtedly a combination of *pi(ga)* 'girl' and *baell* 'child' and exactly equivalent to D. *Pigebarn* 'little girl.' A grown girl in B. is *pajja* (see n. 30).

(29) *pryl* 'cudgel, beating' = D. *Prygl*.

(30) *pajja* 'grown girl' = D. *Pige*; Sw. *piga* 'maid'; in distinction from *pibel* 'girl-child.'

(31) *aelskadiñ* 'loved him'; D. colloquial: *elskede-en* (*ham*).

(32) *vann* 'water' = D. *Vand*, for ON. *vatn*, Sw. *vatten*. The form *vann* is still used in Scandia for *vatten*.

(33) *éita* 'pail, bucket'; also written *kjita*; cogn. with Eng. *kit* 'tub' and probably also with *kettle*. *Kit* in the sense 'outfit' is still used in the Amer. slang phrase: *whole kit and boodle* (*caboodle*, a cowboy word from Span. *capital* stock, property).

(34) *dūnte* = *du inte* thou not.

(35) *lāñ* = *lā-iñ* 'let him' = D. *lad'en* (pron. colloquially *la-en* = *lad ham*).

(36) Note the direct oration peculiar to primitive idioms.

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH.

Article and Noun.

The grammar of B. is much more complicated than that of either Danish or Swedish, the chief reason being that in B. a distinction is made between the masc. and fem. genders, whereas in both Danish and Swedish this distinction has long passed away, the two genders having completely coalesced in Danish and also in all Swedish except the most antiquated style, which, even in church writings, is rapidly going out of use. Thus, it is unusual to-day to find the masc. *e*-form of the def. adjective as distinct from the fem. and neuter form. All Swedes say and write at the present day *min kära vän* 'my dear friend' (masc.) instead of the more correct older form *käre* for masc., while *kära* was used for fem. and neuter definites. A similar blending of the masc. and fem. genders has all but taken place in modern Dutch, where one says *ik zie de*

man 'I see the man,' instead of *ik zie den man*, and this, in spite of the efforts of the purist school, who are striving to retain the older form, at least in writing. B. is one of the few living Scandinavian idioms, not excepting Icelandic and Faeroese, in which both the definite and indefinite articles distinguish the masc. from the fem. It is true that in Icel. and Faeroese a distinction is still made in writing; viz., masc. *hinn*, fem. *hin* 'the,' but the pronunciation is the same for both genders. B. has both an indef. and def. article different for all three genders; viz., indef. *iñ mañ* 'a man'; *en kånna* 'a woman'; *ed hüz* 'a house,' a peculiarity paralleled chiefly in the Juttish of Vensyssel and to some extent on Fyen. In B., the def. article is *daeñ*, *daen*, *dedh* for the prefixed form, which is, however, not so common as the suffixed definite, whose forms are masc. *-ñ*, *-iñ*; fem. *-n*, *en*; neut. *-d*, *-ed*; pl. *-na* for masc. and fem., and *-n*, *-en* for neuters. It will be observed that the masc. sg. is distinguished by the palatal *-ñ*.

The following paradigm will illustrate the method of using the def. suffixes:

STRONG NOUNS.

	<i>ārm, mō, dā, sag, brō, ö, hüz, trāē</i>		
Masc.	<i>ārmiñ</i> 'the arm'	<i>mōiñ</i> 'the windrow'	<i>dāñ</i> 'the day'
Pl.	<i>ārmana</i>	<i>mōāna</i>	<i>dāna</i>
Fem.	<i>sāgen</i> 'the affair'	<i>brōen</i> 'the bridge'	<i>ön</i> 'the island'
Pl.	<i>sāgarna</i>	<i>brōarna</i>	<i>örna</i>
Neut.	<i>hüzed</i> 'the house'	<i>trāēd</i> 'the tree'	
Pl.	<i>hüzen</i>	<i>trāēn</i>	

WEAK NOUNS.

	<i>tīma, bārrjara, kånge, öga, ðaerða, fārstå(e)lse, öra, aebbla, rāēje</i>		
Masc.	<i>tīmañ</i> 'the hour'	<i>bārrjariñ</i> 'the citizen'	<i>kångeiñ</i> 'the king'
Pl.	<i>tīmana</i>	<i>bārrjarna</i>	<i>kångarna</i>
Fem.	<i>ögan</i> 'the week'	<i>ðaerðan</i> 'the church'	<i>fārstå(e)lsen</i> 'the understand-
Pl.	<i>ögarna</i>	<i>ðaerðarna</i>	<i>fārstå(e)lsarna</i> [ing']
Neut.	<i>örad</i> 'the ear'	<i>aebblad</i> 'the apple'	<i>rāējed</i> 'the kingdom'
Pl.	<i>örn</i>	<i>aebblen</i>	<i>rāējen</i>

There are certain rules indicating variations of the connecting vowel between the noun and the def. articles, which need not be entered into here.

It should be noted, however, that *horra* or *hårra* 'boy' makes its def. *hårriñ* 'the boy'; pl. *hårrana* 'the boys,' like *bårrjara* (see above). Like *öra* 'ear,' only the neut. *åjja* 'eye' occurs, pl. *åjjen* 'the eyes,' but def. sg. *åjjed* 'the eye,' probably a Danism resembling D. *oiet* 'the eye' (pr. *ojedh*), for the earlier B. *åjjad*.

It will be observed that in these forms, as well as in the following examples of inflection, B. resembles modern Sw. more than the standard D. This is especially noticeable in the neuters; cf. Sw. *öra-t* 'the ear,' pl. *öron-en*, in which word there is no distinction in B. between the indef. and def. pl., i.e., both = *örn*. The same principle applies to the Sw. *äpple* 'apple,' pl. *äpplen*, but def. pl. *äpplena*. On the other hand, B. *hüz* 'house,' pl. *hüz*; but def. pl. *huzen* 'the houses' is exactly like the Sw.: *hus*, pl. *hus*; def. pl. *husen*.

Noun Inflection.

So far as nouns and adjectives are concerned there is no case inflection such as appears in Faeroese or Icelandic, but the system of forming the plural (indef.) of nouns should be briefly illustrated. The resemblance is closest to the Sw., although the B. forms themselves are not directly derived from Sw., but are a normal development of OD.

It will be observed from the following examples (*a*) that the strong and weak masc. groups incline to the pure *a*-plural, with the exception of a few instances; (*b*) that the strong and weak feminines both incline to the *-er* (*-r*)-ending, and (*c*) that the strong neuters have generally no pl. ending, while the weak neuters incline to *-n*, or also have no ending.

STRONG NOUNS.

Masc.	<i>årm</i> 'arm'	<i>åwsel</i> 'axle'	<i>mō</i> 'windrow'	<i>dā</i> 'day'	<i>gåest</i> 'guest'
Pl.	<i>årma</i>	<i>åwsla</i>	<i>mōa</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>gåester</i>
Fem.	<i>såg</i> 'affair'	<i>åwsel</i> 'shoulder'	<i>brō</i> 'bridge'	<i>ō</i> 'island'	<i>nål</i> 'needle'
Pl.	<i>såger</i>	<i>åwslar</i>	<i>brōer</i>	<i>ōr</i>	<i>nåla</i>
Neut.	<i>hüz</i> 'house'		<i>trāē</i> 'tree'		<i>harred</i> 'district'
Pl.	<i>hüz</i>		<i>trāē</i>		<i>harreder</i>

WEAK NOUNS.

Masc.	<i>tīma</i> 'hour'	<i>bārrjara</i> 'citizen'	<i>kānge</i> 'king'
Pl.	<i>tīma</i>	<i>bārrjara</i>	<i>kānger</i>
Fem.	<i>ōga</i> 'week'	<i>ēaeréa</i> (<i>ēaerka</i>) 'church'	<i>fārstā(e)lse</i> 'understanding'
Pl.	<i>ōger</i>	<i>ēaerēer</i> (<i>ēaerker</i>)	<i>fārstā(e)lser</i>
Neut.	<i>ōra</i> 'ear'	<i>aebbla</i> 'apple'	<i>rāēje</i> 'kingdom'
Pl.	<i>ōra</i>	<i>aebbla</i>	<i>rāēje</i>

The above divisions are easily understood. It will be observed that the class represented by *dā* 'day' (masc.) does not change for the pl. It is a model for such words as *stā* 'place' = ON. '*stāðr*.' Only practice can teach the learner when nouns ending in a vowel take the *-a* in the pl. like *mō-a*. In the strong fem. nouns, the class represented by *nāl* 'needle' is very small. *Saen* 'bed' (f.) belongs to it, as does *aeñ* 'meadow.' The pl. of *pībel* 'little girl' is *pībla*, as the second component element is *baell* 'child,' pl. *baella*. Of the strong neuters, some neuters of foreign origin belong to the *harred*-class (pl. *-er*), as *bēst* 'beast,' pl. *bēster*; *īnsekt*, pl. *īnsekte*, etc. Of the weak masculines, the *tīma*-class represents the old *i*-masculines, as ON. *tīmi* 'hour.' Many nouns belong to the *ōga-ēaeréa*-class. The weak neuters comprise (a) a small group in *-a* = the ON. neuters in *-a*; (b) some neuters in *-e* = the ON. neuters in *i*. Note that for *ājja* 'eye' = ON. *auga*, one of the few B. nouns inflected like *ōra*, there is an old B. form *īva* 'eye,' pl. *īven*. *Jārta* 'heart' has pl. *jārta*. A very large class is inflected like *aebble* and *rāēje*. The ending *u* is seen in *viñnu* 'window' (sg. and pl.) and *varru* 'business' (cf. Icel. *verslun*), but B. *hōnnu* 'honey' is used only in the sg. = OD. *hunugh*.

Adjectives.

The indef. adjective in B., like that in ON. and modern Icel. and Faeroese, distinguishes between all three genders; viz., masc. *gōer* 'good,' fem. *gō*, neut. *gātt*, pl. *gōa* (all genders)

<i>fattier</i> 'poor'	<i>fatti</i>	<i>fattit</i> , pl. <i>fattia</i>
<i>vīder</i> 'wide'	<i>vīd</i>	<i>vītt</i> (= <i>vidt</i>), pl. <i>vīda</i>

The rule is that the indef. must end in *-er* in the masc., the fem. has no ending, while the neuter adds *-t* which frequently modifies the preceding syllable. The indef. pl. ends in *-a* for all genders.

No such distinction is made in the def. adjectival form followed by the definite noun:

Masc.	<i>goa</i> ' (the) good '	pl. <i>goe</i>
Fem.		
Neut.		
	<i>fattia</i> ' (the) poor '	pl. <i>fattie</i>
	<i>vīda</i> ' (the) wide '	<i>vide</i>

The def. sg. of all genders ends in *-a* (there is no masc. def. *-e*, as in old Sw.), while the pl. ending for all genders is *-e*, a distinctive Bornholmism based on D. *-e*, def. pl. and sg.

Adjectives form their comparative by *-ara* (more often now *-ere*, following D.) and the superlative by *-ast*, def. *-esta*. Thus *brūner* 'brown,' *brūnara*, *brūnast*; but def., *brūnesta*; pl. *brūneste*. The same irregularities appear as in the other Scandinavian idioms; *lānger* 'long'—*laengre*—*laenst*; *gøer* 'good'—*bāere*—*baest*, etc. The superlative has no differentiation for gender and number in the indef., but has both, as just shown, for the definite.

NUMERALS.

The numerals up to ten cardinals and ordinals are as follows:

Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Danish		Danish
<i>iñ</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>en, et</i> 'one'	<i>fārsta</i> (<i>fāsta</i>) 'first'	<i>fōrst(e)</i>
<i>to</i>			<i>to</i> 'two'	<i>ānra</i> (pl. <i>āndra</i>)	<i>anden</i> (pl. <i>andre</i>)
<i>trē</i>			<i>tre</i> 'three'	<i>trede</i>	<i>tredje</i>
<i>fūr(a)</i>			<i>fire</i> 'four'	<i>fjaere</i>	<i>fjerde</i>
<i>faem</i>			<i>fem</i> 'five'	<i>faemte</i>	<i>femte</i>
<i>sajs</i>	'six'		<i>seks</i>	<i>šæte</i>	<i>sjette</i>
<i>šu</i>	'seven'		<i>syv</i>	<i>šune</i>	<i>syvende</i>
<i>āt(a)</i>	'eight'		<i>otte</i>	<i>ātene</i>	<i>ottende</i>
<i>nī</i>	'nine'		<i>nī</i>	<i>nīene</i>	<i>niende</i>
<i>tī</i>	'ten'		<i>tī</i>	<i>tīene</i>	<i>tiende</i>

It should be observed that the numerals 'fifty' to 'ninety,' incl., are not formed as in Sw. and Norse *faemti*, *seksti*, etc., but as in D., by the addition of *hall-* and the suffix *senscīve*; viz., *hall-trōsenscīve* 'fifty,' D. *halvtredsindstyve*, etc. This method of reckoning is peculiarly Danish, and resembles the Celtic system, still used in Welsh, and appearing in French.

PRONOUNS.							
B.		D.	Sw.	B.	D.	Sw.	
<i>jā</i>	'I'	<i>jeg</i>	<i>jag</i>	<i>hań</i>	'he'	<i>han</i>	<i>han</i>
<i>māj</i>	'me'	<i>mig</i>	<i>mig</i>	<i>hannöm</i>	'him'	<i>ham</i>	<i>honom</i>
		(pr. <i>maj</i>)	(pr. <i>mej</i>)	<i>hon</i>	'she'	<i>hun</i>	<i>hon</i>
<i>vī, vi</i>	'we'	<i>vi</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>haēne</i>	'her'	<i>hende</i>	<i>henne</i>
<i>vās</i>	'us'	<i>os</i>	<i>oss</i>				
<i>ī, nī</i>	'you'	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>di</i>	'they'	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>
<i>jaerr, jarr</i>	'you' (acc.)	<i>jēr</i>	<i>Eder (er)</i>	<i>dām</i>	'them'	<i>dem</i>	<i>dem</i>

The possessives are respectively *mīń, mīn, met* 'my'; pl. *mīna*; *dīń, dīn, det*; pl. *dīna*; refl. *sīń, sīn, set*; pl. *sīna*, declined like indef. adjectives; *hans* 'his'; *haēnes* 'her' indecl.; *vār (vāres* and rare, *vāresa)*, neut. *vārt*; pl. *vāra*; *jaer*, neut. *jaert* 'your'; pl. *jaera*, declined like adjectives and *dārre* 'their,' indecl. The relatives are simply the indeclinable *daer* (nom. only) and *sām* 'who, which, what.' The interr. is *vekkiń, vekken, vekked*; pl. *vekkene*, a pronominal indef. adjective.

VERBS.

The B. verb, like that of the other Scandinavian dialects, has only two pure tenses; viz., the present and preterite, making the future and past definite by means of auxiliaries. B., unlike D., distinguishes between the sg. and pl. of the pres. tense by omitting the *-r* of the sg. and in most instances by using *-a* in the pl. In the pret., as in Sw., B. sometimes has a distinctive pl. form, which, as in colloquial Sw., is dying out in ordinary usage.

The following examples of both strong and weak verbs will suffice to show the formation: *ā bińa* 'to bind'; *jā bińer* 'I bind'; *vī bińa* 'we bind'; *jā bānt* 'I bound,' *vī bońe* 'we bound'; *jā hār bońed* 'I have bound' = D. *at binde, jeg binder, vi binder, jeg bandt, vi bandt; jeg har bundet*; Sw. *att binda, jag binder, vi binda; jag band, vi bundum; jag har bundit*. Ablaut is as common in B. as in its sister idioms; thus, *gēr* 'gives'; *gā* 'gave,' but *gēd* 'given'; *fār* 'drives'; *fōr* 'drove'; *fōred* 'driven,' etc. The verb 'to go' requires special mention; *ā gā* 'to go'; *jā gār, vī gā*; *jā gīcc, vī gēccē*; *jā e gād*. In Gudhjem, this verb still has the half weak form *gāńńa*; *gāńńar, gāńńa*; *gāńńada*; *gāngiń*.

The weak verbs form the pret. by *-de, -t* and the past partic. by masc. *-der*; fem. *-d*, neut. *-t*, which neuter form is used with the auxiliary *ha* 'have' to form the pure past definite. Thus, *ā rīa*

'to ride'; *jā rīer, vī rīa; jā, vī rīde* ('rode'); *jā hār rīt; å taella* 'to count'; *jā taeller, vī taella; jā, vī talde, jā hār tält; å vīla* 'to rest'; *jā vīler, vī vīla; jā, vī vīlada; jā hār vīlad*.

The auxiliaries are *końńa* 'to be able'; *jā kań* 'I can'; *vī końe* 'we can'; *jā, vī końńe* 'we could'; *jā hār końńad; jā skā* 'I shall'; *skol'l'e* 'should'; past partic. *skolad; vel'l'a* 'to will'; *jā vel, pl. vī vella; jā, vī vel'l'a* 'would'; *jā hār vellad* 'I have wished.' The verb 'to have' is *å hāva, jā hār, vī hā, jā, vī hāde, jā hār hād*.

The middle passive in *-s* appears, as in D. and Sw., as *saettas* 'to be put' and the *-s* is suffixed to all the tenses, including the past partic. *satts*. The direct use of the *-s* has disappeared in D. with the past participle, where the *-s* is suffixed as a rule to the pret. *-de* and the tense construed with the verb *vaere* 'to be' as *det er lykkesdes*; but Sw. *det har lyckats* 'it has succeeded.'

Finally, the following forms should be noted: *gak*, imper. of *gå* 'go'; *ēstu* 'art thou'; *vāstu* 'wert thou'; *sāstu* 'sawest thou'; *tāwstu* 'tookst thou,' etc. The old gerundive in *-s* also occurs in B. *drikkenes* = D. *drikkende* 'drinking,' etc.

MUSIC.

The Bornholmers have preserved a wealth of folk-songs, many of them of real value and excelling those of any part of Denmark in beauty, although none of the D. folk-songs are equal to the Sw. in pure melody and musical form. The Danes have of late years begun to discard their old folk-music for modern European productions and, in their desire not to be "Scandinavian," are inclined to look upon anything essentially old Danish as "vulgar" and belonging to the "servant" classes. This, however, is not the case on Bornholm, where a genuine pride is felt in the old airs.

The following specimen, giving the melody ¹⁰ of the song recorded above (II.), is a very characteristic Bornholm air. It will be noted that the old Scandinavian influence lingers in the musical phraseology, a phenomenon which is apparent in many of the island songs, where, of course, the Scandian influence predominates, although some few of the refrain-songs show German contact.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
COPENHAGEN.

¹⁰ *Viser i Bornholmsk Mundart*, p. 134 (n. 6).

Liden Belna

gö äwtau Liden Bel-na godks frædh go äwtau min dæjlia

rö-za a göblan kai vell fræjja jä wæsh, men tauwtauw wæwta jo

tö-za te efræl de lakkar wæd anæraa, du en känne de blænæk for

sil-læ maan jä gær æ scæwne på pit-la-ua nû fær jä e på-

nå nû så vil-læ wæ kækken kænna wæ min dæjlia röjæ!